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In Search of a Better Life Abroad: An Exploratory
Case Study of the Perceptions and Responses of
Afro-Trini Immigrants to Their Economic
Incorporation Experiences in the Greater Toronto Area,
Canada
presented by

Oswald S. Warner

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

___Ph.D.___ degree in Sociology-Urban Studies

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Major professor

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IN SEARCH OF A BETTER LIFE ABROAD:
AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS AND RESPONSES OF
AFRO-TRINI IMMIGRANTS TO THEIR ECONOMIC INCORPORATION
EXPERIENCES IN THE GREATER TORONTO AREA, CANADA

Volume I

By

Oswald Sephuinus Warner

ABSTRACT

IN SEARCH OF A BETTER LIFE ABROAD:
AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS AND RESPONSES OF
AFRO-TRINI IMMIGRANTS TO THEIR ECONOMIC INCORPORATION
EXPERIENCES IN THE GREATER TORONTO AREA, CANADA

By

Oswald S. Warner

Based largely on data gleaned from intensive, unstructured interviews, this study reports on the perceptions and responses of twenty adult Afro-Trini female and male immigrants to their economic incorporation experiences in the Greater Toronto Area, Canada. These immigrants' economic incorporation experiences mainly revolve around the jobs they acquire with migration and the subsequent changes in their occupational and social status. The major theoretical thrust of this study is that Afro-Trini immigrants' perceptions and responses to their economic incorporation experiences in Canada are shaped considerably by their perceptions of their occupational and social mobility and of the barriers that they hold impede their upward occupational and social mobility.

Departing from the Caribbean island of Trinidad from the late 1960s, these immigrants believed that high-status and high-income jobs were easily available in Canada. When the initial jobs as well as other subsequent jobs acquired were temporary jobs that were of a lower-status than the jobs they had recently left behind in Trinidad, many felt that their receipt of these jobs was due to their encountering upward mobility barriers that they perceived were racially-based.

The reported upward mobility barriers were: (a) Being offered mostly temporary, low-status jobs that were not commensurate to their education, skill, and training. (b) Denial of desired jobs because of a lack of Canadian experience. (c) Being denied job

interviews because your Caribbean accent signified your race. (d) Putting an X on my aptitude test results because I am black. (e) Being told that you are too qualified. (f) Résumés signifying job applicants' race and being used to screen them out. (g) Earning less money than similarly placed white employees. (h) Being passed over for promotion despite having qualifications similar to or better than white employees. (i) As the only non-white member of a work group, in not having your contributions valued nor acted upon as if they came from you.

In order to acquire better jobs, they had to "learn the ropes" to upward occupational and social mobility in Canada. This "learning the ropes" involved their learning to adopt and deploy various upward mobility strategies. The upward mobility strategies comprised of: (a) Gaining Work Experience: "I sent her my résumé and that time my résumé was full." (b) Developing Networks: "...because my father had always told me to get to know people in position and influence who may be able to help me along the way. I developed a list of contacts. I learnt that for my own survival and that has helped me tremendously along the way." (c) Knowing Hiring Practices: "What I was told that I had to do was to seek out work in the warehouse parking boxes and doing other heavy lifting work to get into the company." (d) Deflating Qualifications: "I was warned by my wife not to volunteer information about all of my qualifications. That I should only tell them what they need to know...that if I let them know all that I have, I will not get the job." (e) Improving Education, Skill, and Training: "I went to Seneca College for awhile to brush up on my typing, math, and spelling in order to get a job...I wanted to go into office work so I went back to school." (f) Being Self-Employed: "...I do not need this pressure. I am going to work for myself..."

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is posthumously dedicated to my mother,
Stella Priscilla Warner, who gave me the fortitude to stay the course and to my father,
Wilton Hewlit Warner, who pointed out the course to me.

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Marcel-Downer, who, as my research colleague in the African Diaspora Research Project, was much more than that. He was a dear friend.

In order to protect the identity and privacy of the participants who have willingly assented to share their lived experiences with me so that I can realize my mobility dream, they cannot be identified either in this acknowledgement or in the body of the dissertation. Nonetheless, this does not detract from the deep appreciation that I have for the twenty adult Afro-Trini female and male participants whose lived experiences in Canada provide the theoretical, methodological, and analytical fodder and empirical findings of this dissertation. I only hope that I have presented your lived experiences in the way that you have lived them.

To my wife, Joan Hillerie Richards, and my son, Jan Victor Warner, I do not only give you my thanks but my continued deep love. This was not my mobility dream. It was our mobility dream.

THEORET

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background and General Framework of the Study

For Caribbean people, international migration has long been utilized as a major strategy in their search for upward mobility opportunities not available in the Caribbean region.[1] Believing that employment opportunities, in particular, are plentiful and easily available in Canada, the United States, Britain, and a few European countries, it is estimated that every year over 300,000 immigrants depart the Caribbean region for these metropolitan countries.[2] In the case of Canada, a little over 350,000 of them have settled there between 1956 and 1996.[3] Coming principally from the larger Caribbean countries of Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Haiti, the majority of Caribbean immigrants who settled in Canada, as elsewhere, were Afro-Caribbean immigrants.[4]

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[1] The Caribbean region comprises of the islands in the Caribbean Sea plus three nations and one dependency on the rim that share a northern European colonial heritage, Belize, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. The nations range in size from St Kitts-Nevis with an area of 144 square miles to Cuba with an area of 44,000 square miles.

[2] see Aaron Segal. 1987. "The Caribbean Exodus in Global Context: Comparative Migration Experiences" in Barry B. Levine (ed.), *The Caribbean Exodus,* New York, NY: Praeger, 44-64.

[3] Statistics Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration and Employment Canada, Citizenship and Immigration, 1956-1996. Census and immigration statistics compiled by Statistics Canada on the Caribbean region do not include statistics on Guyana. Guyana is included with statistics on South American countries. Immigration figures for Guyana are therefore not included in this total but the migration of Guyanese has also been historically strong.

[4] Walker claims that, from very early into this large-scale Caribbean migration to Canada, the majority of immigrants comprised Afro-Caribbean immigrants. see James W. St. Walker. 1984. *The West Indians in Canada,* Toronto: Canada's Ethnic Groups, Canadian

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Because of the pronounced presence of these black immigrants in these, what are often termed, white host societies, a veritable explosion of studies have been conducted on the outcome of the meeting between these immigrants and their hosts.[5] Moreover, in one way or the other, these studies deal with how these immigrants are incorporated into the labor market they enter. That is, they are concerned with whether, how, and the extent to which black immigrants are able to acquire the jobs that they seek and expect to acquire with migration and of their perception of the upward mobility barriers that they allege they face and, oftentimes, have to overcome to acquire these jobs. A consistent finding of studies conducted on Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada, and of those in

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Historical Association, Booklet No. 6. Strictly speaking, "Afro-Caribbean" refers to people of African descent from the Anglophone, Francophone, Dutch, and other non-English-speaking areas of the Caribbean region. While the term "West Indian" is popularly used in academic discourse to refer to English-speaking people of African descent from the Caribbean region, I have opted to use the term "Afro-Caribbean" in this study to refer to such people in order to emphasize the role of race.

[5] For Jamaican immigrants in the United States, see Monica H. Gordon. 1979. "Identification and Adaptation: A Study of Two Groups of Jamaican Immigrants in New York City," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, New York; for Caribbean immigrants in Canada, see Subhas Ramcharan. 1974. *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*, Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, Canada; ibid.. 1976. "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 13, 3: 295-304; Aloma Mary Mendoza. 1990. "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario," Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, Canada; Frances Henry. 1994. *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press; Dwaine Plaza. 1996. "The Strategies and Strategizing of University Educated Black Caribbean-born Men in Toronto: A Study of Occupation and Income Achievements," Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto. For Britain, see Collin Brown. 1992. "'Same Difference': The Persistence of Racial Disadvantage in the British Market" in Peter Braham, Ali Rattansi and Richard Skellington, *Racism and Antiracism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 46-63. For the occupational mobility experiences of Afro- and Indo-Surinamese immigrants in the Netherlands, see Mies van Nielerk. 2002. *Premigration Legacies and Immigrant Social Mobility: The Afro-Surinamese and Indo--Suriname in the Netherlands*, New York, NY: Lexington Books.

other host societies as well, is that these immigrants' principal motivation for migration was economic, that is, they sought to better their occupational and social status through the acquisition of jobs that were of higher status and higher income to what they had left behind in their home society. As Ramcharan reports, for example, 71 percent of the respondents of Caribbean immigrants, with the majority of them being Afro-Caribbean immigrants,[6] stated that economic reasons were their major motivation for migrating to Canada. A high proportion of respondents of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Henry's study also furnished the said reasons for departing the Caribbean region for Canada.[7]

Since, by migrating, some enterprising and hardworking female and male non-white immigrants may have been able to acquire the jobs they desired, their mobility accomplishments are likely to be taken as a powerful beacon that anyone can "make it" in Canada, once they are willing to work hard. For most non-white immigrants, however, the reality of life in Canada, and in other white host societies, has never matched these ideals.[8] Indeed, various studies have confirmed this reality of life in Canada for Afro-

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[6] Approximately 84 percent of his sample of 284 comprised Afro-Caribbean immigrants, 14 percent were Indo-Caribbean immigrants, that is, they were of East Indian ancestry, and the remaining 2 percent either were of White or Chinese ancestry. The respondents came from Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Kitts, Grenada, and Antigua. see Ramcharan, *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*, 62.

[7] see Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*. Economic reasons were also the main motivation advanced by Jamaican immigrants for migrating to the United States in Gordon's study. see Gordon, "Identification and Adaptation: A Study of Two Groups of Jamaican Immigrants in New York City,"

[8] Plaza, "The Strategies and Strategizing of University Educated Black Caribbean-born Men in Toronto: A Study of Occupation and Income Achievements" 28-30.

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Caribbean immigrants.[9] Ramcharan and Mendoza, for example, reveal that a large

proportion of the first large cohort of Afro-Caribbean immigrants to enter Canada in the

late 1960s experienced an immediate drop in occupational and social status with the

temporary, low-status jobs that they initially were obliged to acquire. These jobs neither

were commensurate to their education, skill, or training nor to the jobs that they had

recently left behind in their home society.[10] These studies also explored how Afro-

Caribbean immigrants' perceived the barriers that they alleged severely thwarted their

upward mobility aspirations. Oftentimes, these upward mobility barriers were perceived

as racially-based. Strong empirical evidence unearthed in other studies backed up their

allegations.[11]

In a general sense, this study is also concerned with these facets of the economic

incorporation experiences of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada. Specifically,

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[9] see Ramcharan, *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*; ibid., "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada;" Wilson A. Head. 1975. *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and the Practice of Discrimination*, Ontario, CA: Ontario Human Rights Commission; Walker, *The West Indians in Canada*; Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario;" Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*.

[10] see Ramcharan, *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*; ibid., "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada;" Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario,"

[11] For example, see Rosalie Silberman Abella. 1984. *Equality in Employment: A Royal Commission Report,* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada; Frances Henry and Effie Ginzberg. 1985. *Who Gets the Work? A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment*, Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations and the Social Planning of Metropolitan Toronto.

however, it explores how Afro-Trini[12] immigrants, a numerically strong segment of this population, from the island of Trinidad, perceived the occupational and social mobility changes brought on by migration and the upward mobility barriers they hold to have encountered. In addition, the responses or strategies they adopted to overcome the perceived upward mobility barriers as they thrived to ascend the occupational and social mobility ladder in Canada will also be examined. Twenty adult female and male Afro-Trini immigrants have been selected for this study. All arrived in Canada at various ages between the late 1960s and 1980 and lived in the Greater Toronto Area when they were interviewed in 1998.

In the Caribbean region's archipelago of islands, Trinidad and Tobago, a twin-island republic, comprises its southernmost islands. Trinidad, the larger of the two islands, is small to international standards and measures only 1,863 square miles. It extends 89 miles from north to south and 38 miles from east to west and is situated 10 to 11 degrees north of the equator just off the northeast coast of Venezuela. Tobago, on the other hand, measures 116 square miles and extends 26 miles northeast to southwest and 7 miles northwest to southeast. Tobago is only 19 miles northeast of Trinidad (see Figure 1.1).

Despite its small size, Trinidad is the only 'joint-island' nation in the Caribbean region that presently has two numerically strong diaspora populations, African and Indian. In 1994, the African and Indian groups together amounted to 80 percent, 39.6 percent African descent and 40.3 percent Indian descent, of the total population of 1.3 million.

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[12] Trini is the popular term used by the people of Trinidad, and not necessarily of Tobago, who live at home, as well as abroad, to identify themselves. And so, Afro-Trini, as used throughout this study, defines the black segment of the population from Trinidad. At times, black will be used in place of Afro-Trini.

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Figure 1.1
Map of Tranidad and Tobago

Puerto Rico | Saint John | Saint Thomas | Anguilla
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San Juan
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Nevis
Montserrat | Guadeloupe

Lesser Antilles

Dominica

Martinique

Saint Lucia

Saint Vincent | Barbados

Grenada

Tortuga | Isla de Margarita | **Trinidad and Tobago**

Venezuela

0 — 200 miles
0 — 200 kilometers

Tobago | Speyside
Scarborough

Las Cuevas Bay
Maracas Bay

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Port of Spain | Arima

Sangre Grande | Manzanilla Point

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The mixed segment of the population is also significant. In 1994, 18.4 percent of the population was of mixed parentage, while the White, Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese groups were very small and individually less than 1 percent of the population.

Defining the Situation

The major theoretical thrust of this study is to explore not only "what" occupational and social status these 20 Afro-Trini immigrants attained after many years in Canada, but more so "how" they have been able to attain them in light of perceived upward mobility barriers that they believed confronted them. Thus, coupled with a comparison of their immediate pre-migration occupational status position and their initial post-migration occupational status position, this question calls for an examination of how they perceived the various mobility changes from their initial post-migration occupational status position to the occupational status position attained at the time of interview. What is definitely involved here, therefore, is their definition of the situation of economic incorporation as they make relative comparisons between their immediate pre-migration occupational status position held in Trinidad, their initial post-migration occupational status position acquired upon migration to Canada, and their various subsequent post-migration occupational status positions attained during their many years in Canada. It is in this context we will be able to explore how their responses to the upward mobility barriers that they believed confronted them in the Canada were shaped by their perceptions of them.

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The following major research questions reflect the theoretical perspectives that guided the analysis of the data that was conducted in later chapters. The first major research question is:

> To what extent do immigrants' perceptions of occupational and social mobility in Canada relate to the level of mobility expectations they held prior to migration?

People who intend to migrate voluntarily from their home society will have a perception of the host society they intend to enter. This perception will greatly underscore their principal motivation for migrating and what they expect to result from migrating. Very much like other Afro-Caribbean people, therefore, Afro-Trini people will likely pin the achievement of their upward mobility aspirations on migrating from Trinidad to Canada where employment opportunities are believed to be within reach of anyone who wants them. In this respect, their upward mobility aspirations will center around their hope of bettering the occupational and social status that they had held immediately prior to their departure from Trinidad through the acquisition of higher status and higher income jobs in Canada. In fact, insofar as many of them would not have been unemployed immediately prior to their departure from Trinidad,[13] they will not be seeking any kind of job in Canada but rather high-status and high-income jobs. Moreover, when it comes to those formerly employed middle class members of the professional and clerical ranks in Trinidad, they would migrate resolute in their quest to better exploit their education, skill, and training in Canada. In addition, when there are children in the intended migrant family, especially teenagers and young adults, and their

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[13] see Elsa Chaney. 1979. "Peoples on the Move: An International Perspective on Caribbean Migration" in Richard Millet and W. Marvin Will (eds), *The Restless Caribbean: Changing Patterns of International Relations*, New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 37-41.

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future is also strongly hinged on the migration of their parents, the motivation to migrate becomes so much stronger.

There are three initial occupational and social mobility trajectories that immigrants may perceive that they have experienced with migration, upward, horizontal, and downward.[14] First, the perception that an initial upward change in occupational and social status has been achieved would be as a result of the relative comparison that immigrants would make with the initial occupational and social status acquired with migration to a host society to the occupational and social status they had held immediately prior to migration from their home society. Afro-Trini immigrants will therefore perceive that they have experienced their much aspired initial upward occupational and social mobility with the acquisition of jobs in Canada that they consider to be of a higher status and higher income to what they had recently left behind in Trinidad. Their level of satisfaction with their migration from Trinidad would therefore be directly related to their perception that they had experienced initial upward occupational and social mobility in Canada. Consequently, those Afro-Trini immigrants who were members of Trinidad's working class immediately prior to migration, for example, would be satisfied to have acquired initial jobs in Canada that they consider would provide them with the necessary status and income to simultaneously place them in the ranks of Trinidad's and Canada's middle class.

Afro-Trini immigrants may also perceive that migration has resulted in initial horizontal occupational and social mobility. This mobility trajectory is generally depicted as one in which there has been no change in status when one either changes occupations

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[14] see Harry H. Hiller. 2000. *Canadian Society: A Macro Analysis*, (4th), Toronto, ON: Prentice-Hall, 103-104 for an additional description of these mobility trajectories.

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that have similar status or remains in the same occupation and status with migration. In this regard, an Afro-Trini immigrant whose occupation in Trinidad immediately prior to migration was that of a teacher would consider that he/she was a member of the middle class, professional ranks in Trinidad and would not perceive to have experienced either a change in occupation or status if his/her initial occupation in Canada was that of a teacher. However, even though the prestige afforded a teacher in the Caribbean social context may be higher than that afforded to a member of the teaching profession in Canada's, it is the immigrant's perception that no initial change in his/her occupational and social status has resulted from migration that would be paramount. As such, those immigrants who perceive that they had made an initial horizontal transfer from middle class, professional status in Trinidad to middle class, professional status in Canada would be satisfied with their migration.

The more common mobility trajectory that immigrants may perceive that they have experienced with migration, however, is initial downward occupational and social mobility.[15] Afro-Trini immigrants may perceive that initial downward occupational and social mobility was the result of their migration from Trinidad to Canada when they view the initial jobs that they acquired in Canada as of a lower status, though not necessarily of a lower income comparatively speaking, to the jobs that they had recently left behind in Trinidad. More often than not, these low-status jobs would be temporary and part-time, not permanent and fulltime, and would be located in Canada's secondary labor market.[16]

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[15] see Ramcharan, *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*; ibid., "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada;" Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario,"

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Moreover, these jobs would be considered far from commensurate to the education, skill, and training of many Afro-Trini immigrants. In situations of such sharp occupational dislocation, immigrants may perceive that they have experienced initial downward occupational and social mobility with migration, may suffer from severe initial status loss, and may become very despondent and dissatisfied with their migration to Canada.[17]

Consequently, the second major research question therefore is:

How would immigrants respond when they believe that the mobility expectations that they held prior to migration were not being realized because of perceived upward mobility barriers?

Because of the deep-seated cultural notion harbored by Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, people that migration must surely lead to socioeconomic success abroad as well as at home,[18] oftentimes they do not expect that their upward mobility aspirations may not be easily achieved, if at all. In fact, the idea that there may be upward mobility barriers that immigrants will have to confront and surmount in a host society may hardly

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"best," high-status and high-income jobs are located, "bad," low-status and low-income jobs are located in the secondary labor. see Edna Bonacich. 1972. "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market," *American Sociological Review* 37 (October): 547-559.

[17] see Ramcharan, *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*; ibid., "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada." Such severe status loss was also experienced by Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Britain, especially those who had held white collar jobs at home. see Vaughn Robinson. 1990. "Roots to mobility: the social mobility of Britain's black population, 1971-87," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13, 2 (April): 274-286.

[18] see Orlando Patterson. 1978. "Migration in Caribbean Societies: Socioeconomic and Symbolic Resource" in William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (ed.), *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 106-145; Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. 1978. "The Establishment of Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" in Colin G. Clarke (ed.), *Caribbean Social Relations*, The University of Liverpool, Centre for Latin-American Studies, Monograph Series No. 8: 66-81; Hymie Rubenstein. 1987. *Coping with Poverty: Adaptive Strategies in a Caribbean Village*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

be considered. As Thomas-Hope relates of aspiring immigrants from Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Vincent: "People showed surprise whenever I raised the question of the risk of not obtaining suitable employment, housing, and the like. This was rarely contemplated and in the course of the interview usually dismissed as being of little real consequence."[19] It is thus more than likely that Afro-Trini people who intend to migrate to Canada may show more concern for the change of weather than for anything else.

On arriving in Canada, however, Afro-Trini immigrants, especially the more well-educated, skilled, and trained, may be quite surprised or shocked to be confronted by upward mobility barriers, upward mobility barriers that they may perceive as racist, that prevent them from acquiring their hoped for jobs. Various scholars have identified the upward mobility barriers that Afro-Caribbean, and other non-white, immigrants have consistently perceived as racist. For example, Canadian employers' insistence that they should have "Canadian experience" as well as the non-recognition of their academic qualifications and occupational experiences because they were obtained in their home society were seen as major racist upward mobility barriers to their acquisition of the jobs they sought in Canada. Additionally, those with university degrees obtained in their home country also felt that they experienced greater difficulty in the labor market than similarly qualified white Canadian-born employees. This was seen as a problem of credentialism in which such qualified non-white immigrants found their university degrees discounted, their professional qualifications unrecognized, and their trade diplomas useless. Qualified non-white immigrants also believed that they were denied promotion through the

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[19] see Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. 1980. "Hopes and Reality in the West Indian Migration to Britain," *Oral History* 8, 1-2: 35-42.

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occupational ranks in favor of less qualified white Canadian-born employees.[20] Thus, securing the aspired jobs or rising up the mobility ladder to much better jobs may oftentimes not be perceived as easy by Afro-Trini immigrants.

One early response or strategy that Afro-Trini immigrants may adopt when faced with such perceived upward mobility barriers would be to initially lower their sights and adjust in any way they can to this reality. Plaza, for example, reports on how the university educated Afro-Caribbean men in his study had to readjust their opinion of race relations in Canada as well as on how they had to come to the realization or "...admit that this is a racist society." They also believed that they had to be "mentally strong," "...be twice as good and work twice as hard," "learn how the real hiring and promotion game worked," and get "into business for themselves..."[21] There are other strategies that have been identified. James, Henry, and Plaza have identified bettering one's education as being the most important.[22] James also identified that his respondents, black youth,

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[20] see Head, *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and the Practice of Discrimination*; Monica Boyd. 1985. "Immigration and Occupational Attainment in Canada" in Monica Boyd, John Goyder, Frank E. Jones, Hugh H. McRoberts, Peter C. Pineo, and John Porter (eds.), *Ascription and Achievement: Studies in Mobility and Status Attainment in Canada*, Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 393-445; Kathryn McDade. 1988. *Barriers to Recognition of the Credentials of Immigrants in Canada*, Ottawa, ON: Institute for Research on Social Policy; Frances Henry, Carol Tator, Winston Mathis, and Tim Rees. 1995. *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, Toronto, ON: Harcourt Brace & Company; Gurcham S. Basran and Li Zong. 1998. "Devaluation of Foreign Credentials as Perceived by Visible Minority Professional Immigrants," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 30, 3: 6-23; Gerald V. Paul. 2000. "Immigrants worse off today-study," *Caribbean Camera* 00/13 (March 23): 1.

[21] see Plaza, "The Strategies and Strategizing of University Educated Black Caribbean-born Men in Toronto: A Study of Occupation and Income Achievements" 235-268.

[22] see Carl E. James. 1990. *Making It: Black Youth, Racism and Career Aspirations in a Big City*, Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press; ibid.. 1993. "Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience" in Paul Anisef and Paul Axelrod (eds.), *Transitions:*

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believed that even though they may have solid educational qualifications: "'It is getting the right contacts, and who you know' that will eventually help them in obtaining jobs and reaching their career goals."[23] Finally, Zureik and Hiscott report that some of the non-white respondents in their study "suggested saying nothing and working harder in response to instances of discrimination."[24] What the adoption of these various mobility strategies signify is that even though Afro-Trini immigrants would most likely be impelled to reevaluate their upward mobility aspirations, they may not necessarily abandon them. In keeping their mobility dreams alive, they would thus not passively accept this definition of the situation but instead aggressively revise or develop new strategies as they confront and, hopefully, surmount perceived upward mobility barriers in Canada.

Significance of the Study

Specifically, as a contributor to the sociology of Afro-Caribbean immigrants' lived experiences of migration, race relations, and immigrant adjustment in a new land, this study is especially valuable. Though the lived experiences of Afro-Trini immigrants are customarily deeply masked by those of Afro-Caribbean immigrants, this study was able to carve out such facets of their lived experiences in Canada. In so doing, it has

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Schooling and Employment in Canada, Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 3-20; Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*; Plaza, "The Strategies and Strategizing of University Educated Black Caribbean-born Men in Toronto: A Study of Occupation and Income Achievements,"

[23] see James, "Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience" 10.

[24] see E. Zureik and Robert Hiscott. 1983. *The Experience of Visible Minorities in the Work World: The Case of MBA Graduates*, Report Submitted to the Race Relations Division of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, Ontario Ministry of Labour, 84.

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firmly departed from all other studies, except Turrittin's,[25] that have been conducted over

a thirty year period since the beginning of the large-scale entry of Afro-Caribbean

immigrants into Canada in the late 1960s. All of these studies have examined the Afro-

Caribbean immigrant population as a whole rather than immigrants from particular

Caribbean countries.[26] While this study is pioneering in this respect, it is also the first of

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[25] see Jane Sawyer Turrittin. 1976. "Networks and Mobility: The Case of West Indian
Domestics from Montserrat," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 13, 3:
305-320; ibid.. 1979. "We don't look for prejudice: Migrant mobility culture among lower
status West Indian women from Montserrat" in Jean Leonard Elliott (ed.), *Two Nations,
Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada*, Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall, 311-324.
[26] For example, see Frances Henry. 1968. "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in
Canada," *Social and Economic Studies*, 17, 1 (March): 83-91; Ramcharan, *The
Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*; ibid., "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians
in Toronto, Canada"; Hugh Armstrong and Pat Armstrong. 1975. "The segregated
participation of women in the Canadian labour force 1941-71," *Canadian Review of
Sociology and Anthropology*, 12, 4 (Part 1): 370-384; Walker, *The West Indians in Canada*;
Abigail Bakan. 1987. "The International Market for Female Labour and Individual
Deskilling: West Indian Women Workers in Toronto," *Canadian Journal of Latin American
and Caribbean Studies* 12, 24: 69-85; Frances Henry. 1987. "Caribbean Migration to
Canada: Prejudices and Opportunity" in Levine, *The Caribbean Exodus*, 214-222; ibid.,
The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism; Ruth L. Harris.
1988. "Transformation of Canadian Policies and Programs to Recruit Foreign Labor: The
Case of Caribbean Female Domestic Workers, 1950's-1980's," Ph.D. diss., Michigan
State University, East Lansing, MI.; Anthony H. Richmond. 1988. "Caribbean Immigrants
in Britain and Canada: Socio-economic Adjustment," *International Migration* 26, 4
(December): 365-385; Agnes Calliste. 1989. (a) "Canada's Immigration Policy and
Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme" in Jesse Vorst (ed.), *Race,
Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers*, Socialist Studies 5: 133-165; Mendoza, "An
Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences
of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario;" Anthony H. Richmond. 1990. "The Income of
Caribbean Immigrants in Canada" in Shiva S. Halli, Frank Trovato, and Leo Driedger (eds.),
Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations, Ottawa, ON:
Carleton University Press, 363-379; R. G. Cecil and G. E. Ebanks. 1991. "The Human
Condition of West Indian Migrant Farm Labour in Southwestern Ontario," *International
Migration Review* 29, 3 (September): 389-404; ibid.. 1992. "The Caribbean Migrant Farm
Worker Programme in Ontario: Seasonal Expansion of West Indian Economic Spaces,"
International Migration Review 30, 1 (March): 19-36; Mike Stone. 1992. "Still 'Goin'
Foreign': An Examination of Caribbean Migration to North America," Masters of Arts
Degree, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada; Sheldon Eric Alister Taylor. 1994.
"'Darkening The Complexion of Canadian Society,' Black Activism, Policy-Making and
Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s," Ph.D. diss., University

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its kind to explore the economic incorporation experiences of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada from Trinidad. This pioneering and singular study has therefore opened the door for social scientists to conduct more research along this line. One major advantage in pursuing such country-specific research on Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada is that it would lead to the identification of similarities and differences in the economic incorporation experiences of black immigrants from different Caribbean countries when they "meet up" in the same white host society. Interview data gathered in this study drew attention to the need for such a country-specific, comparative approach.

Organization and Details of the Study

This study consists of this introductory chapter, Chapter 1, which provides the general background character, scope, and aim of the research, and 9 other chapters divided into 4 thematic parts.

Chapter 2 begins Part 1, Theoretical and Methodological Perspective, by mapping out the theoretical framework that guided the study. This exercise is conducted by first examining whether the assimilation concept is useful for describing what transpires when non-white immigrants enter a white host society. It is argued that assimilation, which was conceptualized to describe how European or white immigrants were expected to adjust to life in American society, a society in which the majority members were of European stock, could not adequately describe or even predict the adjustment experiences of non-European or non-white immigrants in this white host society. Incorporation was thus the

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preferred concept used in this study. Unlike assimilation, it does not presuppose the complete cultural and structural absorption of immigrants in a host society.

In addition, especially in its consideration of a variety of determinative factors at both ends of the migration chain that influence immigrants' economic incorporation experiences, the theoretical framework presents the multivariate model of immigrant adaptation developed by Goldlust and Richmond. In conducting this study, foremost guidance is derived from this model. Of crucial significance, the model allows for the bridging of immigrants' pre-migration characteristics, for example, their level of education, skill, and training; such demographic characteristics as sex, age, and age at arrival as well as their motivations for migrating, for example, economic motives, to situational determinants of immigrants' economic incorporation experiences in a host society. A major situational determinant that the model provides is the nature and role of a host society's social stratification system. In the case of Canada, this is vitally important because its system of social stratification lays the conditions for the differential access to occupational and social mobility opportunities between ethnic groups, both native and foreign. The framework therefore furnishes us with insights into how significant race is to Afro-Caribbean immigrants' economic incorporation experiences in Canada. The final component of the model is immigrants' length of residence which, in interacting with immigrants' pre-migration characteristics and motivations of migration and the situational determinants, is very determinative of their economic incorporation experiences. One limitation of the model, however, is that it does not take into consideration the interplay between culture and economics in certain immigrant groups' decision and propensity to

migrate. This limitation is addressed by an analysis of the role that culture plays in Afro-Caribbean migration.

The methodological aspect of the research is also presented in Part 1. The methodology as displayed in Chapter 3 comprises that of a combined qualitative and quantitative approach that is decidedly more qualitative even though relying strongly on quantitative data. The qualitative methodology consists principally of data generation and analysis from intensive, semi-structured interviews, more in the form of controlled conversational interviews, that occurred between the months of September and December 1998, together with participant observation that occurred between June 1997 and June 1999. In the main, the quantitative methodology involves the perusal, analysis, and presentation of primary immigration flow and census stock data, some in original tables, on the Caribbean immigrant, Caribbean-origin, white Canadian-born, and the Chinese, South Asian, and Black non-white populations in Canada and, especially, in the province of Ontario and in the Greater Toronto Area from 1956 to 1996. A decided focus of this methodology was to furnish quantitative data to provide a socio-demographic profile of the Afro-Trini immigrant population in the Greater Toronto Area as well as comparative education, occupation, and income quantitative data on these various mentioned groups.

Chapter 4, the first of the 2 chapters in Part II, Migration and Socio-Demographic Characteristics, explores the culture of migration that developed amongst Afro-Caribbean people in general and Afro-Trini people in particular that led to their early migration to areas within the Caribbean, Central America, and South American regions. This early migration was the precursor to the more contemporary, enlarged, and ongoing migration principally to access educational and employment opportunities that they considered

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limited in the Caribbean region and more available in Canada, United States, and Britain. For Afro-Trini people, one question this chapter therefore seeks to answer is, Why migrate?

What do we know about the Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, immigrants who have sought such upward mobility opportunities in Canada? Using select census stock and immigration flow data from the 1996 Canadian census, Chapter 5 draws a statistical portrait not only of the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago but also of the immigrant populations from Jamaica, Guyana, and Haiti, the other principal source countries of Caribbean migration to Canada. Together with examining the sizes, provincial destinations, and settlement patterns of these Caribbean immigrant populations, the socio-demographic characteristics considered were their sex composition, age distribution, marital status and family organization, and homeownership. An attempt was also made to draw out the race characteristics of the Caribbean immigrant population so as have a more definitive portrait of the Afro-Trini segment of the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago.

The statistical portrait of the Afro-Trini immigrant in Canada that emerged is that, since the late 1960s, they are residentially concentrated in the province of Ontario and in the Greater Toronto Area, in particular; there may be more female than male immigrants; they are mostly in their most productive working years, 25 to 44; and, proportionately-wise, they are a significant tile in the Caribbean-origin mosaic in Canada, in the province of Ontario, and in the Greater Toronto Area. This statistical portrait did not only confirm the choice of the Greater Toronto Area as the best site to provide the participants for this study but it also provided the statistical backdrop to help illuminate the analysis of the pre-migration and

post-migration socio-demographic characteristics of the Afro-Trini participants conducted in the next chapter.

Part III, Analysis of Data, presents the most original segment of the study in Chapters 6 to 9. Chapter 6 deals specifically with presenting a variety of important pre-migration and post-migration socio-demographic characteristics of the 20 adult Afro-Trini immigrants who participated in this study. These socio-demographic characteristics consist of these participants' sex, age, age at arrival, length of residence in Canada, marital status, the number and age of oldest Trini-born children at time of their arrival in Canada and number of Canadian-born children at time of interview, and homeownership. Their pattern of migration, auspices or the classes under which they were admitted into Canada, and motivations for migration were also addressed. These socio-demographic characteristics and patterns, auspices, and motivations for migration serve an extremely important function in providing us with a better insight into how these Afro-Trini participants perceived and responded to their lived experiences in the Canadian economy.

The Afro-Trini participants were therefore somewhat evenly divided by gender. There were 9 women and 11 men. They were between the ages of 25 and 64 years, with women relatively younger than men, at the time of interview in 1998. Having spent most of their most productive working years in Canada, all of them had, therefore, migrated when they were relatively young. In fact, while 50 percent of them arrived between the ages of 15 and 24, the remaining 50 percent migrated between the ages of 25 and 44, that is, during their most productive working years. This age distribution was very consistent to that of Caribbean immigrants who migrated to Canada from the late 1960s and continuing. Additionally, more than half of the participants were legally married, with

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more married men than women. Close to 50 percent of them also migrated to Canada

with children ranging between the ages of 1 to 9 years. By 1998, all of them had also

owned their homes. It was also the case that they were admitted into Canada under near

all of the auspices, that is, admission classes, under which immigrants were admitted into

Canada between the late 1960s and 1980. They, therefore, arrived under the student,

visitor, independent, assisted relative, and family member classes. Chain migration,

whereby an immigrant follows a relative or friend who had migrated before, was a

dominant pattern of their migration.

The major motivations they advanced were very revealing of the great store they

placed on migration as the principal means to access educational and employment

opportunities in Canada. These major motivations also showed the indelible link that the

majority of them believes exist between education, occupation, and income. In a table

format, their major migration motivations are classified under three general categories,

with the majority of them advancing motivations classified under the category, Upward

Occupational and Social Mobility. Sixty-five percent of the sample, divided into 6 female

and 7 male participants stated that they migrated: "to continue my education," "to offer

my children a better future," "to get a good job," "to better myself...I was not pleased

with the way my life was progressing," and "the whole notion of being abroad and

studying abroad was appealing to me." Under the general category, Kith and Kin, 15

percent of the sample, divided into 1 female and 2 males reported that their major

motivations for migrating to Canada were: "I initially came on vacation because my sister

was here" and "to join my girlfriend who had come up to study." Meanwhile, the

remaining 20 percent of the sample, divided equally into 2 female and 2 male participants

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indicated that they migrated mainly because: "I needed a break...I needed to get away," "I performed at Expo 67 in Montreal with a bunch of musicians...we liked the place so much all the guys wanted to stay but we were scared...I came back in 1969," and "as a young man, I had this yearning to see the world." Their major motivations were classified under the general category of Change of Lifestyle (Sense of Adventure).

What was especially striking in the various major motivations for migration that were advanced was that, like most other Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada, the majority of these Afro-Trini immigrants stated that their primary motivation for migration was to improve their, and their children's, educational and occupational standing. Undoubtedly, this had a great deal to do with the value that they placed on education as a vehicle to upward occupational and social mobility. This was demonstrated by the fact that 75 percent of them, comprising of 6 women and 9 men, migrated with secondary and post-secondary/technical education. From the review of their major motivations for migration, it was also quite clear that they expected to acquire jobs that were of a higher status and higher income, or at least equal, to what they had left behind in Trinidad and placed great faith on their education, skill, and training to achieve this mobility dream.

Utilizing four original tables, Chapter 7 examines the participants' experiences of occupational and social mobility and the perceptions they hold of the occupational and social status changes that resulted from their migration. To have a better comparative picture of the participants' experiences and perceptions, 16 non-student participants were chosen because they were employed in Trinidad in the period immediately before migrating and were initially employed in Canada upon migrating. The first table

compared these participants' immediate pre-migration occupational status in Trinidad and their initial post-migration occupational status in Canada. It was found that 7 of the 16 employable participants who were in professional and clerical jobs in Trinidad immediately before migrating experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility when they were obliged to accept temporary, low-status jobs, especially sales and service jobs, in Canada. A more revealing picture of what these participants experienced with migration was gleaned when the comparison was extended to cover each participant's change in occupational status rather than making a comparison solely on the number of them in the different occupational categories they fell under before and after migration. It was now found that 10 or 62.5 percent of them had experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility, with the majority being male participants. Some had held professional jobs as teachers and police officers immediately before migrating. These participants felt a steep sense of status loss and were particularly dissatisfied and despondent with their move to Canada. On the other hand, 2 female participants were fortunate enough to experience initial upward interoccupational mobility and 4 experienced horizontal intraoccupational mobility.

The third originally constructed table revealed whether the participants, especially those who had experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility, may have been able to improve their occupational and social status in Canada. This table therefore compared the participants' initial post-migration occupational status and the occupational status they acquired at the time of interview in 1998. It was initially found that 9 or 57.25 percent of the employable participants were in a higher-status occupational category and, as such, had experienced upward interoccupational mobility. Since some of the

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participants either were self-employed, unemployed, or retired at the time of the interview, this synchronic comparison of participants' occupational status could not reveal what occupational mobility changes these and other immigrants had experienced over their working lives in Canada. Moreover, we could not know whether some of the participants who were in a higher occupational category at the time of interview had in fact attained the occupational status that they had lost with migration. If this were the case for some of them then their upward interoccupational mobility would be more apparent than real. The fourth table, the transition matrix of intra- and interoccupational mobility, was constructed with these concerns in mind. This table provided partial occupational case histories of each of the 16 employable participants that covered their occupational mobility trajectories from their initial post-migration occupational status to the occupational status attained at the time of interview. It turned out that only 1 participant, who had experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility when her status changed from professional to clerical with migration, was unable to better her occupational status at the time of interview. Furthermore, she was unemployed at the time of interview.

Utilizing the dimensions of democratic racism, a form of racism that is said to aptly describe the racism that exists in Canada, Chapter 8 explores the 20 participants' perceptions of the racism they alleged to have encountered in Canadian society in general and in the Canadian labor market in particular. The dimensions of perceived racism were everyday, cultural, individual, systemic, and institutional. What stood out in the participants' reports of the perceived racism encountered was that they did not anticipate to encounter racism of any kind in Canada. However, very soon upon entering Canada,

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they became quite aware that their race would significantly influence and structure the relationship that they were to have with white Canadians. Moreover, they felt that their experiences in the Canadian labor market, especially in their receipt of initial, and subsequent, low-status jobs, had a lot to do with racism. The upward mobility barriers that they reported that they faced were therefore seen as racially-based. Moreover, the reported upward mobility barriers have been described by various scholars as representative of the systemic and institutional racism that is said to exist in Canada.

The reported upward mobility barriers that the participants perceived as racist were: (a) Being offered mostly temporary, low-status jobs that were not commensurate to their education, skill, and training. (b) Denial of desired jobs because of a lack of Canadian experience. (c) Being denied job interviews because your Caribbean accent signified your race. (d) Putting an X on my aptitude test results because I am black. (e) Being told that you are too qualified. (f) Résumés signifying job applicants' race and being used to screen them out. (g) Earning less money than similarly placed white employees. (h) Being passed over for promotion despite having qualifications similar to or better than white employees. (i) As the only non-white member of a work group, in not having your contributions valued nor acted upon as if they came from you.

Quantitative evidence provided in this chapter strongly supported the participants' perceptions of the racist upward mobility barriers they alleged they encountered in the Canadian labor market. Education, occupation, and income data from the 1996 Canadian census on the Caribbean-origin population, white Canadian-born population, Chinese, South Asian, and Black non-white populations were compared in original tables. It was found that even though members of the Caribbean-origin, and in train Afro-Caribbean

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and Afro-Trini immigrants, were as educated as members of the white Canadian-born population and more so in certain fields, they were not in the same occupations in near equal proportions. For example, a higher proportion of members of the Caribbean-origin population was in manufacturing occupations than members of the white Canadian-born population. On the other hand, a smaller proportion of the Caribbean-origin population was in management occupations than members of the white Canadian-born population. A somewhat similar disproportionate pattern was discerned in the distribution of income. Thus, not only were their occupations not commensurate to their education but their incomes as well. Another original table compared the income levels of the Chinese, South Asian, and Black populations in Canada. This table showed that Blacks did not fare as well as Chinese and South Asians. Overall, these findings were also confirmed by research data provided in various studies. For example, one study showed that female and male immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago who lived in the City of Toronto and worked fulltime in 1995 received considerably lower incomes than white Canadian-born women and men.

The ways in which the Afro-Trini participants responded or the strategies they adopted to surmount the upward mobility barriers that they perceived as racist and which they alleged they encountered are discussed in Chapter 9. This chapter also identifies that the participants steadfastly held on to the belief that migration must lead to socioeconomic success in Canada. The belief that there is indelible link between migration and socioeconomic success was historically rooted for Afro-Caribbean people and it underpinned the institutionalization and culture of their migration in search of educational and employment opportunities abroad. Many, therefore, arrived armed with

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roadmaps to successfully achieve their major migration goals. These roadmaps mainly comprised their use of their education, skill, and training, and improving on this set of human capital, to acquire the high-status and high-income jobs that they sought. Accordingly, these participants did not migrate to fail and when confronted by what they perceived to be racist upward mobility barriers they were very tenacious and militant in challenging and surmounting them. In fact, only one participant resigned himself to his fate.

Not being at all satisfied with their first, and subsequent, jobs, these immigrants, especially men who had held professional jobs in Trinidad and had experienced the steepest decline in occupational status with the initial, low-status sales and service jobs, they were obliged to accept, for example, demonstrated their tenacity and militancy by engaging in many voluntary occupational disruptions and rapid occupational mobility changes. As such, they frequently and quickly abandoned what they considered to be poor jobs even though invariably they did not acquire others that were much better. Other participants were also quick to abandon temporary, low-status jobs with their first brush with perceived racism.

In order to acquire jobs that they considered were better than the low-status jobs that many participants were obliged to initially accept upon migrating, they had to "learn the ropes" to upward occupational and social mobility in Canada. This "learning of the ropes" involved their learning to adopt and deploy various upward mobility strategies. These upward mobility strategies are direct responses to the upward mobility barriers that the participants perceived as racist. In the manner in which the participants articulated them, the upward mobility strategies comprised of: (a) Gaining Work Experience: "I sent

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her my résumé and that time my résumé was full." (b) Developing Networks: "…because my father had always told me to get to know people in position and influence who may be able to help me along the way. I developed a list of contacts. I learnt that for my own survival and that has helped me tremendously along the way." (c) Knowing Hiring Practices: "What I was told that I had to do was to seek out work in the warehouse parking boxes and doing other heavy lifting work to get into the company." (d) Deflating Qualifications: "I was warned by my wife not to volunteer information about all of my qualifications. That I should only tell them what they need to know…that if I let them know all that I have, I will not get the job." (e) Improving Education, Skill, and Training: "I went to Seneca College for awhile to brush up on my typing, math, and spelling in order to get a job…I wanted to go into office work so I went back to school." (f) Being Self-Employed: "…I do not need this pressure. I am going to work for myself…"

The study is concluded in Chapter 10 in <u>Part IV, Summary and Conclusions.</u> Most of the discussion is taken up with summarizing and discussing the main findings of this study as well as with providing answers to the two major research questions posed in this chapter. A few key aspects of this study were also highlighted in this chapter. Chief amongst them was the advantages in utilizing a multivariate model to explore how non-white immigrants adjust to life in a white host society. For one, the model made room for the use of a concept, other than assimilation, to describe the adjustment of non-white immigrants in a white host society. Most importantly, though, it made room for the incorporation of immigrants' race as a significant situational determinant of immigrants' economic incorporation experiences. However, though the model was considerate of the various reasons that account for immigrants' decision to migrate, it did not consider the

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manner in which culture may influence immigrants' economic motives for migration. For Afro-Caribbean, and Afro-Trini, immigrants, the central role that culture plays in their migratory decision-making process must be considered.

Certain methodological deficiencies that became apparent as the study progressed were also identified in the reflective section of this chapter. A most important deficiency turned out to be the smallness of the sample of participants. It quickly became obvious as the analysis of the interview data progressed, that the smallness of the sample did not furnish me with an adequate amount of data from each participant. Consequently, I found myself having to rely on too few participants to furnish me with the information I sought. Snowball sampling, the technique used to gather the majority of the participants, was largely responsible for the seeming lack of representativeness of my findings. Nonetheless, this deficiency was offset by the individuality and distinctiveness of the participants and the intensive knowledge gathered on their economic incorporation experiences. This may not have been offered by a larger sample size. In addition, the lack of much needed census stock and immigration flow data that would have provided a better socio-demographic profile of the immigrant population under study also severely constrained the analysis of the interview data gathered. Fortunately, the availability of primary census and secondary data on the Caribbean-origin population, especially, attenuated the negative effects of this deprivation.

Finally, an important direction that future research of this kind should follow was pointed out in this concluding chapter. Historically, the Greater Toronto Area has been the principal urban center where Caribbean black immigrants seek a better life in Canada. However, the Greater Toronto is not only the site where "black immigrants meet white

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hosts," it is also the site where "black immigrants 'meet up' with black immigrants in a white host society." Regardless of race, the meeting of immigrants is not always amicable. And, when they all tend to want the same educational and employment opportunities, the competition between them can be very intense. In such a situation, especially where immigrants may be of the same race but of different ethnicity, they usually engage in process of ethnic disidentification. This process of ethnic disidentification has been described as immigrants wanting to maintain their ethnic distinctiveness, be it religion, food, or language, so as to differentiate and so distance themselves from other immigrants who are similarly racially located.

On top of that, when members of an immigrant group also carry an imposed stigma, as Jamaicans do in the Greater Toronto Area, that deem them criminals, other black immigrants, such as Afro-Trini immigrants, tend to differentiate and distance themselves as much as possible from such immigrants because of the fear of being so stigmatized. From interview data gathered, this fear appeared real for many participants. Moreover, they were also very concerned that such an imposed stigma will seriously limit their economic chances in the Canadian labor market. What is being called for here, then, is for more comparative and cross-cultural research of this nature when "black immigrants 'meet up' with black immigrants in a white host society."

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CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The incorporation of immigrants in a host society does not necessarily depend on the complete relinquishing of national ties and cultural distinctiveness and their replacement with those of a host society as presupposed by assimilation. Moreover, it also does not necessarily depend on their full absorption in the major structures of a host society. It entails, instead, the extent of their involvement in institutions, the construction of social ties, participation in sociocultural activities, and, most important, equal access to the rewards that the economic and political systems generate and distribute. Incorporation, then, is a matter of degree.[1] And, it is also a dual process that depends a great deal on whether members of the majority population willingly or grudgingly accept immigrants who seek greater involvement in a host society.[2]

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that guided this study. One major issue that had to be faced in developing this theoretical framework was the selection of the term that appropriately describes the experiences of immigrants when they enter a host society. Terms such as acculturation, assimilation, cultural pluralism, incorporation, integration, melting pot, mosaic, and multiculturalism are used interchangeably in the migration literature on inter-group relations to describe what transpires when

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[1] Raymond Breton, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach, and Jeffrey G. Reitz. 1990. *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 7.

[2] David Theo Goldberg. 1993. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 220.

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"immigrants meet hosts."[3] Assimilation, however, is the term more commonly used by

migration scholars.[4]

The major problem with the use of the term assimilation though is that it is most

often presented as a process with a preordained outcome whereby immigrant populations

get progressively closer, at most culturally, to the majority population. Although it is the

premise of this study that the term incorporation is integral to an understanding of the

experiences of Afro-Trini immigrants in Canada, it might be useful to begin by

examining the principal features of the term assimilation in order to illustrate the utility of

the term incorporation.

Conceptualizing Immigrant-Host Society Contact

During the 1920s, the term assimilation was vastly developed by United States'

sociologists of the early Chicago School to examine the processes of social and cultural

change set in motion as European immigrants began their second journey, their insertion

into mainstream American life.[5] One of the earliest and most influential definitions of

assimilation was provided by Park and Burgess who suggested that assimilation, which

arises out of the context of immigration, is a "process of interpenetration and fusion in

which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other

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[3] Milton Gordon has surveyed the accumulated usages and meanings of the terms used to describe the processes and the results of the meeting of people. see Milton Gordon. 1964. *Assimilation in American Life*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 60-68.

[4] see, for example, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess. 1924. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*.

[5] Marcelo Suarez-Orozco. 2000. "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Assimilation But Were Afraid to Ask," *Daedalus* 129, 4: 8.

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persons or groups, and, by sharing experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life."[6]

For over fifty years since then, assimilation remained the dominant American paradigm to describe what arises out of the contact between immigrants and a host society, with Anglo-conformity and Melting Pot as two projected outcomes. Anglo-conformity refers to the complete surrender of immigrants' ancestral culture, symbols, and values and their absorption of the behavior and values of Anglo-Saxons[7] or, in describing the American situation, what Alba and Nee call, "the campaign for 'pressure cooker' Americanization during and after World War I..."[8] The Melting Pot theory, which replaced Anglo-conformity after World War II, held that assimilation results in a blend of the values, norms, lifestyles, and institutions of the different groups, both core and peripheral.[9]

Viewing Anglo-conformity and Melting Pot theories as more prescriptive of what immigrant assimilation should be rather than descriptive of what it actually is, Gordon distinguished seven different types or stages of assimilation as they pertained to immigrant life in the United States. The seven stages of assimilation were cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identificational assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavior receptional assimilation, and civic

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[6] Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* 62 citing Park et al, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, 735.

[7] Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, 85.

[8] see Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee. 1997. Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. [Online] Available http:/web5.infotrac.galegroup.com Winter, 5.

[9] Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, 85.

assimilation, with the critical distinction being between cultural and structural

assimilation. In presenting "acculturation as a precondition for other forms of

assimilation," Gordon saw cultural assimilation as entailing a process of acculturation on

the part of immigrants in becoming "like" in cultural patterns such as language, behavior,

and values. Additionally, defined by Gordon as "the large-scale entrance into cliques,

clubs and institutions of the host society, on the primary level," structural assimilation

resulted only when immigrants had been "taken up and incorporated" into these social

cliques, clubs, and institutions that lead to "warm, intimate, and personal" primary

relationships. The end-stage of all this, Gordon postulated, was that once structural

assimilation occurred, at the same time or subsequent to cultural assimilation, all the

other types of assimilation were expected to follow.[10]

Recognizing that his model of assimilation did not fully portray the situation in

the United States, Gordon described US society as characterized by large-scale

acculturation with not so extensive structural assimilation.[11] Though the occurrence of

large-scale acculturation was questionable,[12] overall, Gordon saw religious and racial

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[10] Marital assimilation, the third stage, which pertains to substantial amount of intermarriage between ethnic groups would pave the way for the fourth stage, identificational assimilation, "the development of a sense of people hood based on (the) host society." It is at this stage of the process that ethnic groups will lose their cultural distinctiveness, develop an "in-group" feeling, and become indistinguishable from members of the host society. With these four stages having occurred, the occurrence of the other stages, attitude receptional assimilation or the absence of prejudice, behavior receptional assimilation or the absence of discrimination, and civic assimilation or the absence of value and power conflict will quickly follow. ibid., 70-83.

[11] Ibid., 158-159.

[12] see Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan. 1970. *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 290.

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lines as having retarded structural assimilation in the United States. What did emerge to

Gordon was structural pluralism or the maintenance of structurally separate subsocieties

of Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and Blacks. This meant that social life was carried out

within structurally separate subsocieties, each one comprising of primary and secondary

groups of family members, cliques, associations, networks, and organizations.[13] Similar

observations on the pluralistic outcome of immigrant "absorption," as he termed it, in a

host society were previously made by Eisenstadt:

> Consequently, from the absorption of large-scale immigration there usually
> develops a 'pluralistic' structure or network of sub-structures-a society
> which is, to some extent, composed of different sub-systems which are
> allocated to different ('ethnic') groups.[14]

Moreover, since the 1960s, the North American social landscape has changed

radically with the advent of waves of "new immigration"[15] comprising largely of non-

white or non-European people from non-traditional source countries in Asia, Africa,

Latin America, and the Caribbean regions. As such, the structural and cultural pluralist

framework that is now very much evident in the United States acts to further retard the

assimilation of these "new immigrants" in this host society. For instance, Suarez-Orozco

sees cultural pluralism or what he calls "the culture of multiculturalism" as providing

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[13] see Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, 159-234.

[14] see S. N. Eisenstadt, 1953. "Analysis of Patterns of Immigration and Absorption of Immigrants," *Population Studies* 7: 168.

[15] see Roy Simón Bryce-Laporte. 1980. "The New Immigration: A Challenge to our Sociological Imagination" in Roy S. Bryce Laporte (ed.), *Sourcebook on the New Immigration: Implications for the United States and the International Community*, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 459-472; Alan B. Simmons. 1995. (1990). "'New Wave' Immigrants: Origins and Characteristics" in Shiva S. Halli, Frank Trovato, and Leo Driedger (eds.), *Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations*, Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 141-159.

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members of the continuos waves of "new immigrants" a different social landscape to

what the earlier waves of European immigrants had encountered in the United States.[16] In

this different social landscape, today immigrants celebrate:

> -however superficially and ambivalently-ethnicity and communities of
> origin...(and)...enter social spaces where racial and ethnic categories are
> important gravitational fields-often charged-with important political and
> economic implications...[17]

In the case of Canada, it is of little surprise then that it was equally unlikely that

assimilation would be the "master concept"[18] to depict the projected path that immigrants

will follow. This is especially so given the solid nature of Canada's historic bicultural and

its later pluralistic framework. In effect, Canada's dual Anglophone and Francophone

culture and society did not cater to the unprecedented change in the racial face and

cultural origin of its urban population with the massive, post-1960s entry of non-white or

non-European immigrants. Along this line, therefore, the emergence of multiculturalism

as an official policy in Canada in 1971 was strongly determinative of the assimilative

trajectories of these immigrants in Canada. Protesting Canada's historic emphasis on the

relationship between the French and English "charter groups,"[19] especially with the

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[16] see Suarez-Orozco, "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Assimilation But
Were Afraid to Ask;" Also, see Helen I. Safa. 1983. "Caribbean Migration to the United
States: Cultural Identity and the Process of Assimilation" in Edgar B. Gumbert (ed.),
Different People: Studies in Ethnicity and Education, Atlanta, GA: Center for Cross-
Cultural Education, 47-73.

[17] Suarez-Orozco, "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Assimilation But Were
Afraid to Ask" 13.

[18] see Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The Story of the Second
Generation*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 44-46 for a discussion on
assimilation as a "master concept."

[19] Though Native Canadians were present in Canada long before them, British and French
immigrants are considered the first immigrants in Canada and this "charter group" status

establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963-1969, the

so-called "third element" or "third force" of non-British, non-French, and non-Aboriginal

segments[20] of Canadian society clamored for recognition of their contributions.

Following this, an official policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, that

is, ethnic minorities maintaining their cultural identity within the context of two dominant

societies, Anglophone and Francophone, was enacted 1971, with the multiculturalism bill

passing in 1988.[21]

Added to this, is the new dimension that multiculturalism has acquired,

multiracialism, is a more fundamental change than the pre-1960s migration flows from

Europe had produced in Canada. For instance, when the Irish, Eastern Europeans, and

Southern Europeans entered Canada and became "white ethnics", that is, became distinct

groups possessing differentiating national and cultural identities that distinguished them

from the British and French "charter groups" in a society dominated by Anglo-French

cultures, their acceptance and assimilation were hindered by differences in culture and

language, not by racial differences. After a generation, they were able to overcome

whatever obstacles and, unless their last name is known, become absorbed rather

inconspicuously into Canadian society. Under multiracialism, however, this is no longer

the case. Despite being in Canada for generations, members of non-white populations,

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has provided them, but not Native Canadians, with considerable prestige and power.

[20] These terms, "third element" and "third force," were used by Lupul to represent Irish, Eastern European, Southern European, and non-white people. see Manoly R. Lupul. 1983. "Multiculturalism and Canada's White Ethnics," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 15, 1: 99-107.

[21] T. John. Samuel. 1990. "Third World Immigration and Multiculturalism" in Halli et al, *Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations*, 383.

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even though less ethnically conspicuous, continue to remain racially distinct and

institutionally and systemically barred from full participation in Canadian society.[22]

Another challenge to the utility of the assimilation concept to describe what

transpires between immigrants and a host society is the anticipated "clean break"[23] with

their past, that is, with the life they "left behind," that were expected of immigrants. This

anticipated "clean break" was based on the assumption that their assimilation was to be

directional, unilinear, nonreversible, and continuous.[24] The idea here was that inter-

national migration across well-defined national territories and boundaries was a one-way

flow between two unconnected societies in which immigrants "left behind" all aspects of

their lives in their home society to live permanently and create new lives in a host

society, with the result being that they would quickly and irrevocably become "more like"

the majority members.

The recent awareness that international migration no longer takes place between

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[22] Samuel, "Third World Immigration and Multiculturalism" 388.

[23] This image of permanent rupture is evoked in the more traditional use of the term immigrant, in which people are presented as uprooting themselves from their home society to make new lives in a host society. Such rupture is best exemplified in the narrative structure of Ocar Handlin's extremely influential, *The Uprooted,* see Oscar Handlin. 1973 [1951], *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People,* (2nd ed.), Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

[24] Suarez-Orozco, "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Assimilation But Were Afraid to Ask" 7-8. For more on the uniliniear or straight-line nature of the process of assimilation in its yield of an inevitable outcome, see Zygmunt Bauman. 1993. "Modernity and Ambivalence" in Mike Featherstone (ed.), *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity,* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications: 143-169; Herbert J. Gans. 1994. "Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17, 4 (October): 577-592. Gans also suggests that conceptually it is much better to depict the process of assimilation as "bumpy" since this approach will acknowledge the small bumps and waves in the straight-line made by urban minority groups.

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unconnected points but within a transnational field of social interaction in which

immigrants "forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their

societies of origin and settlement"[25] indicates that, instead of severing relations,

immigrants have sustained relations with their society of origin. In fact, it is now being

acknowledged that even the earlier European immigrants to the United States did not

"break cleanly" with their past. In their continued identification with their society of

origin, they created distinct ethnic communities such as New York City's "Little Italy" as

well as frequently engaged in the transnational practice of return migration.[26]

Clearly, therefore, as a policy goal of "unity within diversity," multiculturalism,

as well as multiracialism, its new dimension, transnationalism, and the assimilation of

immigrants appear to be highly incompatible as they relate to the outcome of the meeting

between non-white immigrants and the Canadian host society.

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[25] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach, 7. For more on transnationalism, see Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. 1992. "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration" in Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton (eds.), *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconstructed*, New York: New York Academy of Sciences 645: 1-24; M. Kearney. 1995. "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 547-565; Alejandro Portes. 1996. "Transnational Communities: Their Emergence and Significance in the Contemporary World System" in Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz and William C. Smith (eds.), *Latin America in the World-Economy*, Westport, CT: Praeger, 151-168; Ibid., Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landolt. 1999. "The study of transnationalism and promise of an emergent research field," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, 2 (March): 217-237; Stephen Vertovec. 1999. "Conceiving and researching transnationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, 2 (March): 447-462; Linda Basch. 2001. "Transnational Social Relations and the Politics of National Identity: An Eastern Caribbean Case Study" in Nancy Foner (ed.), *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 117-141.

[26] see Nancy Foner. 1997. "What's New About Transnationalism? New York Immigrants Today and at the Turn of the Century," *Diaspora* 6, 3: 355-375.

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Utilizing a Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation

The Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation developed by Goldlust and

Richmond[27] provide theoretical guidance to this study. The one departure from the model

is the preference in this study for the use of the term incorporation rather than adaptation.

Other than that, there are certain distinctive theoretical features of the model that are

considered very useful to this study. Overall, in departing from the predominant

analytical "push-pull" framework of migration studies, the model takes into consideration

a variety of determinative factors, not solely within Canada, but, in a very systemic

manner, at both ends of the migration chain. These determinative factors are pre-

migration characteristics and conditions, situational determinants in the host society, and,

as an independent variable, length of residence which interacts with the pre-migration

characteristics and conditions as well as with the situational determinants in the host

society to modify the objective and subjective mode of immigrant incorporation (see

Figure 2.1).

Pre-Migration Characteristics: Who are the immigrants?

Specifically, the model assumes that immigrant populations are heterogeneous

and presents a variety of pre-migration characteristics that are important determinants of

immigrant incorporation experiences. These pre-migration characteristics comprise their

education and technical training; prior urbanization, that is, the degree of their adjustment

to urban life prior to migration; demographic characteristics which vary according to sex,

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[27] see John Goldlust and Anthony H. Richmond. 1974. "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation," *International Migration Review*, 8, 2 (Summer): 193-225.

age, age at arrival, marital status; and family size to mention a few. Amongst the most

important pre-migration characteristics will be the education and technical training as

Figure 2.1
Multivariate Model of Immigrant Incorporation

Education & Technical Training　　Prior Urbanization　　Demographic Characteristics　　Auspices　　Motivation

Pre-Migration Characteristics and Conditions

Economic

Social

Cultural

Political

Objective Modes　　Length of Residence　　Subjective Modes　　Identification　　Internalization　　Satisfaction

Situational Determinants in Receiving Society

Demography　Urban-ization　　Industrial-ization　　Government Policy　　Pluralism　　Stratif-ication

Source: Adapted from Goldlust and Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation," 198.

well as the age at arrival of the immigrant. Since immigrants tend to migrate more during

their young adult and older years, many would normally have completed a large portion

of their education and training before migration.[28] In this regard, when consideration is

taken of some more of these pre-migration characteristics, Afro-Caribbean immigrants

destined for North America have historically tended to be very selective.[29] Large

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[28] Ibid., 199.

[29] see Irma Watkins-Owens 2001. "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City" in Foner, *Islands in the City: West*

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proportions of the early cohorts who migrated to North America, and even to Britain, for

example, were young, urbanized, educated, skilled, and trained members of the middle-

class, professional, technical, and clerical ranks of Caribbean societies.[30]

There is also a distinct sex bias in the flow of Afro-Caribbean immigrants from

the Caribbean region to North America. Instead of men, it is women who have dominated

the flow since the 1960s.[31] Nevertheless, a consistent feature of many migration studies is

either to overlook women completely or to treat them as secondary migrants *en passant*

who move only in response to the movement of the more dominant male decision-

makers.[32] More than ever now, though, Afro-Caribbean women are dominant decision-

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Indian Migration to New York, 30-31.

[30] see Subhas Ramcharan. 1974. *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*, Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, Canada, 65-67; Jack Harewood. 1983. "White Collar Migrant Labor; Some Observations on the Case of Trinidad and Tobago in the Last Two Decade" in Arnaud F. Marks and Hebe M. C. Vessuri (eds.), *White Collar Migrants in the Americas and the Caribbean*, Leiden, Netherlands: Dept. of Caribbean Studies, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, 22; Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. 1988. "Caribbean Skilled International Migration and the Transnational Household," *Geoforum* 19, 4: 423-432; Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 1990. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 10-11, 58. Thus, though class is no less significant in migration behavior, yet analysis or even recognition of this has been noticeably absent from the literature, see Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. 1992. *Explanation in Caribbean Migration: Perception and the Image; Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Vincent*, London: McMillan Press, 3.

[31] see Douglas S. Massey and Kathleen M. Schnabel. 1983. "Recent Trends in Hispanic Immigration to the United States," *International Migration Review* 17, 2 (Summer): 212-244; Monica H. Gordon. 1989. "Gender in the Selection of Immigrants and the Impact on Caribbean Women in the United States" in Velta J. Clarke and Emmanuel Riviere, *Establishing New Lives: Selected Readings on Caribbean Immigrants in New York City*, Caribbean Research Center, Medgar Evers College, City of New York, 84-109; Aubrey W. Bonnett. 1990. "The New Female West Indian Immigrant: Dilemmas of Coping in the Host Society" in Ransford W. Palmer (ed.), *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean*, New York: Praeger, 139-149.

[32] In this regard, the assertion has been made that: "The woman remains silent and invisible, present as a variable, absent as a person." see Linda Miller Matthei and David

makers in the various processes of international migration. That is, when migrating

independent of men, they are fully involved in the initiation as well as in the actualization of

migration. They make all the decisions, therefore, when it comes to why, when, where, and

on what auspices or conditions of migration to use to be admitted into North America.

Accordingly, Thomas-Hope states that "the Caribbean lower-class woman seeks

migration opportunities and migrates in her own right and not simply as a dependent of

the male migrant. Indeed, it is invariably the woman who spearheads the subsequent

migration of other family members."[33] It is the also the case that even when, as wives

and/or mothers, they migrate either alone, before or with their spouses and/or children or

after their spouses and/or their children as the case may be, they are not passive participants

in these various processes of international migration. Thus, as another social researcher

also observes, "the often gender neutral narrative of early Caribbean upward mobility"

needs to be reengaged.[34]

One significant cultural factor that facilitates Afro-Caribbean women's freedom,

especially those women whose children are not migrating with them at the time, to

become active participants in international migration is child-fostering or fosterage. Child

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Smith. 1996. "Women, Households, and Transnational Migration Networks: The Garifuna and Global Economic Restructuring" in Korzeniewicz et al, *Latin America in the World-Economy*, 134. The absence of Afro-Caribbean immigrant women in the body of literature on early Caribbean migration to the United States was also noted by Irma Watkins-Owens. see Watkins-Owens, "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City" 25-26.

[33] see Thomas-Hope, *Explanation in Caribbean Migration: Perception and the Image; Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Vincent*, 4.

[34] For the central role that Afro-Caribbean women played in migration and social networks in early twentieth century migration to New York City, see Watkins-Owens, "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City,"

fostering entails relatives' and/or friends' provision of childcare assistance while a

migrant is abroad.[35] Therefore, in order to have a more complete understanding of the

specificity of Afro-Caribbean immigrants' pre-migration characteristics, the consideration

of these characteristics cannot be isolated from sex characteristics nor can they

considered apart from the cultural context.

Pre-migration Conditions: Immigrant Admissions and Motives

The pre-migration conditions that are important in the model include the auspices

of, and the motivation for, migration. Auspices deal with the various conditions or classes

under which immigrants are admitted into a host society or the selectivity of its

immigration and population control policies. Immigrants either may be sponsored or

nominated by close relatives while others may migrate as children with their parents.

Some may arrive as refugees in government-organized group movements while others

may arrive as recruited workers under various labor schemes such as the U.S. Bracero

Program,[36] the Caribbean Domestic Service Scheme,[37] and the Caribbean Seasonal Farm

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[35] see Isa Maria Soto. 1987. "West Indian Child Fostering: Its Role in Migrant
Exchanges" in Constance R. Sutton and Elsa M. Chaney (eds), *Caribbean Life in New
York City: Socio-cultural dimensions*, New York: Center for Migration Studies of New
York, Inc., 131-149; Watkins-Owens, "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women:
Migration and Social Networks in New York City" 26, 34, 42.

[36] see Douglas S. Massey and Felipe García España. 1987. "The social process of
international migration," *Science* 237 (August 14): 733-738; Portes and Rumbaut,
Immigrant America: A Portrait.

[37] see Frances Henry. 1968. "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada," *Social and
Economic Studies*, 17, 1 (March): 83-91; Ruth L. Harris. 1988. "Transformation of
Canadian Policies and Programs to Recruit Foreign Labor: The Case of Caribbean
Female Domestic Workers, 1950's-1980's," Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University;
Agnes Calliste. 1989. (a) "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean:
The Second Domestic Scheme" in Jesse Vorst (ed.), *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and*

Worker Programme[38] that recruited thousands of Mexican and Caribbean men to work in

the U.S. southwest and Afro-Caribbean women and men to work principally in the

province of Ontario, Canada in the 1950s and 1960s. However, the largest single group of

immigrants in most migratory flows are those who will migrate independent of these

arrangements and seek employment after arrival.[39] Needless to say, they are most likely

to be the ones who will be well equipped educationally and occupationally to be

employed soon after arrival in North America.

Unlike the poor and the less well-educated, therefore, it is the more well-to-do

and more well-educated immigrants who more take up the option to migrate. For one,

they have the financial wherewithal to engage in what is oftentimes an expensive venture.

For another, they desire to derive commensurate as well as greater socioeconomic returns

on their human capital endowments, that is, on their set of education, skill, and training;

returns which they believe are severely constrained by limited employment opportunities

in their home society. Generally, they will tend to compare how their life situation is and

how it should be. Finding it wanting, many will hold strong to the view that migration is

the most important, if not the only, means to bridge the gap "between life aspirations and

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Barriers, Socialist Studies 5: 133-165; Patricia M. Daenzer. 1993. *Regulating Class Privilege: Immigrant Servants in Canada, 1940s to 1990s*, Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc..

[38] see Lloyd T. Wong. 1984. "Canada's Guestworkers: Some Comparisons of Temporary Workers in Europe and North America," *International Migration Review* 18,1 (Spring): 85-98; R. G. Cecil and G. E. Ebanks. 1991. "The Human Condition of West Indian Migrant Farm Labour in Southwestern Ontario," *International Migration Review* 29, 3 (September): 389-404; Ibid. 1992. "The Caribbean Migrant Farm Worker Programme in Ontario: Seasonal Expansion of West Indian Economic Spaces," *International Migration Review* 30, 1 (March): 19-36; Vic Satzewich. 1988. "The Canadian state and the racialization of Caribbean migrant farm labour 1947-66," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11, 3 (July): 282-304.

[39] Goldlust and Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Incorporation" 200.

expectations and the means to fulfill them in the sending countries."[40] Portes and

Rumbaut elaborate on this a bit more:

> Different groups feel this gap with varying intensity, but it clearly becomes a strong motive for action among the most ambitious and resourceful. Because *relative*, not absolute deprivation lies at the core of most contemporary immigration, its composition tends to be positively selected in terms of both human capital and motivation....Immigrants do not come to escape perennial unemployment or destitution in their homeland. Most undertake the journey instead to attain the dream of a new life-style that has reached their countries but that is impossible to fulfill in them. Not surprisingly, the most determined individuals, those who feel the distance between actual reality and life goals most poignantly, often choose migration as the path to resolve this contradiction.[41]

Most likely, this is the principal reason why the migration of educated, middle-class,

Afro-Caribbean immigrants have historically tended to be permanent rather than seasonal

or circular, the to and fro movement, that is a characteristic of Afro-Caribbean labor

migration.[42]

Nonetheless, though the economic motive and/or the desire to attain a lifestyle

that may not be possible in one's home country may be foremost in one's decision to

migrate, there are other motives as well. For instance, a person may decide to migrate as

a refugee in order to escape political persecution while others may decide to migrate to be

near close relatives and/or friends. Moreover, there may be an increasing number of

persons whose motivation for migration is influenced largely by the desire to "see the

world" or by a sense of adventure and, as such, they have no intention of settling

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[40] Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, 12.

[41] Ibid., 12, 14.

[42] see Bonham C. Richardson. 1983. *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis*, Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press; Thomas-Hope. 1992. *Explanation in Caribbean Migration: Perception and the Image; Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Vincent,*

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permanently abroad.[43] Despite all these motives, it is crucial to note, however, that when examining Afro-Caribbean people's motives for migrating, especially their economic motives, it has to be done in the context of understanding the culture of Caribbean migration that has become very much institutionalized.

Culture of Caribbean Migration

For Caribbean societies, historically forged and shaped by migration,[44] migration has long been held as the predominant survival strategy, a uniquely Caribbean adaptive strategy, to limited employment opportunities. In fact, it has ceased being just another available option but one that is very much institutionalized.[45] Expressed in a strong desire to leave, if not always permanently, their home society, one must therefore approach the subject of the migration of Afro-Caribbean people with the realization that they move.[46] Because of this propensity to move, there is the adage that "the essence of Caribbean life has always been movement."[47] As evinced by a male returnee from the Caribbean island

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[43] Ibid.

[44] see Dawn I. Marshall. 1982. "The History of West Indian Migration," *Caribbean Review* 11, 1: 6-11; ibid.. 1987. "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies" in Barry B. Levine (ed.), *The Caribbean Exodus*, New York, NY: Praeger, 15-31.

[45] see Orlando Patterson. 1978. "Migration in Caribbean Societies: Socioeconomic and Symbolic Resource" in William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (ed.), *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 106-145.

[46] Douglas Kent Midgett. 1977. "West Indian Migration and Incorporation in St. Lucia and London," Ph.D. diss., Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 156.

[47] see Patricia R. Pessar. 1997. "New Approaches to Caribbean Emigration and Return" in Patricia R. Pessar (ed.), *Caribbean Circuits: New Directions in the Study of Caribbean Migration*, New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1; Nancy Foner. 2001. "West Indian

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of St. Lucia, for example: "A man must always be ready to move...if he sees there is no opportunity where he is, then he must move on to somewhere else.[48] In light of this, it has been proposed that Afro-Caribbean immigrants display a calculative sense of "strategic flexibility" by routinely using cultural ideas that emphasize flexibility and the building of multiple options.[49]

This propensity of Afro-Caribbean people to move is said to be rooted in two factors: the desire to escape the plantation and its connections with slavery, and the small size of the countries and their economies.[50] The first factor can be found reflected in their ancestors' lived experiences of escape from enslavement[51] and flight from the strictures of plantation life with the advent of emancipation.[52] In addition to these countries being small and thus having limited economic resources,[53] these countries' economies are very

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Migration to New York: An Overview" in Foner, *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, 3.

[48] Charles V. Carnegie. 1987. "A Social Psychology of Caribbean Migrations: Strategic Flexibility in the West Indies" in Levine, *The Caribbean Exodus*, 35.

[49] Ibid., 32.

[50] see Dawn I. Marshall. 1983. "Towards an Understanding of Caribbean Migration" in Mary M. Kritz (ed), *U.S. Immigration and Refugee Policy: Global and Domestic Issues*, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 124.

[51] see Orlando Patterson. 1967. *The Sociology of Slavery*, London: MacGibbon and Key Ltd.; Linda Newson. 1979. Foreign Immigrants in Spanish America: Trinidad's Colonisation Experiment," *Caribbean Studies* 19, 1&2 (April-July): 133-151.

[52] see W. Emanuel Riviere. 1972. "Labour Shortage in the British West Indies after Emancipation," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 4 (May): 1-30; Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies,"

[53] see William G. Demas. 1965. *The Economics of Development in Small Countries, with Special Reference to the Caribbean*, Montreal: McGill University Press; Foner, "West Indian Migration to New York: An Overview" 4.

open. This openness has, to a large extent, overcome the constraints of small size in the

sense that individuals are able to make migration choices well beyond the boundaries of

any Caribbean society.[54] Employment opportunities that are available within North

America are, therefore, known and prominently taken into account when migration

choices are being made.[55] This focus on North America as the major destination point for

Afro-Caribbean immigrants is easy to understand when we also take note that the United

States and Canada are within easy reach for Afro-Caribbean people, that travel is

relatively inexpensive, and that communications are well developed. These countries,

therefore, represent the "field of action" where Afro-Caribbean immigrants orchestrate

their economic actions, seek to realize their mobility aspirations, and organize their lives.

Furthermore, the propensity of Afro-Caribbean people to move has become so

fully institutionalized that it is a matter of central preoccupation for individuals and

constitutes a dominant theme in the cultural and symbolic structures of their societies.[56]

Resultantly, Caribbean societies, especially the smaller ones such as Montserrat, in

particular, have been termed "migration-oriented societies"[57] in which individual

migrants follow a "migrant ideology," that is, constituted by beliefs and values, a

cognitive model that migrants hold on the nature and goals of their movement. This

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[54] Marshall, "Towards an Understanding of Caribbean Migration" 124.

[55] Midgett, "West Indian Migration and Incorporation in St. Lucia and London,"

[56] Patterson, "Migration in Caribbean Societies: Socioeconomic and Symbolic Resource" 125.

[57] A migrant-oriented society is considered "to be any society in which a significant proportion of the population is involved in seasonal, temporary or permanent out-migration." see Stuart B. Philpott. 1968. "Remittance Obligations, Social Networks and Choice Among Montserratian Migrants in Britain," *Man* 3: 475 f.n. 2.

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"migrant ideology" has also been referred to as either a "migrant tradition,"[58] "migration

ethos" or "migration culture."[59] On some small Caribbean societies, this "migration

ethos," coupled with such more tangible attributes of migration as remittances and, lately,

regular return visits, underpin entire communities.[60] Consequently, though economic

motives may chiefly be responsible for the institutionalization of Afro-Caribbean

migration, this institutionalization must be seen as not only being influenced by economic

considerations but as also being shaped by cultural factors that are symbolically

expressed as well as socially manifested. For, it is these intangible cultural factors that

ultimately have a complex relationship with their more observable economic behavioral

manifestations.[61]

Symbolic Expressions and Social Manifestations of Afro-Caribbean Migration

Historically, cultural themes of Afro-Caribbean migration have symbolically been

expressed in various ways. During the days of African slavery, for example, images of

migration were deployed by the enslaved as symbolic weapons in their conflict with their

masters. In Jamaica, for example, commonly used terms such as "salt water negro," with

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[58] see Patterson, "Migration in Caribbean Societies: Socioeconomic and Symbolic Resource;" Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. 1978. "The Establishment of Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" in Colin G. Clarke (ed.), *Caribbean Social Relations*, The University of Liverpool, Centre for Latin-American Studies, Monograph Series No. 8: 66-81.

[59] see Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis*,

[60] Ibid..

[61] Mike Stone. 1992. "Still 'Goin' Foreign': An Examination of Caribbean Migration to North America," Masters of Arts Degree, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, 37.

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its reference to migration across the middle passage and "Guniea bird," with its

immediate suggestion of flight, symbolically represented back to Africa ideologies. These

migratory symbolic themes were even strongly incorporated in the enslaved's festivals

and rituals associated with death and religion. The John Canoe, for example, the figure

who wore on his head a large image of a boat, was a dominant character in the Christmas

and Easter celebrations of the enslaved in Jamaica. Believing that deceased enslaved

Africans returned to Africa, it is also reported that the living asked the dead to take

greetings back to Africa and food and other items that were useful for the long journey

were placed in the grave.[62] Such ideologies, as well as symbolic practices, have had long

and rich histories in Caribbean societies as well as in the diaspora as emphasized by the

"Back to Africa Movement" of the Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey who founded the

Universal Negro Achievement Association (UNIA) in 1916.[63] Thus, as Patterson

emphasizes:

> It is not unreasonable to assume that the collective memory of the
> migratory traumas of the slave period would have been encapsulated and
> distilled during the process of institutionalization that followed the
> emancipation, and that such encapsulation and distillation of memory
> would have been achieved in the manner typical of all human cultures,
> namely by means of dominant condensation of symbols.[64]

Evidence of such development can be found in the repository of migratory

symbolism of Afro-Caribbean people where the constant sense of exile, yearning for

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[62] Patterson, "Migration in Caribbean Societies: Socioeconomic and Symbolic Resource" 127-128.

[63] For a short, but somewhat balanced, view of Garvey's activism, see David J. Hellwig. 1978. "Black Meets Black: Afro-American Reactions to West Indian Immigrants in the 1920's," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 77, 2 (Spring): 206-224.

[64] see Patterson, "Migration in Caribbean Societies: Socioeconomic and Symbolic Resource" 128-129.

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success, and to migrate back home permeate their folktales, songs, and literature. For

example, in most Afro-Caribbean communities in the Caribbean region, the trickster, said

to be its only folk-hero, in trickster-hero folk tales takes the form of the spider, Anancy.

"The spider is a migrant. It can live anywhere, in trees or houses or caves or nowhere in

particular, for the spider carries its home, its real home, buried in its belly."[65] In the

Caribbean region, therefore, the trickster-hero, in the form of the spider-man, became a

part of the dominant symbolism of folk culture because it "represented with tremendous

potency the central structural emphasis of the culture: the sustained experience of

migration."[66]

Presently, the legacy of this migratory symbolism is expressed in intensified

forms in songs, most notably, Jamaican reggae, thrivingly influenced by the Ras Tafari

religion,[67] and Trinidadian calypso,[68] two of the most dominant musical forms in the

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[65] Ibid., 134.

[66] Ibid.

[67] The Ras Tafari religion of the Jamaican black urban working class, created out of the urban chaos of Kingston life in the 1930s, originally worshipped Haile Selassie, the late Emperor of Ethiopia, as the true living God, and its members prepared themselves for his coming and their the return to Africa on his ship. Their back to Africa ideology is politically strongly featured in reggae music where migratory themes of exile, alienation, and oppression are stressed. see M.G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford. 1960. *The Rasta Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*, Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research; Patterson, "Migration in Caribbean Societies: Socioeconomic and Symbolic Resource,"

[68] Derived from the West African tradition of praise and blame in song, the calypso was largely associated with urbanization, immigration, and black reconstruction in Trinidad in the post-emancipation period. Though frowned upon by white and colored elites and subjected to official censorship in its early development, it has survived to attain its highest form of expression in Trinidad. Early exponents of this genre were Hubert de Leon who carried the sobriquet "Roaring Lion;" Raymond Quevedo, "Atilla the Hun;" and the most recognizable contemporary Afro-Trinidadian on the local and international stage, Francisco Slinger, "Mighty Sparrow." Actually, the "Mighty Sparrow" was born in Grenada but

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Caribbean region. In addition, as Patterson notes, one clear observation that can be made

about the Caribbean literacy scene is that, with several exceptions, all novelists and poets

are either in exile or have written some of their best works while in exile. However,

whether in exile or not, migratory symbolism dominates their writings and is expressed in

such themes as exile, alienation, homelessness, and endless search for identity.[69] Several

English-speaking poets and writers express such themes, amongst them the esteemed poet

Edward Braithwaite, the author of *Rights of Passage* (1967), *Masks* (1968), and *Islands*

(1969) in his epic trilogy;[70] Neville Dawes, the author of *The Last Enchantment* (1960);[71]

George Lamming, the author of *The Emigrants* (1954) and *Natives of My Person* (1972);[72]

Vidya S. Naipual, the author of *The Middle Passage* (1962), *The Mimic Men* (1967), and

The Loss of El Dorado (1970);[73] and Samuel Selvon, the author of *An Island is a World*

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migrated to Trinidad at a very tender age. see Kenneth Bilby. 1985. "The Caribbean as a
Musical Region" in Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price (eds.), *Caribbean Contours*,
Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 181-218; Carole Boyce Davies. 1985.
"The Africa Theme in Trinidad Calypso," *Caribbean Quarterly* 31, 2: 67-86; Gordon
Rohlehr. 1990. *Calypso & Society in Pre-Independence Trinidad,* Port of Spain,
Trinidad: Gordon Rohlehr.

[69] see Patterson, "Migration in Caribbean Societies: Socioeconomic and Symbolic
Resource" 134-136.

[70] Edward Braithwaite. 1967. *Rights of Passage*, Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press;
ibid.. 1968. *Masks*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press; ibid..1969. *Islands*, New
York, NY: Oxford University Press.

[71] Neville Dawes. 1960. *The Last Enchantment*, London: MacGibbon & Kee Ltd..

[72] George Lamming. 1954. *The Emigrants*, London: Michael Joseph Ltd.; Ibid.. 1972.
Natives of My Person, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

[73] Vidya S. Naipaul. 1962. *The Middle Passage*, London: Andre Deutsch Ltd; Ibid.. 1967.
The Mimic Men, London: Andre Deutsch Ltd; Ibid.. 1970. *The Loss of El Dorado*, New
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(1955) and *The Lonely Londoners* (1956).[74] In the *Rights of Passage* (1967), for example,

Braithwaite goes on an imaginary migration across the middle passage in search of his roots

in Africa. While this search was explored in *Masks* (1968), he returns to the Caribbean in

Islands (1969) and begins to rebuild, in a poetic fashion, creole society. Such imaginary

migrations have not only sprung from the "migration culture" but are most likely a strong

contributing factor to its continuance.[75]

The "migration culture" is not only given symbolic expression but also exhibits as

many social manifestations. For one, migration and return are significant events of ritualized

kin and kith social relations. This is apparent when one looks at the entourage of family

members, close relatives, and even close friends that normally would accompany the

migrant to the airport on the day of departure, and would be there on return, where tears,

hugs, and kisses co-mingle. Most often, all of them would have also attended a send-off

party given the night before departure and participate in another upon the migrant's

return. It is at these social events that the migrant would be loaded down with local

delicacies that are considered difficult to acquire abroad and where such promised gifts as

designer jeans and name brand tennis shoes brought by the migrant will be distributed.[76]

In some Caribbean societies, such as Montserrat, the "migration culture" is so ingrained

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[74] Samuel Selvon. 1955. *An Island is a World*, London: Allan Wingate; Ibid.. 1956. *The Lonely Londoners*, London: Longman Ltd..

[75] Stone, "Still 'Goin' Foreign': An Examination of Caribbean Migration to North America" 53.

[76] Personal knowledge of the author gathered through observation and participation.

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that aside from rituals at birth, marriage, and death, the only other major ceremonial

occasions are those connected with migration.[77]

Aligned with this strong kin and kith connection is the strength of social

relationships across space and its influence on individual decisions. Migration is

primarily a transnational network-building process that links communities and

populations separated by great physical distances. It is the presence of family members,

close relatives, and/or friends in places of destination that plays a decisive role in

motivating individuals to migrate.[78] A transnational migration network is defined as "a

web of social ties that links potential migrants in sending communities to people and

institutions in receiving areas."[79] Transnational migration networks build into

international migration a self-perpetuating momentum that leads to their growth over

time despite changes in wages, government restrictions, and recessions.[80] As Portes and

Böröcz explain them:

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[77] see Philpott, "Remittance Obligations, Social Networks and Choice Among Montserratian Migrants in Britain,"

[78] see ibid.; Alejandro Portes. 1983. "International Labor Migration and National Development" in Kritz, *US Immigration and Refugee Policy: Global and Domestic Issues*, 71-91; Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*; Thomas-Hope, "Caribbean Skilled International Migration and the Transnational Household;" Basch, "Transnational Social Relations and the Politics of National Identity: An Eastern Caribbean Case Study" 126-127.

[79] Massey and España, "The social process of international migration" 733.

[80] Douglas S. Massey. 1990. "The social and economic origins of immigration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 510: 60-72; Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar. 1991. *Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Roger Rouse. 1992. "Making Sense of Settlement: Class Transformation, Cultural Struggle, and Transnationalism among Mexican Migrants in the United States" in Glick Schiller et al, *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*; José Itzigsohn, Carlos Dore Cabral, Esther Hernandez Medina and Obed Vasquez 1999.

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Networks constructed by the movement and contact of people across space are at the core of the microstructure which sustain migration over time. More than individualistic calculations of gain, it is the insertion of people into such networks which helps explain differential proclivities to move and the enduring character of migrant flows.[81]

In migrating less as individual decision-makers and more as clusters of people bound together by familial- and/or friendship-based transnational migration networks, Afro-Caribbean immigrants often engage in what is commonly described as chain migration. Chain migration involves sets of close relatives and/or friends who move from one place to another through a set of social arrangements in which people at the destination provide aid, information, and encouragement to the newcomers.[82] As a consequence, opportunity and psychic costs of international migration are said to be reduced for newly-arrived immigrants when shown the "the ropes" by those already situated abroad.[83] This includes providing them with much needed opportunity-related and stress-reducing information such as necessary job connections, especially the requirements to seek out jobs through employment agencies, as well as the provision of

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"Mapping Dominican transnationalism: narrow and broad transnational practices" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, 2 (March): 316-339.

[81] Alejandro Portes and József Böröcz. 1989. "Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives On Its Determinants And Modes Of Incorporation," *International Migration Review* 23, 3 (Fall): 612.

[82] see Charles Tilly. 1990. "Transplanted Networks" in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), *Immigration Revisited: History, Sociology, and Politics*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 79-95. Tilly has called these transnational migration networks "migration machines."

[83] For Mexican immigrants to the United States, opportunity costs are lowered through contact when the time lag between leaving work in Mexico and getting a job in the United States is shortened. Also, since the greater the social and cultural distance between sending and receiving countries, the greater the psychic cost for the migrant, this can be alleviated by an experienced migrant guiding a new migrant to Spanish-speaking enclaves. see Massey et al, "The social process of international migration" 734.

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temporary lodging, food, winter clothing, among other such much needed types of assistance.[84]

What is more, seen as a rite of passage in some Caribbean societies,[85] migration also allows the altering of social standing by generally affording migrants' "higher status in their local communities than they enjoyed prior to their migration."[86] In addition, virtually anything they acquire abroad, either the acquisition of a skill or educational qualification or even their "new walks" and "new talks" with a foreign accent, afford them a higher status since they are regarded by the home society as superior to local forms.[87] In Trinidad, it has even been alleged that there is an almost magical belief that migrating somehow transforms the individual and upon her/his return is likely not only to assume a new status but to have this new status thrust upon her/him.[88] Thus, alongside leaving home, first marriage, first fulltime job, entry into parenthood, and divorce,

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[84] In examining Montserratian migration to Britain, Philpott describes how chain migration resulted in residential concentration in London when "original migrants send back for kin and friends from the same village or area of the island who might stay, at least initially, in the same house and then later move to a house nearby." see Philpott, "Remittance Obligations, Social Networks and Choice Among Montserratian Migrants in Britain" 469.

[85] Ibid.. 1973. *West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case*, New York, NY: Humanities Press; Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis*; Hymie Rubenstein. 1987. *Coping with Poverty: Adaptive Strategies in a Caribbean Village*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

[86] Philpott, *West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case*, 108.

[87] Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" 66-81; ibid.. 1980. "Hopes and Reality in the West Indian Migration to Britain," *Oral History* 8, 1-2: 35-42.

[88] see Lloyd Braithwaite. 1954. "The Problem of Cultural Integration in Trinidad," *Social and Economic Studies*, 3, 1: 82-96.

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migration can therefore be considered as a particular type of transition during the life

course trajectories of Afro-Caribbean people. While life course trajectories refer to long

term patterns and sequences of behavior that constitute pathways or lines of social

development, transitions are identified as specific, consequential life events that are

embedded in trajectories and constitute "changes in state that are more or less abrupt."[89]

In tandem, the indelible link made between going abroad and being economically

successful is demonstrated, for instance, by immigrants remitting money to family

members back home[90] as well as by their return to their home society as successful

"been-tos"[91] or, for Montserratians, having had the socially valued experience of having

"been out," particularly to Britain or the United States.[92] In this respect, since migration

has generally been viewed as short-term or circular and positive where the focus has been

on the return home rather than success abroad, migrants tend to minimize all aspects of

failure to avoid the stigma of failure on their return to their home society. This is

exemplified in the report of Jamaican immigrants returning from Panama in the year

1886-1887:

> It is evident that the greatest hardships were rarely reported by the
> migrants themselves to their friends and families at home, and any official

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[89] see Ross Macmillan. 2000. "Changes in the Structure of Life Courses and the Decline of Social Capital" in Robert A. Silverman, James J. Teevan, and Vincent F. Sacco (eds), *Crime in Canadian Society* (6th ed.), Toronto, ON: Harcourt Brace, 230-240.

[90] see Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis,*

[91] Ghanaians used to call those who had traveled abroad, "been-tos." see Ruth Simms Hamilton and Oswald S. Warner (forthcoming). "Afro-Trinidadians at Home and Abroad: Shifting Social and Demographic Identities" in Ruth Simms Hamilton (Principal Investigator), *Overview of the Global Black African Diaspora 2000 Series: Roots, Routes and Redefinitions,* East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

[92] Philpott, *West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case,* 109.

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advice against travel was suspect. Then, as now, it was essential for the migrants to minimize all aspects of failure in the eyes of the community back home, and to avoid the impression that the value of migrating was not as great as people assumed.[93]

Later returnees who left Britain in the 1960s also provided stories of success and thus presented a positive picture of migration. All of them, it is said, even those who had not been successful, claimed that their stay in Britain had benefited them in some way. They expressed their feelings in terms such as: "It opened my eyes to a lot of things" as well as "It made me see my own country better."[94] In the case of a male Montserratian, it is also reported that migration is not viewed as a permanent break with society but "as a stage in his social maturity" and that even when referring to the migration of middle-aged married men, it is often couched in terms which imply the attainment of manhood: "He went to make himself a man," or "I was only half a man before I went out."[95] Hence, in many respects, the expectations of most Afro-Caribbean immigrants "of their future overseas are shaped by what their home society expects of them through their emigration."[96]

In fact, to many Afro-Caribbean people, a migrant is perceived as ambitious; as one who is thriving for success. Perceived failure is not even considered a possibility; failure is achieved by not migrating. Repeatedly, the point is made of young Afro-

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[93] Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" 71-72.

[94] see Orlando Patterson. 1968. "West Indian Migrants Returning Home: Some Observations," *Race* 10, 1: (July): 69-77.

[95] see Philpott, "Remittance Obligations, Social Networks and Choice Among Montserratian Migrants in Britain" 467; ibid., *West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case*, 108-109.

[96] Thomas-Hope, "Hopes and Reality in the West Indian Migration to Britain" 35.

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Caribbean men by family members: "He should have some ambition and go abroad to make himself a man."[97] In Montserrat, this lack of migration experience is thus regarded as a form of deprivation. This was born out by an informant who reported to Philpott: "he had 'never had the good fortune to go out. If you live and dead into this island, you no know nothing'."[98] Oftentimes, the more pressing question before Afro-Caribbean people therefore becomes not "whether" one is going abroad but rather "when"[99] and in relation to "where," the destination invariably referred to, by Afro-Trini people for example, either is "Up North" or "The Cold,"[100] where, despite the allusion of severe winters, the self-concept of Afro-Caribbean people measured in terms of upward mobility and the opportunity to acquire highly coveted "desiterata" are closely tied to going abroad.[101] Pointedly then, Afro-Caribbean people tend to order their external universe in direct relation to the opportunities of migration.[102] So, of crucial concern to this study is the fact that migration has become extremely vital to Afro-Trini people's ideational construction

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[97] Ibid., 39.

[98] see Philpott, *West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case*, 109.

[99] The point has also been made that the more pressing decision before Afro-Caribbean people "was usually not whether they *should* go overseas, but whether they *should not*." see Thomas-Hope, "Hopes and Reality in the West Indian Migration to Britain" 35.

[100] "Up North" and "The Cold" are used interchangeably as collective destination identifiers that encompass the United States and Canada (Personal knowledge gleaned from speaking with many fellow Afro-Trinis who either wish to migrate, have migrated, or have family members as well as friends who have migrated to the United States and/or Canada).

[101] Hilbourne Watson. 1988. "Structural Determinants in the Reproduction of the Caribbean Diaspora: Surplus Labor, Unequal Exchange and Merchant Capital," *Caribbean Studies*, 21, 3-4 (July-December): 12.

[102] Thomas-Hope, *Explanation in Caribbean Migration: Perception and the Image; Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Vincent,*

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of socioeconomic success. More than any other institutionalized and cultural process in the Caribbean region, it has been linked symbolically as well as socially to the attainment of socioeconomic success.

Host Society Situational Determinants

In relation to the situational determinants in the host society, the model presents demographic characteristics, urbanization, industrialization, ethnic pluralism, and the stratification system as situational determinants to be addressed in order to provide the context within which the analysis of immigrant incorporation is to take place. It is expected though that these situational determinants will not affect immigrants in all areas of entry and settlement in a host society to the same degree. As such, it is important to draw attention to the situational determinants in the area of entry and settlement of the immigrants under study.[103]

Historically, the Greater Toronto Area has been the principal site of entry and settlement for Afro-Caribbean, and other non-white, immigrants in Canada where established transnational migration networks of family members, close relatives and/or friends provide a sense of welcome, belonging, and much needed help in finding jobs, living accommodations, etc.. Because of this, alongside New York, it has developed into the one of the most ethnically plural sites in North America where various ethnic groups are at differing stages of institutional completeness. Institutional completeness refers to the degree to which ethnic groups provide various services to their community.[104] These

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[103] Goldlust and Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Incorporation" 200-201.

[104] see Raymond Breton. 1964. "Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 70, 2 (Sept.): 193-205.

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services can range from the provision of professional and business services, cultural and recreational facilities, newspapers, radio, television, welfare organizations, and churches.[105] It is suggested that the degree of institutional completeness of an ethnic group reinforces its members' ethnic identity and interpersonal ties. Therefore, the more institutions an ethnic group is able to develop in a host society, the more organized it is, and the greater its chances of maintaining its ethnic identity.[106] Moreover, the literature suggests that ethnic maintenance plays a crucial role in the ability to access social, cultural, political, and economic rewards in a host society.[107] In the case of the Afro-Caribbean community in the Greater Toronto Area, the process of institutional completeness has proceeded so considerably that there is a wide array of services ranging from simple services, such as shops, to advanced professional services in medicine, accountancy, and financial services.[108] The increasing involvement of immigrants in businesses is also evidence of the growing institutional completeness of the Afro-Caribbean community in the Greater Toronto Area. All this portend to the continuing attractiveness of the Greater Toronto Area to incoming immigrants from the Caribbean region.

Also significant to the choice of urban settlement in Canada is the fact that the Greater Toronto Area is one of two urban centers, metropolitan Montreal is the other, that

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[105] Goldlust and Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Incorporation" 201.

[106] Frances Henry. 1994. *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

[107] see Breton, "Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants;" Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 232-233.

[108] Ibid., 233-234.

has direct air flights to and from the Caribbean region. This destination choice makes additional sense because the Greater Toronto Area is also the most economically prosperous and industrially most developed area of Canada. More than anywhere else, the characteristics of Canada's postindustrial society are concentrated there.[109] The transition of Canada's economy from industrialism to postindustrialism since the 1950s is evident in the declining importance of the primary and secondary sectors of industry and the bifurcated growth of the tertiary sector. This bifurcated growth has occurred in producer service industries with highly paid service jobs in technologically advanced fields such as banking, finance, and information processing associated with computerization as well as in traditional consumer service industries with menial, low-paid jobs such as domestic employment and catering, among others.[110] In Canada, it is in the Greater Toronto Area then that Afro-Caribbean immigrants, especially the educated, skilled, and trained, would concentrate their search for employment opportunities in postindustrial economic enterprises.

In addition, the policies of the receiving government are considered a significant situational determinant in defining the situation into which immigrants have moved. For instance, the immigration and population control policies of Canada and the United States, among other receiving societies, play a most significant role in influencing people's desire, as well as ability, to migrate. Accordingly, "their policies determine whether sizeable immigration flows can begin at all and, once under way, the forms they

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[109] Goldlust and Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Incorporation" 201.

[110] see Anthony H. Richmond. 1992. "Immigration and Structural Change: The Canadian Experience, 1971-1986," *International Migration Review* 26, 4 (Winter): 1200.

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will take."[111] These policies, therefore, can either exclude, passively accept, or actively

encourage the admission of certain types of immigrants.[112] By and large, during particular

historical periods, these policies have used ascriptive criteria such as race, sex, and

national origin, among others, to exclude specific types of immigrants, that is, mainly

those from non-European countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean

region, while, during other periods, using achievement criteria such as select human

capital factors to actively encourage the immigration of these same previously excluded

immigrants.[113] In the case of Canada, this is clearly demonstrated by the 1960s changes to

its immigration and population control policies, especially in the institution of the "points

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[111] Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, 85.

[112] Ibid., 85-86.

[113] see Ira de Augustine Reid. 1939. *The Negro Immigrant: His Background Characteristics and Social Adjustment*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press; Irving Abella and Harold Troper. 1979. "The line must be drawn somewhere: Canada and Jewish Refugees, 1933-9," *Canadian Historical Review* 60, 2: 178-209; Peter S. Li. 1982. "Chinese immigrants on the Canadian prairie," *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology* 19, 4: 527-540; James W. St. G. Walker. 1984. *The West Indians in Canada*, Toronto: Canada's Ethnic Groups, Canadian Historical Association, Booklet No. 6; Ibid.. 1985. *Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience*, Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, Historical Booklet No. 41; Calvin Holder. 1987. "The Causes and Composition of West Indian Immigration to New York City, 1900-1952", *Afro-Americans in New York and History* (January): 7-27; B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li. 1988. *Racial Oppression in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Garamond Press; Freda Hawkins. 1989. *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press; Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*; K. W. Taylor. 1991. "Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, 1: 1-20; Reginald Whitaker. 1991. *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation*, Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Historical Association; Wolseley W. Anderson. 1993. *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile,* Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc..

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system" whereby immigrants gained "points" based on educational, employment, age, and other criteria to be satisfied for admission.[114]

Since Canada considers itself as the only official multicultural society, the government's policy of multiculturalism that was instituted in 1971 is especially important as a major situational determinant of immigrant incorporation in that country. The four principles in the policy on multiculturalism are that the Canadian government will: (a) support all cultures and will seek to assist the development of these cultures, (b) assist all cultural groups to overcome barriers to full participation, (c) will create creative encounters and interchange among all cultural groups, and (d) continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.[115] While some measure of success in the achievement of the cultural goals of the policy cannot be denied, at the same time though, the policy has not removed systemic and institutional barriers that block non-white immigrants' involvement in the social, political, and economic arenas of Canadian society. Utilizing the terminology of Parsonian functionalism, the principles of multiculturalism appear to be concerned more with "pattern maintenance and tension management." As such, they tend to ignore the reality of social stratification and the potential conflicts of interest

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[114] In the 1967 Immigration Regulations, applicants had to earn 50 or more of the potential 100 "points" to qualify for admission. see Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile,* 138. In later years, they were increased to 70, then 75, and have now been reduced to 67 so as to make the acquisition of the required "points" that much easier for aspiring immigrants to be selected for admission into Canada. see News Release. 2003. Minister Adjusts Skilled Worker Passmark and Proposes Changes for Economic Class Immigration Applicants Affected by IRPA Transitional Rules, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/ press/ 03/0333-pre.html

[115] Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared,* 220.

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between racial groups having differential access to economic resources and political

power in Canada.[116]

In addressing the system of social stratification, which is the final situational

determinant in the model, it is recommended that we should pay close attention to the

manner in which different ethnic groups are located in a host society and of the

differential distribution of economic and political power that accrue to certain ethnic

groups.[117] In the case of Canada, John Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic*,[118] arguably the most

influential book on social stratification in Canadian sociology, clearly showed Canada as

stratified in a hierarchical arrangement in which ethnic group or origin and social class

were clearly and persistently aligned. Those of British and, lesser so of, French origin

disproportionately occupy high class positions of high income, prestige, and power in

much of Canada.[119] With regards to the class positions occupied by European immigrants

of non-British and non-French origin as well as non-white immigrants, Porter indicates

that each of these ethnic groups was given an "entrance status" by the "charter group"

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[116] Goldlust and Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Incorporation" 202.

[117] Ibid..

[118] John Porter. 1965. *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

[119] Recent studies indicate, however, that the socioeconomic dominance of Europeans of British and French origin is diminishing, even if only, slightly. see Monica Boyd. 1985. "Immigration and Occupational Attainment in Canada" in Monica Boyd, John Goyder, Frank E. Jones, Hugh H. McRoberts, Peter C. Pineo, and John Porter (eds.), *Ascription and Achievement: Studies in Mobility and Status Attainment in Canada*, Ottawa ON: Carleton University Press, 393-445; Hugh Lautard and Neil Guppy. 1990. "The Vertical Mosaic Revisited: Occupational Differentials among Canadian Ethnic Groups" in Peter S. Li (ed.), *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 189-208.

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members of British and French origin due to the privileges and prerogative that this "charter group" status provided.

Overall, Porter details the degree to which the granting of "entrance status" was imbued with racist doctrines on the inferiority of these later arrivals who were not the preferred ethnic groups.[120] Lower than "charter group" status, "entrance status" refers to particular lower-level, occupational status positions that needed to be filled in the Canadian labor market. The key contribution of Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic*, then, "was the idea that while Canadian society was a colorful kaleidoscope of ethnic groups, there was a vertical or hierarchical dimension to this patterning."[121] In this structured mosaic, newly-arrived immigrants could rise up the occupational and social mobility ladder only when other ethnic groups replaced them at the base. With the arrival of massive numbers of non-white immigrants since the late 1960s, a "new vertical mosaic," that is understood more in racial terms than ethnic terms, has developed in Canada where non-white immigrants encounter definite barriers in the stratification system.[122] In a study of seven major ethnic groups in the City of Toronto, for example, it was found that Chinese and, especially, Afro-Caribbean, immigrants were ensconced at the near bottom of the base, or at "the bottom of the well,"[123] and had the greatest difficulty moving up from it.[124]

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[120] see Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*, 60-73.

[121] Harry H. Hiller. 2000. *Canadian Society: A Macro Analysis*, (4th), Toronto, ON: Prentice-Hall, 94.

[122] Ibid..

[123] This is the partial main title of Bell's book, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well,"* in which he explains how racial dynamics determine the status of blacks in America. see Derrick Bell. 1992. *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*, New York, NY: Basic Books.

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Race therefore still "matters" in Canada as elsewhere.[125] And, for non-white immigrants,

one can suggest that it provides the ideological, political, economic, and cultural

foundation of the major upward mobility barriers that they will confront.

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[124] Breton et al, *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, 257; Subhas Ramcharan. 1982. *Racism: Non-Whites in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Butterworths, 9-10.

[125] For Canada, see Vic Satzewich. 1998. "Introduction" in Vic Satzewich (ed.), *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance*, Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 10-24; ibid.. 1990. "The Political Economy of Race and Ethnicity" in Li, *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, 251-268; Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott. 2003. *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada*, (4th ed.), Toronto, ON: Prentice Hall; Carl E. James. 2003. *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Ethnicity, Race and Culture*, (3rd), Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.. Even amongst black youth, race is perceived as playing a significant role in influencing their career ambitions and aspirations. As James reports:

> A substantial majority believe that being Black means that they have to be conscious of their race since it influences the situation and opportunities they will experience in Canadian society. As one respondent states: 'You'd be a fool to ignore that you're Black. A lot of people would be saying things to put you down and you wouldn't understand.' When asked about the significance of race to him, another youth replied: 'Not only is it significant, it's frightening.'

James continues:

> In this society being Black is qualitatively different from being White. As a Black, skin colour is more significant than being a person, whereas if you are White, skin colour seems not to matter as much, if at all and therefore need not be considered. For youth, being Black in this society matters tremendously, for it indicates to them that they will be treated differently and have different opportunities. see Carl E. James. 1990. *Making It: Black Youth, Racism and Career Aspirations in a Big City*, Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 7-8.

For the United States, see Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*; Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2001. *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers, Inc.; Ibid.. 2003. *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*, New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.; David R. Roediger. 2002. *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. These

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Race is a socially constructed phenomenon based on the erroneous assumption

that physical differences such as skin color, hair color and texture, and facial features are

related to intellectual, moral, or cultural inferiority or superiority. The concept of race has

no basis in biological reality and, as such, has no meaning independent of its social

definitions. But, as a social construction, it significantly affects the lives of non-white

people in Canada when their physical traits are negatively evaluated.[126] For this reason,

the well-established sociological principle which posits that the closer new immigrants

are in terms of physical appearance, class background, language, and religion to the

majority population, the more favorable they are received, and the speedier their

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researchers therefore challenge Wilson's view that, with class becoming more important
than race, the significance of race has declined in America; D'Souza's that it is blacks'
development of an "oppositional culture" that has prevented them from taking advantage of
available opportunities; Thernstrom's and Thernstrom's that race cannot be so significant as
many hold when one considers the vast socioeconomic advancement blacks have made; and
Patterson's view that, by the middle of the twentieth-first century, America will continue to
have many problems but no racial problems. see William Julius Wilson. 1980. *The
Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and the Changing American Institutions*, (2nd ed.),
Chicago, Ill: University Chicago Press; Dinesh D' Souza. 1995. *The End of Racism*, New
York, NY: Free Press; and Stephan Thernstrom and Abigail Thernstrom. 1997. *America in
Black and White: One Nation Invisible: Race in Modern America*, New York, NY: Simon
and Schuster cited in Bonilla-Silva, *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights
Era*; Orlando Patterson. 2000. "Race Over," *New Republic* 222 (January 10): 6 quoted in
Roediger, *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past*, 5-6.

For Britain, see B. Carter, C. Harris, and S. Joshi. 1987. "The 1951-55 Conservative
government and the racialization of Black Immigration" in Winston James and Clive
Harris (eds.). *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain*, London: Verso, 55-71;
Paul Gilroy. 1991. *'There Ain't No Black In The Union Jack': The Cultural Politics of
Race and Nation*, Chicago, ILL: The University of Chicago Press; Winston James. 1993.
"Migration, Racism and Identity Formation: The Caribbean Experience in Britain" in
James et al, *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain*, 231-287.

[126] Frances Henry, Carol Tator, Winston Mathis, and Tim Rees. 1995. *The Colour of
Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, Toronto, ON: Harcourt Brace & Company, 4.

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incorporation,[127] does not hold for non-white immigrants in a white host society. For non-white immigrants in a white host society, no matter their class and social background, racially-based barriers to upward mobility can result in lower returns on their education, skill, and training. They do not encounter a level playing field where only their human capital count.

Moreover, race still "matters" not because certain groups of humankind are differentiated hierarchically and treated differently merely on their different phenotypical characteristics. Rather, race still "matters" because the dominant group has the power[128] to racialize the social relations between them. As Kallen points out:

> [W]ithin any human society, in any historical era, the social construction
> of the concepts of race and ethnicity reflects the ideological, political,
> economic and cultural biases of the ruling authority of the society. Those
> with the power to rule inevitably have to power to define. Populations
> defined in terms of the social constructs of race and ethnicity are not
> merely categorized or classified in a statistical sense; they are evaluation
> in terms of the values and standards established by majority authorities as
> the norms for all members of the society.[129]

Racialization is considered an ideological, political, and economic process that is both exclusionary and allocative. As a process of differentiation, the British understanding of the process of racialization is very much akin to the North American

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[127] Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The Story of the Second Generation,* University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 47.

[128] From a Weberian perspective, power refers to the differential capacity of people to command resources, material, human, and ideological, and thereby control, economic, political, and ideological, social situations. see Edward G. Grabb. 2002. *Theories of Social Inequality,* (4th), Toronto, ON: Harcourt Canada, 4-6; James Curtis, Edward G. Grabb, and Neil Guppy (eds). 2004. *Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems, and Policies,* (4th ed.), Toronto, ON: Prentice-Hall, 10.

[129] Cited in James, *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Ethnicity, Race and Culture,* 34.

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understanding of racism.[130] As, Miles, its chief British articulator, states: "I therefore

employ the concept of racialization to refer to those instances where social relations

between people have been structured by the signification of human biological

characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social

collectivities."[131] Hence, racialization is seen as an exclusionary process that is used not

only to define certain groups of people as "racially" different from the majority

population but to present them, for example, Afro-Caribbean immigrants, as potential

criminals and the source of social and race relations problems in Canada. Additively, as

an allocative process, it is also considered as the process used to assign non-white

immigrants to specific socioeconomic positions within a country.[132] Thus, when Afro-

Caribbean immigrants enter Canada's predominantly white host society, racialization

becomes a major upward mobility impediment. It is considered the most significant

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[130] see Bolaria et al, *Racial Oppression in Canada*; Vic Satzewich. 1998. "Race, Racism, and Racialization: Contested Concepts" in Satzewich, *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance*, 25-45. This process has been defined, elaborated, and applied empirically in the United States by Michael Omi and Howard Winant. 1986. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*, New York, NY: Routeledge; Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Conditions: Politics, Theory, Comparisons*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. The point has been made that British academicians owe a great to their counterparts in the United States for many of the paradigms, theories, concepts, and methods developed and employed in the scholarship, study, and research on racialized relations. see Stephen Small. 1994. *Racialised Barriers: The Black Experience in the United States and England in the 1980s*, New York, NY: Routeledge, 5.

[131] see R. Miles. 1989. *Racism*, London: Routeledge, 75.

[132] see Bolaria et al, *Racial Oppression in Canada*; Satzewich, "Race, Racism, and Racialization: Contested Concepts" 25-45.

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individual and group determinate of the type and extent of upward mobility barriers faced

by Afro-Caribbean immigrants.[133]

This racialization of social relations, or what Small terms "racialised relations"[134]

to comprehend better the processes at work, leads to the exercise of racism in North

America. According to Small:

> The problem with a focus on 'race' and 'race relations' is that it assumes
> that 'races' exist and seeks to understand relations between them...But in
> fact, the problem is not 'race' but 'racisms', not relations between 'races' but
> relations which have been racialised, not the physical attributes of Blacks
> or their presumed inferiority, but the motivations of non-Blacks, and the
> obstacles they impose.[135]

Racism, therefore, is taken to be a system in which one group of people exercises power

over another group on the basis of the negative significance of such phenotypical

characteristics as skin color as well as cultural distinctiveness. In toto, racism, which

seriously bars the upward mobility of non-white immigrants in Canada, refers to the set

of:

> assumptions, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours of individuals as well as to
> the institutional policies, processes, and practices that flow from those
> understandings. It is reflected in the collective belief systems of the

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[133] see Vic Satzewich. 1990. "The Political Economy of Race and Ethnicity" in Li, *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, 251-268.

[134] Small explains that the term "racialised" "...is used to suggest that social structures, social ideologies and attitudes have historically become imbued with 'racial' meaning, that such meanings are contingent and contested, and that they are shaped by a multitude of other variables, economic, political, religious. It emphasises the continuing need to see the intricate relationship between 'racial' meanings and other (economic, political, religious) meanings. see Small, *Racialised Barriers: The Black Experience in the United States and England in the 1980s*, 36.

[135] Ibid., 30. Also, see Peter S. Li. 1999. "Race and Ethnicity" in Peter S. Li (ed.) *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, (2nd ed.), Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press Canada, 8 citing Miles 1982: 34-35.

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dominant culture, and it is woven into the law, language, rules, and norms of Canadian society.[136]

Henry et al consider democratic racism as the particular brand of racism practiced in Canada. Democratic racism is seen as resulting from the continued deployment and employment of racist beliefs and practices in a democratic society that espouses egalitarianism, justice, and fairness for all. In essence, it is the persistent presence and practice of racism in class-stratified societies that espouse the claim of openness. As they describe it:

> The primary characteristic of democratic racism-the most appropriate model for understanding how and why racism continues in Canada-is the justification of the inherent conflict between egalitarian values of justice and fairness and the racist ideologies reflected in the collective mass belief system as well as the racist attitudes, perceptions, and assumptions of individuals.[137]

Also greatly compounding non-white immigrants' ability to enjoy upward mobility is their predominant location in the secondary sector of Canada's labor market. Segmented or split labor market theory argues that industries and jobs are readily divided into primary and secondary sectors, and this division is reinforced by barriers that make it difficult for workers to move from one sector to another. In the primary sector where the "best" jobs are, they are characterized by higher wages and fringe benefits, greater employment stability such as having permanent or fulltime status, a high degree of unionization, and superior working conditions. In contrast, the "bad," low-status and low-

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[136] Henry et al, *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, 4. Also, see Leo Driedger and Angus Reid. 2000. "Public Opinion on Visible Minorities" in Leo Driedger and Shiva S. Halli (eds.), *Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge*, Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 152-171 for a discussion of prejudice, discrimination, and democratic racism in Canada.

[137] Henry et al, *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, 17.

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income jobs are in the secondary sector. These "bad" jobs are often seasonal, temporary, or sporadic; less likely to be unionized; and offer little protection against the vagaries of either the individual employer or the ups and downs of the marketplace. Furthermore, jobs in this split labor market are not solely defined by such wage and benefit differentials but are value-laden occupations as well. They also fit into a status hierarchy and as such are associated with attendant degrees of esteem or scorn. It is also argued that allocations to these separate labor markets follow existing divisions of race and gender and the secondary labor market uses the groups with little bargaining power such as immigrants, women, and youth.[138]

In this regard, one pre-migration demographic characteristic that significantly bars the upward mobility of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada is their sex. Gender, the social meaning applied to one's sex, has always greatly impacted in negative ways the opportunities available to Afro-Caribbean women in Canada. For instance, in relation to the higher occupational positions that Afro-Caribbean, and other, men acquire, it has often led to their placement and concentration in inferior occupational positions with much lower income. As such, some scholars have blamed this concentration on the double burden of racial and gender occupational segregation of Afro-Caribbean women in Canada's secondary labor market.[139] In this respect, even though both female and male

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[138] see Edna Bonacich. 1972. "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market," *American Sociological Review* 37 (October): 547-559; Michael J. Piore. 1979. *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor in Industrial Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Myriam Merlet. 1987. "Black Women Immigrants" in Kathleen Storrie (ed.), *Women: Isolation and Bonding*, Toronto, ON: Methuen, 159-175; Vilna F. Bashi Bobb and Averil Y. Clarke. 2001. "Experiencing Success: Structuring the Perception of Opportunities for West Indians" in Foner, *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, 216-236.

[139] see Hugh Armstrong and Pat Armstrong. 1975. "The segregated participation of women in the Canadian labour force 1941-71," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12, 4 (Part 1): 370-384; Boyd, "Immigration and Occupational Attainment in Canada;" Merlet, "Black Women Immigrants;" Aloma Mary Mendoza.

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Afro-Caribbean immigrants may be subject to similar forms of upward mobility barriers, their significance on their mode of economic incorporation is altered by the modality of gender differentiation. Boyd, for example, finds that the "status of immigrant women in the Canadian labour force can be understood as reflecting the combined negative impact of sex and birthplace or the 'double negative' effect."[140] Meanwhile, Henry sees race and gender discrimination as conditioning the experiences of Afro-Caribbean immigrant women in Canada's labor market by limiting their acquisition to status- enhancing, high-paying jobs.[141]

Immigrant Incorporation and Its Modes

Due to the length of immigrants' residence in a host society, the model presents immigrants as experiencing varying degrees of objective and subjective modes of economic, social, cultural, and political incorporation. Length of residence therefore will provide immigrants with the opportunity to acquire new skills, improve upon their existing skills, and augment their education and training which should greatly facilitate their objective mode of economic incorporation. The objective mode of economic incorporation is considered the first and most important mode of incorporation that

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1990. "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario," Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, Canada; Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism.*

[140] Boyd, "Immigration and Occupational Attainment in Canada" 431. Also, see Carl E. James. 1990. *Making It: Black Youth, Racism and Career Aspirations in a Big City*, Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 20-21 where to be black and female is considered by black women to have "two strikes against you."

[141] *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 104-105.

immigrants experience when they migrate to Canada. It takes into account such economic experiences as "the industries and occupations into which migrants move, their subsequent occupational and social mobility, together with their incomes and expenditures."[142] And, it is said to also provide the social conditions for, or "way station to," greater involvement in other objective modes of incorporation.[143] Likewise, it is also contended that economic incorporation may most likely increase social incorporation because of equal status contacts across racial and ethnic lines in workplaces and neighborhoods.[144]

In like manner, length of residence will also significantly influence the other modes of objective incorporation. The objective mode of immigrants' social incorporation refers to the involvement of immigrants in social networks of primary relationships with relatives and friends as well as in their secondary relationships with the members, organizations, and institutions of a host society. In relation to the objective mode of immigrants' cultural incorporation, their experience here relates to the process of acculturation through language learning together with the interchange of cultural symbols between them and a host society. The final objective mode of immigrants' incorporation in the model is political incorporation. This involves immigrants' acquisition of citizenship or naturalization, participation in the political process of voting, seeking political office, and/or engaging in ethnic politics to pursue the interests of immigrants and other ethnic minority groups in a host society.

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[142] Goldlust and Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Incorporation" 198.

[143] see Ramcharan, *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*, 20.

[144] see Alba and Nee, Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration, 7.

The level of immigrants' involvement in these objective modes of incorporation will greatly influence their perception of their situation in a host society and determine their level of satisfaction. Hence, on the subjective side of the model, the level of immigrants' satisfaction with their objective mode of economic incorporation is considered to be the most important subjective mode to be explored in this study. Here, as well, length of residence significantly and positively influences the level of immigrants' satisfaction. The longer immigrants remain in Canada, the more satisfied they will tend to become. However, it is also the case that the level of immigrant satisfaction with his/her objective mode of economic incorporation in Canada "will almost certainly involve *relative* comparisons with the immigrant's situation before migration, and may also involve comparisons with other immigrants and with members of the receiving society."[145] As such, it is immigrants' relative new occupational and social status that becomes important rather than their absolute levels of gratification and deprivation.

Moreover, inasmuch as a causal connection tends to run from education through occupation to income, immigrants' level of education typically affects their occupational prospects, and their occupations largely determines their income in most cases. Immigrants' occupations are also of fundamental importance because they are often the core of their personal identities, frequently defining who they are in their own minds and in the minds of others. Perhaps for these reasons, occupation has been viewed as the best overall indicator of immigrants' social status position or socioeconomic rank as well as

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[145] Goldlust and Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Incorporation" 199.

indicative of their perceptual and objective experiences of social mobility in Canada's

social stratification system.[146]

Finally, it is assumed in the model that the relationship between the level of

satisfaction and the subjective mode of identification, that is, the modification of

immigrants' sense of identity and transference of loyalty from a home to a host society is

such that the more satisfied immigrants are with their objective mode of economic

incorporation, the more inclined they are to identify with a host society and

concomitantly identify less with a home society.[147] Similarly, related at it is to the

objective mode of cultural incorporation, internalization which refers to the processes of

change in the attitudes and values of immigrants is also positively related to the level of

immigrants' satisfaction with their objective mode of economic incorporation.

Nonetheless, since this study is more concerned with how Afro-Trini immigrants

perceive and respond to the occupational and social statuses acquired with migration to

Canada, these two subjective modes of incorporation, identification and internalization,

though related to objective mode of economic incorporation, are not the focus of this

study.

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[146] see James Curtis, Edward Grabb, and Neil Guppy. 1999. *Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems, Policies* (3rd ed.), Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canàda Inc., 49, 52.

[147] Gordon, for example, found this to be the case with two groups of Jamaican immigrants who migrated to the United States in the pre-1960s and post-1960s periods. "This duality seems to be the response to the changing conditions in the host country: as social and economic conditions improve, they tend to become more identified with America. Conversely, when they were faced with racially based impediments to the pursuit of their goals, they identified strongly with Jamaica." see Monica H. Gordon. 1979. "Identification and Incorporation: A Study of Two Groups of Jamaican Immigrants in New York City," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, New York, 218.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this study, a combined qualitative and quantitative methodology is used to explore

the economic incorporation experiences of Afro-Trini immigrants who live in the Greater

Toronto Area, Canada's most major urban and industrial sprawl. This combination of

methodologies or triangulation is based on "the assumption that any bias inherent in

particular data sources, investigator, and method would be neutralized when used in

conjunction with other data sources, investigators, and methods."[1] With this in mind, a

design with a decidedly dominant qualitative methodology, yet relying strongly on

quantitative data to profile the population under study is utilized in this study.

Qualitative Methodology

The qualitative methodology consists principally of data generation and analysis

from semi-structured, in-depth interviews, more in the form of controlled or structured

two-way "conversations,"[2] together with participant observation. Since this research on

Afro-Trini immigrants in Canada is the first of its kind to be done, the use of semi-

structured, in-depth interviews and participant observation maximizes the possibility of

coming upon unexpected data. In addition, Becker and Geer see the participant observer

as generating data:

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[1] John W. Creswell. 1994. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 174.

[2] see Burgess for more on this data-gathering technique. Robert G. Burgess. 1991. "The Unstructured Interview as a Conversation" in Robert G. Burgess (ed.), *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*, New York, NY: Routeledge, 107-110.

by participating in the daily life of the group or organization that he studies. He watches the people he is studying to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them. He talks with the other participants and discovers their interpretations of the events he has observed.[3]

Through semi-structured, in-depth interviews, two thematic groupings of research data were assembled (see Appendix A for interview guide). The first section of the interviews dealt with gathering research data on the pre-migration and post-migration characteristics of the participants. These characteristics consisted of such general socio-demographic data as length of residence in Canada; residential mobility and homeownership; migration history; motivations for, and auspices of, migration; age; age at arrival; marital status; number, sex, ages of children, and ages of children at time of their arrival in Canada; and educational, economical, and occupational status attained in Trinidad and Canada. More pre-migration and post-migration research data, but more of a subjective nature, were gathered in the other section. Here, the focus was on gathering data on participants' perception of their lived experiences in the Canadian economy and society, especially in regard to their employment experiences: on the various jobs that they held; how were they acquired?; how long did they stay at each job?; how satisfied were they with each job in relation to their level of education, skill, and training?; how did the first job compare with the job that was held at home?; why did they leave one job for another?; and what was their present job? More subjective themes also probed were participants' pre-migration expectations and initial post-migration experiences; on whether they felt that they had been prejudiced and discriminated against during their

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[3] see Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer. 1991. "Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Field Data" in Burgess, *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*, 239.

search for jobs, housing, etc. and during their search for better jobs; and on how they have responded to the prejudices and discrimination or barriers that they believed confronted them, especially during their job searches as well as within their various workplaces.

Sample Population

Since the study's focus was to explore Afro-Trini immigrants' economic incorporation experiences in Canada, length of residence was an important criterion of participant selection. It was assumed that those Afro-Trini immigrants who entered Canada from the period of the first large-scale, Afro-Caribbean migration to Canada in the late 1960s to around the 1980s would have been here the longest and as such would more likely to have had first-hand experiences with some of the issues in which I was interested. My main selection considerations, therefore, were that:

   a: The participants should have migrated to Canada between the late 1960s and 1980s.

   b: They should be living in the Greater Toronto Area because that is the urban area where the overall majority of Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, immigrants reside.

   c: They should be adults.

   d: There should be an equal number of women and men.

   e: Some of the participants should be related by marriage.

The sample, therefore, consists of 20 adult Afro-Trini female and male immigrants who migrated to Canada from the late 1960s to 1980 and now reside in the Greater Toronto Area. The sample's size, 20, though small, was not determined beforehand but rather by the constraints of the research process itself. In qualitative

research of this nature, small sample sizes are not uncommon. For example, Plaza

examined the social mobility strategies of 20 black, Caribbean-born men in Toronto.[4] On

the other side of the continent, Ho, in her study of the structure of group life of Afro-

Trinis in Los Angeles, used a sample size of 30. She, too, was guided by the constraints

of a small-scale research being conducted by a researcher interested "in the intensive

knowledge of a few, rather than the relatively superficial knowledge generally obtained

in large-scale surveys."[5]

    With the Trini immigrant population residing throughout the Greater Toronto

Area, a simple random sample of participants was not possible. Moreover, the lack of

census stock data on the Afro-Trini segment of this population did not make this

sampling approach realistic. Snowball sampling, in which a participant is asked to

provide the names of additional participants, was one of two gathering techniques

adopted. At a large Caribbean outdoor social event, I was introduced to an Afro-Trini

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[4] see Dwaine Plaza. 1996. "The Strategies and Strategizing of University Educated Black
Caribbean-born Men in Toronto: A Study of Occupation and Income Achievements," Ph.D.
diss., York University, Toronto.

[5] see Christine G. T. Ho. 1985. "The Caribbean Connection: Transnational Social Networks,
Non-Assimilation and the Structure of Group Life Among Afro-Trinidadian Immigrants in
Los Angeles," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles. There are other excellent
qualitative studies that have used slightly larger samples. For example, Kibria inquired
into the processes of change in the immigrant life and gender relations of 31 Vietnamese
Americans divided into 15 women and 16 men. Hongdagneu-Sotelo interviewed 44
participants in her investigation into the role of gender relations in the migration and
settlement of Mexican immigrants. And, Thornton Dill explored the relationship of work
and family among 26 African American women who worked as domestic service
providers for most of their lives in Philadelphia and New York. see Nazli Kibria. 1993.
Family Tightrope: The Changing Lives of Vietnamese Americans, Princeton: Princeton
University Press; Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo. 1994. *Gendered Transition: Mexican
Experiences of Immigration*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Bonnie Thornton
Dill. 1994. *Across The Boundaries of Race and Class: An Exploration of Work and Family
Among Black Female Domestic Servants*, New York, NY: Garland.

female who was a member of the Caribbean group that had organized the event. A short time later, I contacted her by telephone and elicited her participation. She agreed to be interviewed as well as furnish me with the names and telephone numbers of some of the members of her organization. She also promised to speak to them beforehand about the nature of the interview so as to relieve me of the need to seek their assent to participate. Through this initial contact, therefore, I was able, through the snowball sampling technique, to gather 11 additional Afro-Trini immigrants willing to be interviewed about facets of their lived experiences in Canada.

Opportunistic sampling was also utilized, meaning that as the word got around about my research, there were a few who contacted me and indicated their willingness to participate. For example, two couples related by marriage to each other were willing participants. At every opportunity, I attempted to enlist participants whenever and wherever I encountered Afro-Caribbean people. One participant turned out to be the male barber I was using at the time. Another was a female cashier at the supermarket I frequented. At my place of work, at one of the financial institutions in downtown Toronto, I was also able to enlist 2 female participants. The boundaries of the sample were also manipulated by me in various ways. To ensure an equitable number of women and men, they were selected with this care in mind. Since it was my intention to conduct joint interviews with both wives and husbands present, I sought to include wife and husband teams in the sample.

Seeking to assemble participants of a certain social class background, for example, working class or middle class, was not one of the selection considerations in this study. However, since the snowball sampling technique tends to provide participants

who know each other and as such, most often, are of the same socioeconomic standing, there is a clear middle class bias in the sample of participants gathered. When this became obvious, efforts were made through opportunistic sampling to include more working class participants. In the end, though, this did not alter the overall middle class character of the sample. Taking into consideration, either their educational standing, white collar occupations, self-employment, or suburban life-style, especially through their ownership of suburban homes, all of the participants turned out to be middle class participants.

The Setting

Fortunately, in most cases, I did not have to drive too far afield from my home base at Pickering to conduct the interviews at participants' homes. Starting from the farthest home location east of Pickering, 7 of the participants lived in Oshawa which is approximately 15 miles east of Pickering, 1 lived in Whitby, and 5 lived in Ajax (see Figure 5.1). From the western point, 2 participants lived in Mississauga which is approximately 50 miles from Pickering. Three of the participants lived in Scarborough which borders Pickering to the west. Of the 2 participants who were interviewed in downtown Toronto, 1 lived in the City of Toronto while the other lived in Scarborough. In terms of the Greater Toronto Area, 17 of the 20 or 85% of the participants lived in the east.

Qualitative Data Gathering Techniques

Two modes of qualitative data gathering techniques were utilized in this study. The interview phase took place between September 1998 and December 1998. The participant observation phase of the research was ongoing from the time of my entry into the field, in June 1997, to June 1999.

Interview Process

The average time of interviews was approximately 3.5 hours. However, it was not uncommon for some, especially joint interviews in which wives and husbands were present, to be as long as four hours. Most of the interviews took place on evenings and weekends at the homes of the participants and in five instances at the participants' place of work.

Prior to each interview, I formally introduced myself as a doctoral student from Michigan State University, originally from Chaguanas, Trinidad, who was conducting research on Afro-Trini immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area. In explaining the essence of my research, I informed them that I was interested in how they were able to "make-it" in Canada and that I was especially interested in their employment experiences: why did they migrate to Canada?; how did they obtain their first job and subsequent jobs?; whether they had experienced prejudices and discrimination in Canada in obtaining work, in the allocation of work, in accessing available promotional job opportunities, etc.?; and on how have they responded to the prejudices and discrimination or barriers that they felt confronted them, especially within their various workplaces?

I sought their permission to audio-tape the interviews expected to last at least two hours. I also assured them that anything they said will be kept confidential and that I

alone would listen to the tapes and read the notes. They were also given an opportunity to question me regarding any concerns about the nature of the research. Some were quite congratulatory about my academic goal to obtain a Ph.D. while others did want to know more about my work and a few were quite concerned about confidentiality and privacy. Notwithstanding the fact that I was expected to act the role of the interviewer, I knew I was invited into Afro-Trini homes more as a fellow Trini guest. Thus, as is the Trini custom, I was offered either a cup of coffee or a cold beverage at most of the homes. One participant went so far as to prepare a sumptuous, traditional peas and rice dinner called "pelau" in Trinidad.

Most all participants spoke freely about their lived experiences in Canada and Trinidad and were quite pleased to participate in the research. I am convinced that my "race/ethnic insider" status was also responsible for the degree of cooperation and support received. As such, the tape recorder did not turn out to be an obtrusive object between us but, rather, may have been viewed as a tangible repository of their involvement and contribution to the research. It could have also been the case that the events recounted and experiences described were made more substantial, more real, in being recorded and/or written down.

Joint interviews with both wife and husband present were dynamic social interactions. While all of these joint interviews evolved with both wife and husband at times holding alternative views on various issues such as their perceptual experiences of discrimination, with one exception, neither wife nor husband sought to change each other views. During this one joint interview, however, a wife became quite adamant whenever her husband sought to interpret an issue different from hers. She repeatedly attempted to

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change his views to be in line with her thinking. My transcribed notes on this dynamic social interaction were:

> June[6] had dominated the interview-interrupting Steve at every turn-finishing his sentences and changing his thought pattern in relation to what he had planned to say.

To cool tempers, I interrupted gracefully by introducing other questions so that this "conversation with a purpose" did not become too unstructured.

I chose to conduct these wife-husband interviews jointly because immigrants' decision-making and experiences are generally shared family decision-making and experiences in which women are extremely important participants. For example, deciding whether to migrate or not, when to migrate, and where to go or not to go are, in most cases, family decisions. I, therefore, wanted to understand how and under what conditions intended immigrants or immigrants decide to do what they do and their perception of what they do. The form of these joint interviews was that I asked questions either of a wife or of a husband at first and then repeated the same questions to the other, or as in most cases, the other participant would volunteer information. However, answers to most questions, especially those dealing with subjective data, were obtained from wives and husbands in joint dialogue. In this regard, these interviews "became dynamic social interactions wherein multiple dialogues were conducted between multiple selves" and in which data were generated rather than collected.[7] Thus, I was neither "objective" nor "detached" but rather "engaged."

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[6] Pseudonyms are used throughout this study so as to protect the identity of participants.

[7] see Peter Collins. 1998. "Negotiating Selves: Reflections on 'Unstructured' Interviewing," [Online] Available ttp://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/3/3/2.html.

Engagement implies a willingness on the part of the interviewer to understand the interviewee's response to a question or prompt in the wider context of the interview(s) as a whole. The interviewee might develop a narrative thread almost regardless of the disparate questions put to them. Such 'meta-narratives' may or may not relate to the explicit subject under review and provide the interviewee with a ready means of countering and undermining the unequal relations of power which are said to typify all interviews.[8]

These interviews, therefore, became combined accounts of events and experiences together with our attempts to interpret them. In similar fashion to Collins' description of his role while interviewing participants who were experiencing the effects of a local government reorganization, our accounts of our events and experiences were constituted, partly at least, in their telling and re-telling.

The interviews often involve a stream of narrative, involving an intricate braiding of stories. Interviewees, in telling stories about themselves in relation to others, reconstitute themselves. As the interviewer I am not, I cannot be, merely a passive observer in all this, even though it is primarily the interviewee's life which is under scrutiny. In encouraging the interviewee to tell me these stories and in asking them to develop a sub-plot here and a character there, I am encouraging them to construct and reconstruct themselves and contribute to this by exchanging stories of my own.[9]

To further evoke personal migration narratives and so generate data, I rarely held the typed interview guide in my hand but, yet, situated it in such a way, either on my lap or on the table in front of me, that I was able to glance at the questions from time to time without disrupting the flow of the dialogue. More times than not, however, I listened much more than I conversed, allowing the participants to speak as freely as possible without interrupting but with an encouraging nod here and there and with a word or phrase thrown in at appropriate times to emphasize and/or to suggest an empathetic

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[8] Ibid..

[9] Ibid..

connection with their experiences. Not surprisingly, these interviews turned out to be much longer than I had planned and had promised to participants when I initially contacted them. Two hours of semi-structured, in-depth interviewing in the form of conversation was difficult to achieve. The shortest interview was of 2.5 hours duration.

Conducting field research was neither all glamour nor all passion. Working full time at my job; assembling participants; spending time away from members of my family on evenings and weekends; driving and walking through a drab fall, and through a cold and bitter winter; listening, speaking, and sharing experiences with participants hours on end; and then transcribing a voluminous amount of generated data from so many tapes; these are all very constitutive, in part, of my definition of 'the field' and, reflexively, of my role in it. However, though interviewing was a major portion of my field research, it was done in conjunction with participant observation.

Participant Observation

There are certain shortcomings inherent in the generation of qualitative research data based solely on the self-report of participants. For instance, as Whyte suggests, in interpreting self report data the researcher must be cautious because participants either may attempt to please the interviewer and so report what they believe the interviewer wishes to hear or may provide responses influenced by idiosyncratic factors such as the participants' mood at the time of interview.[10] In addition, as is often the case, participants narrate on their past experiences. How these past experiences are remembered and

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[10] see William Foote Whyte. 1991. "Interviewing in Field Research" in Burgess, *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*, 115.

interpreted however, has a lot to do with the present, the present recreates the past.[11]

Participants, therefore, can be very selective in the responses given if they decide that certain unsavory or illegal past acts or experiences do not fit well with their present status. This does not mean that they intentionally lie, though this can occur, but they tend to perceive their present world in a particular fashion and do seek to present it in that fashion. It is therefore advisable to supplement data based on self-report in interviews with more qualitative data based on some form of observation.

"Living in the field" of the Caribbean community of the Greater Toronto Area for two years, I was not only a participant observer *of* the Caribbean community, but an observer *in* the Caribbean community as well. Thus, in addition to interviews, I observed Afro-Caribbean, and other black people, as I engaged in participant observation in homes, workplaces, and social events. My workplace at a financial institution also proved to be a most important site of participant observation. This immersion in Caribbean life in the Greater Toronto Area gave me a deeper feel for, and first-hand knowledge of, aspects of Afro-Trini immigrants' lives in Canada. Participant observation, therefore, allowed me to look at the information gleaned from the interviews in ways different to how I would have looked at it if I were not an "insider", racially/ethnically aligned to the group under study, and if I were not residing and observing its members within the community.

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[11] see Malcolm Chapman, Maryon McDonald, and Elizabeth Tonkin. 1989. "Introduction-History and Social Anthropology" in Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald, and Malcom Chapman (eds.), *History and Ethnicity*, New York, NY: Routeledge, 1-21.

Quantitative Methodology

The quantitative aspect of the study involved mainly the analysis of primary

Canadian immigration flow and census stock data on the Caribbean immigrant and

Caribbean-origin[12] populations in Canada from the 1956 to 1996 Canadian censuses.

Secondary data were also incorporated throughout the study. Secondary data sources used

were theses and research publications located at Michigan State University in East

Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., and at York University and the University of Toronto in

Toronto, Canada. These secondary sources provided pertinent historical and sociological

data on immigration-related issues. Though, generally, the data were not always

incorporated in the study, the Caribbean print newspapers such as the *Caribbean Camera*,

Pride, and *Share* published and circulated in the Greater Toronto Area and the *Trinidad*

Express and *Trinidad Guardian*, online newspapers of Trinidad and Tobago, supplied

invaluable, current and contextual information on Canada and Trinidad that neither the

Toronto Star, one of the Greater Toronto Area's most widely-read newspaper, local

television, nor radio provided.

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[12] Instead of the Canadian census designation of Caribbean ethnic origin, Caribbean-origin, the more commonly used designation in the Canadian immigration literature, is used throughout this study. A Canadian- or Caribbean-born person who reported that she/he has Caribbean-origin roots or of Caribbean ancestry in response to the ethnic origin question in the 1996 Canadian census was counted as a person of Caribbean ethnic origin. To this question, persons of Caribbean ethnic origin would have reported that they either/or were a combination of Antiguan, Bahamian, Barbadian, Bermudan, Cuban, Grenadian, Guyanese, Haitian, Jamaican, Kittitian/Nevisian, St. Lucian, Trinidadian/ Tobagonian, Vincentian/Grenadinian, West Indian, and Caribbean ancestry(ies). Persons who reported a single response, that is, either Antiguan, Bahamian, or Barbadian for example, were included in the "Caribbean single ethnic category." Persons who reported a combination of any of the above origins or who reported Caribbean and non-Caribbean-origins were included in "Caribbean multiple ethnic category." see Statistics Canada, Dimension Series, *Ethnocultural and Social Characteristics of the Canadian Population*, Use Guide on Origin; Statistics Canada, *1996 Census Dictionary*.

The major aspects of the quantitative data, however, came from te following

primary Canadian sources:

a: Statistics Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Statistics, 1996: the annual admissions of all immigrants to Canada from 1962 and their provinces of intended residence.

b: Statistics Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1956-1996: annual admissions and the sex and age composition of single Caribbean immigrant populations.

c: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File on a 20% sample, the 1 in 5, sub-sample of respondents, 15 years and over: socio-demographic data on the Caribbean-origin population in Canada by age and marital status.

d: Statistics Canada, Dimension Series, Ethnocultural and Social Characteristics of the Canadian Population, 1996; 1996 Census *Nation* Tables and *Daily* [Online]: racial breakdown and provincial distribution of Canada's non-European population.

e: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996: profile of census subdivisions [computer file]: city-area distribution of single Caribbean immigrant populations in the Greater Toronto Area.

Though considerable primary quantitative data were amassed for this study, much

more needed immigration flow and census stock data were not available. For Canada,

Statistics Canada collects and makes available to the public statistical information on

immigration flows as well as census stock data on the socio-demographic characteristics

of its native and immigrant populations. But, the compilation of select immigration and

census stock data on immigrants admitted into Canada has a lot to do with the size of

immigration flows and the resultant size of the immigrant populations. Generally, the

expectation is that an immigrant population should reach a certain critical mass before

more selective data are compiled. Prior to the late 1960s, Caribbean people were not a

sizeable immigrant population in Canada. As such, more varied, select immigration and

census stock data were not compiled by Statistics Canada. Because of this, official

statistics on the flow of Caribbean immigrants as a whole were, therefore, available only from 1956 while immigration flow data from single Caribbean countries were available only from 1965. Thus, there was not much early available statistical information on immigrants admitted into Canada from single Caribbean countries.

Changes to Canada's criteria of immigrant admission also affected the use of certain immigration flow data. As a case in point, my collection of immigration flow data such as the annual admission of Caribbean immigrants under particular classes, for example, the independent class,[13] had to be curtailed since the "points system" that is currently in use to admit independent immigrants was subjected to changes, in the past, based on Canada's labor needs. As such, it was not possible to carry out considerable flow data analysis of Caribbean immigrants who were permitted to enter Canada under this admission class. Nonetheless, in order to have a better understanding of the population under study, original tables on available immigration flow and census stock data were constructed on Caribbean immigrants in Canada.

To show the importance of the Greater Toronto Area as the appropriate setting to conduct research on the economic incorporation experiences of Afro-Trini immigrants in Canada, primary data from the 1996 Canadian census were used in original tables to draw a statistical portrait so as to situate and describe the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago in Canada in general and in the province of Ontario and in the Greater Toronto Area in particular. Other original tables were also constructed to deal with census stock data such as the sex and age composition, and marital status of immigrants

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[13] Immigrants admitted into Canada under the independent class are non-sponsored immigrants who were able to acquire the required admission "points" based largely, but not solely, on their education, skill, and training.

from Trinidad and Tobago, as well as immigrants from the Haiti, Jamaica, and Guyana, and members of the Caribbean-origin population. The immigration flow and census stock data presented in these tables were quite valuable in showing to what extent the Afro-Trini participants were representative of the larger immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago, the Caribbean immigrant population, and the Caribbean-origin population in Canada.

To describe the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago further, and especially its Afro-Trini component, various other original tables of Canada's non-white populations and their provincial distribution were also put together. Though this description of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago by race was considered a necessary and a vitally important aspect of the study, no solid primary or secondary census stock data were obtained on the racial character of immigrants from single Caribbean countries. Nevertheless, many researchers are of the view that the post-1960s Caribbean immigration to Canada continued, as before, to be dominated by the flow of Afro-Caribbean people. Walker, for example, explains that even though immigration statistics do not specify an immigrant's race when the application for admission into Canada is made, surveys and interviews suggest that over 80 percent of Caribbean immigrants were of African or partially of African descent, and most of the remainder are of Indian ancestry. Chinese and Whites make up a relatively small percentage of the total.[14] Obtaining more definitive census stock data from Statistics Canada, however, was costly, running as high as $2,000 Canadian dollars.

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[14] see James W. St. G. Walker. 1984. *The West Indians in Canada*, Toronto: Canada's Ethnic Groups, Canadian Historical Association, Booklet No. 6: 13.

Fortuitously, though, with the results from the first Canadian census, 1996, to ask the race question directly, I was able to gather and present census stock data in original tables on the racial make-up of the Caribbean-origin and Caribbean immigrant populations in Canada, in the province of Ontario, and in the Greater Toronto Area. Unfortunately, however, since such much needed census stock data on single Caribbean immigrant populations in Canada were not obtained, my presentation of a very recent, statistical portrait of the black segment of the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago was somewhat limited. Regardless of this statistical deficiency, however, when the immigration flow and census stock data of the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago were analyzed conjunctly, strong conclusions were drawn on the likely preponderance of Afro-Trini immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area.

Finally, some additional original tables also constructed with data from the 1996 Canadian census compared the educational, occupational, and income status of members of the Caribbean-origin population, white Canadian-born population, and the Chinese, South Asian, and Black non-white populations in Canada and in the City of Toronto. The quantitative data compared in these tables did not only provide strong evidence of the existence of systemic and institutional racism in Canada but complemented the participants' subjective evaluations of their experiences of it. Though members of the Caribbean-origin population were as educated and, in some respects, more educated than members of the white Canadian-born population, they were not employed in similar occupations, especially in managerial positions, in equitable proportions to members of the white Canadian-born population. Consequently, they were not in receipt of incomes commensurate to their education. Moreover, a higher proportion of them received the

lower incomes while smaller proportions of them received higher incomes to members of

the white Canadian-born population.

Conclusion

The combined qualitative and quantitative methodology was quite appropriate for

this research on the economic incorporation experiences of Afro-Trini immigrants in the

Greater Toronto Area. For one thing, while the qualitative methodology brought about

the individuality and distinctiveness of members of the group under study, it was

counterbalanced by the generalizations of data generated in the quantitative methodology.

Both methodologies, therefore, were quite complementary to each other.
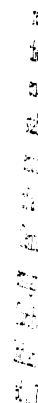
CHAPTER 4

A CULTURE OF CARIBBEAN MIGRATION

Since emancipation from British enslavement in 1838, a culture of Caribbean

migration emerged from Afro-Caribbean people's growing belief that migration was the

most likely successful avenue to access employment opportunities. Consequently, by the

late 19th century, the large and diverse circulation of Afro-Caribbean people identified

both by a continuation of intra-Caribbean regional migration and the emergence of

foreign ones signified that the culture of Caribbean migration was in full bloom. These

movements to areas outside of the Caribbean region were largely precipitated and given

direction by the global expansion of European and American capital investment in canal,

railway, and fruit-company operations in the Central and South American periphery.[1]

Though male migrants dominated the labor circulation, women, especially those from

Barbados, also represented an important segment of these movements.[2]

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[1] Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. 1978. "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" in Colin G. Clarke (ed.), *Caribbean Social Relations*, The University of Liverpool, Centre for Latin-American Studies, Monograph Series No. 8: 66.

[2] Thomas-Hope indicates that, to relieve the stresses of overpopulation, lack of jobs, and resulting civil disorder, the Barbadian government actively encouraged emigration from the 1880s. As such, during the migration to Panama, not only were male laborers encouraged to leave but women also probably to discourage the men's return by stabilizing the community abroad. By 1901, it is estimated that 2,000 women had been encouraged to emigrate from Barbados to Panama. see Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" 74. For more on the Barbadian government's role to support emigration, see Howard Johnson. 1973. "Barbadian Immigrants in Trinidad 1870-1897," *Caribbean Studies* 13, 3 (October): 5-30; Dawn I. Marshall. 1987. "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies" in Barry B. Levine (ed.), *The Caribbean Exodus*, New York, NY: Praeger, 15-31.

The black immigrants who constitute the majority of the participants involved in

the movements from Trinidad during this period had arrived either voluntarily or

involuntarily from the United States,[3] Africa,[4] and the nearby smaller Caribbean islands.[5]

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[3] Due to labor recruitment drives in North America instigated and funded by Trinidad planters between 1839 and 1847, 216 blacks from the United States (called *Merekins* in Trinidad) arrived in November 1839 while, by 1847, a further 1,301 arrived mainly from Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. However, these *Merekins* did not stay too long on the island. Trinidad's high cost of living and archaic sugar production methods in which mule power was still used while the operations were more mechanized in British Guiana led many to go there where their skills were more in demand. Others returned to the United States, so that in 1848 only 148 of them were still working regularly on the estates. Despite various attempts to induce others to emigrate with the offer of Crown lands and easy naturalization laws, this migration from the United States soon ended. Though British North America (now Canada) was also targeted, no labor immigrants went to Trinidad but to Jamaica instead. see K. O. Laurence. 1958. "Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1834-1871," Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University; Donald Wood. 1986. *Trinidad in Transition: The Years After Slavery*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 67, 68.

[4] Unlike the system of Indian indentureship which was said to have been very akin to African slavery, not as much has been written on how the African indentureship system operated in the British Caribbean. However, much more research has been conducted on the compulsory nature of the recruitment of Africans to serve as indentures in Trinidad, and other British Caribbean islands. Comprising predominantly of "Liberated Africans," Africans who were rescued from slave ships by the British Navy after the British slave trade was abolished in 1807, Trinidad received 8,390 (23 percent) of the 36,130 African labor immigrants who crossed the Atlantic Ocean from the British African Protectorates of Sierra Leone and St. Helena to the British Caribbean between 1841 and 1867. For "Liberated Africans," this migration was in no way voluntary. In charge of the entire recruitment process, the British government forced their compliance with the withdrawall of rations and other allowances; by separating them from other Africans in the 'Queens Yard,' where they were housed, so as to make them more susceptible to the overtures of recruiters; and by reducing their residency status in Sierra Leone and St. Helena from four weeks in January 1843 to one week in April 1844. In addition, the period of involuntary indenture was incrementally increased from two years in 1850 to three years in 1852 to five years in 1863. see R. R. Kuczynski. 1948. *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire* 1, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 136-137; G. W. Roberts. 1954. "Immigration of Africans into the British Caribbean," *Population Studies* 7, 3 (March): 256; Maureen Warner. 1972. "Africans in 19th Century Trinidad (Part 1)," *African Studies Association of the West Indies*, bulletin no. 5 (December): 32-36.

[5] With wages high in Trinidad in relation to wages in the nearby smaller Caribbean islands [wages of 50 cents a day were approximately four times higher than in the other

In choosing to continue their trek from Trinidad, these recently-arrived black immigrants were being "strategically flexible" by enlarging their labor routes to areas where high-paying jobs were available. In taking up the option to migrate in search of employment opportunities abroad, therefore, they were adaptively responding to a rigid system of social stratification that limited upward mobility options in post-emancipation Trinidad as well as to the mobility of global capitalism that opened up employment opportunities abroad.

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islands], labor recruitment drives were also pursued in these islands to entice black laborers to Trinidad. So strong was the lure to Trinidad that 10,278 black labor migrants entered Trinidad between 1839 and 1849. More data provided by Marshall show that between 1835 and 1921, close to 70,000 black labor migrants entered Trinidad and British Guiana, with the majority being migrants from Barbados, an overly densely populated island even then, St. Kitts, Nevis, St. Vincent, and Grenada. The voluntary departure from these islands was so intense that restrictive measures were adopted by these islands' governments to impede it. Refusing to be bound to plantation labor by yearly contacts, return migration became an integral component of this intra-Caribbean circulation in which quite a large percentage of these labor migrants were sojourners rather than permanent settlers, who arrived seasonally to work on the plantations and then returned after the sugar cane harvest was completed. Though more permanent settlers dominated the later flows to Trinidad as migration progressed throughout the century, those who settled permanently did not remain in plantation labor for a long period. For one thing, the low wages paid for plantation labor after 1847 brought about by the depression, due to the passage of the Sugar Duties Act of 1846 in which British Caribbean sugar was charged the same import duty as beet and slave grown sugar, encouraged a desertion of plantation labor. Consequently, by 1847 only 3,000 of these laborers remained working on the estates. In fact, subsistence farming emerged as a more profitable option to plantation labor for them. Likewise, work in road and rail construction that expanded in the 1870s and 1880s also drew many away from plantation labor. And, with wages in Trinidad still higher than those in the other Caribbean islands, many of them, especially Barbadians, were drawn to the jobs available in this sector. see Laurence, "Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1834-1871" 16, 58-59; Johnson, "Barbadian Immigrants in Trinidad 1870-1897" 7; R. W. Beachey. 1978. *The British West Indies Sugar Industry in the late 19th Century,* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press; Wood, *Trinidad in Transition: The Years After Slavery,* 66; Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies" 19; Bridget Brereton. 1979. *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900,* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 97.

It is also relevant here to note that overseas migration also began spontaneously

and at times followed patterns inconsistent with a simple explanation based on

differentials of work and wages.[6] For instance, while members of Trinidad's dominant

white elite were preoccupied with maintaining their socioeconomic status mainly through

their continued control of the plantation economy and society, their efforts were matched

by the dedication of members of the majority black population to consolidate their

recently-achieved freedom by enlarging their physical and upward mobility options.[7] As

such, even though the increasing migration of black people from Trinidad and other

Caribbean countries occurred during periods of economic crisis in the British Caribbean,[8]

it did not always bear a consistent strong relationship to internal or external economic

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[6] Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" 66.

[7] Thomas-Hope contends that migration from one's domiciled country was perceived by the formerly enslaved African as the main means to attain the sense of freedom that was yearned. see Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" 66.

[8] The fall in sugar prices of more than 50 percent between early 1880s and mid-1890s, as a result of the doubling in European production of beet sugar between 1850 and 1860 and its near tripling between 1860 and 1870, Mandle writes, devastated the British Caribbean sugar industry. Compounding the situation further, were the serious outbreaks of cane disease in the British Caribbean that accompanied considerable hurricane damage to Barbados and the Leeward islands in 1898, Montserrat and Nevis in 1899, and Jamaica, four times between 1911 and 1921. In 1902, St. Vincent also suffered from a volcanic eruption of Soufriere of devastating proportions which claimed 2,000 lives. Combined, these economic and natural disasters made this period one of the most crucial for the sugar industry in the British Caribbean, with widespread bankruptcy of sugar plantations and even the abandonment of many. Consequently, massive layoffs, accompanied by wage reductions, occurred in the sugar industry. see Jay R. Mandle. 1996. *Persistent Underdevelopment: Change and Economic Modernization in the West Indies*, Amsterdam, Netherlands: Gordon and Breach, 41; Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies" 20.

trends.[9] This is not to imply, however, that wage differentials were of no consequence in

the migration decisions of individual migrants. But, rather, it was more a reflection of

black people's definition of their situation and of their alternatives at the time.

Early Regional Migration, 1870s to 1930s:
Caribbean, Central American, and South American Regions

From the 1870s, but more so from the mid-1890s, Trinidad's black population,

especially its urban and rural working class members, engaged in a new form of labor

migration alongside other Afro-Caribbean people. For the first time, industries other than

sugar, where most of them were U.S. business investments, attracted these black laborers.

As Watson notes:

> American capital began to play an important role in redeploying sections
> of the population of the Caribbean black diaspora. For the first time large
> numbers of the post emancipation peasantry and agro-proletariat found
> employment outside of the sugar plantation environment.[10]

It was also a first that the destinations were other than those in the Caribbean region.

Considerable numbers of Afro-Caribbean labor migrants, therefore, began to work in

other countries in the Central and South American regions where they earned "yankee

dollars" in the oilfields of Venezuela; the gold and diamond mines of French Guiana; the

banana plantations of Costa Rica, Mexico, Colombia, Nicaragua, Honduras, and

Guatemala; the sugar cane industry of Cuba and the Dominican Republic; in railway

construction in Mexico, and even as enforcers over Amerindian laborers on the rubber

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[9] Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian
Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" 66.

[10] see Hilbourne Watson. 1988. "Structural Determinants in the Reproduction of the
Caribbean Diaspora: Surplus Labor, Unequal Exchange and Merchant Capital,"
Caribbean Studies, 21, 3-4, (July-December): 10.

plantations in the Putumayo district of the Amazon.[11] Such movements reinforced

existing migration and circulation patterns as well as the notion of migration as a major

upward mobility strategy.

The Panama Canal construction, however, drew most of the regional laborers

between 1880 and 1914. More than any other Afro-Caribbean population, Jamaican and

Barbadian labor migrants dominated all migration flows. Newton estimates that

approximately 60,000 Afro-Caribbean immigrants were recruited between 1850 and

1914, mostly by Isthmian Canal Commission (I.C.C.) agents, to work on the construction

sites of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Relocation.[12] With the United States'

takeover of canal construction in Panama in 1904, after the failure of the French

company, Universal Inter-Oceanic Company, that initiated the project, it is reported that a

further 19,900 of the 31,071 Afro-Caribbean immigrants employed came from Barbados

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[11] see Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation;" Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies;" Peter D. Fraser. 1990. "Nineteenth-Century West Indian Migration to Britain" in Ransford W. Palmer (ed.), *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean*, New York, NY: Praeger, 19-37; Trevor Purcell. 1993. *Banana Fallout: Class, Color, and Culture among West Indians in Costa Rica*, Los Angeles, CA: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California; Howard Johnson. 1998. "Barbadian migrants in the Putumayo district of the Amazon, 1904-11" in Mary Chamberlain (ed.), *Caribbean Migration: Globalized Identities*, New York, NY: Routeledge, 177-187.

[12] see Velma Newton. 1983. "Recruiting West Indian Labourers for the Panama Canal and Railroad Construction Projects, 1850-1914," *Journal of Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 3: 19. Other Afro-Caribbean laborers who were recruited by the I.C.C. between 1904 and 1914 came from Fortune Island (361), Guadeloupe (2,053), Martinique (5,542), Jamaica (47), Trinidad (1,427), Curacao (23), St. Kitts (942), St. Lucia (55), St. Vincent (296), Grenada (93), and British Guiana (332). see Linda Basch. 1982. *Population Movements within the English-speaking Caribbean: An Overview*, United Nations Institute for Training and Research (January), Department of Anthropology, New York University, 21.

between 1904 and 1914.[13] It is also reported that in a ten year period, around 10,000 Afro-

Caribbean laborers, principally from Curacao, Trinidad, Barbados, and other neighboring

islands, sought out the high-paying jobs in the oil producing area of Maracaibo in

Venezuela.[14] The completion of the Panama Canal in 1914 and the discriminatory treatment

meted out to Afro-Caribbean labor migrants within and at the borders of these countries[15]

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[13] Ibid., 19-20.

[14] Ira de Augustine Reid. 1939. *The Negro Immigrant: His Background Characteristics and Social Adjustment*, New York: Columbia University Press, 61-66; Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies" 23.

[15]   The early 20th century was a period in which black labor migrants experienced, not only discrimination at their various locations, but also repatriation from and prohibition from entering many of these same countries. Practicing a form of disguised Jim Crowism in Panama, a two-tier wage structure was instituted in which white American employees, who mostly displaced black workers, were placed on the gold rolls and received salaries of $75.00 plus per month which were 25 percent higher than what they would have received in the United States. Contrastingly, the more numerous Afro-Caribbean laborers doing the same work were entered on the silver roll and received less pay, $20.00 to $75.00 per month. Afro-Caribbean laborers were also discriminated in hospitals, restaurants, recreation, railway travel, and in the provision of education services. Additionally, at the end of construction of the Panama Canal, more than 13,000 black "Antillanos" were repatriated between 1914 and 1921 though, it is suggested that, many of them may have returned amongst the 9,000 Afro-Caribbean laborers who entered Panama during this period.
    Commencing as early as 1910, the Venezuelan government also discriminated against black immigrants by restricting the entry of "colored" immigrants into that country. This was followed by two other restrictive pieces of legislation which further limited the easy entry of black immigrants. While the 1918 Venezuelan law excluded "[P]ersons who are not of European races nor islanders of the yellow race of the Northern Hemisphere...," the 1929 law prohibited the immigration of foreign-born blacks if they did not have family members residing in Venezuela.
    Other countries such as Honduras, followed by San Salvador in 1923, amended its immigration laws to also bar the entry of black labor migrants. Panama followed suit in 1928, whereby immigration legislation established a quota system which allowed the entry of only five persons per annum of Chinese, Syrians, Turks, and Spanish-speaking blacks thereby excluding English-speaking black laborers from the Caribbean region. Cuba, as well, put in place restrictive immigration procedures to limit the ingress of black immigrants while Costa Rica gave only two year contracts to black laborers from Guatemala after which they were subjected to deportation. see Reid, *The Negro Immigrant: His Background Characteristics and Social Adjustment*, 61-66, 68-72; Basch,

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brought this period of large-scale labor migration to an end. However, Afro-Caribbean

people did not limit their search for employment opportunities only to these areas. For, as

Thomas-Hope relates:

> [B]y 1939 there was already a century-old tradition of emigrations, and
> migration overseas had become an institutionalized part of the life in
> Caribbean societies...To the emancipated agricultural labourers and
> peasants, the fact that their labour was in demand was nothing new, and
> certainly provided no incentive to stay when the availability of employment
> overseas gave the opportunity for freedom from the system at home.
> Subsequently emigration became acknowledged as a means of overcoming
> the economic and social limitations associated with lower class status. Thus
> it provided West Indian societies with a means whereby economic and social
> expectations could be met outside the limited potentials of the island
> territories. Inevitably, migration-oriented aspirations pervaded the lower
> classes and in this milieu successive generations were socialized.[16]

Significantly then, the development of a culture of migration among Afro-Caribbean people

in which, from the immediate post-emancipation period, many sought employment within

and outside of the Caribbean region substantially underpins their enlarging their labor

migration to incorporate Canada, the United States, and Britain, in particular.

Enlarging their Labor Migration:
Migration to Canada, the United States, and Britain

Migration to Canada

Small groups of Afro-Caribbean women and men began to arrive on their own

accord in Canada at the turn of the century. Brought by schooners on their return trip

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Population Movements within the English-speaking Caribbean: An Overview, 22;
Michael L. Conniff. 1985. Black Labor on a White Canal: Panama 1904-1981,
Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 5; Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a
Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the
Century After Emancipation" 74-75.

[16] See Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian
Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" 69, 75.

from the Caribbean region, around 20 a month were landed at Halifax and St Johns, Nova

Scotia and other Maritime ports. Described by the collector of customs at Port

Hawkesbury as members of the "better class," they were able to meet such admission

requirements as "good" character and physical and mental health as well as able to pay

the $25 admission fee per applicant.[17] Predominantly male, many of these early

immigrants were from Barbados while others came from Jamaica, Bahamas, British

Guiana,[18] and St. Vincent. Whitney Pier, a predominant immigrant neighborhood of

Sydney, Nova Scotia, was one of the communities settled by these early Afro-Caribbean

female and male immigrants in Canada.[19]

Because of the racially segregated workforce as well as of the myth that blacks

can withstand oppressive heat better than whites, many of the skilled, Afro-Caribbean

men were restricted to performing the most arduous, lowly-paid tasks around the coke

ovens or blast furnaces of Sydney mines and steel plant. Women, on the other hand,

worked mostly as domestic service workers and restaurant waitresses. Not altogether

numerous and performing these low-wage, menial tasks that whites were wont not to do,

the presence of these early Afro-Caribbean immigrants did not draw negative reactions

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[17] Stewart Grow. 1974. "The Blacks of Amber Valley: Negro Pioneering in Northern Alberta," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 6, 1-2: 23; Agnes Calliste. 1993. "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932," *Journal of Canadian Studies* (Winter): 132, 134-135.

[18] Before its political independence from Britain in 1966, Guyana carried the name British Guiana.

[19] John Schultz. 1982. "White Man's Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant, 1900-1965," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 12, 1 (Spring): 53-54; Elizabeth Beaton. 1988. "Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Identity of West Indians in Whitney Pier," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 20, 3: 112-114.

from members of the local white community.[20] Their number, however, increased by several hundreds during World War I when Afro-Caribbean men were sent to the Caribbean region to recruit fellow male workers. For instance, between 1912 and 1915, two steel workers from Barbados were sent as recruiters by the Dominion Iron and Steel Company (DISCO) to contract fellow Barbadians to work around the coke ovens of Cape Breton mines.[21]

However, no matter how relatively small their number nor how much their labor was in demand by Nova Scotian employers, the Canadian state did not look favorably onto the entry into Canada of these groups of early black immigrants from the Caribbean region. In order to maintain a vertical mosaic based mainly on the allocation of various European populations, the Canadian state was determined to bar all black immigrants from entering since they were deemed "undesirable."[22] Moreover, it used the depressed condition of blacks in Canada, predominantly those in Halifax, Nova Scotia, to justify its restrictive immigration and population control policies against Afro-Caribbean people.[23] The Canadian state furthermore justified its restrictive motives by pointing out "that the Canadian public was not willing to accept any significant group of [N]egro immigrants."[24]

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[20] Schultz, "White Man's Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant, 1900-1965" 53-54; Beaton, "Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Identity of West Indians in Whitney Pier" 112-114; Calliste, "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932" 132, 135, 140.

[21] Ibid., 132.

[22] Ibid., 135.

[23] Ibid., 136.

[24] Sheldon Eric Alister Taylor. 1994. "'Darkening The Complexion of Canadian Society,'

It therefore arose that, as soon as it was brought to the attention of the

Immigration Department in early June 1914 that black immigrants from the Caribbean

region were easily entering Canada through its eastern shores, W. D. Scott, the

Superintendent of Immigration, and Frank Oliver, the Minister in charge of immigration

in the Laurier government, fully in sync with the major underlying intent of the

immigration regulations, worked assiduously to stop this unregulated black entry. Their

racist immigration and population control policies' agenda is summarized in a statement

made by Scott. He bluntly stated in 1914:

> There are certain countries...and certain races of people considered as
> suited to this country and its conditions, but Africans, no matter where they
> come from are not among the races sought, and hence, Africans no matter
> what country they come from are in common with other uninvited races, not
> admitted to Canada...[25]

This was the racist mindset that had informed Canada's immigration and

population control policies towards Afro-Caribbean immigrants and continued to do so

for decades to come. Thus, up to the 1960s, when new immigration regulations that

removed racist and national origin barriers to the entry of Afro-Caribbean, and other non-

white, immigrants to Canada as well as instituted the "points system" whereby non-white

immigrants were able to use their education, skill and training, among other criteria, to

gain admission "points,"[26] Afro-Caribbean women and men seeking work were only

allowed to enter Canada as contracted domestic and farm laborers respectively.

Black Activism, Policy-Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada,
1940s-1960s," Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, Toronto, 137.

[25] Schultz, "White Man's Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant, 1900-1965" 54.

[26] see Wolseley W. Anderson. 1993. *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile*,
Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc..

In the case of Afro-Caribbean women, a limited number of them was allowed into

Canada to perform domestic service work in the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, and the

Maritimes. Their entry was due to the growing need for domestic service workers by

Canadian employers before and during World War I when white Canadian women

departed domestic service work for work in the war industry, replacing the men who had

joined the military.[27] It was also during this period that the First Caribbean Domestic

Service Scheme, 1910-1911, which involved the entry of 100 Guadeloupean women, had

come on stream.[28] According to Henry, domestic service employment was to provide the

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[27] Calliste, "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932" 144. A combination of other pressing socioeconomic factors also account for the decision of the Canadian state to allow the entry of Afro-Caribbean women to perform domestic service work in Canada. One, white Canadian women, not employed in industrial labor, were not overly attracted to domestic service work. Two, immigrant women recruited from Europe to provide domestic services left it at the first opportunity because of the deplorable working conditions and the availability of other options, for example, marriage. see Marilyn Barber. 1980. "The Women Ontario Welcomed: Immigrant Domestics for Ontario Homes, 1870-1930," *Ontario History* 72, 3 (September): 148-172. As elsewhere, domestic service employment in Canada during that period, and presently, was characterized by low pay, long hours, hard labor, low status, isolation, and lack of independence and respect. For more on the deplorable working conditions of domestic service employment and Caribbean black women's responses to them, see Frances Henry. 1968. "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada," *Social and Economic Studies*, 17, 1 (March): 83-91; Jane Sawyer Turrittin. 1979. "We don't look for prejudice: Migrant mobility culture among lower status West Indian women from Montserrat" in Jean Leonard Elliott (ed.), *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada*, Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall, 311-324; Makeda Silvera. 1983. *Silenced*, Toronto, ON: Williams-Wallace International; Agnes Calliste. 1989. (a) "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme" in Jesse Vorst (ed.), *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers*, Socialist Studies 5: 133-165; Rina Cohen. 1988. "Cinderella in the House: Definitions and Management of Deprivation Feelings among Nonwhite Domestics," Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto; Ruth L. Harris. 1988. "Transformation of Canadian Policies and Programs to Recruit Foreign Labor: The case of Caribbean Female Domestic Workers, 1950's-1980's," Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University; Patricia M. Daenzer. 1993. *Regulating Class Privilege: Immigrant Servants in Canada, 1940s to 1990s*, Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc..

[28] Calliste, "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean,

only opportunity for young women and their families to enter Canada on a permanent basis during this period. Later on, many more Afro-Caribbean women availed themselves of this opportunity and migrated to Canada to perform domestic service work under the Second Caribbean Domestic Service Scheme, 1955-1968.

Under the Second Caribbean Domestic Service Scheme (hereinafter called the Scheme), Afro-Caribbean women were admitted under an annual quota initially set at 100,[29] whereby 25 were admitted from Barbados and the rest from Jamaica. When the details of the Scheme, especially the fact that a domestic service worker would be granted landed immigrant status[30] after 2 year of service,[31] were publicly announced in the Caribbean region in 1955, it was said to have been so enticing to Afro-Caribbean people seeking access to employment opportunities located abroad that the Trinidad media, for example, wanted to know why their country's nationals were not included.[32] The quota

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1900-1932" 140.

[29] Agnes Calliste. 1991. (b) "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme" in Jesse Vorst (ed.), *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers*, (2nd ed.) Socialist Studies 5, 149.

[30] A landed immigrant is a person who has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities.

[31] see Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada." To be selected for the Scheme, Afro-Caribbean women had to be young, between the ages of 21 and 35 years, single, and without children. Once selected, their fare to Canada of $80.00 was paid by their employers and they had to provide two years of domestic service at a monthly wage of $5. Compared to the wage of $12-15 paid to women from European countries, these Afro-Caribbean women were cheaper to employ even with the transportation cost factored in. see Calliste, (a) "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme" 137; Ibid, "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932" 140.

[32] Taylor, "'Darkening The Complexion of Canadian Society,' Black Activism, Policy-Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s" 214-216.

was then subsequently increased to 200 in 1956 in which Barbados' allocation increased

from 25 to 40, Jamaica's from 75 to 100, and Trinidad and Tobago and British Guiana,

who were added for the first time, were each allowed to select 30 candidates.[33] Further

increases to the quota saw it reach 280 by 1959 so as to include more Caribbean countries

and increased to a further 500 in 1966.[34] Eventually, each Caribbean country was allotted

a specific allocation, with Jamaica allotted the largest, 104,[35] due to the over 1,500

requests from Jamaican women wishing to participate in the Scheme.[36] Meanwhile,

smaller allocations were given to Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and British Guiana,

and the smaller Caribbean countries.[37]

So vital was the Scheme to the physical and upward mobility aspirations of

Caribbean black women that 44 percent of the 4,219 Caribbean immigrants who entered

Canada between 1955 and 1961 were women recruited under the Scheme. By 1966, a

total of 2,940 female immigrants were admitted into Canada to perform such work.[38]

They were more than all of the Afro-Caribbean immigrants who were admitted into

Canada before 1945. Many of these Afro-Caribbean women who were selected for

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[33] Ibid., 230.

[34] Calliste, (b) "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme" 149.

[35] Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada" 83.

[36] Taylor, "'Darkening The Complexion of Canadian Society,' Black Activism, Policy-Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s" 230.

[37] Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada" 83.

[38] Calliste, (b) "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme" 136, 149; Vic Satzewich. 1989. "Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government's View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 21, 1: 82.

domestic service work in Canada had not been engaged in this line of work in their home

countries but, as teachers, clerks, and nurses, were white collar workers who used the

Scheme as a major means of entry into Canada.[39] Of essence, these women were the

pioneers to the large-scale gendered migration that commenced in the late 1960s. Their

burning desire to use the Scheme for such a purpose was tellingly depicted in a cartoon in

a Caribbean newspaper: "I'll be a Civil Servant when I grow up and get a chance to go to

Canada as a Domestic Servant!"[40]

Numerically, the only comparable number of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in

Canada during that period consisted of students enrolled in Canadian universities who

had been migrating to Canada since the 1920s. They entered Canada "under temporary

status providing that they were in full daytime attendance at a recognized trade or

vocational school with the means to support themselves."[41] After 1945, their number

grew from 450 in 1955 to 3,000 in 1965, with large bodies of students at Queen's,

McGill, Sir George Williams, Mount Allison, and Dalhousie Universities and at the

Universities of British Columbia, Manitoba, and Toronto. They generally did not mix

with other local and foreign blacks and in Montreal they passed a resolution prohibiting

Afro-Caribbean domestic service workers from attending student functions. Upon

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[39] See Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada;" Calliste, (b) "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme,"

[40] Ibid..

[41] Taylor, "'Darkening The Complexion of Canadian Society,' Black Activism, Policy-Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s" 141.

graduation, many applied for landed immigrant status and entered the Canadian labor force.[42]

While close to 3,000 Afro-Caribbean women were able to enter Canada between the mid-1950s and late 1960s under the Scheme, Afro-Caribbean men, on the other hand, had a considerably more difficult time being admitted into Canada. Here, the likelihood of an organized labor migration of Afro-Caribbean men into Canada was subject to the Canadian state's juggling of Canada's agro-business demand for cheap farm labor from the Caribbean region with its pursuit of its racialized immigration and population control policies. Resultantly, despite pressure from southwestern Ontario farmers, Caribbean governments, and British officials[43] for much of this period, the Departments of Labor and Citizenship and Immigration held their ground and refused to accede to the various requests to recruit Afro-Caribbean men as farm laborers.

It was only in 1966 that the Immigration Department finally acceded and, with the arrival of 264 Jamaican male workers, the Caribbean Seasonal Farm Worker Programme was introduced in Canada. Thereafter, thousands of Afro-Caribbean men were allowed to enter Canada on non-immigrant work or employment authorizations[44] to work on a

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[42] Robin Winks. 1971. *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 441; James W. St. G. Walker. 1976. *The Black Loyalists: the search for a promised land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, New York, NY: Africana Publishing Co., 10-11; Calliste (b), "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme" 151-152.

[43] British government officials were pressuring Canada to open its door to the entry of Afo-Caribbean immigrants so as to deflect an ongoing large scale migration of Afro-Caribbean immigrants away from Britain to Canada.

[44] Work or employment authorizations are permits extended to immigrant workers by the Canadian state to perform specific jobs for a specific duration in Canada. While on work or employment authorizations, workers are not granted landed immigrant status and usually are required to leave Canada upon completion of the job assignment.

seasonal basis on southwestern Ontario fruit and vegetable farms.[45] This change in policy

only came about because of a dramatic change in the Canadian economy. The 1960s was

a period marked by a continuing economic boom in Canada that led to tightening of the

labor market and increasing wage rates for all industries. Coupled with the severe

shortage of local and foreign white farm laborers that persisted well into the 1960s, this

meant that there was a shortage of cheap labor for southwestern Ontario farmers to call

upon during planting and harvesting seasons, when manual labor was more greatly

needed.[46]

The long term effect of the racialization of Canada's immigration and population

control policies toward the entry of Afro-Caribbean immigrants up to the 1960s is reflected

in the fact that 85 percent of the all immigrants admitted into Canada between 1947 and

1962 came from Europe while less than 1 percent (12,841) came from the Caribbean region

between 1946 and 1961.[47] Meanwhile though, because of the persistent pressure on the

Canadian state during the post-war period from a variety of sources inside and outside of

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[45] see Lloyd T. Wong. 1984. "Canada's Guestworkers: Some Comparisons of Temporary Workers in Europe and North America," *International Migration Review* 18, 1 (Spring): 85-98; Vic Satzewich. 1988. "The Canadian state and the racialization of Caribbean migrant farm labour 1947-66," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11, 3 (July): 282-304; B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li. 1988. *Racial Oppression in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Garamond Press; R.G. Cecil and G. E. Ebanks. 1991. "The Human Condition of West Indian Migrant Farm Labour in Southwestern Ontario," *International Migration Review* 29, 3 (September): 389-404; ibid..1992. "The Caribbean Migrant Farm Worker Programme in Ontario: Seasonal Expansion of West Indian Economic Spaces," *International Migration Review* 30, 1 (March): 19-36.

[46] Satzewich, "The Canadian state and the racialization of Caribbean migrant farm labour 1947-66,"

[47] Ibid., 289; Ibid., "Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government's View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966" 79.

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Canada to liberalize Canada's immigration and population control policies,[48] the Canadian

state began to rethink its traditional policy of selective immigration that restricted the entry

of Afro-Caribbean, and other non-white or non-European, immigrants. Consequently, the

1962 and 1967 Immigration Regulations, which opened the doors to Caribbean, and other

non-white, immigration, were passed.

Migration to the United States

Afro-Caribbean immigrants were also entering the Untied States during the early

decades of the 20th century. Between 1900 and 1932, 7,678 and 3,116 of them migrated

there from the Central and South American republics respectively.[49] They were

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[48] By 1962, pressure on the Canadian state to liberalize it immigration and population
control policies came primarily from four sources. First, arguably the most vital source of
pressure came from those with major economic interests within Canada, especially the
growing industrial capitalists, who were clamoring for a steady supply of skilled and
professional labor. Second, Canadian politicians were becoming more sensitive to the
growing "ethnic vote" for whom immigration policies were a major concern. The third
source of pressure primarily responsible for the changes came from Canada's co-
members, especially those from the newly independent, non-European member countries,
in the Commonwealth of Nations, who openly criticized racist restrictions in all their
forms. Finally, considerable pressure outside of Canada came from the changed status of
Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Both countries became politically independent from
Britain on August 6th and 31st 1962 respectively. Accompanying this changed status was
a number of political and diplomatic ramifications vis-a-vis Canada. For example, both
countries were now able to confer the status of citizenship on their nationals, issue their
own passports, and establish diplomatic relations with Canada, including the negotiating
of mutually agreeable immigration approaches. In fact, the immigration issue was a
constant source of embarrassment and friction in Canada-Caribbean relations, particularly
with these newly-independent Caribbean nations. see James W. St. G. Walker. 1984. *The
West Indians in Canada*, Toronto: Canada's Ethnic Groups, Canadian Historical
Association, Booklet No. 6: 11-12; Freda Hawkins. 1989. *Critical Years in Immigration:
Canada and Australia Compared*, Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University
Press, 39; Calliste, (b) "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean:
The Second Domestic Scheme" 155; Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-
Demographic Profile*, 38.

[49] Calvin Holder. 1987. "The Causes and Composition of West Indian Immigration to

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accompanied by many Afro-Caribbean people who migrated directly from the Caribbean region, especially during the economic crisis of the depression years, 1920s to 1930s, which was being felt internationally. For example, there was a movement to Miami by an estimated 10,000 to 12,000 immigrants from Bahamas to work in construction.[50] In fact, the estimated figure for Jamaicans migrating to the United States over the first three decades of the 20th century stood at over 100,000. In addition to these migrants, there were thousands from Trinidad and other British Caribbean territories.[51] This initial period of large-scale migration of Afro-Caribbean people to the United States did not continue beyond the 1930s. Comparatively, however, while 125,434 Caribbean people migrated to the United States in an 80 year period, 1821 and 1900, this figure was nearly equated in each of the first two decades of the 20th century when 107,548 and 123,424 of them were admitted.[52]

Afro-Caribbean women were very much a part of this early extended search for employment opportunities in the United States in particular.[53] (Like the early Afro-Caribbean female immigrants in Canada, they were mainly employed in domestic service

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New York City, 1900-1952," *Afro-Americans in New York and History* (January): 12-13.

[50] Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies" 22.

[51] Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" 68; Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies" 22.

[52] see U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1993, Table 2.

[53] It is reported that these early Afro-Caribbean female immigrants to the United States played key roles in the formation of Caribbean communities for the first time in New York City. see Irma Watkins-Owens. 2001. "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City" in Nancy Foner (ed.), *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 25.

and other lowly personal service work.[54]) This, Reddock states, was due to the fact that although all workers were affected by the economic crisis of the 1920s to the 1930s, female workers, because of their unstable position as income earners in capitalist economies, were the worst affected.[55] As such, in the case of Trinidad, female emigration rate was very high in the early 1920s.[56] This was reflected in a newspaper article, entitled "The Exodus from Trinidad: Women Leading the Way," that was published on May 12, 1923 in *The Labour Leader*, a Trinidad newspaper. The said newspaper also noted in 1923 that "a review of the passenger lists for the last six months showed that 90 per cent were women." This was followed up with a call to the government by the same newspaper to remedy the labor situation by providing adequate means for women to earn a living.[57] Reddock further attests that this trend of high female emigration, mainly to the United States, was to continue throughout the century.[58]

Nevertheless, though the United States remained the principal destination point for Afro-Caribbean labor migrants from the 1930s until migration to Britain began in

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[54] Ibid., 35.

[55] see Rhoda E. Reddock. 1990. "Women and Garment Production in Trinidad and Tobago 1900-1960," *Social and Economic Studies* 39, 1: 98.

[56] Watkins-Owens also reports that Barbados too experienced an exodus of women in the early decades, with the 44 percent of the population decline that occurred between 1911 and 1921 being due to the emigration of women. In addition, there were over 48,000 foreign- born black women to over 57,000 foreign-born black men living in the United States in 1930, with well over half of all black immigrants settling in New York City and over 90 percent of them being Caribbean-born. see Watkins-Owens, "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City" 28-29 citing Roberts (1955: 270), Reid [1969 (1939)], and Kasinitz 1992: 25).

[57] Reddock, "Women and Garment Production in Trinidad and Tobago 1900-1960" 99.

[58] Ibid., 98.

earnest in the 1950s,[59] this migration option was stymied considerably by restrictive U.S.

immigration legislation in 1924[60] as well as by the lingering effects of the Great

Depression. Overall, therefore, between 1921 and 1932, approximately 5,000 black

immigrants were prevented from entering the United States.[61] This trend is reflected in

the fact that from a high of 123,424 Caribbean immigrants admitted between 1911 and

1920, the number fell to 74,899 between 1921 and 1930 and to an all time low of 15,502

between 1931 and 1940.[62] Notwithstanding this steep reduction in the entry of Caribbean

immigrants, it is believed that a large proportion of those admitted during this period was

from the British Caribbean. Taking advantage of the window of opportunity offered by

their British colonial status, immigrants from Trinidad were able to enter the United

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[59] Many Afro-Caribbean laborers were also recruited under the Bracero Program to fill
the shortage in the U.S. labor market brought on by the involvement of the United States
in World War II. see Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas
Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies" 24-25.

[60] The Department of U.S. Immigration, for instance, instituted a series of restrictive
legislation between 1921 and 1929. Like the many others passed in the Central and South
American region, these laws were designed to restrict the entry of non-white immigrants.
As such, a quota system was put in place so as to maintain the racial balance in the
United States to the ratio shown in the 1910 census. Specifically, the 1921 Act provided
that: "The number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted under the
immigration laws to the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to three per cent
of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States,
census of 1910." Thus, Blacks, Chinese, Japanese, East Indians, and other non-white
persons were further excluded from entering the United States by the National Origins
Act of 1924. see Holder, "The Causes and Composition of West Indian Immigration to
New York City, 1900-1952" 33.

[61] Reid, *The Negro Immigrant: His Background Characteristics and Social Adjustment*,
61-66; Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and
'Safety-Valve' Policies" 23.

[62] see U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1993: Table 2.

States under the annual quota of 65,000 immigrants which Britain was unable to fill.[63]

Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc also report that Caribbean migration to the United States eventually picked up in the period between World War II and 1952 when it climbed from the low period of the 1930s to slightly over 3,000 a year. Engaging in chain migration under family reunification provisions, most of those entering in the 1950s joined family members who had migrated earlier or entered for higher education and remained after completing their education.[64]

Presently, migration to the United States dominates all other flows from the Caribbean region. Largely underpinning this pronounced, continuing migration is the Immigration Act of 1965 which eliminated the national origin quota system. One of its other more telling effects was the continued emphasis on family reunification criteria, especially in the priority given to them over occupational preferences. In easily fulfilling family reunification criteria, spouses, children, and parents of U.S. citizens were admitted to the United States in considerable numbers from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean region from the post-1965 period.[65] Consequently, family reunification reinforced and formalized the operation of family migration networks.[66] Resultantly,

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[63] Graham Norton. 1971. "The West Indies as Centres for Migration," *Round Table* 61, 242: 273-274.

[64] see Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach, 64.

[65] Christine G. T. Ho. 1985. "The Caribbean Connection: Transnational Social Networks, Non-Assimilation and the Structure of Group Life Among Afro-Trinidadian Immigrants in Los Angeles," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 31.

[66] Nancy Foner. 2001. "West Indian Migration to New York: An Overview" in Foner, *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, 5.

approximately 470,000 Caribbean immigrants were admitted between 1961 and 1970 and

this number was the same as was admitted between 1840 and 1950.[67] Moreover, in a

period of a little over 30 years, 1971 to 1993, of unabated migration, approximately

2,600,000 Caribbean immigrants were admitted into the United States.[68] However, with

the compilation of immigration data by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

by nationality, and not by race, it is not possible to quantify the number or proportion of

Afro-Caribbean immigrants admitted during this period. Nevertheless, a look at the 1990

U.S. census data clearly show the high proportions of Caribbean immigrants who were

classified Black. In the case of the reported 115,710 immigrants from Trinidad and

Tobago residing in the United States, 87 percent of them were classified Black.[69]

Migration to Britain

Though only temporary, with many repatriated at the end of World War II, Afro-

Caribbean migration to Britain commenced with the movement of between 8,000 to 10,000

male migrants and an estimated 100 female migrants who were vigorously recruited from

British Caribbean countries to work in Britain's military and auxiliary services during

World War II.[70] When employment opportunities prevailed with the active recruiting by

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[67] Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant. 1992. "Caribbean Exodus and the World System" in Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim and Hania Zlotnik (eds), *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, Oxford: Caribbean Press, 95.

[68] see US Immigration and Naturalization Service 1993, Table 2.

[69] Rubén G. Rumbaut. 1992. "Immigrant America: A Contemporary Portrait." A presentation paper to the "Windows on Our Future" Contemporary Issues Symposium, Michigan State University, (October 22).

[70] Lydia Lindsey. 1992. "Halting the Tide: Responses to West Indian Immigration to Britain, 1946-1952," *The Journal of Caribbean Women* 26, 1: 69.

London Transport and the British Hotels and Restaurant Association in post-World War II

Britain,[71] it is said that the arrival of 417 immigrants from Jamaica,[72] together with at least

51 from Trinidad,[73] on the ship Empire Windrush in 1948, historically dates the longer

period of Afro-Caribbean migration to Britain. On the one hand, the volume and intensity

of this labor migration were facilitated tremendously by the passage of the British

Nationality Act of 1948 which provided black colonials of Britain with the right to carry

passports that deemed them "citizens of the United Kingdom and the Colonies."[74]

Moreover, the Act gave them the right to enter, settle, and work in Britain.[75] On the other

hand, with the enactment of the 1952 Mc-Carren Walter Act that had restricted each

country, except Western European countries, to a small number of immigrants to the United

States,[76] Caribbean migration to Britain increased tremendously when Britain provided the

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[71] Jack Harewood. 1981. "Introduction and Background" in Susan Craig (ed.), *Contemporary Caribbean: A Sociological Reader Vol. I*, Maracas, Trinidad & Tobago: The College Press, 39-48.

[72] Ceri Peach. 1991. *The Caribbean in Europe: Contrasting Patterns of Migration and Settlement in Britain, France and the Netherlands*, Center for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, 1.

[73] Lindsey, "Halting the Tide: Responses to West Indian Immigration to Britain, 1946-1952" 68.

[74] R. B. Davidson. 1962. *West Indian Migrants: Social and Economic Facts of Migration from the West Indies*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2; Mel E. Thompson. 1990. "Forty-and-One Years On: An Overview of Afro-Caribbean Migration to the United Kingdom" in Palmer, *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean*, 39-70.

[75] John Solomos. 1992. "The Politics of Immigration since 1945" in Peter Braham, Ali Rattansi, and Richard Skellington (eds), *Racism and Antiracism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies*, Newbury Park: Sage, 9.

[76] Ho, "The Caribbean Connection: Transnational Social Networks, Non-Assimilation and the Structure of Group Life Among Afro-Trinidadian Immigrants in Los Angeles" 6-7.

only "open door" of opportunity for Afro-Caribbean people seeking mobility advancement

outside of the Caribbean region in the 1950s.

Peaking in the early 1960s, this British-bound migration was effectively over by

1973,[77] with the passage of the highly restrictive Commonwealth Immigration Act of

1962.[78] The effect of this Act was to remove from people of British Caribbean countries

the right to enter, work in, and settle in Britain and to replace it with a privilege

underwritten by a Ministry of Labor employment voucher.[79] From this time on, only small

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[77] Peach, *The Caribbean in Europe: Contrasting Patterns of Migration and Settlement in Britain, France and the Netherlands*, 1.

[78] Those involved in this migration to Britain also encountered prejudices and discrimination from members of Britain's white population as well as from British state officials that led to the implementation of the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962. Moreover, throughout the 1960s, British immigration policy, that was designed almost entirely to slow down the influx of non-whites into Britain, ignored the country's manpower requirements. While the official justification for this policy was to allow sufficient time for the absorption of newcomers, the practical objective was to placate indigenous resistance. In addition, the British government was of the opinion that these immigration restrictions were necessary during this period because "...the rate of migration was limited only by the will to come, the financial means to make the journey, and economic conditions in the United Kingdom." see Ira Katznelson. 1973. *Black Men, White Cities: Race, Politics, and Migration in the United States, 1900-30, and Britain, 1948-68*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 34. For more on the British policy towards Caribbean migration, see Lindsey, "Halting the Tide: Responses to West Indian Immigration to Britain, 1946-1952;" Solomos, "The Politics of Immigration since 1945;" B. Carter, C. Harris, and S. Joshi. 1987. "The 1951-55 Conservative government and the racialization of Black Immigration" in Winston James and Clive Harris (eds.). *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain*, London: Verso, 55-71; Gary P. Freeman. 1987. "Caribbean Migration to Britain and France: From Assimilation to Selection" in Levine, *The Caribbean Exodus*, 185-203; Collin Brown. 1992. "'Same Difference": The Persistence of Racial Disadvantage in the British Market" in Peter Braham, Ali Rattansi and Richard Skellington, *Racism and Antiracism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 46-63; Cecil Gutzmore. 1993. "Carnival, the State and the Black Masses in the United Kingdom" in James et al, *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain*, 207-230; Clive Harris. 1993. "Post-war Migration and the Industrial Reserve Army" in James et al, *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain*, 9-54.

[79] Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile*, 38.

numbers of Afro-Caribbean immigrants were able to enter Britain under this employment

voucher scheme for specific jobs for limited periods. However, family reunification

provisions allowed the dependents of Afro-Caribbean immigrants already in Britain to enter.

By the time this large-scale migration was literally over in 1962, close to 260,000

immigrants entered Britain from the British Caribbean countries over a seven year

period.[80]

This migration of Afro-Caribbean people to Britain in the post-war period was

significant for three reasons. One, it is considered as one of the largest voluntary labor

migration to occur in such a short space of time up to that period.[81] The other significant

reason is that Afro-Caribbean women were prominent members in it.[82] Of note as well,

the third reason is that it was the first migration in which these women migrated in equal

numbers to Afro-Caribbean men and they migrated, not as dependents, but primarily as

economic migrants in their own right. According to Bryon:

> The move to Britain therefore offered women the opportunity to
> appropriate what had been a male-dominated activity and to participate in
> the wage generation in Britain *independently* of the male migrants. For
> this migration, in addition to and sometimes instead of men, women were
> mobilized to form the migrant labour force.[83]

Nevertheless, unlike migration from other British Caribbean countries, however,

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[80] Freeman, "Caribbean Migration to Britain and France: From Assimilation to Selection"
23.

[81] Mary Chamberlain. 1998. "Family and identity: Barbadian migrants to Britain" in
Chamberlain, *Caribbean Migration: Globalized Identities*, 148.

[82] see Lindsey, "Halting the Tide: Responses to West Indian Immigration to Britain,
1946-1952,"

[83] see Margaret Bryon. 1998. "Migration, work and gender: The case of post-war labour
migration from the Caribbean to Britain" in Chamberlain, *Caribbean Migration: Globalized
Identities*, 221.

the movement from Trinidad to Britain was small prior to, and beyond, the

Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962.[84] From an initial modest count of 333

emigrating in 1955, it is estimated that this migration increased to 1,892 in 1960.[85]

Though numerically negligible in relation to the numbers to migrate from, say, Jamaica,

Barbados, and even tiny Montserrat,[86] this rather large increase in migration from

Trinidad was due to the impending restrictions brought on by the 1962 Commonwealth

Immigration Act.[87]

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[84] see Jack Harewood. 1983. "White Collar Migrant Labor; Some Observations on the Case of Trinidad and Tobago in the Last Two Decade" in Arnaud F. Marks and Hebe M.C. Vessuri (eds.), *White Collar Migrants in the Americas and the Caribbean*, Leiden, Netherlands: Dept. of Caribbean Studies, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, 19-35.

[85] Davidson, *West Indian Migrants: Social and Economic facts of Migration from the West Indies*, 7, 9. At that time, Trinidad was a major point of departure for immigrants from some of the nearby smaller Caribbean islands and immigration data for each island were compiled by the Migrant Services Division of the West Indies Commission in London via country of departure rather than immigrants' national origin. In this regard, a national of Grenada who boarded a ship bound for Britain in Trinidad would be classified as an immigrant from Trinidad, even though her/his passport or birthplace was Grenadian. Because of this, it was most likely the case that a fairly large proportion of the immigrants classified as Trinidadian immigrants were actually from the nearby smaller Caribbean islands.

[86] Between 1955 and 1961, some smaller Caribbean islands had considerable proportions of their populations residing in Britain: Montserrat had 31.5 percent, Dominica and St Kitts-Nevis had 13.3 percent, Jamaica and Grenada had 8.6 percent. see Peach, *The Caribbean in Europe: Contrasting Patterns of Migration and Settlement in Britain, France and the Netherlands*; Frank L. Mills. 1988. "Determinants and Consequences of the Migration Culture of St. Kitts-Nevis" in Patricia R. Pessar (ed.), *When Borders Don't Divide: Labour Migration and Refugee Movements in the Americas*, New York, NY: Centre for Migration Studies, 42-72.

[87] Ceri Peach. 1968. *West Indian Migration to Britain: A Social Geography*, London: Oxford University Press; Mills, "Determinants and Consequences of the Migration Culture of St. Kitts-Nevis,"

Why Migrate?:
Lack of Employment and Educational Opportunities

By the 1960s, the culture of migration had not only become fully institutionalized as

the major means for Afro-Caribbean people to improve their lives but there continued to be

a lack of, not only, employment, but also educational, opportunities in their home societies.

In fact, jobs were still not available in the numbers warranted because the structure of

Caribbean economies was still largely based on a peripheral relationship with a metropole

in which the pre-emancipation form of monocrop agriculture, be it sugar, cocoa, or

bananas, still persisted. In Trinidad's case, its peripheral relationship with Britain that had

been based on its incorporation in the world capitalist economy as a sugar producing

colony was deepened further with the replacement of sugar by oil as its major export

resource. This was more so because Britain had relied heavily on Trinidad's oil for its

dominance as a world power and in its war effort.[88] Nonetheless, despite the importance of

oil as an export resource, the oil industry never employed a large segment of Trinidad's

labor force. Besides, due to the very low royalties and taxes paid to the Trinidad

government and, most important of all, the low wages paid to the 7,796 employees of the

industry,[89] most of the accrued profits went into the hands of foreign investors. On a larger

scale, with more than 400,000 acres of Crown land (or a third of Trinidad's land area) under

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[88] The eighteen oil companies operating in Trinidad at the time increased their oil
production from 221,292 to 13,237,030 barrels between 1911 to 1937. They supplied 62.8
percent of the oil Britain needed for its Navy and Airforce. see Susan Craig. 1987.
"Smiles and Blood: The Ruling Class Response to the Workers' Rebellion of 1937 in
Trinidad and Tobago" in Roy Thomas (ed.), *The Trinidad Labour Riots of 1937:
Perspectives 50 years later*, St. Augustine, Trinidad: Extra-Mural Studies Unit,
University of the West Indies, 81-140.

[89] Kelvin Singh. 1994. *Race and Class Struggles in a Colonial State: Trinidad
1917-1945*, Kingston, Jamaica: The Press-University of the West Indies, 158-160.

licenses and leases to the oil companies,[90] the populace, it is contended, suffered from "the rape of the oil resources."[91] In considering all of this, one can safely conclude that the production and exportation of oil from its discovery in Trinidad in 1910 was of little economic benefit to the majority population as late as the 1970s.

Thus, with this persistent scarcity of employment opportunities, members of Trinidad's black population continued to experience considerable status frustration. Even the "independent professions," especially dressmaking, could no longer be considered a secure avenue for black women's socioeconomic advancement. Reddock reports that garment production, for example, conducted in homes was fully under the control of women during the period of the late 19th and early 20th century. In fact, after domestic service work (personal service occupations as she calls it), dressmaking was the second most important non-agricultural occupation for women between 1891 and 1931, with considerably high female labor force participation rates of 95 percent of the skilled and 84 percent of the combined skilled and semi-skilled female workers.[92] The situation began to change dramatically from 1921 however, with the number of dressmakers declining from a little over 13,000 to a little less than 9,000 by 1931. The economic crisis of the post-war worldwide depression largely precipitated this early decline. After the 1940s, the number of women engaged in this form of independent petty commodity production in homes

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[90] Craig, "Smiles and Blood: The Ruling Class Response to the Workers' Rebellion of 1937 in Trinidad and Tobago" 94.

[91] see Bukka Rennie. 1973. *The History of the Working Class in the 20th Century (1919-1956): the Trinidad and Tobago Experience: Trinidad and Tobago*, Toronto, ON: New Beginning Movement, 86.

[92] Reddock, "Women and Garment Production in Trinidad and Tobago 1900-1960" 95-96, 100.

continued to decline sharply. Garment production was now being taken over by locally-owned factories where, even though the labor force was predominantly female, the sexual division of labor placed women in less skilled tasks with less pay to men.[93]

It was also the case that to those Afro-Trini men and women who aspired to use their education and training to find more professional or white collar, status-enhancing employment opportunities, such opportunities were not easily available in Trinidad in the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, with virtually all of the top management jobs in the oil industry given to white expatriates, especially white South Africans,[94] the oil industry, as well, did not provide such jobs to educated and qualified members of Trinidad's non-white population. This was extremely frustrating since, most decidedly, a black individual considered his/her education or training as more important than just race or phenotype in his/her access to upward mobility opportunities. In fact, the more education or training an individual achieved, the higher he/she aspired to become.[95] Yet, inspite of this upward-thinking mindset, as late as the mid-20th century, the Trinidad black intelligentsia, among other segments of the non-white population, was still not permitted to rise above a secondary status.[96]

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[93] Ibid., 98-99, 104.

[94] Ibid., 160-161; Ron Ramdin. 1982. *From Chattel Slave to Wage Earner: A History of Trade Unionism in Trinidad and Tobago*, London: Martin Brian & O'Keefe, 90-91.

[95] Dwaine Plaza. 1996. "The Strategies and Strategizing of University Educated Black Caribbean-born Men in Toronto: A Study of Occupation and Income Achievements," Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, 83-84.

[96] Trinidad's exclusive black and colored middle class of the 19th century changed in the 20th century to include a small Indian middle class largely due to educational advancement obtained as a result of the work of the Presbyterian (Canadian Mission) school system that was located around San Fernando. see Marcelle Maria McVorran. 1988. "Education in a School Context: A Study of Trinidad Schools 1840-1975," Ph.D.

Trinidad's labor market of the mid-20th century, then, was one in which virtually all of the good jobs were occupied by whites who continued to exert their traditional control of Trinidad's society and economy. This fact becomes quite apparent when one looks at the distribution of occupations in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1960s. Even though the African descent population comprised 43.3 percent of the population of Trinidad and Tobago in 1960, they were underrepresented in the top occupations of Professional/Technical (7.0 percent); Administrative, Executive, and Managerial (0.4 percent); Clerical (7.2 percent); and Commercial, Financial, and Insurance (3.4 percent). Contrastingly, however, they were highly over-represented in the lowest occupational category, Other (82.0 percent), which included farming, mining and quarry work, and other skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled work. While the Indian descent population closely paralleled the skewed occupational distribution of the African descent population, Whites, in particular, were also disproportionately represented but in the top occupational categories. Furthermore, even though some members of the African descent population had the necessary qualifications, that is, education and specialized training, to perform in Professional/Technical, and Administrative, Executive, and Managerial occupations, only 33 percent of this group were so employed in relation to 100 percent for Whites and 62 percent for "Others" so qualified, that is, Chinese; Portuguese; and Syrian/Lebanese.[97]

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diss., State University of New York, 128-129. Also, see Ivar Oxaal. 1968. *Black Intellectuals Come To Power: The Rise of Creole Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago,* Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc.; Eric Williams. 1969. *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister*, London: Deutsch; Carl Stone. 1972. *Stratification and Political Change in Trinidad and Jamaica*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage; Bridget Brereton. 1981. *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962*, Port of Spain, Trinidad: Heinemann Educational Books Caribbean Ltd..

[97] Jack Harewood. 1971. "Racial Discrimination in Employment in Trinidad and Tobago," *Social and Economic Studies*, 20, 3 (September): 267-293.

It is in this manner then, that racial discrimination in employment operated through a form of institutional and systemic racism whereby there was an insidious pattern of hiring, through contact, of non-black individuals without the necessary education and training into top positions in the private, commercial, and industrial enterprises of Trinidad. As Camejo writes:

> The large percentage of Whites with low education hired into top and middle positions cannot be rationalized on the basis of higher level education of White workers. There was at least twenty years ago, at which time most of these persons with low level education were hired into these positions, a sizeable pool of equally educated members of the numerically major groups of Negroes and Indians which was available to be drawn upon. The evidence suggests clearly that the 'whiter' the person the less formal qualifications were demanded of him in being hired into top or middle positions in private business organizations.[98]

Consequently, unemployment, especially amongst the youth, remained extremely high, the national economic pie continued to be inequitably distributed with the upper one-fifth (20 percent) of the population receiving close to half (49 percent) of the national income in 1958, and racial discrimination, as manifested in institutional and systemic racism, ensured whites' continued monopolization of the top occupational positions in the country.

This is not to say that the practice of institutional and systemic racism was only confined to the private sector. In fact, it was just as alive in the public sector, the civil service that is, of the 1960s. As Braithwaite reports, there was a strong interplay between ability and nepotism in the hiring and promotional practices of the civil service in Trinidad. In cases where there was equality in the abilities between individuals seeking civil service jobs, particularistic values such as skin color kicked in. And, since skin color tended to find

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[98] see Acton Camejo. 1971. "Racial Discrimination in Employment in the Private Sector in Trinidad and Tobago: A Study of the Business Elite and the Social Structure," *Social and Economic Studies* 20, 3 (September): 304.

equivalence with social class, a dark-skinned individual was perceived not to have the personality characteristics to perform effectively as a civil servant. In fact, the dark-skinned individual was invariably perceived as uncouth. Resultantly, in order to not only be hired but to be promoted within the civil service, there was the widespread belief that one had to have a contact or patron or a "godfather" in Trinidad parlance. Thus, nepotism, "the use of an intrinsically irrelevant scale of values in the conferring of appointments and in determining promotions" became deeply ingrained in the civil service in Trinidad.[99]

The dire economic strait of the majority of Caribbean people did draw economic actions from Caribbean governments during this period, however. Following the end of World War II, Caribbean governments had tried to stimulate a number of social and economic transformations in an attempt to alleviate some of the local hardship and distress brought on by the region's peripheral status and its subordinate and unequal relationship with Britain. However, other than the production of sugar and oil, whatever industrial activities existed in Trinidad, as in other Caribbean countries, mostly involved the incipient manufacture of soap, margarine, and edible oils.[100] Further, with the demise of Britain as a world power in the immediate World War II period, followed by the subsequent ascendancy of the United States as a military/industrial world power, and the resultant subordination of the Caribbean region to the United States, the already limited economic development options available to the Caribbean region became even more severely

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[99] see Lloyd Braithwaite. 1953. "Social Stratification in Trinidad," *Social and Economic Studies* 2, 2&3 (October): 57.

[100] Mandle, *Persistent Underdevelopment: Change and Economic Modernization in the West Indies*, 58-59.

constrained. Resultantly, the establishment of a multiplicity of employment opportunities open to Afro-Trini, and Afro-Caribbean, people were seriously impeded.

The situation did not change fundamentally with the arrival of semi-representative government in Trinidad and Tobago in 1950 with Albert Gomes[101] at the helm and, later, full representative government in 1956 headed by Eric Williams.[102] Neither government encouraged a form of economic development that involved labor-absorptive economic activities away from the dependence on capital injection from the United States. Notably, the economic development programme, "Industrialization by Invitation" of Arthur W. Lewis,[103] pursued by these, and other, Caribbean governments in the 1950s and its

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[101] Of Portuguese extraction, Albert Gomes headed the new quasi-ministerial government after the 1950 elections. As a fervent anti-Communist politician and so acceptable to both foreign and local capital, Gomes had emerged in the 1950s as the most visible and politically powerful member of Trinidad's middle class. see Oxaal, *Black Intellectuals Come To Power: The Rise of Creole Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago.*

[102] In 1956, Eric Eustace Williams, as leader of the People's National Movement (P.N.M), emerged as the first individual of African descent to head the first representative government of Trinidad and Tobago. Riding a wave of black nationalism and so backed by massive Afro-Trini support, the People's National Movement defeated the Indian party, the People's Democratic Party (P.D.P.), founded and led by Bhadase Sagan Maraj, an Indo-Trini businessman. Likewise, all members of Gomes' party, the Party of Political Progress Groups (P.O.P.P.G.), including Gomes himself, were defeated at the polls. In the end, the "September 1956 elections were one of the most important turning points in the political development of Trinidad and Tobago." Undoubtedly, it also marked the beginning of black middle class domination of politics in Trinidad and Tobago. With all future elections strongly imbued with high levels of racial campaigning, the People's National Movement triumphed over various Indian-led and Indian-supported parties. With Williams at the helm, the People's National Movement went on to win four more consecutive elections until his death in 1981. see Williams, *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister*, 109; Ramesh Deosaran. 1981. "Some Issues in Multiculturalism: The Case of Trinidad and Tobago in the Post Colonial Era," Paper prepared for Caribbean Studies Association, 6th Annual Conference, St. Thomas, USVI, May 27-30: 1-36.

[103] As articulated by Arthur W. Lewis, the chief architect of the programme, "Industrialization by Invitation," industrialization was to be the alternative to continued reliance on the export of agricultural staples. He recommended, therefore, that the Caribbean embark on a path of export-oriented industrialization, with direct foreign

successor, "Operation Jobs" of the 1960s, that relied almost exclusively on direct foreign

capital investment from the United States, proved to be highly inappropriate to provide an

adequate supply of employment opportunities to absorb surplus labor.

Unlike Guyana and Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica received massive injections

of foreign capital investment from the United States between 1950 and 1960. Resultantly,

both Trinidad and Jamaica recorded among the highest growth rates in the world during

the 1950s. Between 1954 and 1963, Trinidad's average rate of growth was 11.1 percent,

while Jamaica recorded figures of 8.9 percent, [104] though it has been suggested though

that for Trinidad much of the growth was due to the expansion in oil production and

export.[105] By the first two decades of their implementation, however, the success of this

thrust towards economic development in the Caribbean region by inviting direct foreign

capital investment proved highly ephemeral.[106] Due to the capital-intensive nature of the

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investment as the sine qua non of this development. Closely following the Puerto Rican
industrialization model, Lewis proposed that lower wage costs should be used as an
incentive to woo investors from the United States and Britain to establish manufacturing
industries in the Caribbean region. Since capital was scarce, manufacturing
industrialization could not proceed fully "without a considerable inflow of foreign capital
and capitalists, and a period of wooing and fawning upon such people." Among other
incentives to woo investors, he recommended the erection of factory buildings on
designated sites, the establishment of a Caribbean Development Bank to provide
additional financial capital, market protection through import tariffs, tax exemption on
imported raw materials and machinery, and subsidized electricity and water. see Arthur
W. Lewis. 1950. "The Industrialization of the British West Indies," *Caribbean Economic
Review* 11, 1 (May): 1-61.

[104] Kempe Ronald Hope. 1986. *Economic Development in the Caribbean*, New York, NY:
Praeger, 31-32.

[105] Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962*, 220.

[106] Watson comments that the capital goods and technologies imported under this
programme carried "numerous social assumption from the societies in which they were
created into the recipient societies. As such these social and technical assumptions are
imposed upon production and the overall wage labor-capital relation in Caribbean

branch-plant assembly type activities, established with few internal linkages[107] as

reminiscent of pure plantation economies,[108] economic growth ensued but without an

adequate and continuous supply of jobs.[109] As for Trinidad, Brereton illustrates that by

1963, 99 manufacturing industries were established but only 4,666 workers were

employed, with another 2,225 workers expected to be employed when the factories then

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societies." see Watson, "Structural Determinants in the Reproduction of the Caribbean Diaspora: Surplus Labor, Unequal Exchange and Merchant Capital" 6. In addition, modernization assumptions have been so dominant that Addo views the inappropriate imitation of Eurocentric capitalism in the developing world as the "fundamental source of crisis in the development praxis." see Herb Addo. 1988. "Crisis in Development Praxis: A Global Perspective" in George W. Schuyler and Henry Vetmeyer (eds.), *Rethinking Caribbean Development*, Halifax, NS: Issues in International Development Series 2: 18.

[107] Mandle, *Persistent Underdevelopment: Change and Economic Modernization in the West Indies*, 67.

[108] At the end of the 18th century, colonial Trinidad had typified, what Best and Beckford call, a pure plantation economy. A pure plantation economy is based on the monopolization of land and capital and the coercion of labor for the production of a staple product for export by a peripheral country solely for the benefit of a controlling metropolitan country. As an appendaged plantation economy to British capitalism from 1797, the main raison de etat for Trinidad's incorporation in the sinews of the emerging world capitalist system was, according to Frank and Schuyler, to be nothing more than a site of procurement of a staple product, be it sugar, tobacco, or cocoa, for British industrial and capitalist expansion. As such, Mandle asserts that Trinidad's plantation economy remained not only a growth-inhibiting social structure, but continued to be vastly dependent on a social stratification system that created hierarchies of subordination of different status that inhibited the availability of upward mobility opportunities to members of the non-white population, especially the unfree. In fact, in pre-emancipation colonial Trinidad, everything and everyone were subordinated to the dictates of British capitalism. see Lloyd Best. 1968. "Outlines of a Model of a Pure Plantation Economy," *Social and Economic Studies* 17, 3 (September): 283-326; George Beckford. 1972. *Persistent Poverty*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press; Andre Gunder Frank. 1979. *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment*, New York, NY: Monthly Review Press; Jay R. Mandle. 1982. *Patterns of Caribbean Development*, New York, NY: Gordon & Breach Science Publishers; George W. Schuyler. 1988. "The Caribbean: An Introduction" in Schuyler and Vetmeyer, *Rethinking Caribbean Development*, 1-16.

[109] Ibid..

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under construction or in the planning stage were completed.[110] Additionally, with only 16.3

percent of the capital investment in these manufacturing industries locally-owned in 1959,

these manufacturing industries were predominantly foreign-owned up to 1962. As such, the

new manufacturing industries contributed significantly to foreign exchange earnings while

the government lost revenue on tax concessions and the provisions of infrastructural

support.[111]

On the whole, the reality was that unemployment increased rather than decreased in

the Caribbean region, especially in Trinidad and Jamaica, the two countries that received

most of the foreign capital investment from the United States. Not surprisingly then, during

this period, the expected increase in female employment in manufacturing did not occur in

Trinidad, as elsewhere in the Caribbean region, despite the fact, as Reddock states, that

Lewis used the drastic decline in the gainfully occupied[112] female population in his

justification of his model of industrialization for the Caribbean region.[113] Reddock quotes

Lewis as stating that:

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[110] Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962*, 219.

[111] Ibid.. Laws were also passed in Trinidad and Tobago between 1947 and 1950 to support the industrialization programme. These included the Income Tax (In Aid of Industry) Ordinance of 1947 and 1950, and in March 1950, the enaction of the Aid to Pioneer Industries Ordinance, No. 13 of 1950. Among other concessions, the Aid to Pioneer Ordinance provided an income tax holiday for five years, exemption from taxes on dividends to shareholders for seven years, and exemption from custom duty on building materials and equipment for five years. see Reddock, "Women and Garment Production in Trinidad and Tobago 1900-1960," 112.

[112] The term "'gainfully occupied' refers to one usually engaged in an occupation by which he/she earns money or money equivalent, or in which he/she assists in the production of marketable goods." see Reddock, "Women and Garment Production in Trinidad and Tobago 1900-1960," 122.

[113] Ibid., 113.

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In the first place, women have retired from employment into the home. Thus, in Jamaica, the ratio of gainfully occupied women to total number of women between the ages of 15 and 60 has declined from 78 per cent in 1911 to 50 per cent in 1943. The same thing has happened elsewhere, for example in the Leeward Islands, where the proportion of the gainfully occupied women of 10 years and over declined from 73 per cent in 1891 to 48 per cent in 1946...Actually we can see from the Census that much of this female retirement from industry is not voluntary but compulsory...What has happened in the island is that, as the population has grown, the number of jobs has failed to keep pace with it, and women have been forced to retire from industry in favour of men.[114]

Thus, because of Caribbean women's labor force situation, Lewis had recommended that the traditional areas of female employment in textile and garment-related industries be given high priority. However, with regards to increasing the employment of women by establishing more textile and garment industries using imported technology, Lewis' strategy had the opposite effect in Trinidad. While textile and garment manufacture experienced "a very high and sustained rate of growth" between 1951 and 1961, with an annual rate of growth of 10.4 percent which was significantly higher than the rest of the manufacturing industry,[115] the number of female workers in manufacturing continued to fall from 11,358 in 1946 to 9,899 in 1960. As a proportion of the female labor force, the proportion involved in manufacturing fell, therefore, from 21 percent in 1946 to 14.3 percent in 1960. More data show that eighteen tailoring and dressmaking, fourteen shirt and pyjama, and six other garment establishments employed only 1,366 employees. In the coming years, female employment did not improve much. In 1957, for example, there were 1,829 workers employed in the garment industry and this was increased to only 1,906 by 1960. As if this was not enough, with the exception of the copra industry, the garment

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[114] Ibid..

[115] Ibid., 115.

industry had the lowest average annual income in 1953, $821 in tailoring and dressmaking, $530 in manufacture of shirts and pyjamas, and $618 in manufacture of other wearing apparel, with the general average of all industries being $1,269.[116] Furthermore, only a very small percentage of women earned $600 and more by 1957, an income level that has always been much lower than those of men in the industry.[117] In addition, the number of women involved in the petty commodity production of dresses, that is, dressmaking, continued to decrease.[118] The changes in the relations of production in the garment industry from the predominant petty commodity production of dresses and other garments by Afro-Trini women in their homes to locally-owned and foreign-owned factories using sophisticated technology, largely account for the continuing decline in employment of Afro-Trini women in their traditional area of employment in Trinidad during this period.

On top of all this, the labor force grew by nearly 100,000 in Trinidad and Tobago during this period. This growth also occurred at the same time that employment in the agricultural sector, in the sugar industry especially, declined by about 3,800 between 1950 and 1963.[119] Mainly affecting female youth, unemployment grew from 6 percent in 1956 to 15 percent in 1966 in Trinidad and Tobago. Independent observers and government critics,

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[116] The garment industry was also notorious for its poor working conditions, oppressive treatment of its workers, and its resistance to unionization. Reddock reports that from 1979 to 1982, the Safie Trinidad Textile Mill was struck by members of its predominant female labor force. This strike is considered the longest strike to have occurred in the history of Trinidad and Tobago. see Reddock, "Women and Garment Production in Trinidad and Tobago 1900-1960," 118, 122, endnote 12.
[117] Ibid., 116-118.

[118] Ibid., 114.

[119] Mandle, *Persistent Underdevelopment: Change and Economic Modernization in the West Indies*, 67.

alike, estimated the unemployment figure to be closer to 33 percent.[120] Additionally, by

1964, even employment in the highly capital-intensive oil sector had declined. Employment

in the oil sector had risen from 15,000 in 1944 to 19,000 in 1954, but then declined to

14,000 in 1964. Consequently, by 1965, only 5 percent of the labor force of Trinidad and

Tobago was employed in the oil sector.[121] In like manner, Jamaica experienced an

increase in unemployment from 12 percent to 25 percent between 1962 and 1972.[122] In

such a situation of increasing unemployment, the significance of migration as a major

mobility strategy intensified for Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, people.

Education has also been one of the principal means whereby many Afro-Trini

women and men, especially those of the working class, sought to achieve a measure of

upward occupational and social mobility in Trinidad. For instance, in post-emancipation

Trinidad, young educated Afro-Trinis often sought white-collar jobs as primary school

teachers, as members of the clergy, as police and prison officers, as health service providers,

or as minor government civil servants. As Brereton notes, however, it was primary school

teaching that emerged as the nucleus of those seeking upward mobility during this period.[123]

Nevertheless, despite being educated, the young black person was not guaranteed an

appropriate career.[124] Unbridled institutional and systemic racism barred many of them

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[120] see Selwyn Ryan. 1972. *Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago: A Study of Decolonization in a Multiracial Society*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 386.

[121] Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962*, 216.

[122] Michael Manley. 1988. "Caribbean Development in Historical Perspective" in Schuyler and Vetmeyer, *Rethinking Caribbean Development*, 28.

[123] see Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*, 90.

[124] Walker, *The West Indians in Canada*, 6.

from many status-enhancing jobs. Nonetheless, the importance of the post-emancipation period was that it established a deep understanding amongst members of Trinidad's black population that educational achievement was a most important means to achieve upward mobility.

However, before, during the 1960s and 1970s, and continuing on into the ensuing decades, there were not enough secondary school spaces available for children in Trinidad. While access to primary schooling was virtually universal and practically all children completed it, only about 70 percent of them advanced to secondary schooling. While it is possible that the decline in school attendance at the secondary school level reflected the choice of Trini people to cut short their formal education and voluntarily leave school at the primary level, Mandle sees this as a consequence of a lack of opportunity rather than the preference of Trini children and their parents.[125] Entry into secondary school in Trinidad and Tobago during this period was allotted on the basis of an examination, called the Common Entrance Examination, which was administered after five years of primary schooling. Many more students took this examination than passed it. The somewhat high fail rate, 30 percent, reflects the examination's grades as a rationing device. Those grades rank ordered student test takers. Because the cutoff grade was set at the level at which the number of students matched the available space in the secondary schools, many students were denied the opportunity of a secondary level of schooling in Trinidad and Tobago. In 2001, the Common Entrance Examination was replaced by the Secondary Examination Advancement. For the first time in the history of

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[125] see Mandle, *Persistent Underdevelopment: Change and Economic Modernization in the West Indies*, 164-165.

Trinidad and Tobago, every student who took the Secondary Examination Advancement was entitled to a secondary school placing.

There were also limited opportunities toward the attainment of university level education for educated Afro-Trini people in the 1960s and 1970s. Mandle blames the lack of adequate university level educational opportunities in Trinidad and Tobago, and especially in the rest of the English-Caribbean region, on the weak commitment of Caribbean governments towards higher education, especially in the training of scientists and engineers.[126] As such, as recent as 1990, only 7.0 percent of Caribbean governments' public expenditure was allocated to higher education. Resultantly, some of the dire consequences of this minimal level of public expenditure were several low measures of higher education in Trinidad and Tobago, and other Caribbean countries. For example, since university level education is expensive and beyond the reach of most citizens, a mere 7 out of a 100 students in Trinidad and Tobago enter the University of the West Indies (UWI), principally its St Augustine campus in Trinidad. This exceedingly low enrollment of students is more alarming since the demand for university educated professionals continues to grow.[127] Other negative consequences for Trinidad and Tobago, and other Caribbean countries, therefore, were that there were 6.7 scientists and technicians per 1,000 population, 2.5 research and development scientists and technicians per 1,000 population, 1.4 percent of university graduates as percentage of age group, and

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[126] Ibid., 160-162.

[127] However, in a July 29, 2001 online editorial report in the *Trinidad Guardian,* it was revealed that the government of Trinidad and Tobago had decided to increase its public expenditure on tertiary education by paying half the fees that apply to enrollments for undergraduate and post-graduate programs at institutions of higher learning in Trinidad and Tobago [n.a.. Training toward the cutting edge. (Online) Available http://www.guardian.co.tt.editor.html, July 29, 2001.]

a 8.5 percent university enrollment rate. The state of university level education in the English-speaking Caribbean is put in stark relief when we compare that in 1989, 12,000 students altogether attended the three campuses of the University of the West Indies (UWI) at Mona, Jamaica; Cave Hill, Barbados; and St. Augustine, Trinidad to Puerto Rico, with just about the same combined population, in which more than 200,000 students enrolled at the university level.[128]

For that reason, during the 1960s and beyond, the restless educated upper and lower middle class group that developed in Trinidad and elsewhere in the Caribbean region began to increasingly adopt the upward mobility strategy of migration to Canada, the United States, and Britain with the hope of augmenting their qualifications by pursuing more advanced post-secondary and university instructions at various institutions of higher learning as well as with the hope of getting a better return on their schooling. Encouraging the use of this migration orientation to achieve educational success abroad were a few Afro-Caribbean individuals, mostly men, who had studied abroad and demonstrated immense mastery of curricula oriented towards European and United States standards.[129] As role models of what can be achieved by migrating, they excited others in Trinidad, as well as in the Caribbean community, to literally "follow in their footsteps." Then, as now, the combination of migration and educational success is understood as an important strategy for overcoming limited mobility opportunities in one's home country. In general, any kind of education and/or training is done with the expectation that it is

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[128] Mandle, *Persistent Underdevelopment: Change and Economic Modernization in the West Indies*, 162.

[129] see Anthony P. Maingot. 1991. "Introduction: A Culture of Migration" in S. Diaz-Briquets and S. Weintaub (eds.), *Determinants of Emigration from Mexico, Latin America and the Caribbean*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 81-91.

exportable. The local and global reputation that was earned by such eminent male scholars as Eric Eustace Williams and C.L.R. James, two sons of the soil, both of whom studied abroad, exemplify the high level of educational, and other, successes one can achieve by migrating.[130]

Two Sons of the Soil

Eric Eustace Williams (1911-1981) was the first and longest reigning intellectual-activist-politician of African descent to head the government and chart the future of Trinidad and Tobago. Since secondary and university education was a very expensive commodity in colonial Trinidad, young Eric had to win various island scholarships in order to attend the best schools in Trinidad and Britain. Winning one of four Island Scholarships offered annually by the government, he went to Queen's Royal College (Q.R.C.), a prestigious secondary school on the island. Excelling at Queen's Royal College in academics and sports, he was later to win one of three university scholarships in 1931 to attend Oxford University in Britain. Proceeding to Oxford in 1932, he graduated with a First Class undergraduate degree in 1935 while achieving the added distinction of being first in the First Class division with two other students. Continuing his graduate education there, he emerged in 1938 with a Doctor of Philosophy degree

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[130] Included in this group of Caribbean intellectual-activists with international reputation gained at home as well as in the diaspora are: from the Francophone Caribbean, Jean Price Mars (Haiti), Aimé Cesairé and Frantz Fanon (Martinique); and from the Anglophone Caribbean, Marcus Garvey (Jamaica); Henry Sylvester Williams and Stokeley Carmichael (Trinidad); and the eminent Guyanese scholar, Walter Rodney, who made an indelible intellectual imprint with his doctoral dissertation, *How Europe Undeveloped Africa*. see Walter Rodney. 1972. *How Europe Undeveloped Africa*, London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications. His dissertation brought to fore the correlation that exists between Europe's development and Africa's underdevelopment.

majoring in History. At Oxford, he wrote a most radical dissertation, "The Economic

Aspect of the Abolition of the West Indies Slave Trade and Slavery" which was later

published as *Capitalism and Slavery*.[131] This work was responsible for a profound

historical reevaluation of the nature of the antislavery movement in Britain. In it, Williams

theorized that British Caribbean slavery was terminated by Britain, not on humanitarian

grounds, but more so for economic reasons. To him, African slavery had become irrelevant

to the rise of industrial capitalism which had replaced mercantile capitalism in 19th century

Britain. This publication gave him recognition as a world renowned scholar. Other major

publications of his were *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*; *Inward Hunger:*

The Education of a Prime Minister; and *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the*

Caribbean.[132]

> Edward Said describes *Cyril Lionel Robert James* (1901-1989) as:
>
> A centrally important 20th-century figure, a Trinidadian black whose life as
> a scholar of history, political activist, cricket player and critic, cultural
> maverick, restless pilgrim between the West and its former colonial
> possessions in Africa and America, is emblematic of modern existence
> itself.[133]

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[131] see Eric Williams. 1964. *Capitalism and Slavery*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of
North Carolina Press.

[132] Ibid.. 1962. *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*, Port of Spain, Trinidad:
PNM Publishing Co., Ltd.; ibid., *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister*;
Ibid.. 1970. *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969*, New
York: Harper & Row. Also see, Oxaal, *Black Intellectuals Come To Power: The Rise of
Creole Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago*; Stuart Hall. 1992. "C.L.R. James: A
Portrait" in Paget Henry and Paule Buhle (eds), *C.L.R. James's Caribbean*, Durham, NC:
Duke University Press, 3-16; and Ken Boodhoo. 2002. *The Elusive Eric Williams*,
Maraval, Trinidad and Tobago: Prospect Press for more biographical information.

[133] see back cover of Anna Grimshaw (ed.). 1982. *The C.L.R. James Reader*, Cambridge,
MA: Schenkman Publishing Company Inc., 76.

Like Williams, C.L.R. James, his more popular name, also attended Queen's Royal College where he had taught Williams. Moreover, he has been credited with having provided Williams with "the germ of an idea," written on the back of an envelope, for his doctoral dissertation. He was a strong believer in the education of the Caribbean masses, not in the formal sense per se, but in their collective participation in the organizations and institutions of society. Spending the majority of his adult years in Britain, he became a Pan Africanist where he worked to revive the movement in Britain and in the process came into contact with George Padmore (1902-59), another Pan Africanist, with whom he had grown up with and had known as Malcolm Nurse in Trinidad. Some of James' well-known publications were *World Revolution, 1917-1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International*; *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live in*; *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*; and *Beyond A Boundary*.[134] His most celebrated work, *The Black Jacobins*, was the first and most elaborate historical appraisal ever conducted on the Haitian revolution in which it is placed alongside W.E.B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*[135] and Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery* as a seminal text in the history of abolition and slavery.

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[134] see C.L.R. James. 1937. *World Revolution, 1917-1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International*, London: M. Secker and Warburg; ibid.. 1953. *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live in*, New York, NY: C. L. R. James; ibid.. 1963. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, New York, NY: New York Vintage Books; ibid.. 1963. *Beyond A Boundary*, London: Hutchinson. Also see, Grimshaw, *The C.L.R. James Reader*; Hall, "C.L.R. James: A Portrait;" and Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900* for more biographical information; .

[135] W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. 1935. *Black reconstruction : an essay toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880*, New York, NY : Russell & Russell.

Conclusion

By examining how important migration is to the upward mobility aspirations of Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, people, it is possible for us to more fully understand the conditions of their migration, that is, their auspices of, and motivations for, migrating to Canada. Migration has become and persists not only as an option, but more often as the most important strategy, that allows Afro-Trini people to circumvent the limited availability of employment and educational opportunities in Trinidad. If Afro-Trini people desire these upward mobility opportunities that are not available to them at home, they automatically widen their search to incorporate new socioeconomic spaces abroad. This is not surprising really given the strong nature of the culture of migration that has developed amongst Afro-Caribbean people since the post-emancipation period.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CARIBBEAN POPULATIONS
IN CANADA

The focus of this chapter is threefold. First, by using select census stock and

immigration flow data from the 1996 Canadian census in original tables, a statistical

portrait is drawn to situate the Trini immigrant population in Canada. Beginning with an

overview of the sizes, provincial destinations, and settlement patterns of Caribbean

immigrant populations, the other socio-demographic characteristics looked at include

their sex composition, age distribution, marital status and family organization, and

homeownership. In order to further embed the Trini immigrant population in Canada and,

importantly, to highlight its Afro-Trini component, the chapter's second focus is to

provide a broad socio-demographic picture of the race characteristics of Canada's non-

white population. This is accompanied by a more specific description of how members of

the Caribbean immigrant population identify themselves, racially and ethnically, in the

Canadian census. The third focus of this chapter is to set the stage for a detailed

examination in the next chapter of the pre-migration and post-migration characteristics of

the Afro-Trini participants as well as their pattern and conditions of migration to Canada.

As such, certain situational determinants present in the Greater Toronto Area that interact

with immigrants' pre-migration characteristics and conditions of migration will also be

highlighted in this chapter.

Overview of the Sizes, Provincial Destinations, and Settlement Patterns of the Caribbean Immigrant Populations in Canada

As reported in the 1996 Canadian census, the Caribbean immigrant population[1] in Canada stood at 279,400[2] (see Appendix B, Table 5.1), with these immigrants arriving from almost everywhere in the Caribbean region. Of this figure, there were 62,020 immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago[3] and they represented 22 percent of the total Caribbean immigrant population. Other large populations of Caribbean immigrants in Canada were Jamaicans (115,800, 41 percent), the largest; Haitians (49,395, 18 percent); and Barbadians (15,225, 5 percent). Though immigrants from Guyana were not included in this tabulation, there were also 77,705 Guyanese immigrants in Canada.[4] When compared with the immigrant populations from Barbados, Haiti, Guyana, and Jamaica, the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago was the third largest. Other Caribbean countries to record numbers of more than 1,000 immigrants were Antigua/Barbuda (2,075), Bahamas (1,100), Bermuda (1,795), Cuba (3,100), Dominica (2,345), Dominican Republic (4,560), Grenada (7,095), St Kitts/Nevis (2,465), St. Lucia (2,360), and St Vincent/Grenadines (7,170).

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[1] It should be noted that the term "immigrant," as used in the 1996 census, referred to persons who are, or have been, landed immigrants in Canada.

[2] This figure does not include visitors, students, those in Canada on work or employment authorizations, or illegal immigrants who may have been in the country at the time the 1996 census was taken.

[3] Census and immigration statistics provided in Canadian censuses do not distinguish between immigrants from Trinidad and immigrants from Tobago. As provided, such data therefore relate to immigrants from the twin-island republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

[4] Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996: profile of census subdivisions [computer file], Aug. 1999 (STC 95F0181XDB96001a).

These figures are not surprising given the continuous substantive flow of Caribbean immigrants into Canada since the late 1960s, principally as a result of the removal of the overt racist features from Canada's immigration and population control policies. For example, from a low of 1,270 before 1961, the number of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago admitted into Canada jumped to 14,035 in the decade of the 1960s, an increase of over 1000 percent. Averaging 15,570 for the remaining decades up to 1996, this high in-flow of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago into Canada reached an all-time high of 19,055 in the decade of the 1970s.

Much like other immigrants, Caribbean immigrants, as Anderson points out, overwhelmingly have always shown a preference for settling in Ontario and Quebec, particularly in the larger urban areas of these two provinces.[5] More recent evidence substantiates this preference. As displayed in Table 5.2, the five leading provinces of settlement for Caribbean immigrants as reported in 1996 Canadian census were Ontario (186,850), Quebec (67,370), Alberta (9,870), British Columbia (BC) (8,145), and Manitoba (5,015) in that order. Of note, Ontario was home to 67 percent and Quebec to 24 percent of the total number of Caribbean immigrants. Together, therefore, Ontario and Quebec were home to 91 percent of them.

The provincial destination of Caribbean immigrants follow a decided linguistic pattern in Canada.[6] Quite high proportions of English-speaking Caribbean immigrants

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[5] see Wolseley W. Anderson. 1993. *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile,* Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 65.

[6] Amongst the boroughs of New York City, a somewhat similar linguistic pattern in the location of Caribbean immigrants was found to exist. English-speaking Caribbean immigrants generally reside in Crown Heights, Bedford Stuyvesant, and Brooklyn;

were settled in Ontario, with 78 percent of the total number of immigrants in Canada

from Trinidad and Tobago settling there (see Appendix C, Table 5.3). Jamaican

immigrants, though, presented the largest proportion, 87 percent, followed by immigrants

from Dominica, 84 percent; St Kitts/Nevis, 80 percent; Grenada and St. Lucia, 78 percent

each; and Barbados with 69 percent, among many other high proportions of English-

speaking Caribbean immigrants living in Ontario. Though British Columbia (BC) was

home to only 3 percent (8,120) of the Caribbean immigrant population in Canada (see

Table 5.2), most of its English-speaking immigrant population were from Barbados (685),

Jamaica (3,020), and Trinidad and Tobago (2,610).

Excluding Cubans, Spanish- and French-speaking immigrants settled much more

in Quebec. Since the official language of Haiti is French, it is not surprising to find that

almost all Haitian immigrants were living in Quebec as recorded in the 1996 Canadian

census. For example, 92 percent (45,470) of the total number of French-speaking Haitian

immigrants in Canada resided in Quebec, with equally large proportions of

Guadeloupeans (87 percent; 195), Martiniquians (75 percent; 235), and Spanish-speaking

immigrants from the Dominican Republic (60 percent; 2,760). Also, no immigrants either

from the United States or the British and U.S. Virgin Islands resided in Quebec, with 75

percent and 61 percent of them respectively residing in Ontario.

Spanish-speaking Caribbean immigrants, especially those from the Dominican Republic, are in Manhattan in the Spanish Harlem area; and French-speaking Haitians are in Lower Queens. see Dennis Conway and Ualthan Bigby. 1987. "Where Caribbean Peoples Live in New York City" in Constance R. Sutton and Elsa M. Chaney (eds.), *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions*, New York, NY: Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., 74-83.

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Table 5.2

Caribbean Immigrants by Province of Settlement, 1996

Provinces	Total	%
Yukon	30	0.01
British Columbia (BC)	8,145	3
Alberta	9,870	4
Saskatchewan	755	0.3
Manitoba	5,015	2
Ontario	186,850	67
Quebec	67,370	24
Newfoundland	90	0.03
Prince Edward Island	80	0.03
New Brunswick	335	0.12
Nova Scotia	790	0.3
Northwest Territories	75	0.027
Total	**279,405[7]**	**100**

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census *Nation* Tables, [Online]
Available, http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/Population/
demo35b.html

Undoubtedly, the large urban center of the Greater Toronto Area is the major destination point for Caribbean immigrants. It is there that 155,730 (83 percent) of the Caribbean immigrants in the province of Ontario lived; and where there were over 56 percent of Canada's total Caribbean immigrant population. It is also in the Greater Toronto Area that 85 percent (41,045) of the total number of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago (48,400) in the province of Ontario resided (see Table 5.4). This high numerical and proportional representation of the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago living in the Greater Toronto Area is a significant situational determinant in any study of their economic incorporation experiences in Canada. As such, this is another primary reason why this study focuses on Trini immigrants who reside in the Greater Toronto Area. Equally high proportions and numbers of Jamaicans (87 percent, 86,895)

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[7] Two different totals, 279,400 and 279,405, of Caribbean immigrants in Canada have been recorded by Statistics Canada.

and Guyanese (88 percent, 60,705) in the province of Ontario were also present in the Greater Toronto Area.

In the province of Quebec, though there were far less Caribbean immigrants than in the province of Ontario, the Montreal metropolitan area was the major urban destination point for Caribbean immigrants, mostly Haitians. Of the 67,370 Caribbean immigrants in the province of Quebec, 63,770 or a phenomenal 95 percent of them lived in Montreal. Other urban centers with somewhat sizeable and/or extremely large proportions of Caribbean immigrant populations were Ottawa-Hull, Ontario (10,395; 6 percent), Vancouver, British Columbia (BC) (5,930; 73 percent), and three other urban centers, Calgary (4,810; 49 percent) and Edmonton (4,790; 43 percent), Alberta; and Winnipeg (4,790; 95 percent), Manitoba.[8]

Residential location within these urban centers is usually related to the organization of migration as well as to a combination of socioeconomic, racial, ethnic, and national origin factors.[9] Early immigrants, for instance, either may send for relatives and/or friends or may provide treaded migration pathways from home societies to particular racial neighborhoods in destination societies for relatives and/or friends to follow. Thus, though dispersed throughout the Greater Toronto Area, the Caribbean immigrant population was quite concentrated in a few city areas as reported in the 1996

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[8] Statistics Canada, Dimension Series, Ethnocultural and Social Characteristics of the Canadian Population, 1996.

[9] Recent research has shown the role that race, ethnic, and socioeconomic factors plays in shaping the residential patterns of Afro-Caribbean immigrants, African Americans, white Americans, and other ethnic groups in New York City. see Kyle D. Crowder and Lucky M. Tedrow. 2001. "West Indians and the Residential Landscape of New York" in Nancy Foner (ed.), *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, Berkeley, CA:

Table 5.4
Immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, and Guyana in the
Province of Ontario, 1996

Place of Birth	Total Canada	Total Ontario	% Ontario	Total Greater Toronto Area	% Greater Toronto Area
Trinidad and Tobago	62,020	48,400	78	41,045	85
Jamaica	115,800	100,330	87	86,895	87
Guyana	77,705	69,195	89	60,705	88

Source: Statistics Canada, Dimension Series, Ethnocultural and Social Characteristics of the Canadian Population, 1996.

Canadian census. The largest concentrations were found in the city areas of Mississauga, Brampton, Etobicoke, Toronto, North York, and Scarborough (see Appendix D, Table 5.5 for numerical breakdown of the above immigrant populations in the Greater Toronto Area). These are mixed residential and industrial city areas, with Mississauga having the most the thriving economy. With leading figures of Caribbean immigrants from Haiti (310), Jamaica (27,275), Trinidad and Tobago (5,565), Barbados (2,230), and Guyana (7,925), Scarborough was the most populous city area for Caribbean immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area. The proximity of Scarborough to the City of Toronto, where high-paying producer service jobs such as financial jobs are concentrated, the efficient transportation system, and the abundance of rental accommodations have made Scarborough an attractive settlement site for Caribbean immigrants. Significantly, my sample of 20 Afro-Trini immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area was obtained from the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago in Mississauga (4,425), Toronto (3,450),

University of California Press, 81-114.

Figure 5.1
Map of the Greater Toronto Area, Canada

Percent of Visible Minority Population

- 50.0
- 29.4 – 35.0
- 17.8 – 26.0
- 7.5 – 15.4
- 0.0 – 0.5
- no data

Georgina

Brock

East Gwillimbury

Orangeville

King

Aurora

Uxbridge

Scugog

Caledon

Whitchurch Stouffville

Richmond Hill

Vaughan

Markham

Pickering

Whitby

Oshawa

Clarington

Brampton

North York

Scarborough

Ajax

Halton Hills

Etobicoke

York

E. York

Milton

Mississauga

Toronto

Oakville

Burlington

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996: profile of subdivisions.

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Scarborough (5,565), Ajax (520), Whitby (305), and Oshawa (555). (see Figure 5.1 for the location of these city areas).

Sex Distribution

Very much akin to Caribbean migration to the United States, the flow of Caribbean immigrants to Canada is distinct for its female-skewness. Table 5.6 presents figures from the 1996 Canadian census that show the sex distribution of Caribbean immigrant flows from Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana, the four leading source countries of Caribbean immigration to Canada. Female immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago, and the other leading Caribbean source countries, have consistently outnumbered males in immigration flows. For immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago, the sex ratio was 52.7 females to 47.3 males. Somewhat higher female to male ratios are evident for immigrants from Haiti (54.4 females to 45.6 males), Jamaica (53.5 females to 46.5 males), and Guyana (57.6 females to 42.4 males). For persons of Caribbean-origin, 248,076 of them reported their sex as female in relation to 207,972 who reported their sex as male in the 1996 Canadian census.[10]

Table 5.6
Immigrants from Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Guyana, and the Caribbean by Sex, 1996

Country	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Haiti	1,053	54.4	882	45.6	1,935	100
Jamaica	1,753	53.5	1,522	46.5	3,275	100
Trinidad and Tobago	1,160	52.7	1,039	47.3	2,199	100
Guyana	1,318	57.6	968	42.4	2,286	100

Source: Statistics Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996

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[10] Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% sample

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This sex imbalance in the flow of female to male immigrants from the Caribbean region developed in the 1950s. Its persistence up to the 1990s may reflect, in part, the legacy of Canada's immigration and population control policies toward female, non-white immigration in which, as Anderson states, "the principle of strategic economic and labour interests held priority over the principle of family unification."[11] Thus, as discussed, it was Afro-Caribbean women who were recruited in significant numbers in the 1950s and 1960s to perform domestic service work in Canada and who, after completing their stint of employment, subsequently obtained landed immigrant status.[12] As also discussed, up until the inception of the Caribbean Seasonal Farm Work Programme in 1966, the Canadian state denied the entry of Afro-Caribbean men to a large degree.

The persistent sex imbalance may also reflect the increasing spatial, as well as upward, mobility activation of Caribbean women to enter Canada alone in increasing numbers where, due to Canada's preference for educated and skilled immigrants, they have been able to satisfy the admission requirements of the independent class. Moreover, having children may not have appreciably impeded the mobility aspirations of Caribbean women. As Soto points out, child fostering (fosterage), that is, the care by relatives and friends of children left behind by female immigrants, greatly encourages female migration from the Caribbean region.[13]

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[11] see Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile*, 76.

[12] Over the years however, from 1966 to the 1990s, the traditional pattern of male numerical superiority over females was maintained for immigrants from most European countries. see Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile*, 92, endnote 1.

[13] see Isa Maria Soto. 1987. "West Indian Child Fostering: Its Role in Migrant

Age Distribution

Age also significantly influences Caribbean immigration to Canada. In looking at the age distribution in Table 5.7 of immigrants from Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana, an extremely large proportion (40 percent) of this Caribbean immigrant cohort is clustered in the young, working-age group, 25 to 44 years, with fairly high equal proportions (21 percent) in the 5 to 14 and 15 to 24 age groups. Markedly lower proportions were in the 00 to 04 age group and 65 and over retirement age group, with a moderate proportion in the 45 to 64 age group. This has been the consistent pattern of age distribution of Caribbean immigrants to Canada.[14] Moreover, the distribution is consistent with that of other countries where adults with the most amount of productive working years ahead of them, that is, people between the ages of 25 and 44 years, migrate more than others. This age skew is also as a result of the close link between Canada's immigration and population control policies and supplying its labor force needs. As such, Canada's "points system" awards the most amount of points, 10, in the age category to applicants between the ages of 21 and 44 years.

Meanwhile, as reflected in the number (474) and proportion (5 percent) of children under the age of 5, that is, pre-school children, who migrated to Canada, some of these Caribbean immigrants also migrated as family units comprising of mothers and/or fathers with very young child or children. However, it also appears that many parents may

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Exchanges" in Sutton et al, *Caribbean Life in New York City: Socio-cultural dimensions*, 131-149.

[14] For more on the age and sex distribution of the Caribbean immigrant flow to Canada, see Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile*, 73-91.

have left their very young at home in the care of relatives and friends until they have grown up a bit. With the older children of school-age or later, family reunification, in which fathers and/or mothers use the immigration category of sponsored dependents to enable left-behind children to join them in Canada, emerges as a decisive factor in the migration of young immigrants of school-age or later to Canada.[15] Most likely, family reunification may have contributed to the rather significant aggregate number (4,044) and proportion (42 percent) of Caribbean immigrant children and young adults between the ages of 5 to 24 years who migrated to Canada.

Table 5.7
Age Distribution of Caribbean Migration to Canada, 1996

Age Group	Haiti	Jamaica	Trinidad and Tobago	Guyana	Total	%
00 to 04	182	73	55	164	474	5
05 to 14	423	900	379	341	2,043	21
15 to 24	360	742	396	503	2,001	21
25 to 44	764	1,218	1,015	851	3,848	40
45 to 64	138	271	308	368	1,085	11
65 and over	68	71	46	59	244	2
Total	1,935	3,275	2,199	2,286	9,695	100

Source: Statistics Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996

One obvious generalization that follows from this statistical observation would be that there are more Caribbean immigrant families with school-age or older children than those with pre-school children. Overall, the average family size among the post-1960s Caribbean immigrants was 3.5 persons.[16] And, as Anderson reports, "...Caribbean

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[15] Ibid.. Also, see Frances Henry. 1994. *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

[16] Anthony H. Richmond. 1989. *Caribbean Immigrants: A Demo-economic Analysis*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

immigrant families tend as a rule to be large--four or five offspring being quite usual."[17]

Other concomitant generalizations are that there would be a high visibility of Caribbean

immigrant children in the Canadian school system and a high dependency ratio within the

Caribbean immigrant population. Anderson describes the dependency ratio as a statistic

that relates the number of people in active employment to those not in the workforce,

with the unemployed being an important component of this in addition to preschoolers,

those in school, and those in retirement.[18]

Based on the figures in Table 5.7, the dependency ratio among these Caribbean

immigrants was a whopping 0.96, that is, these Caribbean immigrants would have had an

extremely high proportion (49 percent) of its immigrant flow dependent on what is

considered to be an extremely low proportion (51 percent) of its employable workforce

who were between the ages of 25 and 64 years.[19] Teenagers and young adults attending

secondary and post-secondary institutions as well as many of the unemployed elderly will

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[17] see Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile,* 85.

[18] Ibid., 92, endnote 2.

[19] Care must be taken in interpreting this extremely high dependency ratio, however, since some of these young Caribbean immigrants between the ages of 16 and 24 may have been able to be gainfully employed. Nonetheless, this happening does not overly weaken the point that is being made that the dependency ratio was extremely high for these Caribbean cohorts. For example, in examining the dependency ratios for the Caribbean immigrant flows in 1967 and 1968 and from 1980 to 1987, Anderson reports that, while it was a low 0.31 in 1967, by 1980, however, this ratio had fluctuated and increased to 0.79, which meant that 56 percent would have to work to support 44 percent who did not. While this ratio reduced to 0.60 by 1987, it was still extremely higher in some of the preceding years, with its highest being 0.80 in 1983. see Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile,* 86-87. Richmond points out, however, that because of the high cluster of Caribbean immigrants in the young, working-age group of 25 to 44 years, the dependency ratio for Caribbean immigrants was a low 19 percent compared to 31 percent for the total foreign born, and 50 percent for the Canadian-born, populations in 1981. see Richmond, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Demo-*

therefore typically depend on family and kin for support. In light of this study, what makes this of some concern is that, with the upward mobility barriers that Afro-Caribbean immigrants confront in Canada in obtaining well-paying jobs, taking care of dependent members would surely be very financially burdensome to many of them.

The relationship between the general characteristics of the Caribbean immigrant flow and stock data is evident in the age distribution of persons of Caribbean-origin in Canada. Though the low end of the age range of persons of Caribbean-origin in Table 5.8 is not comparable to the low end of the age range in Table 5.7, by and large, the variation among the proportions of the other ranges is not too dissimilar. More important though, the predominance of persons of Caribbean-origin in the young, working age category of 25 to 44 years was strongly influenced by the high proportion of Caribbean immigrants who migrated within this age category. Likewise, the aforementioned generalizations discussed concerning the Caribbean immigrant flow to Canada are very much applicable to the Caribbean-origin population in Canada.

Table 5.8
Caribbean-Origin Population in Canada by Age, 1996

Age Group	Total	%
Low to 14	128,160	28
15 to 24	77,220	17
25 to 44	145,872	32
45 to 64	83,916	18
64 and over	20,880	5
Total	456,048	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% sample.

Marital Status and Family Organization

The marital status of Caribbean immigrants is inferred from 1996 Canadian

census stock data obtained on the Caribbean-origin population in Canada, 15 years and

over. Persons of Caribbean-origin reported their marital status either as divorced, legally

married, legally separated, never married, or widowed (see Table 5.9). Compared to 44

percent of persons of Caribbean-origin who reported themselves as never married, 38

percent reported themselves as legally married. This is followed by rather low proportions

of persons of Caribbean-origin who reported themselves as divorced (9 percent), legally

separated (6 percent), and widowed (3 percent). Various possible explanations may

account for the relatively high never married persons of Caribbean-origin and, by

extrapolation, Caribbean immigrants.

Table 5.9
Marital Status of the Caribbean-Origin Population,
1996, 15 Years and Over

Marital Status	Total	%
Divorced	28,692	9
Legally Married	122,976	38
Legally Separated	20,844	6
Never Married	145,332	44
Widowed	10,044	3
Total	327,888	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public
Use Microdata File, 20% sample.

For one, the sexual imbalance within the Caribbean-origin and Caribbean

immigrant populations, brought on by female-skewed migration, suggest that it may have

been due to there being a shortage of Caribbean males in the marriageable pool in

Canada. Another possible explanation is age-related in which there were rather similarly

fairly high proportions of 26 percent (see Table 5.7) and 28 percent (see Table 5.8) of

Caribbean immigrants and persons of Caribbean-origin respectively under the age of 14 years. Finally, another explanation offered by one academic observer of Caribbean people in Canada is the suggestion that there may be a cultural continuity among Caribbean people whereby traditional forms of family arrangements are being practiced in Canada, especially by members of the working class.[20] Together with legal marriages, these include, but is not limited to, common-law marriages, visiting unions, and out-of-wedlock births resulting from causal unions. Resultantly, one of the most striking cultural continuities in the pattern of Caribbean family organization is said to be single motherhood.[21]

Homeownership

As reported in the 1996 Canadian census, 55 percent of the persons of Caribbean-origin lived in rental accommodations as opposed to living in owner-occupied homes.[22] In relation to other persons of foreign or Canadian origin, fewer persons of Caribbean-origin lived in owner-occupied homes. For example, in a study of homeownership in

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[20] see Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 57-101.

[21] Henry describes a visiting union as one in which a woman is living alone and is being "visited" by a male friend while a casual union is a form of relationship in which a young woman who is still living at home, with relatives or alone, establishes a sexual union with a man. From examining a special tabulation of the 1986 census, Henry also found that there were twice the number of female single-parent families within the Caribbean population as compared to all others currently living in Canada. This was taken to indicate that this pattern of family organization as well as the dynamics of male-female relationships that underlie it are still continued under conditions of migration. see Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 59, 65.

[22] Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% sample.

Toronto, Skaburskis found that 62 percent of white Torontonians owned their homes.[23]

Some of this difference in homeownership may be explained by the low income earned by female-headed families. Another reason that may explain this difference is that, due to the presence of upward mobility barriers, persons of Caribbean-origin do not occupy high-paying jobs that make homeownership easily affordable. This employment issue, as it relates to Afro-Trini immigrants, will be discussed in more detail in a following chapter. Finally, another potential explanation of the difference is that due to the recency of their arrival in Canada, persons of Caribbean-origin neither may have established a good enough credit rating to borrow large sums of money nor have amassed sufficient funds to make a downpayment on a house and enter into a long-term mortgage. Also making homeownership difficult for some members of the Caribbean-origin population is the increasing high cost of housing. As such, Ornstein, for one, considers it much more difficult to now become a homeowner than it was in the early 1980s, after which there began a rapid increase, and continuing nearly a decade, in the cost of homes in Toronto.[24]

Caribbean Populations and Racial Identity, 1996 Canadian Census

<u>National Patterns</u>

Question 19 in the 1996 Canadian census Form 2B, Population Questionnaire, administered to a 20% sample of the population, excluding institutional residents, asked respondents directly for the first time in the history of taking the Canadian census to

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[23] see Andrejs Skaburskis. 1996. "Race and Tenure in Toronto," *Urban Studies* 33, 2: 223-252.

[24] see Michael Ornstein. 1996. *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census*, Institute for Social Research, York University, 116.

specify the racial group to which they belonged from a list of mark-in racial categories,

together with one write-in space.[25]

> Question 19:
> *Is this person:*
> Mark and specify more than one, if applicable.
> > White
> > Chinese
> > South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sri Lankan)
> > Black (e.g., African, Haitian, Jamaican, Somali)
> > Arab/West Asian (e.g., Armenian, Egyptian, Iranian, Lebanese, Moroccan)
> > South East Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese)
> > Latin American
> > Japanese
> > Korean
> > <u>One Write-in Space</u>
> > Other specify

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[25] Prior to administering Question 19 in the 1996 census, respondents' race was inferred from responses from the origin question collected since the 1991 census. Origin, or "roots," which is not the same as citizenship or nationality, referred to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which respondents' ancestors belonged. The origin question, Question 17 in the 1996 Canadian census Form 2B, Population Questionnaire, which was not replaced by the direct question on race, Question 19, was retained in altered form to that of previous censuses in the 1996 Canadian census. Question 17 asked respondents to specify the origin groups, in which their ancestors belonged, in four write-in spaces, and examples of origin groups were also provided.

> Question 17:
> To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?
>
> Specify as many groups as applicable.
>
> *For example, French, English, German, Scottish, Canadian, Italian, Irish, Chinese, Cree, Micmac, Metis, Inuit (Eskimo), Ukrainian, Dutch, East Indian, Polish, Portuguese, Jewish, Haitian, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc..*

For this information on the race and ethnic questions in the Canadian census, see Statistics Canada, Dimension Series, *Ethnocultural and Social Characteristics of the Canadian Population*, Use Guide on Origin; Statistics Canada, *1991 Census Dictionary*, *1996 Census Dictionary*.

The enumerated results showed that Canada's non-white population of 3,197,480

accounted for 11 percent of its total population (see Table 5.10). Accounting for 3 percent

of Canada's total population, 860,150 persons identified themselves as Chinese. In

absolute numbers as well as proportion-wise (27 percent), they were the largest non-white

population in Canada in the 1996 Canadian census. Most likely, their large numerical

and proportional non-white presence was a direct result of their early entry into Canada in

considerable numbers between the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century to

build the Canadian Pacific Railway[26] and the resultant institutionalized migration streams

that emerged through chain migration based on kinship relations, especially with the later

changes to Canada's immigration and population control policies. After the Chinese, there

were the South Asians who numbered 670,590 (2.3 percent) of Canada's total population.

They were followed by Blacks who amounted to 573,860 (2 percent) and who were the

third largest non-white population in Canada in the 1996 Canadian census. They were

comprised largely of blacks of Caribbean-origin, black immigrants from the Caribbean

region, the United States, and Africa,[27] and Canadian-born blacks. These racial groupings

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[26] see Peter S. Li. 1982. "Chinese immigrants on the Canadian prairie," *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology* 19, 4: 527-540; Reginald Whitaker. 1991. *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation*, Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Historical Association.

[27] African immigration to Canada has quickened in the past 20 years. Torczyner reports that between 1961 and 1970, only 2,225 blacks immigrated to Canada from Africa, constituting less than 5 percent of all black immigration to Canada in that decade. But, during the decade of 1971-1980, black African immigration increased to almost 8,000 persons and accounted for more than 7 percent of all black immigration. In the 1981-1990 decade, it multiplied almost fourfold, with close to 30,000 of them arriving. A large proportion of them came from Ethiopia, Ghana, and Somalia. see James L. Torczyner. 1997. *Diversity, Mobility and Change: The Dynamics of Black Communities in Canada*, McGill Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning (February), McGill School of Social Work, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Also, see Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census.*

were followed by sizeable numbers of Southeast Asians, Filipinos, Arabs/West Asians,

and Latin Americans. Officially, these non-white racial groups are classified as "visible

minority" populations in the Canadian census and in most Canadian academic

publications.[28] There were also large numbers of persons who did not report a classified

Table 5.10
Canada's Non-White Populations by Race, 1996

Racial Group	Number	% Total Population	% Total Non-White Population
Chinese	860,150	3.0	27.00
South Asian	670,590	2.3	21.00
Black	573,860	2.0	18.00
Korean	64,840	0.23	2.03
Japanese	68,135	0.24	2.13
Southeast Asian	172,765	0.60	5.40
Filipino	234,195	0.82	7.32
Arab/West Asian	244,665	0.86	7.65
Latin American	176,975	0.62	5.53
Visible Minority, n.i.e.[a]	69,745	0.24	2.18
Multiple Visible Minority[b]	61,575	0.22	1.93
Total Visible Minority Population	3,197,480	11	100
Total Population	28,528,125	-	-

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census *Nation* Tables, [Online]
Available,http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/Population/demo40b.html
[a] Not included elsewhere. Includes Pacific Islander group or another write-in
response likely to be a visible minority e.g., West Indian, South American.
[b] Includes respondents who reported more than one visible minority group.

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[28] The Employment Equity Act of Canada defines the visible minority population as
persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in
color. see Harry H. Hiller. 2000. *Canadian Society: A Macro Analysis*, (4th). Toronto, ON:
Prentice-Hall, 27. Reitz, likewise, sees "visible minority" as "a Canadian term referring to
the perception of distinctive physical features of the new racial groups." see Jeffrey G.
Reitz. 1998. *Warmth of the Welcome: The Social Causes of Economic Success for
Immigrants in Different Nations and Cities*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 4.

racial group and were included as members of a "Visible Minority" population, as well as others who reported themselves as members of multiple racial groups and were included as members of a "Multiple Visible Minority" population. This "visible minority" racial classification has much to do with the dissimilarity in the skin color and other phenotypical markers as well as national and geographical origin that differentiate Caribbean, and other people of color, from members of Canada's dominant, white population. As a collective racial classification, therefore, it carries immense negative consequences of an economic, social, cultural, and political nature for Caribbean people in Canada.

Within Canada's non-white population, a total of 454,716 individuals of Caribbean-origin specified their race in the 1996 Canadian census, with 3 in every 4 or 75 percent identifying themselves as Black (342,180). In Table 5.11, they were followed by 15,444 (4 percent) individuals who identified themselves as South Asian[29] and 3,888 (1 percent) who identified themselves as Chinese. There were also 46,728 (10 percent) individuals who were reported as Other Visible Minority while 46,476 (10 percent) did not report themselves as a visible minority. The Other Visible Minority category consisted of persons who reported their racial identities either as Korean, Japanese, Southeast Asian, Filipino, Arab/West Asian, or Latin American. In Canada's total Black population of 573,860, therefore, 60 percent (342,180) of them were blacks of Caribbean-origin.

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[29] South Asian ethnic category refers to persons who reported at least one South Asian origin. This includes Bengali, Punjabi, Singhalese, Tamil, Bangladeshi, not included elsewhere (n.i.e.) East Indian, n.i.e., Pakistani, n.i.e., Sri Lankan.

For Caribbean immigrants, 3 in every 4 (211,020 or 75 percent of 279,405) identified themselves as Black, a similar proportion to those of Caribbean-origin in Canada who identified themselves as Black (see Table 5.12). In addition, 5 percent (13,100) of Caribbean immigrants identified themselves as South Asian, with 2 percent each identifying themselves as Chinese and Latin American. There were other quite small proportions who identified themselves as Korean (0.01 percent), Japanese (0.01 percent), Southeast Asian (0.06 percent), Filipino (0.03 percent), and Arab/West Asian (0.02 percent). Finally, 6 percent (17,900) specified themselves either as a visible minority and were included, for example, as West Indian or South American while 2 percent chose to specify more than one racial identity.

The Caribbean black immigrant population, therefore, was a very significant segment of the Caribbean immigrant population in Canada as reported in the 1996 Canadian census, with 75 percent of them identifying themselves as Black. Equally significant, these Caribbean black immigrants represented a little less than two-thirds (62 percent) black of Caribbean-origin. Moreover, in relation to the total black population in Canada, members of the Caribbean immigrant population comprised slightly more than a third (37 percent).

Ontario

The Caribbean-origin population in Ontario amounted to 302,904 individuals, with 72 percent (217,116) of the individuals identifying themselves as Black in the 1996 Canadian census (see Table 5.13). Once more, there were small numbers and proportions

Table 5.11
Caribbean-Origin Population in Canada by Race, 1996

Racial Group	Total	% Grand Total	% Total Canada Black
Black	342,180	75	60
South Asian	15,444	4	
Chinese	3,888	1	
Other Visible Minority	46,728	10	
Not a Visible Minority	46,476	10	
Total	454,716	100	

Source: 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% Sample Data.

Table 5.12
Caribbean Immigrant Population in Canada by Race, 1996

Racial Group	Number	% Grand Total	% Blacks of Canada's Caribbean-Origin	% Total Canada Black
Black	211,020	75	62	37
South Asian	13,100	5		
Chinese	6,140	2		
Korean	30	0.01		
Japanese	30	0.01		
Southeast Asian	155	0.05		
Filipino	85	0.03		
Arab/West Asian	530	0.2		
Latin American	5,290	2		
Visible Minority, n.i.e.[a]	17,930	6		
Multiple Visible Minority[b]	5,290	2		
All others	19,805	7		
Total	279,405	100		

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census *Nation* Tables, [Online]
Available,http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/Population/demo40h.html
[a] Not included elsewhere. Includes Pacific Islander group or another write-in response likely to be a visible minority e.g., West Indian, South American.
[b] Includes respondents who reported more than one visible minority group.

of Caribbean persons who chose to identify themselves as South Asian (12,888; 4

percent) and Chinese (3,492; 1 percent). Much larger numbers and proportions of

Caribbean persons chose not to identify themselves either as Black, South Asian, or

Chinese. Under the Other Visible Minority category, therefore, these individuals

numbered 39,204 (13 percent) while there were 30,204 (10 percent) who did not identify

themselves as a visible minority at all. With regards to the proportion of blacks of

Caribbean-origin in Ontario to those in Canada as whole, we see that they represented

close to two-thirds (63 percent) of this black population. And, in relation to the total black

population in Canada, we see that they represented more than a third (38 percent) of the

population. Furthermore, the 186,850 Caribbean immigrants who were living in Ontario

(see Table 5.2) represented 67 percent of the total Caribbean immigrant population in

Canada, a large segment of the persons of Caribbean-origin who reported themselves as

Black.

Table 5.13
Caribbean-Origin Population in Ontario by Race, 1996

Racial Group	Total	% Grand Total	% Blacks of Canada's Caribbean-Origin	% Total Canada Black
Black	217,116	72	63	38
South Asian	12,888	4		
Chinese	3,492	1		
Other Visible Minority	39,204	13		
Not a Visible Minority	30,204	10		
Total	302,904	100		

Source: 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% Sample Data.

Greater Toronto Area

As reported in the 1996 Canadian census, there were 244,620 individuals who

identified themselves as members of Caribbean-origin populations in the Greater Toronto

Area. Close to three-quarters (73 percent) of them chose to identity themselves as Black

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(see Table 5.14). Consistently, there were quite lower numbers and proportions of

Caribbean persons who chose to identify themselves as South Asians (11,124; 4 percent)

and Chinese (3,168; 1 percent), with larger numbers and proportions of Other Visible

Minority (33,876; 14 percent) and of those who chose not to identify themselves as a

visible minority (18,720; 8 percent). The 177,732 Caribbean persons who identified

themselves as Black represented a very high 82 percent of the black population of

Caribbean-origin in Ontario as well as close to a third (31 percent) of the black

population of Canada. Because of this concentrated Caribbean black presence in the

Greater Toronto Area, the bulk of black immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago also

resided there.

Table 5.14
Caribbean-Origin Population in the Greater Toronto Area by Race, 1996

Racial Group	Total	% of Grand Total	% Blacks of Ontario's Caribbean-Origin	% of Total Canada Black
Black	177,732	73	82	31
South Asian	11,124	4		
Chinese	3,168	1		
Other Visible Minority	33,876	14		
Not a Visible Minority	18,720	8		
Total	244,620	100		

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% sample.

There are certain pre-migration characteristics that interact with certain situational

determinants that make the settlement pattern of these black immigrants, as well as others

from the Caribbean region, quite regular and predictable. Coming principally from major

Caribbean urban centers such as Port of Spain, Trinidad; Kingston, Jamaica; Port au

Prince, Haiti; Bridgetown, Barbados; and Georgetown, Guyana, these urbanized

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immigrants tend to show a strong preference for urban over rural settings in Canada. Settlement in the urban areas of the Greater Toronto Area and metropolitan Montreal are also reinforced by transnational migration networks of relatives and/or friends providing a sense of welcome, belonging, and much needed help in finding jobs and living accommodations. This migration strategy makes additional sense since there is a concentration of employment, and other upward mobility, opportunities in these urban areas of established industrial and, of the more recent, postindustrial economic activities.[30] Not unexpectedly both the Greater Toronto Area and metropolitan Montreal also have direct air flights to and from the Caribbean region. The draw to these two urban centers, therefore, has remained strong to Caribbean immigrants even though there are indications that there is a growing internal migration away from these urban centers with the increasing Caribbean immigrant presence in other provincial urban centers, such as Calgary and Edmonton in the province of Alberta. These two provincial urban centers, in particular, have recently been experiencing economic boom times based on the receipt of increasing revenue accruing from the sale of crude oil and natural gas.

Another vital situational determinant is the removal of the overt racist features from Canada's immigration and population control policies that, up to the 1960s, barred the entry of non-white female and male immigrants from the Caribbean region, and elsewhere, from entering Canada. When they were allowed in, it was initially in limited numbers under group-based migration schemes to provide domestic service and farm labor needs to Ontario employers mostly. By the post-1960s period therefore, migration

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[30] Anthony H. Richmond.1992. "Immigration and Structural Change: The Canadian Experience, 1971-1986," *International Migration Review* 26, 4 (Winter): 1200.

to Canada was well established in a social field that incorporated Canada, principally the province of Ontario and, its major metropolitan center, the Greater Toronto Area, and Trinidad. Moreover, the later movements of Afro-Trini people as temporary workers under work or employment authorizations from amongst the Caribbean black population to provide domestic and farm labor services coupled with their more large-scale migration of the educated and highly skilled with the institution of the "points system" further cemented Canada, Ontario, and the Greater Toronto Area in the mobility psyche of Afro-Trini people.

With its urban primacy, such pronounced Afro-Trini migration, among other large-scale Afro-Caribbean migration, has led to one of largest Afro-Caribbean communities located overseas.[31] The largest urban concentrations of Afro-Caribbean people, in total, are found in London, New York, Miami, Montreal, and Toronto.[32] Patterson sees these Afro-Caribbean communities as comprising of Afro-Caribbean "outer" communities that anchor Afro-Caribbean people, based on national and cultural affinities in Canada, to other migration destinations. At the same time, these Afro-Caribbean "outer" communities are also seen as remaining firmly connected to Afro-Caribbean "inner" communities in home societies.[33] Even though geographically separate,

[31] see Malcolm Cross. 1979. *Urbanization and Urban Growth in the Caribbean*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

[32] see Alan B. Simmons and Dwayne Plaza. 1992. "International Migration and Schooling in the Eastern Caribbean," *La Educacion* 34, 107: 187-213.

[33] see Orlando Patterson. 1987. "The Emerging West Atlantic System: Migration, Culture and Underdevelopment in the United States and the Circum-Caribbean" in William Alonso (ed.), *Population in an Interacting World*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 227-260.

both communities are "imagined" as one and serve as the principal setting in which Afro-Caribbean immigrants organize their lives and orchestrate their economic actions.

Conclusion

This statistical portrait of the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago has shown that they, together with other immigrants from Haiti, Jamaica, and Guyana especially, have resided in virtually every Canadian province since the 1960s. However, it is the province of Ontario that has been the traditional destination point for Trini immigrants and they continue to head there in the 1990s. For instance, of the 62,020 immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago who resided in Canada in 1995, the year of enumeration for the 1996 Canadian census, 78 percent of them were in the province of Ontario while 85 percent of them were in the Greater Toronto Area. This residential concentration of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago in the Greater Toronto Area has therefore made it the prime social field to conduct research on the economic incorporation experiences of Afro-Trini immigrants in Canada. What is more, an examination of other socio-demographic characteristics such as sex composition, age distribution, marital status and family organization, homeownership, and the race characteristics of Caribbean immigrants and persons of Caribbean-origin in Canada provided enough additional fodder to complete a portrait of the Trini immigrant population.

Based largely on the consequence of a female-skewed pattern of Caribbean migration that continued to exist well into the 1990s, most likely there are more Trini female immigrants than male immigrants living in Canada, in the province of Ontario, and principally in the Greater Toronto Area. In addition, the overall majority of Trini

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female and male immigrants admitted into Canada would most surely have been in their most productive working years, 25 to 44. This age-skewed admission of immigrants has been a major focus of Canada's immigration and population control policies, especially since the 1960s. Therefore, Trini immigrants of this age cohort who were admitted into Canada in the 1960s, and sometime after, would more than likely have spent the larger part of their most productive working years in Canada if not already retired by the 1990s. Because of this, they were considered to represent the prime group of candidates to supply participants for this study on the economic incorporation experiences of Afro-Trini immigrants in Canada.

Though there may be many married Trini immigrants in Canada, the overall majority may not only be female but may be unmarried or never married as well. The preponderance of the female-led migration from Trinidad and Tobago, and other Caribbean countries, which has led to a shortage of men in the marriageable pool would have, among other factors, been chiefly responsible for a numeral imbalance between married Trini immigrants and never married Trini immigrants. If this is the case, one negative consequence may be the presence of a high number of female-headed households comprising mostly of school-age and older children. But over time, the marital status and the household composition would most likely change for many Trini immigrants. However, aligned to the prevalence of female-headed households, the low-paying jobs that the majority of Trini female and male immigrants may occupy in Canada would lead to a higher proportion of them living in rental accommodations than in owner-occupied homes. Surely, most of those who may own their homes would have done so after many years of hard work and considerable sacrifice in Canada.

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The picture that emerges from examining the race characteristics of the Caribbean immigrant populations in Canada, Ontario, and the Greater Toronto Area clearly indicates that they are numerically and proportionally a very significant tile in the Caribbean-origin mosaic. Moreover, they are highly concentrated in the Greater Toronto Area. With only national figures available from the 1996 Canadian census for Caribbean immigrants by race, Caribbean black immigrants accounted for 75 percent of Caribbean immigrant population, 62 percent of the black population of Caribbean-origin, and 37 percent of the total black population of Canada. There was also a comparatively high proportion (72 percent) of blacks of Caribbean-origin population present in Ontario, with the majority of them (82 percent) in the Greater Toronto Area. Because of this concentrated Caribbean black presence in the Greater Toronto Area, the bulk of black immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago also resided there.

Undoubtedly, the pronounced "racial visibility" of Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area and the upward mobility barriers they face in the Canadian economy because of it would make their acquisition of a home and other upward mobility opportunities that much more difficult. However, since there is a strong historical and cultural nexus between migration and the socioeconomic success that it brings for Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, people, though difficult, the realization of their major migration aspirations may most likely always be perceived as achievable for most of them. This perceptive aspect of Afro-Trini immigrants' economic incorporation experiences in the Greater Toronto Area, structured as it is by the presence of upward mobility barriers, represents a major segment of the crux of the discussion in the ensuing chapters.

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CHAPTER 6

PRE-MIGRATION AND POST-MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS AND CONDITIONS OF MIGRATION

The pre- and post-migration socio-demographic characteristics of the Afro-Trini participants are important in this study. For one thing, they greatly influenced the pattern of migration as well the conditions of migration, that is, the auspices of, and motivations for, migration of the Afro-Trini participants. Moreover, when taken together, the socio-demographic characteristics, pattern of migration, and auspices of, and motivation for, migration provide us with a better understanding of the perceptions and responses of these Afro-Trini immigrants to their economic incorporation experiences in the Canadian economy.

Pre-Migration and Post-Migration Socio-Demographic Characteristics

<u>Sex and Age</u>

The 20 Afro-Trini participants, divided somewhat equally in terms of gender, 9 women and 11 men, were between the ages of 25 and 64 years in 1998, the year in which the interview took place (see Table 6.1). Women, however, who were relatively younger than men, ranged between the ages of 25 and 59 years while men ranged between the ages of 40 and 64 years. The age group 50 to 54 years had the largest number of both women (4) and men (3) and, combined, they represented 35 percent of the total (20) number of participants. Or, in looking at the figures another way, in 1998, 80 percent of the participants were in the middle-age and above category, that is, 45 years and over, having spent their most productive working age years, 25-44, in Canada. Most likely, the

participants within this age category would have completed most of their formal education in Trinidad and/or Canada. This would have had a lot to do with their age at arrival and length of residence in Canada.

Table 6.1
Sex, Years of Age in 1998, and Age of Arrival

Years of Age	Women	Men	Total	%	Age of Arrival	Total	%
25-39	1	-	1	5	00-04	0	0
40-44	1	2	3	15	05-14	0	0
45-49	2	-	2	10	15-24	10	50
50-54	4	3	7	35	25-44	10	50
55-59	1	3	4	20	45-64	0	0
60-64	-	3	3	15	65 and over	0	0
Total	9	11	20	100	**Total**	20	100

Age of Arrival and Length of Residence in Canada

With men migrating earlier than women, all participants migrated to Canada between 1967 and 1980 (see Table 6.2). No one, however, arrived in Canada under the age of 15 (as shown in Table 6.1). In fact, the youngest, Reggie, who is included in 50 percent of the sample to arrive during their teenage or young adult years, 15-24, was 17 years old when he arrived in Canada with his mother and siblings in 1969. On the other hand, the remaining 50 percent arrived during their most productive working-age years, 25-44. The predominance of participants within these two age categories is consistent with the pattern of age distribution of other Caribbean immigrants to Canada as discussed in the previous chapter. Likewise, the high proportion in the 25-44 age category is also reflective of Canada's preference for young male and female adults with many productive working years ahead of them.

While 2 Afro-Trini men migrated to Canada in 1967 and 3 in 1968, alongside with 4 other men, 4 women migrated in 1969 and the remaining participants thereafter

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(see Table 6.2). However, while the unmarried women generally migrated alone, most of the married women were secondary migrants, that is, they followed their husbands to Canada by migrating a few months after them. Added to those who migrated after 1969, the overall majority, 75 percent, of the sample migrated to Canada in and after 1969. As long-term migrants, 2 male participants had the longest period of residence in Canada, 31 years, followed by 3 with 30 years, and 8 female and male participants with 29 years in 1998. Undoubtedly, they, and all the other participants, had been part of the massive stream of Afro-Caribbean immigrants who migrated to Canada after the liberalization of Canada's immigration and population control policies in the 1960s.

Table 6.2
Year of Migration and Length of Residence in Canada, 1998

Year	Length	Women	Men	Total	%
1967	31	-	2	2	10
1968	30	-	3	3	15
1969	29	4	4	8	40
1970	28	1	-	1	5
1977	21	1	-	1	5
1978	20	1	1	2	10
1980	18	2	1	3	15
Total	-	9	11	20	100

Marital Status

At the time of interview, more than half (13 or 65 percent) of the participants were legally married, with more married men (8) than married women (5) (see Table 6.3). Of these married individuals, roughly, 50 percent (6) of the married men and women had formed 3 wife and husband interview teams. When compared to the proportion (26 percent) of the Caribbean-origin population who was legally married in 1996 (see previous chapter for discussion), the high proportion of legally married Afro-Trini participants is significant and may be accounted for by the following explanations. First,

the overall majority of these participants migrated to Canada already married even though there were those who subsequently either were divorced or legally separated. Second, there were children in nearly all of these unions. Since providing them with a better future was one of the principal reasons these Afro-Trini immigrants advanced for migrating, the maintenance of the marital union would therefore be a major factor to make the successful achievement of this goal, as well as others, more likely.

Because of the high proportion of the participants who was legally married, there were comparatively smaller proportions who either were divorced, legally separated, or cohabiting. Comprising of 2 women and 2 men who were living alone, 20 percent of the sample was divorced. On the other hand, 10 percent of the sample, divided equally into 1 woman and 1 man, was cohabiting, but not with each other. Meanwhile, Esther was the sole woman who was legally separated from her husband. None of the participants was therefore never married and, again, this deviates sharply from the proportion of never married in the Caribbean-origin population as reported in the 1996 Canadian census. Finally, neither widows nor widowers were amongst the Afro-Trini participants.

Trini- and Canadian-born Children

Out of 20 Afro-Trini participants, 9 or a close 50 percent of them already had children at the time of migration to Canada. With 3 Trini-born children each, Devon and the wife/husband team of June and Steve had the largest number of children. The other participants either had 1, 2, or no Trini-born children at the time of migration, with a small number of these Trini-born children being born out-of-wedlock. Subsequent to their migration, however, additional children were born in all but 4 of the cases and all were

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from marital unions. Meanwhile, there were 2 childless cases. Overall, the average

number of children born to the participants was 2.5. At the time of migration, the ages of

the oldest Trini-born children ranged between 1 and 9 years, with all children at or under

the pre-school age of 5 except in the one case of a 9 year old. Unlike the age distribution

of Caribbean immigrant children who migrated to Canada in 1996 (see previous chapter

for discussion), nearly all of the participants' children, therefore, migrated to Canada at or

under pre-school age.

Table 6.3
Marital Status, 1998

Status	Women	Men	Total	%
Divorced	2	2	4	20
Legally Married	5	8	13	65
Legally Separated	1	-	1	5
Cohabiting	1	1	2	10
Never Married	0	0	0	0
Widowed	0	0	0	0
Total	9	11	20	100

Whether participants had very young children or not before migrating to Canada

and whether they either were married or unmarried influenced the pattern of migration

for them in various ways. One way was that the presence of Trini-born children required

married parents to migrate at separate times. Most often, it was the male parent,

especially since he was the principal migrant, to migrate ahead of the female parent who

was left behind to care for the children. Other than obtaining adequate living

accommodations if this were not acquired beforehand by relatives or friends already

residing in Canada, one of the principal reasons offered for this staggered or serial pattern

of migration was the lack of adequate funds to pay the travel costs of all family members

at once. As such, the male parent generally migrated ahead of other family members with

the hope that employment would be quickly obtained in order to amass the necessary

travel funds. In addition, because of this pressure to be employed as quickly as possible, some of these male Afro-Trini participants were obliged to accept the first job offer. As Steve, who migrated ahead of his wife and their 3 under pre-school age children, explained:

> My first job in Canada was as a Ship and Receiver at a small jewelry company. I got the job two weeks after I arrived. I was walking through Queen St. in Toronto when I saw a wanted sign for a Shipping and Receiver. So I walked in...was interviewed...and got the job. The pay was $70.00 a week and my take-home was $66.00. I was happy to take that job, you see, because I had to assemble enough money to send for them. I had to take whatever job I got in order for my wife and children to be here in the next two months.

Another effect on the pattern of migration of having children was that some participants, especially those who were not married, were forced to leave their children behind in the care of close relatives. In practice, they engaged in the Caribbean institution of fosterage in which young children do not migrate with their parents but are left behind in the care of close relatives or friends for a few years at least and who join their parents abroad after their parents had established themselves. For example, at the time of migration, Brent who was not married to the mother of his 2 Trini-born sons left them in the care of his mother in Trinidad. Likewise, while Esther's Trini-born son was left in the care of her father and step-mother, her aunt took care of her Trini-born daughter. In addition, unlike married participants in which male married participants migrated alone leaving their children in the care of their wives and reuniting with them in a few months as soon as travel funds were accumulated, unmarried participants left their children for longer periods of time in the care of close relatives. This was due to the fact that it took longer for single mothers, for example, to be adequately established to accept their left-behind children. As such, ill-prepared to accept her children when care arrangements

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were no longer working out, Esther was forced to reunite with her 2 left-behind children.

Esther stressed how much she was "not ready" for them.

> The boy came in 1971. I was not ready for him really. I left him with my
> dad and my stepmother who was not treating him right and when I heard
> that I was forced to take him before I was ready. Then I had to go for the
> girl for she missed her mother after two years and my aunt said that she
> was only crying. So in 1971, when I visited home I brought her up. But, I
> was not ready for that yet.[1]

All in all, this process of leaving young children behind in the care of, most often, a

mother or close relative was very reflective of the pattern of Caribbean migration.

Auspices of Migration to Canada

The auspices of migration pertains to the admission classes under which the Afro-

Trini participants entered Canada. In Table 6.4, the participants obtained landed

immigrant status, that is, residency status in Canada under five immigrant classes. One

male participant was admitted as a student, 1 female and 1 male participant applied for

and obtained landed immigrant status while on a holiday visit to Canada, and the

remaining 17 participants or 85 percent of the sample were admitted as independents (1

woman and 3 men), as assisted relatives (2 women and 4 men) and as family members (5

women and 2 men). None of the women in the sample was admitted as a student.

Three additional observations can be made about the distribution of classes under

which the Afro-Trini participants was admitted. One, with the absence of any

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[1] As Watkins-Owen reports, child fostering did not always provide the anticipated
benefits to parents, especially mothers, and children alike. Separation was painful and
relatives did not always provide the best of care to children. see Irma Watkins-Owens.
2001. "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in
New York City" in Nancy Foner (ed.), *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New
York*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 40.

Table 6.4
Classes of Immigrants

Classes	Women	Men	Total	%
Student	-	1	1	5
Visitor	1	1	2	10
Independent	1	3	4	20
Assisted Relative	2	4	6	30
Family Member	5	2	7	35
Total	**9**	**11**	**20**	**100**

participant admitted into Canada either as a refugee or a domestic service worker, the distribution largely covers the full gamut of admission classes under which immigrants admitted into Canada were able to acquire landed immigrant status at the time. Two, the number and proportion of participants who were admitted as assisted relatives suggest that, with the activation of transnational migration networks, primarily based on close kinship relationships, chain migration under family reunification provisions was a dominant pattern of migration. Three, the most important pattern of chain migration for women appears to be secondary migration whereby women, as wives, followed their husbands who were the principal male applicants in family units to obtain landed immigrant status. They were admitted under the family member class. A review of the migration processes Afro-Trini participants engaged in under admission classes is very instructive.

Unlike other immigrants, foreigners who were accepted at Canadian universities were easily admitted into Canada as students during this period. Accordingly, I asked Keith who migrated, as a student, to Canada in 1968: "How did you regularize your status from that of student?" He replied: "After graduating, I just applied…it was very easy to get landed immigration status."

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Both Carol and Orin obtained their landed immigrant status while they were holiday visitors to Canada. Enroute to the United States to pursue university education, Carol had visited with a cousin in Canada who encouraged her to pursue her education there instead since it was "better and cheaper..." Likewise, Orin applied for landed immigrant status while on a holiday visit to his girlfriend who had "come up to study." Both Carol and Orin were able to obtain landed immigrant status due to the Adjustment of Status Program of 1973.

With the opening of immigration offices in the Caribbean region in the 1960s,[2] many female and male immigrants entered Canada as visitors and took advantage of the window of opportunity offered by Section 34 of the 1967 Immigration Regulations to acquire landed immigrant status. Section 34 provided visitors to Canada with the opportunity to apply for landed immigrant status either as independents, nominated relatives, or sponsored dependents. If denied, they could appeal their deportation to the Immigration Appeal Board. Many, therefore, flooded into Canada with the foreknowledge that they had recourse to appeal any deportation rulings against them. As visitors, around 45,000 applied for landed immigrant status in 1970. To stop the deluge of visitor arrivals, at times, numbering 4,600, 6,900, and 8,700 a month in 1972, the Liberal government revoked Section 34 in November 3, 1972. Soon after, on January 1, 1973, registration was demanded of all visitors staying for more than three months and work permits were required of those seeking jobs. Finally, visitors-cum-immigrants who were continuously in Canada from November 1972 were allowed to regularize their status within sixty days through the Adjustment of Status Program, with the criteria to be

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[2] For example, immigration offices were opened in Port of Spain, Trinidad on April 28, 1967 and Kingston, Jamaica on June 6, 1967.

judged for landed immigrant status being length of residence, financial stability, employment records, as well as compelling grounds for compassionate consideration. Operational for two months from August 15th to October 15th, 1973, 39,000 people from more than 150 countries were able to obtain landed immigrant status, with 60 percent of them having been illegal. Among those who had their status adjusted were 1,420 Jamaicans, 1,055 Trinis, 799 Guyanese, and 351 Haitians.[3] Not surprisingly, for that year, the Caribbean region experienced one of its largest outflows to Canada.

Based on their level of education, skill, and training, 1 female and 3 male participants were able to enter Canada as independent immigrants with the shift in admission criteria away from immigrants' race and national origin, that had restricted their entry, towards more objective factors with the enactment of the 1967 Immigration Regulations. After having applied in 1968 with the intent to perform domestic service work in Canada, Esther, the sole Afro-Trini female to be admitted as an independent immigrant "got through" eight months later and migrated in 1969. Esther, it is to be noted, was not admitted as a contracted domestic service worker to perform domestic service work in Canada even though she had stated in her application for admission that that was her intended occupation in Canada. Nonetheless, she was one of the thousands of Afro-Caribbean women who were able to acquire merit points on domestic service occupation as their intended occupation since it was on the list of required (unsponsored) occupations in Canada. As she narrates:

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[3] see Freda Hawkins. 1989 *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 45-49; Wolseley W. Anderson. 1993. *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile*, Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 43.

> I came up as a domestic. I was not sponsored. I came up on my own after informing the immigration in Trinidad that I wanted to migrate to Canada as a domestic worker. I put in my application in 1968. It took me eight months to get through...I was called in for an interview and then was called for my medical. My two kids had their medical too and they gave me six months to land.

Likewise, the 2 men, who were teachers in Trinidad, were admitted as independent immigrants on the basis of their teaching expertise and the necessary qualifications that it carried. Devon, for example, had graduated from a teachers' training college in Trinidad and was a trained teacher for many years before "being selected to teach in Canada by a recruiting agency from Hamilton who came to Trinidad in 1967."[4] With a letter of standing from the Ontario School Board authorizing him to teach in Canada, he migrated as an independent immigrant in September of the following year. Four months later, his wife and their 3 children migrated.

The 1967 Immigration Regulations, and subsequent policy changes in the 1970s, eased the admission of family members, made the sponsoring of relatives less difficult, and so fostered female-led and male-led chain migration under family reunification provisions. Admitted as assisted relatives, therefore, 1 female was sponsored by her cousin and the other by her sister. In the case of the 4 men who were assisted, 2 were sponsored by their brothers and 2 were sponsored by their sisters. Steve, who was sponsored by his sister, relates:

> I was sponsored by my sister who lives in Montreal. She was sponsored by our brother and came in 1964. Our brother was a student here and he got

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[4] During the late 1960s to the mid-1970s, there were recruitment drives in Trinidad and other Caribbean countries to enlist the services of teachers. Many trained teachers took advantage of this window of opportunity to secure entry into Canada, into Ontario in particular, for themselves and members of their family. In the mid-1970s, the author had the good fortune of being a participant observer of one of these recruitment drives in Trinidad.

his papers (landed immigrant status) after he graduated. She came here, got married, and then sponsored me.

In addition, the migration process that George engaged in does not only show the importance of transnational kinship networks in Afro-Caribbean chain migration but also emphasizes the leading role of women in the process itself. George was sponsored by his sister who was admitted to Canada under the Caribbean Domestic Service Scheme in 1965. As he narrates:

> My sister came in 1965 through the domestic scheme. That was the only way to come to Canada. They were recruiting domestic servants. We were very close and she wrote and asked me if I would like to migrate. How she knew that I was smart and that I can go back to school and become anything I want. At the time, I had a brother at home and I did not like his lifestyle so I told him that he should go instead. He came in 1967 and I followed in 1969.

The largest number of women, 5, and the most in any admission class, was admitted as family members. They were wives of the principal applicants in applications for landed immigrant status by family units. One male participant, Brent, was admitted after he married his Afro-Trini girlfriend who was admitted previously as a student in Canada and had obtained her landed immigrant status after completing her studies. Reggie, the remaining male participant in the family member class, had accompanied his parents as a teenager as mentioned.

Major Migration Motivations

Education has long been regarded as the major prerequisite for gaining access to prestigious and high-paying jobs in most societies. In the case of Trinidad, it was, as Braithwaite notes, "...the ladder...established by the educational system that became one of the most important methods by which members of the middle and lower classes could

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improve their position on the occupational scale..."[5] However, in the 1960s and 1970s, the upward occupational and social mobility aspirations of young, Afro-Trini women and men, with many productive working years ahead of them, were severely constrained by the limited educational and employment opportunities existent in Trinidad. In response, migration emerged as the principal strategy for many of them to improve their socioeconomic status by accessing more available educational and employment opportunities located abroad. As part of the early Afro-Caribbean flow of immigrants to Canada, it is not surprising then that being able to access these opportunities emerged as one of the major motivations for migration to Canada for the Afro-Trini participants.

During our interview conversations, many, therefore, stated that they migrated: "to continue my education," "to offer my children a better future," "to get a good job," "to better myself...I was not pleased with the way my life was progressing," and "the whole notion of being abroad and studying abroad was appealing to me." Other major motivations advanced for migrating to Canada were: "I initially came on vacation because my sister was here," "to join my girlfriend who had come up to study," "I needed a break...I needed to get away," "I performed at Expo 67 in Montreal with a bunch of musicians...we liked the place so much all the guys wanted to stay but we were scared...I came back in 1969," and "as a young man, I had this yearning to see the world." Under three general categories, Upward Occupational and Social Mobility, Kith and Kin, Change of Lifestyle (Sense of Adventure),[6] these educational and employment,

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[5] see Lloyd Braithwaite. 1953. "Social Stratification in Trinidad," *Social and Economic Studies* 2, 2&3 (October): 55.

[6] These three general categorical headings were adapted from Ho's research on Afro-Trini immigrants in Los Angeles. The influence of the work by Goldlust and Richmond on immigrant adaptation is evident. see Christine G. T. Ho. 1985. "The Caribbean

and social motivations for migration of the Afro-Trini participants are classified in Table 6.5. What is most striking in examining the data in Table 6.5 is that the overall majority of the sample, 65 percent, comprising of 6 women and 7 men, stated that their primary motive for migrating to Canada was to improve their educational and employment standing as well as these prospects for their children.

Table 6.5
Afro-Trini Participants' Major Motivations for Migrating to Canada

Motivations	Female	Male	Total	%
Upward Occupational and Social Mobility "to continue my education" "to offer my children a better future" "to get a good job" "to better myself...I was not pleased with the way my life was progressing" "the whole notion of being abroad and studying abroad in a different context was appealing to me,"	6	7	13	65
Kith and Kin "I initially came on vacation because my sister was here" "to join my girlfriend who had come up to study"	1	2	3	15
Change of Lifestyle (Sense of Adventure) "I needed a break...I needed to get away," "I performed at Expo 67 in Montreal with a bunch of musicians...we liked the place so much all the guys wanted to stay but we were scared...I came back in 1969. "as a young man, I had this yearning to see the world"	2	2	4	20
Total	9	11	20	100

Connection: Transnational Social Networks, Non-Assimilation and the Structure of Group Life Among Afro-Trinidadian Immigrants in Los Angeles," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles; John Goldlust and Anthony H. Richmond. 1974. "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation," *International Migration Review*, 8, 2 (Summer): 193-225. Watkins-Owens also presents such a mix of motives for Afro-Caribbean female immigrants who migrated to the United States during the early decades of the 20th century. see Watkins-Owens, "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City" 30.

In recalling their major motives for migrating, it became quite clear that

participants held strong views on the lack of educational and employment opportunities

in Trinidad and the role that education plays in bettering one's chances of obtaining a

"good" job in Canada. And, by "good" job, they meant a fulltime job that, not only paid

well and had favorable benefits, but was to be of a higher occupational status as well.

This was never more apparent with participants who had children. They were not only

concerned about building on their educational and employment standing but were quite

anxious that their children would have access to educational and employment

opportunities that they felt were denied them. Consider, for example, the dialogue

between June and Steve on how a combination of a lack of opportunities and institutional

and systemic racism denied them having the kind of life that they sought in Trinidad.

They also expressed deep concern that the same fate may have befallen their 3 children if

all of them had not left Trinidad.

June:
There was a lack of opportunities in Trinidad. I came to Canada because I
did not think that Trinidad could have offered me what I wanted for
myself and my children. I could not have been able to send them to
college with Steve's police officer's income and I could not settle for
shorthand and typing even though they were good skills at the time.

Steve:
The available opportunities were for certain people and not for everyone.
In the 1960s, you could not see one black person in a bank.[7] The

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[7] With few exceptions, all of the banks that operated in Trinidad and in the Caribbean
region before, during the 1960s, and for awhile after were fully foreign-owned. They
were the British-owned Barclays Bank and the Canadian-owned Royal Bank of Canada
and the Canadian Bank of Commerce. see Ralph R.. Paragg, 1981. "Commercial Banks
and Dependency Theory: The Case of the Commonwealth Caribbean MDCs," *Social and
Economic Studies* 30, 2 (June): 110-139. In addition, Braithwaite reports that there was no
public outcry from members of the Trinidad black population concerning the near exclusive
white banking staff because blacks were not so successful in business at the time and did not
utilize the commercial banking services as much, that ordinary black folks did not possess
current accounts and so did not form the bulk of the banks' clients but rather whites, that

opportunities were there but you could not get them. You could be brighter than the next guy but you could not get into St. Marys, QRC, Fatima, etc..[8] But there are opportunities here. In Trinidad, if you do not have an education you are doomed but here you can go back to school with little initial education. Up here, you do not feel as bad as if you are at home. Without an education in Trinidad, what kind of job will you have? A very menial job but here you can improve yourself and get a better job.

June:
I know that my children could not get them at that time. The best thing was to leave to give them a better chance here and that was our main purpose for coming here.

It is largely because of these circumstances that the culture of migration has been especially strong amongst the Afro-Trini participants, especially for the more educated. Improving upon one's education and achieving socioeconomic success through upward occupational mobility were seen as possible only through migration. As Henry puts it, "those with higher levels of education and training, which afford them a greater probability of securing immigrant visas to the United States and Canada," were the people most likely to migrate.[9] Moreover, they were the people with the quality of education who were increasingly in demand in Canada in the 1960s and 1970s and which its immigration and population control policies were geared to attract through the "points

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banking was thus a mystery for many of them, and, consequently, that they felt that they had no moral claim for employment on the basis of their patronage. In the end, "...the racial exclusiveness led to the exclusion of coloured persons from all grades or work, including typing." see Braithwaite, "Social Stratification in Trinidad" 24-25, 27.

[8] As present, St. Marys College, Queen's Royal College (QRC), and Fatima College were three of the top secondary schools in Trinidad in the 1960s. Successful completion of one's education at one of these institutions generally leads to acceptance into the University of the West Indies as well as into British or U.S. universities, colleges, or technical schools.

[9] see Ralph M. Henry. 1991. "A Reinterpretation of Labor Services of the Commonwealth Caribbean" in Anthony P. Maingot (ed.), *Small Country Development and International Labor Flows: Experiences in the Caribbean*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 120.

system."[10] Therefore, to Keith, a 22 year old, single, childless male with a secondary

level education when he migrated in 1968, "the whole notion of being abroad and

studying abroad in a different context was appealing to me." After completing his

secondary schooling at Queen's Royal College (QRC), Keith had taught foreign

languages at a college in Trinidad for three years before migrating to Canada. As he

recounts:

> I was teaching in Trinidad. After teaching languages for three years, I
> decided that it was time to head out. It was time to study abroad. I did not
> study at home because the people I spoke to had studied abroad and had
> returned. So, the whole notion of being abroad and studying abroad in a
> different context was appealing to me. The U.S.A. was out of the picture
> even though I was attracted to the country since it was financially feasible.
> I was also eager to go to England but at the same time there were a few
> people from QRC who had gone to the University of Toronto. So, I
> decided to go to Canada but, again, I think it is the notion of going outside
> the context of home to study that was appealing to me. At that time in
> 1968, UWI had not developed much. I would have had to go to Mona
> campus but I decided to go abroad. The thought of spending three or four
> years in North America appealed to me and many people traveled abroad
> to study or for holiday.

Carol's motivation for leaving Trinidad also indicates the prominent, symbiotic

role that the culture of migration and the desire for educational and employment

advancement played in Afro-Trini participants' migratory decision-making process and in

their general ideational construction of the major means to achieve their upward

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[10] In fact, it was observed that the cohort of Afro-Caribbean immigrants, who migrated to
Canada in the 1960 to 1969 decade, were more well-educated than later arrivals. Among
those who arrived in the 1960s, 24.5 percent of males and 14.4 percent of females had
some university training. However, the proportion fell to 10.9 percent of males and 6.2
percent of females among those who arrived during the period from 1975 to 1979.
Nonetheless, there was a concomitant rise in the proportion having only primary
education over the same period. When compared to members of the white Canadian-born
population, the average educational level of Afro-Caribbean male immigrants remained
above the average level for white Canadian-born males, whereas the proportion of Afro-
Caribbean women with only primary education approximated that of white Canadian-

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occupational and social mobility aspirations in Canada. Carol was a 21 year old, single,

childless, female when she left Trinidad in 1969 with a post-secondary level of education

to continue her education in the United States. Carol had completed a two year post-

secondary program of study in home economics at a technical educational institution,

called John Donaldson Technical Institute, in Port of Spain, Trinidad. Instead, as

mentioned, she furthered her education in Canada when convinced by her cousin that

education was "cheaper and better" there. Accordingly, despite the fact that it appears that

her mother did not utilize migration as the major means to achieve some measure of

upward occupational and social mobility, she came from a family tradition where the

culture of migration and the understanding of the socioeconomic success that migration

generated were exceedingly strong. She therefore strongly emphasized the importance of

the connection between education and migration in her family's lived experiences.

> Education has always been important in my family background. My
> mother and her sister brought us up because my father died when I was
> young. My aunt, who was very educated, helped and influenced us to
> obtain our education. She had gone to England to study and studied at
> Mona as well. Though my mother worked at home in dressmaking since
> she married very early, my mother's brothers were educated. They were
> retired school inspectors. I also had an uncle who was a police
> superintendent. Education, therefore, was important in the family. My
> older sister did nursing in England. My brother who also studied in
> England was a psychiatrist and another brother was a chartered accountant
> and he went back to school and became a physical therapist in his 40s.

Together with other Afro-Trini participants, June's, Steve's, Keith's, and Carol's

levels of education attained in Trinidad are displayed in Table 6.6. From examining the

data in the table, no participant in the sample emigrated from Trinidad with a tertiary or

university level education. However, while 25 percent of the sample, divided into 3

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born women. see Anthony H. Richmond. 1989. *Caribbean Immigrants: A Demo-economic Analysis*, Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, 20.

women and 2 men, migrated with a primary level education, the remaining 75 percent, comprising of 6 women and 9 men, had done so with secondary and post-secondary or technical education.

What is therefore crucial in the migration of these participants to Canada in the 1960s and 1970s was that they were part and parcel of a large outflow of Afro-Trini immigrants, selectively admitted and so disproportionately composed, of relatively well-educated women and men who were seeking their fortune abroad. And, equally significant, they were representative of the category that the Caribbean's educational system had failed to produce in adequate numbers. Data in this regard are scarce but what were available on the intended occupations of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago were consistent with the fact that the migration of a class of immigrant, consisting mostly of professional and technical, clerical, and skilled immigrants, endowed with much human capital was high in the 1960s and 1970s. Consequently, Trinidad and Tobago, and the rest of the Caribbean region, experienced what some scholars have termed a brain drain, that is, the loss of its best and brightest.[11]

Table 6.6
Education Level Attained in Trinidad and Tobago

Education Level	Women	Men	Total	%
Primary	3	2	5	25
Secondary	3	8	11	55
Post-Secondary/Technical	3	1	4	20
Tertiary/University	0	0	0	00
Total	9	11	20	100

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[11] see Jay Ralph Buffermeyer. 1970. "Emigration of High-Level Manpower and National Development: A Case Study of Jamaica," Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, PA; Jack Harewood. 1983. "White Collar Migrant Labor: Some Observations on the Case of Trinidad and Tobago in the Last Two Decade" in Arnaud F. Marks and Hebe M.C. Vessuri (eds.), *White Collar Migrants in the Americas and the Caribbean*, Leiden, Netherlands: Dept. of Caribbean Studies, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, 19-35.

The situation, as it applies to Trinidad and Tobago, is shown in Table 6.7 and

Table 6.8. In Table 6.7, we see that between 1965 and 1972 immigrants from Trinidad

and Tobago were well represented in the intended occupational categories of managerial

and administration (432), professional and technical (2,735), clerical (4,061), services

(1,654), and manufacturing and mechanical (3,150). It is also striking that the proportions

of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago admitted to work in these occupational

categories to that of all immigrants from the Caribbean region were quite high during this

period. Furthermore, as presented in Table 6.8, immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago

represented close to half (49 percent) of all Caribbean immigrants admitted for intended

managerial and administrative occupations in Canada. Other high proportions of

immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago admitted for other high level, intended

occupations were more than a third each for professional and technical (37 percent),

clerical (37 percent), and manufacturing and mechanical (35 percent), with close to one-

fifth, (19 percent), for intended occupations in services. This massive outflow of the

educated, skilled, and trained from Trinidad and Tobago in such a short period,

Harewood argues, partly accounts for Trinidad and Tobago suffering its first substantial

loss in population in the decennial period 1960 to 1970, with the loss between 1969 and

1970 being very much higher than in the preceding years because of social unrest and

severe economic problems.[12]

If one's ambition is to migrate to Canada, then joining relatives and/or close

friends already there is one way to do it. With respect to the major migration motivations

of Afro-Trini participants in the study, 15 percent of the sample, representing 1 woman

and 2 men, migrated to Canada to join siblings and girlfriends (see Table 6.5). The

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[12] Ibid., 20.

migration of Pamela to join her sister in Toronto and that of Brent and Orin to join their girlfriends there indicate how salient transnational migration kinship and friendship networks were in mediating the migratory decision-making process, in shaping the pattern and conditions of chain migration that developed, and in influencing the initial settlement pattern of these Afro-Trini immigrants in Canada. In respect to the pattern and conditions of chain migration, however, transnational migration kinship networks, rather than friendship networks, are vitally important since, no matter how close individuals may be, it is not possible to sponsor friends to Canada. By definition, chain migration is limited to the category of kinfolk. In this respect, Pamela's case is very informative of the significance of transnational migration kinship networks in prospective immigrants' motivation to migrate and the eventual pattern and conditions of chain migration that evolve.

Table 6.7
Intended Occupations of Immigrants from the
Caribbean Region and Trinidad and Tobago Compared, 1965-1972

Intended Occupation	Caribbean Region	Trinidad and Tobago	% Trinidad and Tobago/ Caribbean Region
Managerial & Administration	876	432	49
Professional & Technical	7,388	2,735	37
Clerical	10,764	4,061	37
Services	8,344	1,654	19
Manufacturing & Mechanical	8,972	3,150	35

Source: Statistics Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1965-1972.

Pamela was a young, 19 year old, single woman with a secondary level education when she decided to migrate in 1969 to join a sister in Toronto. As she tells it.

> I came here in 1969 and stayed with a sister who was up here before. She came in 1965 as a domestic and worked for a few years in Montreal. My sister worked in a store in Trinidad and when my mom read in a newspaper that Canada wanted domestics, she was encouraged to apply. I lived with her at (name of street) in Toronto. Another sister came up, so there were

three of us here now. My father is dead but my mother is here in Toronto. Our youngest sister also came up, so there are five of us here now. We were all sponsored by my sister. Only a sister lives in Trinidad now.

Table 6.8
Intended Occupations of Trinidad and Tobago Immigrants, 1965-1972

Intended Occupation	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	Total
Entrepreneur	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Managerial/ Administration	13	10	25	17	93	92	105	77	432
Professional/ Technical	206	257	397	414	604	385	265	207	2,735
Clerical	107	190	392	497	986	753	704	432	4,061
Commercial	7	8	16	24	93	110	127	69[b]	385
Finance	1	3	3	13	21	22	18		81
Services	62	72	197	170	463	292	210	188	1,654
Manufacturing/ Mechanical	74	106	309	276	761	634	587	403	3,150
Laborers	3	4	10	7	17	17	26	22	106

Source: Statistics Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1965-1972.

On the other hand, friendship networks based on close relations between loved ones featured prominently in Brent's motivation to migrate to Canada. Initially, Brent's migration plans did not entail settling in Canada. It was only after his girlfriend was sponsored by her sister, "who had come up to work as a domestic in 1961 though she was a teacher at home," that he was motivated to join her from the United States where he had gone to study graphic arts in 1964. In addition, armed with an in-depth knowledge of off-set printing that was replacing data press technology, he said that his plan was to return to Trinidad "to take over and expand his father's printing business or to take over the government-owned printing establishment." However, after graduating with a three year graphic arts degree in 1967, he left the United States for Canada where he was soon married to his girlfriend. Though he has traveled all over the United States and has been to Britain as well as to Trinidad on numerous occasions, he has lived permanently in Canada

ever since. Meanwhile, though marriage did not materialize in Orin's case, being close to a loved one was also the major motivating force behind his decision to "follow his girlfriend who had come up to study."

There were also those Afro-Trini participants who were motivated to migrate either as a form of escape from the memory of a tragic loss or, to the more adventurous of the lot, migrated either because they "fell in love with the place" during an earlier visit or, smitten by the what some describe as the "travel bug," they had this "yearning to see the world." As displayed in Table 6.5, 20 percent of the sample, divided equally into 2 women and 2 men, who fell under the category Change of Lifestyle (Sense of Adventure), advanced these principal reasons for migrating to Canada.

Being motivated to leave Trinidad because of the sudden death of her husband, Aretha described how she traveled, first, to the United States and then proceeded to Canada in 1978 at the age of 27.

> I went to the States first. I drove around the States to Boston and then to Washington D.C. where I stayed a year before migrating here. My husband had died and I just needed to get away. I just needed to get away period. He had died in Trinidad when our daughter was only three years old. Both of us needed a break, so we left. It was supposed to be a six week vacation but we decided to stay on. Then, a very good friend of ours-my husband and I-had come up to the US. I had never been this far. I have only been as far as the West Indian islands. We had our papers to Canada. We had applied for landed immigrant status in Boston.

Unlike Aretha, the other female, Lorna, as well as Simon and Frank were enticed to migrate to Canada because, as Simon described it, of a "yearning to see the world." Though this "yearning" was apparent in Lorna's decision to travel to Canada on a holiday visitor's visa in 1980, it appears that her mother's desire that her daughter should change the way her life was progressing may also have also been a major factor in her decision to

migrate. At the age of 18, Lorna had her first child out-of-wedlock and thus it may be for this reason that her mother may have "sent" her to Canada in 1980. On the other hand, Frank was so enthralled with his first trip to Canada in 1967 in which, as a member of a steel pan[13] musical contingent from Trinidad and Tobago who was invited to perform at Expo '67 in Montreal, the most international cultural event ever staged in Canada up to that time, that he returned in 1969. As he tells it:

> I came to Canada in 1967…the (Canadian) government wanted a steel pan to perform at the Expo on the Trinidad and Grenada stage…the Trinidadian government did not want to send the national steel pan because of lack of funds so they sent a combination of police, regiment, and coast guard men…we were here for six months and we liked the place so much that all the guys wanted to stay but we were scared so we went back…the promoters from here wanted us to return to tour the whole of Canada in a month and they brought back the steel pan and some of the dancers and singers…we toured all of Canada and some guys remained but again I went back home…that was in 1968…and since my stint with the Coast Guard was up in 1969, I returned in 1969…I was sponsored by my brother…I had two brothers and a sister here at the time…

Thus, even though Frank had close relatives living in Canada at the time, apparently their presence was not an important mediating factor in his decision to migrate to Canada. Rather, it was his first trip to Canada in which he "liked the place very much" that furnished him with this "yearning" to migrate to Canada at a later date. Also, when one considers, as Esther stated, that "at that time, everyone was trying to come here," his strong motivation to migrate to Canada was in train with the institutionalized culture of

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[13] As a cultural invention of the Afro-Trini working class of Port of Spain, Trinidad in the 1930s, steel pan music is produced by a coordinated beating of small sticks with rubber-covered ends on precisely tuned oil drums. As a musical instrument, the steel pan is heralded as the only known acoustic musical invention of the 21st century. Though the exponents of this art form were subjected to open hostility from the authorities during its early colonial developmental years, today, steel pan music is highly valorized in Trinidad and Tobago, to the extent, that it has acquired both government and corporate support and sponsorship.

Afro-Trini, and Afro-Caribbean, migration to Canada that was well developed by the 1960s and 1970s.

Surely, then, Simon was a representative of a large proportion of young, Afro-Trini men and women in the 1960s and 1970s who had this "yearning to see the world." Simon was single and childless when he migrated to Canada in 1967 at the age of 23 years. Three important factors had generated Simon's "yearning to see the world." The first factor was that, as a trained teacher, he felt that "it was easy for me to satisfy the conditions to be admitted" to Canada. And, as he stated with a discerned tinge of pride, "I came as a landed immigrant-as an independent-I was not sponsored." Other Afro-Trini participants, who migrated to Canada as unsponsored, independent immigrants, also proudly made this emphasis during our interview conversations.

The second factor that impressed Simon that he should depart Trinidad was that he was from a family in which the migration culture was well established. Many of his relatives were living abroad, having activated the option of migration. He therefore saw the presence of his uncle in Florida and that of relatives in England as a strong beacon that he too should follow in their footsteps and live abroad. One of his major concerns, however, was where should he go. Since, as he said, he was not aware of the existence of racial discord in Canada as was evidently present in the United States and England, he chose Canada because it seemed the best of the three places in this respect.

The third important factor that fueled Simon's strong desire to migrate emerged during the course of our interview conversation. During our discussion on the external orientation of the secondary level educational system of Trinidad and Tobago of the 1960s and beyond, it came to light how much Trini people have been socialized to be

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international migrants. As a legacy of colonialism, students in Trinidad and Tobago, especially those in secondary level education, were schooled more about North American, especially Canadian, and European social geography and history than that of Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean region. In fact, the Ordinary Level Examination, which was taken after five years of secondary schooling, and the Advanced Level Examination, taken two years after by those students who had passed, with high grades, a minimum of five courses of the Ordinary Level Examination, were formulated and marked on North American and, particularly, British curricula. This external educational orientation would surely have had an enduringly strong cognitive impact, as we both only then deduced, on the minds of young Afro-Trini women and men. Part of my transcribed notes on this interchange of newly discovered ideas provides more detail on what emerged during our interview conversation.

Researcher's transcribed notes:
In relation to the external orientation of our educational system, in which we knew about Canada, Europe, and other countries, it dawned on us that even though we may not know the minute tracks in the land, say in Mississauga or Toronto, Canada, we had developed cognitive maps on a larger scale that made these lands less strange. We had a global map where everything is positioned. We believe therefore that the educational system unintentionally conditioned us to migrate. It may not have overly informed our decision to move but it made our migration or our destination that more recognizable, that more familiar, in a way. We knew of Canada and Europe long before we ever thought of coming here and therefore we were now somewhat amazed at what role this international-global conditioning played in our consciousness to migrate.

Simon's contribution:
I think what we have here is a backfire of what was supposed to be the noble intent and in the best interest of colonialism. If you minimize, downplay, and trivialize the contributions of people in a country, you make the people of that country feel insignificant. And, if you try to full their heads with how vast and significant their county is, then you create the desire to be there because your country is insignificant while their country is deemed significant. But in so doing, they did us one of the

greatest favors by making us globally aware. As I told my daughter, we had a textbook called the Student Companion and we had to know the names of countries all over the world and of places we may never go to. We had to know the names of presidents, nation capitals, prime ministers, as well as population sizes and the longest rivers there. That ended up being to our benefit...I am glad that we learnt of the many places of the world because once we go abroad it is akin to a deja vu in a sense. I remember the feeling of elation I felt when I flew over and saw Lake Ontario. I said, "wow!" We drew maps of Canada and I located the Great Lakes in school and now I am flying over and I can relate in concrete terms that which I had studied about all the years and never thought I would have had an opportunity to see. We all knew about the Rocky Mountains, the Prairies, the grain growing there, the railway etc...You are right. We have benefited and it is not by choice...they made us learn about everyone else.

Out of this newly unearthed knowledge then, one thing can be said with certainty. This "international-global conditioning" to migrate may most certainly be an integral psychological component in the culture of migration ingrained, and actualized upon, by some of the Afro-Trini participants, especially those with secondary and post-secondary/technical education, in their pursuit of educational and upward mobility opportunities in Canada.

Conclusion

This chapter presented important socio-demographic characteristics and auspices of, and motivations for, migration of the Afro-Trini participants in the study. It was shown that the participants were somewhat equally divided by gender, that the majority of participants was young, married, and in their most productive working years when they migrated to Canada from the late 1960s to 1980. It was also the case that the majority of them was married when they migrated and that many of them had children at or below the pre-school age of 5 years either who accompanied them or remained at

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home either with their mothers or a close relative and migrated when family reunification took place at various short periods after the principal migrant, at all times the male, had migrated. In addition, they were admitted under near all of the auspices of migration whereby landed immigrant status could be acquired in Canada at the time.

It was also quite apparent that the majority of them was well aware of the strong link that exists between education, occupation, and income. As such, among other major motivations they advanced for migrating to Canada, improving their educational and occupational status was the most important motivation for migration for the majority of them. Thus, it was quite clear that they held strong beliefs that migration would undoubtedly lead to the realization of this upward mobility aspiration. Foremost, therefore, they expected to acquire jobs, early upon arrival, that were better than what they had left behind in Trinidad and intended to rely heavily on their education, skill, and training, that is, their repertoire of human capital, to provide the realization of this mobility dream.

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IN SEARCH OF A BETTER LIFE ABROAD:
AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS AND RESPONSES OF
AFRO-TRINI IMMIGRANTS TO THEIR ECONOMIC INCORPORATION
EXPERIENCES IN THE GREATER TORONTO AREA, CANADA

Volume II

By

Oswald Sephuinus Warner

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

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CHAPTER 7

DEFINITIONS OF THE SITUATION:
ECONOMIC INCORPORATION AND PERCEPTIONS OF MOBILITY

Occupational mobility has long been taken as the major indicator of social

mobility, the more acknowledged upward or downward movement of individuals or

groups in a social hierarchy. This is because it is generally agreed that occupational

standing is closely related to other major indicators of general social standing, such as

education and income. It is also the case that since occupation is also relatively easy to

rank hierarchically in major classification groups of highest and lowest in status or

prestige,[1] it is regarded as a prime indicator of social class positioning.[2] Whether the

movement is upward or downward, the occurrence of occupational and social mobility

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[1] Richard A. Wanner. 2004. "Social Mobility in Canada: Concepts, Patterns, and Trends" in James Curtis, Edward Grabb, and Neil Guppy (eds.). 2004. *Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems, and Policies*, (4th ed.), Toronto, ON: Prentice-Hall, 132.

[2] Following Weberian analysis, the concept of social class refers to a category, a set of individuals in similar economic circumstances and with similar economic interests. These individuals have a subjective sense of their common position and consciousness of their common interests that sharply define their orientation, behaviour, and lifestyle and so separate them from other categories of individuals. It is in this way, that is, in having this subjective sense of common position and consciousness, that such categories of individuals can also become status groups. Status groups tend to have a distinctive lifestyle or mode of behaviour, with differing degrees of social honor or prestige. The status or prestige afforded to social classes do not only differentiate one social class from the next but also provide within-class or intra-class hierarchically ranked distinctions. see Edward G. Grabb. 2002. *Theories of Social Inequality*, (4th ed.), Toronto, ON: Harcourt Canada for a concise discussion of Max Weber's analysis of the more subjective development of multiple social classes in capitalist society. This departs from Karl Marx's analysis of the emergence of two principal social classes, the bougeoisie, the property-owning class, and the proletariat, the propertyless owning class, due to individuals' and groups' relationship to the means of production.

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strongly suggests that changes have also occurred in the social positioning of individuals and groups in a social hierarchy.

In addition, the status or prestige that ranks each occupation is derived largely from the differential levels of skills and expertise, different lengths and levels of education and training required, and consequently on the different levels of income received. Since within each major classification group, it is possible to find a multiplicity of occupations that is often also hierarchically ordered, for example, upwards from teacher to accountant to doctor in the professional occupational category, one may question whether two societies will have identical hierarchies of major occupational groupings. This may be of grave concern when there is movement of people from one society to another, especially when one society has a less developed and less complex occupational structure to that of the other. However, even though there may be differences in the occupational ranking or occupational structure of societies, these differences are said to be more apparent than real[3] and, as such, occupational ranking has been shown "to be quite consistent both over time and across societies."[4]

Occupational Structure and Occupational Mobility

Mindful of the differences in the occupational structure of Trinidad, a less developed society, and that of Canada, a more developed society, especially during the migration period under study, a single occupational classification, in the original tables

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[3] see Anthony H. Richmond. 1967. [1970] *Post-War Immigrants in Canada*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 95.

[4] see Wanner, "Social Mobility in Canada: Concepts, Patterns, and Trends" 132 citing Donald J. Treiman. 1977. *Occupational Prestige in Comparative Perspective*, New York, NY: Academic Press.

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that follow, is used to display a combined hierarchical ordering of occupations in these two societies. Preserving the common non-manual, white-collar/manual, blue-collar distinction depicted in official census occupational structures, the eleven-category classification of occupations are rank-ordered in the sense that those at the upper end, that is, managerial and administrative or professional, demand higher educational and training requirements, provide greater earnings, and carry higher occupational status or prestige than those at the lower end, for example, skilled and unskilled manual labor. It is in this light that the terms upward or downward occupational and social mobility "refer to the direction of movement on the status hierarchy on which the occupational categories are ranked."[5] Considered as representing occupational and social mobility as well is the less commonly acknowledged horizontal occupational and social mobility. Rather than upward or downward movement on the status hierarchy, the movement here is within an occupational category.[6]

In conducting research similar to this study and, similarly, in not completely replicating hierarchically ordered official census occupational categories, researchers either have used far less or nearly the same number of categories to display the occupations in the Caribbean region and Canada when examining the nature and extent of the occupational mobility changes that result when people migrate from the Caribbean region to Canada. For example, starting from the upper end, Ramcharan's five-category classification of occupations runs from managerial, professional or technical; clerical and

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[5] Wanner, "Social Mobility in Canada: Concepts, Patterns, and Trends" 135.

[6] According to Hiller, "[w]hen someone changes occupations or roles that have similar status, we refer to that as horizontal mobility." see Harry H. Hiller. 2000. *Canadian Society: A Macro Analysis*, (4th), Toronto, ON: Prentice-Hall, 104.

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sales; service and transport; skilled work; and unskilled work. Meanwhile, Mendoza's ten

-category classification of occupations runs from managerial; professional and technical;

clerical and sales; service; construction; transportation; farming and other primary

industry; processing, machinery, and fabricating; homemaker, and unemployed.[7] Like

others, these researchers have constructed and utilized occupational classifications to

account for the occupational data unearthed in their research.[8] However, since the sample

size in this present study is small, unlike other researchers, it was possible to construct

other original tables that incorporate the same occupational categories while not

following their ordered ranking. Any disadvantage resulting from this deviation from the

norm is greatly offset by the greater advantage of being able to disaggregate and, so

individualize, the mobility experiences of the participants.

Using these original tables then, a principal focus of this chapter is to determine

whether the actualization of migration had led to a measure of upward, horizontal, or

downward occupational and social mobility in Canada for the participants. This is

pursued by, first, comparing their immediate pre-migration occupations in Trinidad and

their initial post-migration occupations in Canada. This is followed by a comparison of

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[7] see Subhas Ramcharan. 1974. *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*, Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, Canada; ibid.. 1976. "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 13, 3: 295-304; Aloma Mary Mendoza. 1990. "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario," Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, Canada.

[8] Head, for example, in a well-cited study on the attitudes, perceptions, and opinions of a sample of 349 black and non-black respondents in Metropolitan Toronto constructs and rank orders an occupational classification into professional/managerial, professional/ technical, clerical, sales, service/recreation, transportation/communication, skilled crafts, unskilled labour, student, retired, and other. see Wilson A. Head. 1975. *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and the Practice of Discrimination*, Ontario, CA: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 36.

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their initial post-migration occupations and their occupations at the time of interview.

Finally, an examination is made of the various occupations they procured between their

initial post-migration occupations and their occupations at the time of interview. Since

the participants' most major migratory goal was to acquire jobs, and other mobility

opportunities, that would improve their socioeconomic standing, what is crucially of

importance here, as well as in the ensuing chapters, is not to determine how well the

occupational rankings of Trinidad and Canada compare but rather to explore how the

participants perceived their status movement between them as well as between and within

the occupational rankings in Canada.

Comparison of Immediate Pre- and Initial Post-Migration Occupations

Of the 20 participants in this study, 3 were students in Trinidad at the time of their

migration to Canada while 1 migrated as a student and enrolled in a Canadian university.

Thus, in order to have a clearer comparative picture of employable participants'

occupations in Trinidad and Canada, these 4 participants' occupations will be discussed

separately.

The immediate pre-migration and initial post-migration occupations of 16 non-

student participants are displayed in Table 7.1. Closely related to the education the

participants received in Trinidad was the status of the occupations they pursued during

the period immediately prior to their departure. The relatively high educational and

occupational standing of the majority of participants is evident in the number and

proportion of them who were in non-manual, white collar occupations, that is,

professional and clerical occupations, in Trinidad. In total, 11 participants or close to 70

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percent of the participants worked in non-manual, white collar professional and clerical occupations. From the census data we looked at in the previous chapter concerning the intended occupations of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago, the number and proportion are very representative of the educational and occupational composition of the migrants who departed Trinidad for Canada in the 1960s and 1970s.[9] The 5 remaining participants were in manufacturing and mechanical, skilled manual, and unskilled manual occupations while 1 was unemployed.

When the immediate pre-migration and initial post-migration occupations of the participants are compared, there is strong evidence to suggest that a large proportion of them experienced initial downward occupational and social mobility. Occupational mobility can occur either interoccupationally or intraoccupationally. Interoccupational mobility occurs when the change in job status position takes place between one occupational category and another. Meanwhile, intraoccupational mobility occurs when there is a change in job status position within a single occupational category, for example, clerical.[10] This mobility, intraoccupational mobility, accounts for the horizontal mobility that is said to take place within occupational categories. In experiencing initial downward interoccupational mobility, 5 out of 6 participants who were in professional occupations

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[9] As Harewood reports, of the 16,400 workers who migrated from Trinidad to the United States, Canada, and Britain between 1962 and 1968, he considered 2,700 professional workers as representing white collar workers. These professional workers included 800 teachers, 700 nurses, 150 doctors and dentists, and 170 engineers. see Jack Harewood. 1983. "White Collar Migrant Labor; Some Observations on the Case of Trinidad and Tobago in the Last Two Decade" in Arnaud F. Marks and Hebe M.C. Vessuri (eds.), *White Collar Migrants in the Americas and the Caribbean*, Leiden, Netherlands: Dept. of Caribbean Studies, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, 22.

[10] Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario" 187.

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and 2 out of 5 of them who were in clerical occupations immediately before their

departure from Trinidad were obliged to accept lower status jobs in Canada. In part, this

accounts for the sales and service category showing 5 participants employed in such jobs

when no one was employed in this category in Trinidad while in the manufacturing and

mechanical and unskilled manual categories, the numbers doubled.

Table 7.1
Comparison of Non-Student Participants' Immediate Pre- and Initial
Post-Migration Occupations in Trinidad and Canada

Occupations	Immediate Pre-Migration Occupations		Initial Post-Migration Occupations	
	Total	%	Total	%
Managerial/Administrative	-	-	-	-
Professional	6	37.5	1	6.25
Financial	-		-	-
Clerical	5	31.25	3	18.75
Sales/Service	-		5	31.25
Manufacturing/Mechanical	1	6.25	2	12.5
Skilled Manual	1	6.25	1	6.25
Unskilled Manual	2	12.5	4	25.0
Self-employed	-	-	-	-
Unemployed	1	6.25	-	-
Retired	-	-	-	-
Total	**16**	**100**	**16**	**100**

Regardless of the race, gender, or national origin of immigrants, such downward

interoccupational mobility is not an uncommon immigrant experience, that is, taking into

consideration that arranged employment in commensurate occupations have not taken

place. In fact, many researchers would agree that it is *the* immigrant experience. For

example, 44 percent of the post-war immigrants in Canada, in particular white

immigrants principally from British and other European countries who entered Canada

between 1945 and the early 1960s, had experienced such initial downward

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interoccupational mobility when their occupations abroad and their first occupations in Canada were compared.[11] The same can be said of the mobility experience of more recent European immigrants in the United States as Gold reports of Soviet Jews from the former Soviet Union.[12]

For Caribbean immigrants in the United States, Canada, Britain, and Europe, the volume of literature on this facet of their immigrant experience has thus been especially substantial, as mentioned. In particular, as Ramcharan reports on Caribbean immigrants in Canada, 33 percent of the white-collar workers in a representative sample of 284 Caribbean female and male immigrants in Toronto were unable to obtain jobs of the same status as in their former country. However, those who experienced, what Ramcharan deems, the most severe status dislocation, that is, a steep drop in status or extreme status loss, were reported to be the blue-collar workers, especially those previously employed in skilled trades.[13] Similarly, as Mendoza found of the 69 employed respondents in her sample of Caribbean women in Ontario, there was a remarkable shift in the occupations of these women when the last jobs they held in the Caribbean region were compared with the first jobs they held in Canada. While 3 respondents were in managerial jobs and the 26 each were in professional and technical and clerical and sales jobs in the Caribbean region, no one was in managerial jobs while about half of them were in professional and

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[11] Ramcharan, "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada" citing Anthony Richmond. 1972. "Ethnic Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Toronto," Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, Toronto, 19. Also, see Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants in Canada*, 52-54.

[12] see Steven J. Gold. 1995. *From the Workers' State to the Golden Gate: Jews from the Former Soviet Union in California*, Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

[13] Ramcharan, "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, 298.

technical jobs in Canada, with the clerical and sales category doubling as a result.

However, as Ramcharan also reminds us:

> Although the initial status loss and downward mobility is normal compared to the experiences of other migrants to Canada, the interesting point is the degree to which downwardly mobile workers were able to recover their former status position and even achieve higher occupational status.[14]

To better understand how the participants in this study perceived the changes in their occupational status brought on by migration, Table 7.2 compares the immediate pre-migration and initial post-migration occupations of each of the 16 non-student female and male participants. Specifically, as reported by the participants, we are examining how they perceived their first jobs in Canada in relation to their last jobs in Trinidad.

A clear benefit to the advantage of being able to compare the occupations of each participant is that we are able to see the occupational mobility changes that may not be apparent otherwise. For instance, it was quite clear in Table 7.1 that downward interoccupational mobility occurred when we compared the number of participants who were in professional and clerical occupations in Trinidad and Canada. However, it is not possible to discern from that table whether the 1 participant who was in a professional occupation and the 3 who were in clerical occupations in Canada were also in such occupations in Trinidad. Moreover, it is not possible to know whether some of the participants who were in manufacturing and mechanical, skilled manual occupations and unskilled manual occupations in Trinidad were in such occupations in Canada and thus experienced initial horizontal intraoccupational mobility since there would be no change in their occupational status with migration. Likewise, it is not possible to know whether

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[14] see Subhas Ramcharan. 1982. *Racism: Non-Whites in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Butterworths, 67.

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some of these same participants in Trinidad may have acquired higher status sales and service and/or even clerical jobs which would result in their experience of initial upward interoccupational mobility. Instead of relying on the comparison of occupations solely, the data presented in Table 7.2 therefore provide us with a comprehensive profile of what occupational mobility changes did occur for each participant when the comparison of the immediate pre-migration and initial post-migration occupations is made for each of them.

Ten out of 16 or 62.5 percent of the participants experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility when each participant's immediate pre-migration and initial post-migration occupations are compared. Of these 10 participants, 4 out of 7 or 57 percent of the female participants and 6 out of 9 or 67 percent of male participants experienced such initial downward interoccupational mobility in Canada. When these participants compared the jobs they had recently been doing in Trinidad with what they were doing initially in Canada, they were not satisfied with the initial jobs they were obliged to acquire in Canada. Near all of them felt a sense of steep status loss and became very despondent with their move to Canada.

The severest status loss appears to have been felt by men, especially those who were in professional occupations in Trinidad immediately prior to migration. As Simon's and Steve's perceptions of their initial downward interoccupational mobility demonstrate, the higher the status of the participant's immediate pre-migration occupation, the more dissatisfied the participant, the more severe the downward occupational status change was perceived, and the more poignant the participant experienced the status loss that accompanied such a change. It thus turned out that these male participants were quite

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Table 7.2

Comparison of Each Non-Student Participant's Immediate Pre- and Initial Post-Migration Occupations in Trinidad and Canada by Gender

Participants Female	Immediate Pre-Migration Occupation	Initial Post-Migration Occupation	Occupational Mobility
Aretha	Professional	Clerical	Downward
June	Clerical	Unskilled Manual	Downward
Esther	Unskilled Manual	Skilled Manual	Upward
Heather	Clerical	Sales/Service	Downward
Lorna	Unemployed	Sales/Service	Upward
Marva	Clerical	Clerical	Horizontal
Thelma	Clerical	Sales/Service	Downward
Male			
Brent	Manufacturing/Mechanical	Manufacturing/Mechanical	Horizontal
Steve	Professional	Clerical	Downward
Devon	Professional	Professional	Horizontal
Frank	Professional	Manufacturing/Mechanical	Downward
George	Skilled Manual	Unskilled Manual	Downward
Norris	Clerical	Unskilled Manual	Downward
Orin	Professional	Sales/Service	Downward
Simon	Professional	Sales/Service	Downward
Ulric	Unskilled Manual	Unskilled Manual	Horizontal
Total Participants, %: 16, 100% Professional: 6, 37.5% Clerical: 5, 31.25% Manufacturing/Mechanical: 1, 6.25% Skilled Manual: 1, 6.25% Unskilled Manual: 2, 12.5% Unemployed: 1, 6.25%		**Total Participants, %:** 16, 100% Professional: 1, 6.25% Clerical: 3, 18.75% Manufacturing/Mechanical: 2, 12.5% Sales/Service: 5, 31.25% Skilled Manual: 1, 6.25% Unskilled Manual: 4, 25.0% Downward Interoccupational Mobility: 10, 62.5% Upward Interoccupational Mobility: 2, 12.5% Horizontal Intraoccupational Mobility: 4, 25.0%	

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despondent with their initial downward interoccupational mobility in Canada.[15]

Simon was a trained teacher in Trinidad while the first job he was obliged to acquire in Canada was that of an encyclopedia salesman. A trained teacher in Trinidad is one who had undergone two years of additional professional training in one of the teachers' colleges there. And, as Brereton informs us, teaching has long provided status and mobility for the more educated members of Trinidad's black population.[16] Being trained, therefore, brought additional status or prestige to those who were in this profession in Trinidad. Perceiving that his status had suddenly shifted downward from that of a professional in Trinidad to a low-level salesperson in Canada, a job that did not require either much education or training, as is quite apparent in the impressions Simon held of his last job in Trinidad and of his first job in Canada, the feeling of steep status loss was exceedingly unbearable for him.

> After two days of training and one day on the job, I was an encyclopedia salesman. Having come from Trinidad with a strong sense of pride as a school teacher, I am going around knocking on people's doors in Sarnia, Ontario and people slamming their doors on me. I was paired with a white guy and he was able to sell. I said, no, this is not for me. That was the experience of my first day and only day on the job.

Even though he was initially thrilled in acquiring a job easily and quickly in Canada, especially since he had to hastily amass funds to purchase airline tickets for the

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[15] Head reports that studies often viewed the Afro-Caribbean immigrant in Canada "...as ambitious, skilled, educated and having certain expectations of improving his economic and social status...however, ...he often encounters 'status dislocation and downward mobility'. The failure to achieve his expectations often leads to disillusionment and a need for psychological support from friends and relatives who have preceded him to this country." see Head, *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and the Practice of Discrimination* citing Rudolf A. Helling. 1965. *The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the social structure of Windsor, Ontario*, A Report submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission, Windsor, 1965.

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rest of his family left behind in Trinidad to join him in Canada, Steve felt that he had

fallen from grace when he compared his immediate pre-migration professional

occupation as a police officer in Trinidad to his initial post-migration clerical occupation

as a low-level shipping and receiving clerk. What made his acquiring a non-

commensurate job in Canada that much more difficult for him to bear was that, as he

stated, he had been told by Canadian immigration officials in Trinidad that he would have

"obtained a job in the police service" in Canada. As Steve relates:

> Shipping and receiving was not my type of job. I was a police officer just
> a month ago and I was not satisfied there. I felt that I could do much more
> than that.

These participants therefore arrived in Canada with occupational choices but these

occupational choices were not being fulfilled at the time.

Likewise, the female participants who experienced initial downward

interoccupational mobility in Canada, were despondent as well with the sharp status loss

felt when they were unable to obtain commensurate jobs in intended occupations. For

example, like Steve, his wife, June, was not altogether pleased with the first job she was

obliged to accept in Canada after she and her children had joined him. June was in a

clerical job in Trinidad before migrating while the first job she acquired in Canada was as

an unskilled manual laborer. She relates, therefore, that, even though she was equipped

with shorthand and typing skills, she was obliged to accept such a job in a factory. As she

relates:

> I found it difficult to get a clerical job and had to work in a factory
> because with three kids I had to take it. I had to scramble whatever I got.
> The factory assembled and shipped out orders such as wallets, etc..

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[16] see Bridget Brereton, 1979. *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*, New
York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 79.

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With changes in occupational status from that of an untrained teacher, nonetheless a professional position, to clerk occurring for Aretha and from clerk to salesperson occurring for Heather and Thelma, they too suffered from initial downward interoccupational mobility in Canada. Unlike these participants, though, only 2 participants, both female, experienced an improvement in their occupational status with migration. Esther was an unskilled manual laborer and Lorna was unemployed in Trinidad immediately before migrating to Canada. However, Esther's first job was as a skilled manual laborer while Lorna acquired an initial job as a salesperson in Canada.

It is also evident that there was no change in the immediate pre-migration occupational status of some of the participants. For example, as a trained teacher in Trinidad immediately before migration and able to acquire similar work in the teaching profession in Canada, a work for which he had been recruited in Trinidad, Devon's professional occupational status was not initially altered by migration. Since Devon's occupational mobility was intraoccupational, meaning, that his job position was in the same occupational category and did not change with migration, he experienced horizontal intraoccupational mobility. Thus, even though Devon's first few teaching assignments were as a supply teacher, he did not perceive that he had experienced a loss in status as a supply teacher. A supply teacher in Canada is one who is not in a permanent or fulltime teaching position. Devon, therefore, functioned more as a reserve teacher, a fill-in teacher, as he said, when a teacher went on leave. Moreover, he was not despondent with his early assignments as a supply teacher since, as he said, "he took all teaching assignments and made more money as a supply teacher." Other participants to experience

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no occupational status change and, thus, horizontal intraoccupational mobility as well initially in Canada were Marva, Brent, and Ulric.

Generally, then, in firstly acquiring what they considered to be lower-status jobs to what they had recently left behind in Trinidad, the early economic incorporation experiences of close to two-thirds of the employable participants, especially men who were in professional jobs immediately prior to migrating, had resulted in their initial downward interoccupational mobility in Canada. Perceiving Toronto as "This City of Gold," as Reggie, one of the participants who was a student in Trinidad immediately before migrating and as such not included in this analysis so far, had stated, was not altogether false for the acquisition of these lower-status jobs. In fact, in the 1960s and 1970s, Afro-Caribbean immigrants entered a bountiful Canadian labor market in the Greater Toronto Area. For George, whose last job in Trinidad was as a skilled manual laborer and whose first job in Canada was as an unskilled manual laborer, and other participants as well, jobs were perceived as being and, in fact, were quite "easy to come by" during that time. As George recollects:

> I came in November 1969 and started working in December 1969...At that time, work was easy to come by. And the reason why people were allowed to enter Canada from so-called Third World countries was because there was a shortage of manpower. When walking through the streets, there were Help Wanted signs all over the place.

The problem for these Afro-Trini immigrants, however, was that the type of jobs that were available to them were not the type of jobs that they had planned to acquire.

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Comparison of Initial Post-Migration Occupation and Occupation at Time of Interview

As shown in Table 7.3, there were changes in the numbers and proportions of non-student participants when we compare the initial post-migration occupations they acquired and the occupations they attained at the time of interview in 1998. While 2 or 12.5 percent of the participants were in professional occupations at the time of interview, only 1 or 6.25 percent of them was in such initial post-migration occupation. For those who were in financial occupations, we see that 2 or 12.5 percent of the participants were in such occupations at the time of interview while there was no one in such initial post-migration occupation. For those in clerical and skilled manual occupations, there was no change. However, while there were more participants in the professional and financial occupations at the time of interview, there were marked decreases of participants who were in sales and services and unskilled manual occupations when we compare these initial post-migration occupations and occupations at the time of interview. In toto, 9 or 57.25 percent of the participants were in these initial post-migration occupations compared to none of them in such occupations at the time of interview.

One obvious preliminary conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis conducted so far on these occupational mobility changes is that there is strong evidence to suggest that a sizeable number and proportion of participants eventually experienced upward interoccupational mobility when we compare the numbers and proportions of them who were in initial post-migration occupations and occupations at the time of interview. At the same time though, one cannot escape the fact that, by themselves, the data in the table, when compared, do not tell us much more than this. As discussed earlier with Table 7.1, we do not know for certain whether some of the participants who were no

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longer in sales and service and unskilled manual occupations at the time of interview were the said participants who were eventually able to improve their occupational status by acquiring clerical, financial, and/or even professional jobs. This is especially crucial to determine since we know from Table 7.2 that there were some participants, especially male participants, whose last jobs in Trinidad were in the professional ranks and who were obliged to accept initial lower-status clerical, sales and service, and manufacturing and mechanical jobs in Canada. In addition, we also do not know whether the 5 participants who were in clerical, manufacturing and mechanical, and skilled manual jobs at the time of interview were the same 5 who were in such occupations initially.

There is another implication that may be hidden here as well. If some of the participants were reverting to their immediate pre-migration occupational status, a status that they had lost with migration, thus in the end they would not have had experienced the upward occupational and social mobility they sought with migration. In the same vein, there may even be some participants who were in initial sales and service and unskilled manual occupations and may not have been able to improve their initial post-migration occupational status at all. Consequently, they may be amongst the 7 or 43.75 percent of the participants who either were self-employed, unemployed, or retired at the time of interview. Thus, without an accompanying table that examines the occupational changes of each participant from the acquired initial post-migration occupation to the occupation attained at the time of interview, we do not know very much about the occupational mobility experiences of these participants. Specifically, we do not know whether those who experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility continued to do so in Canada or whether they were able to eventually improve their initial

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occupational status. The same can be said of those participants who experienced initial

horizontal intraoccupational and initial upward interoccupational mobility in Canada.

That is, we do not know whether their initial occupational status either remained the

same, improved or declined over their working lives in Canada.

Table 7.3
Comparison of Non-Student Participants' Initial Post-Migration Occupation
and Occupation At Time of Interview in 1998

Occupations	Initial Post-Migration Occupation		Occupation At Time of Interview	
	Total	%	Total	%
Managerial/Administrative	-	-		
Professional	1	6.25	2	12.5
Financial	-	-	2	12.5
Clerical	3	18.75	3	18.75
Sales/Service	5	31.25	-	-
Manufacturing/Mechanical	2	12.5	1	6.25
Skilled Manual	1	6.25	1	6.25
Unskilled Manual	4	25.0	-	-
Self-employed	-	-	3	18.75
Unemployed	-	-	1	25.0
Retired			3	
Total	**16**	**100**	**16**	**100**

Table 7.4, the transition matrix of intra- and interoccupational mobility, examines

the occupational mobility trajectories of each participant from the initial post-migration

occupation to the occupation at the time of the interview. As discussed, this table seeks to

fill the occupational mobility gaps that were apparent in the previous table. Before

proceeding further, however, the transition matrix table needs a bit of explanation.

Each row of numerical cells gives us an idea of the occupational mobility

trajectory of each participant. These trajectories are in no way comprehensive, that is,

they do not in anyway cover all the jobs that the participants acquired during their 20 to

30 odd years in Canada. Rather, as presented, the diachronic data are less an attempt to be comprehensive and more a desire to provide partial occupational case histories.[17]

Thus, in order to determine, in particular, which participants eventually experienced upward interoccupational mobility, especially when we know that the majority had experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility with migration, the cells with the number 1 which denotes their initial post-migration occupations are compared with the cells with the bolded and slightly larger numbers. While, in some cases, these latter cells signify the participants' attained occupations at the time of interview, in others they indicate whether participants either were self-employed, unemployed, or retired at the time of interview. Meanwhile, the intervening numerical cells, that is, those numerical cells between the cells with number 1 in them and the cells with the bolded and slightly larger numbers provide us with an overall longitudinal picture of the various pathways the participants' occupational mobility took. Significantly, this longitudinal picture also provides us with an idea of the occasions either in which upward, downward, or horizontal occupational mobility was experienced by the participants over their working lives in Canada.

However, note must be taken of a deviation from the overall schema in the table. The numbers 1, 2, and 3 in the cell under sales and service for Simon are to indicate that he held three different jobs in this same occupational category. Similarly, the numbers 4 and 5 in the cell under professional are to indicate that, in this case, he held two different jobs in the same occupational category. In both of these cases, therefore, Simon

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[17] These partial occupational case histories are somewhat similar to the occupational profiles that Mendoza constructed for the participants in her study. see Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario," 180-188.

experienced intraoccupational mobility, with upward interoccupational mobility taking place as well between the occupational categories. Though it does not necessarily apply to the low-level temporary sales and service jobs that Simon was obliged to accept, it is also to be noted that, in some cases of intraoccupational mobility, even though the status of occupations within a single category may not appear to differ per se, status distinctions may still arise between a job that is fulltime or permanent with good benefits and a job that is part-time or temporary job with little or no benefits. To extend the supposition further, there may even be cases of apparent downward interoccupational mobility when we compare only the occupational categories participants acquire jobs in when in reality participants may perceive that their status has improved when they compare the higher-status job attained, for example, in the clerical category, which may be a part-time or temporary job with little or no benefits with a lower-status job, for example, in the manufacturing or mechanical category, which is fulltime or permanent with good benefits.

Typical of the upward interoccupational mobility that near all of these Afro-Trini immigrants experienced with changes to their occupational status since their arrival in Canada is the case of those who held professional jobs in 1998. We see that of the 2 who held such jobs, neither of them was initially employed in this occupational category upon arrival in Canada. In fact, Heather's and Simon's first jobs were in sales and service. On the other hand, in 1998, both of them were in the teaching profession. However, as mentioned earlier, we should keep in mind that the upward interoccupational mobility experienced by some of these participants may be more apparent than real. For example, as in Simon's case, he was returning to an occupational status that he had initially lost

with migration. Because, over time, Simon was able to regain or retrieve his immediate

pre-migration occupational status, one may be tempted to fully agree with Ramcharan

that "...there is no evidence..." that Afro-Caribbean immigrants (West Indians as he calls

them) are "...being ascribed an 'entry status' based on inequality of opportunities." He

goes on to state that:

> The fact though that their economic experience has allowed for status
> retrieval is positive, and suggests that after securing the necessary
> experience and qualifications, West Indians can compete on an equal basis
> with other members of society.[18]

However, due to the upward mobility barriers Afro-Caribbean immigrants

encounter in Canada, it is more likely the case that status retrieval for these Afro-Trini

immigrants may have been quite difficult. It is principally for this reason why it is

worthwhile to, not only compare the initial post-migration occupations and occupations

of these immigrants at the time of interview, but to have an idea of the various intra- and

interoccupational trajectories to their attainment of the occupations they held at the time

of interview. Suffice it to say at this point, that as a college professor, Simon's

occupational status did not leapfrog to that of professional, as indicated in the shaded cell

with the bolded and larger number 5, from that of sales and service, as indicated in the

cell with the number 1, in which he first worked as a temporary encyclopedia salesman in

Sarnia, Ontario. He held other low-level temporary jobs in the intervening years as shown

by the two other jobs he held under sales and service. Here, then, he experienced

intraoccupational rather than upward interoccupational mobility. For example, after

quitting his first sales job, Simon's second job was that of a service provider in which he

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[18] see Ramcharan, *The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada*, 75.

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worked as a temporary, hospital orderly. Once again, as Simon relates, he quit this job

very quickly.

> This job was very subservient, so I did not last long. I had to clean
> dentures of strangers. I had three days of orientation and on the fourth day,
> I left. Even though, my money was running out, I had my pride and my
> landlady was not too tough. I was too militant and too young to take such
> a demeaning job.

As we may recall, not every participant was able to experience an upward change

in occupational status since arriving in Canada (see Table 7.3). For example, Aretha

continued to experience the downward slide that was brought on by migration when her

immediate pre-migration occupation changed from professional to the initial post-

migration occupation of clerical (see Table 7.2). Having worked in various temporary

clerical positions since her arrival, Aretha, therefore, did not experience upward

interoccupational mobility at anytime since arriving in Canada. In fact, as the transition

matrix table clearly shows, she was unemployed in 1998, that is, during the time of

interview. Her unemployment was in no way voluntary. She had continuously applied for

fulltime work but had been unsuccessful. At the time, she was, as she said, "between jobs

but will be starting with the Ministry of Finance next week." This was another temporary

work assignment. However, in Esther's case, we can say that while she did experience

upward intraoccupational mobility with migration to Canada (see Table 7.2), her status as

a manufacturing worker did not change over the years. In 1998, she was still working in

this same line of work as she did when she first arrived.

Because of their age at arrival, length of residence, and, most likely, some degree

of attainment of their mobility dream, there were those participants who were retirees in

1998. Once more, a comparison of this status to their initial post-migration occupational

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Table 7.4
Transition Matrix of Intra- and Interoccupational Mobility:
Non-Student Participants' Initial Post-Migration Occupation to
Occupation at Time of Interview in 1998 by Gender

Participants / Female	Managerial/Administrative	Professional	Financial	Clerical	Sales/Service	Manufacturing/Mechanical	Skilled Manual	Unskilled Manual	Self-employed	Unemployed	Retired
Aretha				1						2	
June				2				1			3
Esther						1					
Heather		3		2	1						
Lorna			2		1						
Marva			2	1							
Thelma				2	1						
Male											
Brent	3	2				1			4		
Steve				1		2					3
Devon		1									2
Frank						1			2		
George				3			2	1			
Norris				2				1			
Orin		3		2	1				4		
Simon		5	4		1-2-3						
Ulric							2	1			

status would not tell us much about whether they experienced upward, downward, or

horizontal occupational and social mobility during their working lives in Canada.

However, when we examine what occupations they held since they arrived in the Greater

Toronto Area, it is quite obvious that June experienced upward interoccupational

mobility. In the case of Steve, her husband, even though he did not retrieve his pre-

migration occupational professional status, it should be noted that he perceived that he

had experienced an upward occupational status change in Canada, when he compared his initial temporary low-level clerical position to his fulltime manufacturing and mechanical position with a large automobile company. First as a welder and then as a tester (he conducted computerized testing on assembled cars) in fulltime positions, Steve had worked for close to 20 years at an automobile plant in the Greater Toronto Area. Likewise, in Devon's case, his initial post-migration occupational professional status as a teacher did not change but he too perceived an upward change in his status when he became a fulltime teacher in 1970 after having started as a supply teacher.

Finally, there were also those participants who were self-employed in 1998. In diverse ways, these participants experienced upward interoccupational mobility in Canada. For example, Brent's first job was as a printer with a private company, he then landed a professional job with the Ontario provincial government, and this was later followed by him landing a prestigious managerial job with a private company. Orin, as well, experienced a great deal of upward interoccupational mobility. The same cannot be said of Frank, however, who left his manufacturing job after two years of working and opened his own business. However, even though Brent and Orin had enjoyed upward interoccupational mobility in Canada, they, like Frank, opened their own businesses principally to escape the perceived racism they stated they had confronted in the Canadian labor market over a large part of their working lives. Much more will be said of this in the following chapter. Like other international immigrants, therefore, including those from the Caribbean region who operate "West Indian" shops in the Greater Toronto Area, these self-employed participants established ethnic-based business enterprises, some with strong transnational linkages. For example, both Frank and Orin established

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transnational cultural business enterprises with strong linkages to Trinidad and the rest of the Caribbean region. They were both engaged in facilitating the cultural production and reproduction of calypso music by organizing various social events and inviting Caribbean-based artistes to perform at these events.[19] Brent, on the other hand, opened an automobile repair shop.

Occupational Mobility Experiences of Participants Whose Immediate Pre-Migration and Initial Post-Migration Status was Student

Four out of the 20 participants' immediate pre-migration and initial post-migration status was that of student. While 3 of them, Carol, Pamela, and Reggie, were students immediately prior to their departure from Trinidad, Keith, who was employed as a teacher in Trinidad at the time, was admitted to Canada as a student to pursue an university education. Meanwhile, while Carol and Pamela did not initially continue their educational pursuits upon arrival in Canada but rather sought employment instead, Reggie, who was of school age when he migrated with his mother and siblings at the age of 17, continued to pursue secondary education in Canada. After completing their schooling in Canada and gaining undergraduate as well as masters degrees, both Keith and Reggie acquired professional jobs. Keith was, and continued to be employed at the time of interview, with the Ontario provincial government while Reggie became a teacher but was retired from this profession at the time of interview. Reggie now owned and operated a barbering saloon. Since it was only Carol and Pamela who initially sought

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[19] Basch also found this to be the transnational cultural practice engaged in by immigrants from St Vincent and Grenada in New York City. see Linda Basch. 2001. "Transnational Social Relations and the Politics of National Identity: An Eastern Caribbean Case Study" in Nancy Foner (ed.), *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 128.

employment in Canada when they arrived, this section will therefore focus on their occupational mobility experiences.

Carol's first job in Canada was as a Food Supervisor at a hospital located in the west end of the Greater Toronto Area. Even though she had completed a two year post-secondary program of study in home economics in Trinidad, she relates that it was equally her ability to write a great application letter or résumé that led to her landing her first high-status and high-paying job in Canada. As she recalls:

> I saw this job advertised in the newspapers for a Food Supervisor. I sent in an application and I was called for an interview. During the interview, the General Manager said to me that he was impressed with my letter of application and that he has never read something so well written. He showed me some that he had received and it was a standard letter really. I was trained to write this way. Résumé was not in vogue then. It was a high-paying job...If I did not go on to college, I could have stayed there and risen to the top range. I stayed there for two years and left to go back to school.

Carol's initial occupational experience in Canada is unique in a variety ways. First, she was one of only two participants, Devon is the other, to have initially acquired what she considered to be a high-status and high-income job in Canada. Second, she was also one of only two participants to, Devon is also the other, at first, perceive that the education that she had acquired in Trinidad was able to be initially utilized in the acquisition of a job in Canada that was commensurate to her education. Third, her voluntarily disruption of her occupational mobility "to go back to school," demonstrated the importance that participants placed on the attainment of educational advancement. In fact, it can even be suggested that, for some participants, educational mobility in lieu of occupational mobility may have been perceived as either more important, more necessary, or more occupationally rewarding in the long run. Be it as it may, after

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graduating with a diploma in Dietary Service Administration, Carol returned to the world

of work where she acquired another supervisory position. Unlike Carol though, Pamela

first job in Canada was in sales. She was obliged to acquire a temporary, low-status,

salesperson job in one of the stores in Toronto. However, this was followed by her

acquisition of a fulltime, higher-level banking job and, at the time of the interview,

Pamela had advanced considerably in the teaching profession to the point of being a

principal of school. Her occupational mobility was also voluntarily interrupted at times

when she too "left to go back to school." (Much more of Pamela's occupational and

educational mobility will be discussed in a later chapter.)

Conclusion

By examining the participants' immediate pre-migration and post-migration

occupations, we have looked rather objectively as well as subjectively at the nature and

extent of their economic incorporation experiences since their arrival in Canada so many

years ago. Even though the majority of them, especially men, who were in the

professional ranks in Trinidad immediately before migrating and had perceived that they

had suffered the most severe status loss with the temporary, low-status jobs initially

acquired in Canada, by 1998, the majority of them had become more incorporated in the

economy of the Greater Toronto Area by experiencing varying degrees of upward

occupational and social mobility. Nonetheless, some of them were still not able to surpass

their immediate pre-migration occupational status. This, therefore, brings to the fore that

the realization of upward occupational and social mobility in Canada may not have been

easy for some of them, especially those who were in the professional ranks immediately

before migration.

CHAPTER 8

PERCEPTIONS OF RACISM AND UPWARD MOBILITY BARRIERS

To the Afro-Trini immigrants in this study, Canada was perceived as a place where mobility dreams can be easily realized; where anyone, regardless of race, color, creed, class, or gender is generally welcomed and able to quickly and easily acquire a desired high-status and high-income job. As such, in migrating, these immigrants did not envisage to experience initial downward interoccupational mobility nor to encounter any barriers[1] to their upward mobility in Canada. Since they migrated from a society sharply divided by race/color, class, and gender intersecting hierarchies,[2] it is quite strange that they would expect to enter a new society, especially a white host society, where these racial divisions did not exist or did not matter. Specifically, one would expect them to have been a bit more informed or at least less naive either about the existence of racism or of upward mobility barriers that may appear racist. Their either being not fully informed or naïve about them may be explained in a variety of ways.

For one, many of their close relatives were successful or on the road to socioeconomic success and thus providing living proof that mobility dreams can be realized in Canada. For another, maybe they were informed and they neither believed nor cared or maybe they were only informed about the positive aspects of immigrant life

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[1] As mentioned earlier, Thomas-Hope made a somewhat similar observation in her research on intended immigrants from Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Vincent. see Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. 1980. "Hopes and Reality in the West Indian Migration to Britain," *Oral History* 8, 1-2: 35-42.

[2] see Lloyd Braithwaite. 1953. "Social Stratification in Trinidad," *Social and Economic Studies* 2, 2&3 (October): 5-175; Bridget Brereton. 1979. *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

abroad as immigrants are wont to do.[3] It also may be the case, as Waters states of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in New York City (termed West Indians in her study), that "race relations at home are seen through rose-colored glasses...[and that]...[m]any other researchers have noted this tendency to 'forget' the discrimination and racism that did exist back home."[4] Thus, Waters also finds that Afro-Caribbean immigrants in New York City tend to:

> have a low expectation of sour interpersonal race relations, and this enables them to have better interpersonal interactions with white Americans than many native African Americans. In addition, their sense of efficacy, coming from a society with a majority of blacks and with many blacks in high positions, leads the immigrants to have high ambitions and expectations for their own success.[5]

An alternative definition of the American situation offered by Watkins-Owens is that "[m]any could be detached from and defiant about America-viewing it as someone else's country-while at the same time recognizing it as a place that offered a chance to overcome severe economic constraints at home."[6]

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[3] see Orlando Patterson. 1968. "West Indian Migrants Returning Home: Some Observations," *Race* 10, 1: (July): 69-77; Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. 1978. "The Establishment of Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation" in Colin G. Clarke (ed.), *Caribbean Social Relations*, The University of Liverpool, Centre for Latin-American Studies, Monograph Series No. 8: 66-81.

[4] see Mary C. Waters. 1999. *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*, New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 145, Chapter 5 endnote 9.

[5] Ibid.., 141.

[6] see Irma Watkins-Owens. 2001. "Early-Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City" in Nancy Foner (ed.), *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 27.

Whatever may have been the reason, there is no evidence in the interview data to suggest that the participants had any doubts of their ability to be successful in Canada. In fact, when asked whether they encountered problems with immigration and/or custom officers at the airport when they first arrived that made them feel that they were not welcome in Canada, not one of the participants felt this way. However, it subsequently became quite clear to them that their race was extremely significant in the treatment they received from white Canadians and in their quest to acquire the jobs that they sought. It thus turned out that the participants were ill-prepared for the racism and upward mobility barriers that they believed they encountered in Canada. This chapter is mainly concerned, therefore, with the participants' perceptions of racism and upward mobility barriers, especially those upward mobility barriers that they perceived as racist, in Canada.

Dimensions of Canadian Racism

There are many different dimensions of racism in Canada due to the elusive and changing nature of race itself[7] as well as to the racialized social context within which racism occurs. Since race, as a social construct, has the potential to be hidden in altered forms, scholars have moved away from the presumption of a single, monolithic racism towards a multidimensional formulation of racism.[8] Here, as well, the racialized social

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[7] As James points out, "the meaning of race is not 'fixed' but is related to historical period as well as the political, cultural, social and geographic context." see Carl E. James. 2003. *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Ethnicity, Race and Culture,* (3rd), Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 37.

[8] For example, see David Theo Goldberg. 1993. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning,* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell; Stephen Small. 1994. *Racialised Barriers: The Black Experience in the United States and England in the 1980s,* New York, NY: Routeledge; Frances Henry, Carol Tator, Winston Mathis, and Tim Rees. 1995. *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society,* Toronto, ON: Harcourt Brace & Company.

context refers mainly to the existence of racialized ideological, cultural, and economic relations between the dominant white majority and Afro-Caribbean, and other non-white, people in Canada. Dependent on the racialized social context, the perceived racism that these Afro-Trini immigrants believed they encountered in Canada can be delineated into everyday, cultural, individual, systemic, and institutional racism. These disparate, but interrelated dimensions of Canadian racism, fall under what Henry, Tator, Mathis, and Rees have termed democratic racism, that is, the continued pursuit of the democratic values of fairness and equality for all combined with the continued pervasion of racist beliefs and practices in Canadian society.[9] These dimensions of racism will be examined in turn, with the dominant role of the white majority and their ideological, cultural, and economic priorities instituting upward mobility barriers figuring prominently in the analysis.

Everyday Racism

Everyday racism involves the multiple, and sometimes miniscule, ways in which racism is experienced by non-white immigrants as they interact with members of Canada's white majority population. Everyday racism can take the expressive forms of gestures, physical movements, glances, and forms of speech: "the empty seat next to a person of colour, which is the last to be occupied in a crowded bus; the slight movement away from a person of colour in an elevator; the overattention to the Black customer in the shop; the inability to make eye contact with a person of colour; the racist joke told at a meeting..."[10]

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[9] Ibid., 17.

[10] Ibid., 47.

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Or, and in addition to, it can also take the form of what one respondent in James' study

deemed "the look," that is, as the first black person to be hired in a company in a fulltime

position, she was stared at by white employees. The respondent described "the look" and her

attendant discomfort this way:

> The Director walked me through the office and everyone stopped and stared
> at me...They weren't just looking; I know the look. I have seen it
> before...They have never had to mix with minorities because I was the first
> full-time minority with the company.[11]

Everyday racism can also take the expressive form of speech, especially ubiquitous

questions such as: "Where did you come from?"[12] Such a question constitutes a form of

speech that Myers and Williamson define as "race talk": that is "...any talk that demeans on

the basis of race or ethnicity."[13] In speaking of her experiences as a black woman in a

Canadian university, Bramble perceives such a question as involving a process of being

"immigrant-ed"-of being "othered."

> Black women, whether born in Canada or not, are perpetually seen as
> 'immigrants,' as 'others,' and are always asked 'where are you from?' As the
> quintessential 'other,' black women (and blacks in general) are not imagined
> as belonging to the Canadian nation-state, but rather, are subjected to a
> process in which we are 'immigrant-ed.' That is to say we are seen as
> foreigners with little education, and as members of the working class.[14]

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[11] see Carl E. James. 1993. "Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment
Experience" in Paul Anisef and Paul Axelrod (eds.), *Transitions: Schooling and
Employment in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.., 9.
Also, ibid.. 1990. *Making It: Black Youth, Racism and Career Aspirations in a Big City*,
Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press for other perceptions of everyday racism.

[12] Henry et al, *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, 17.

[13] see Kristen A. Myers and Passion Williamson. 2001. "Race talk: the perpetuation of
racism through private discourse," *Race & Society* 4: 4.

[14] see Maxine Bramble. 1999. "'That Really Wasn't Me': A Black, Immigrant, Caribbean
Woman's Attempt to Be/Long in the Academy," *Caribbean Woman Studies* 19, 3: 134.

Thus, although everyday racism may not be consciously intended by its perpetrators, it is immediately and painfully felt by its victims.[15] Though not intended, the painful consequences of everyday racism to its victims are aptly captured by Thomas theorem: "Situations that are defined as real become real in their consequences."[16] Furthermore, as Henry notes in relation to blacks:

> It is very difficult to determine 'objectively' the nature of everyday interaction between Whites and Blacks...A variety of studies have shown that those who are discriminated against appear to have more insight into discrimination mechanisms than those who discriminate...Blacks have a certain amount of expertise about racism through extensive experience with Whites. The latter, conversely are often hardly aware of the racism in their own attitudes and behaviour.[17]

What hooks calls an "ethnographic gaze"-the ability of blacks to see whites from a special vantage point where blacks can observe whites without being noticed-is surely related to their having this expertise about white racism.[18] Likewise, Waters sees this insight that black immigrants have of discrimination mechanisms as the development of "...a 'sixth sense' that picks up on whites' unspoken disdain, that notices the ways in which whites look at you."[19] James also describes how respondents in his study were not able to prove that they were discriminated against but, yet, they, as one respondent stated:

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[15] Henry et al, *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, 47.

[16] John J. Macionis, Cecilia M. Benoit and S. Mikael Jannson. 1999. *Society: The Basics*, Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 84.

[17] see Frances Henry. 1994. *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 23-24.

[18] see Myers and Williamson, "Race talk: the perpetuation of racism through private discourse" 13 citing bell hooks. 1995. *Killing rage: Ending racism*, New York: Henry Holt and Company.

[19] see Waters, *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*, 171.

In some ways, I'm not quite sure. I always go by my feelings. I can *feel* certain things from people. I can *feel* when they don't like me even though they say 'hi.' *I can feel it. I know a negative. I see the negative in them. It's just something I have, this ability to feel.* (emphasis added).[20]

In the case of the Afro-Trini immigrants in this study, the discrimination mechanism of everyday racism mostly picked up did not take the expressive form of physical movements: "the slight movement away from a person of colour in an elevator" or glances per se. Rather, in their early encounters with white Canadians, they felt the sting of racism when they felt that they were completely ignored and thus shunned: whites were not willing to engage with them in any fashion. Most likely, this relates to their "inability to make eye contact with a person of colour." George's and Heather's description of their early expectations of and experiences with white Canadians provides insights into how such early encounters with them were perceived in this racist fashion.

George:
I had many visions of Canada that have turned out to be false. I thought that when you come here as an immigrant, you will be embraced like the people who come to Trinidad. We try to make them feel welcome and that was a very rude awakening that I got here. I thought that the people I meet everyday would have embraced me. People were within themselves and would not embrace you. ...In Trinidad, we make them feel comfortable... and if they asked us for something we would give it to them and give it to them genuinely...I thought that it would be my experience as well... *Racism takes all forms you know.* (emphasis added).

Heather:
That is part of our culture you know. In Trinidad, we were different. We were taught to embrace people-to be open-but here it is not so. Here, if they have to greet you, they will say 'Hello', 'How are you?' But if they do not have to greet you in the elevator etc., they do not say anything to you.

The participants' discomfort with such perceived racial slight seem to have increased when they were bunched with and vastly outnumbered by white tenants while

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[20] see James, *Making It: Black Youth, Racism and Career Aspirations in a Big City,* 25.

riding apartment building elevators, while using the subway, or as the only black

employees in companies. Thelma, Norris' wife, explains her feelings this way.

> Norris had this West Indian habit...when he goes into an elevator and
> there are people there, the first thing he says is morning to everyone. No
> one answers even though he does this every morning...some people will
> do like we are not there but he will not stop. I told him that I will not say
> morning to anyone. They do not care for us. They do not like us. They
> think we are dogs...

In such highly racially-skewed group[21] situations, where participants were the

only blacks among more numerous whites, their numerical singularity combined with

their immigrant or national origin status became a social fact that was overly defined by

their race. Their race, their "blackness," became so significant, for instance, that the racial

or national origin difference between them and white Canadians and the perceived racism

they experienced were felt more acutely. In this light, in writing to relatives back home of

his first journey on the subway in Toronto, Orin, says that:

> I described myself as sitting in a sea of white faces and I felt like a prune
> that fell into a tub of coconut ice cream.

Like other Afro-Caribbean immigrants, these participants came from a very

gregarious society where face-to-face interactions and informal, collective social

interactions are the norm. As Henry notes:

> [I]n the most general sense, life in Caribbean countries is lived together
> rather than alone. Togetherness is reinforced by the large size of most
> Caribbean families, the small size of most of the countries, the particular
> spatial arrangement of the villages, the denseness of urban living
> conditions, and the like.[22]

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[21] A skewed group is a group in which there is a strong numerical imbalance of one type
of person over another. see Rosabeth Moss Kanter. 1977. *Men and Women of the
Corporation*, New York, NY: Basic Books.

[22] Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 167.

Greeting people, whether native or foreign, by such salutations as "Good Morning",

"Good Evening" or "Good Day" or by gestures such as the nod of a head or a smile is a

major sign of inclusion in the Caribbean imaginary community. In migrating, therefore,

the participants went through a period of culture shock when they expected and did not

receive such signs of inclusion or "embrace" from white Canadians. This culture shock

has been described as "the sudden recognition that one has a very long way to go before it

will be possible to live this kind of full and easy life."[23] The reality was that white

Canadians' perceived racist demeanor worked to maintain a high degree of social distance

between the races.

Social distance involves not only the unwillingness of dominant group members

to tolerate close relations as marriage and family membership with members of racialized

minority groups but also more distant relations as neighbors, as co-workers, or even as

immigrants.[24] This experience of social distancing speaks strongly to the fact that social

incorporation was not a prominent feature of the early incorporation experiences of these

Afro-Trini immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area. Very much in line with Simmel's

concept of "the stranger," therefore, these Afro-Trini immigrants were identified as a

racialized outgroup on which social distance was to be maintained by white ingroup

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[23] see Monica H. Gordon. 1979. "Identification and Adaptation: A Study of Two Groups of Jamaican Immigrants in New York City," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, New York, 133. Jamaican immigrants in Gordon's study also experienced culture shock and nostalgia, and engaged in reactive non-acceptance when they reassessed their situation a few months after their arrival in the United States.

[24] Jeffrey G. Reitz and Raymond Breton. 1998. "Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada and the United States" in Vic Satzewich (ed.), *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance*, Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 54.

members.[25] Accordingly, two perspectives proposed by Ramcharan, colour-class and

stranger theses, help explain the social distancing behaviour that Afro-Trini immigrants

described that whites displayed towards them.

> With regards to the colour-class thesis, the supposition is that the majority
> groups in the society identify nonwhites with the lowest social class
> mainly because of the historical relationships between whites and
> nonwhites. The 'stranger' thesis sees the nonwhite immigrants as the
> archetypal stranger both in appearance and behaviour, and react to them
> with distrust, antipathy, and a resultant negative attitude.[26]

Undoubtedly, this also involved a process of boundary construction or boundary marking.

That is, "the erection of more or less set divisions between groups identified as self and

other."[27] As such, Ramcharan also postulates that non-whites may not only be perceived

as outsiders and strangers and thus marginal in society, but also relegated to an inferior

socioeconomic position.[28]

In a national attitudinal survey conducted in 1991 by the Angus Reid Group, a

Canadian national poll-taking organization, it was found that the social distance between

white and non-white Canadians was not reduced in any appreciable way. While white

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[25] see Leo Driedger and Jacob Peters. 1977. "Identity and social distance: towards understanding Simmel's 'The Stranger'," *Canada Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 14, 2: 158-173. Also see, Zygmunt Bauman. 1993. "Modernity and Ambivalence" in Mike Featherstone (ed.), *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications: 143-169.

[26] see Subhas Ramcharan. 1982. *Racism: Non-Whites in Canada*, Toronto: Butterworths, 88.

[27] Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*, 75. Also see, Gerald D. Suttles. 1972. *The Social Construction of Communities*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Sandra Wallman. 1986. "Ethnicity and the boundary process in context" in John Rex and David Mason (eds.), *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 226-245; Myers et al, "Race talk: the perpetuation of racism through private discourse,"

[28] see Ramcharan, *Racism: Non-Whites in Canada*, 88.

Canadian respondents indicated greater levels of "comfort" when interacting with white Canadians of British, Italian, French, Ukrainian, German, and Jewish origin, these same respondents reported significantly less "comfort" when interacting with people of Afro-Caribbean, Moslem, Arab, Indo-Pakistani, and Sikh origin or religion.[29] Undoubtedly, social distance has a lot to do with an immigrant group's racial identity. It is expected that when a negative identity, particularly a racialized negative identity, is imposed on certain people destined for Canada, white Canadians will distance themselves from them when they are eventually admitted.

Cultural Racism

Cultural racism is sometimes more difficult to discern since it is masked within a society's cultural system and it is expressed through language, religion, art, and literature. To Henry, it "refers to the collective belief system of the dominant culture...(and) ...represents the tacit network of beliefs and values that encourages and justifies discriminatory actions, behaviours, and practices."[30] Instead of overtly displaying racism as the motif for discriminatory acts against racialized groups who are perceived as inferior, cultural differences are invoked and used as a mask to hide racist beliefs and practices. What is made clear by an understanding of cultural racism is the belief held in

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[29] Vic Satzewich. 1998. "Introduction" in Satzewich, *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance*, 17-18. Also, see Leo Driedger and Angus Reid. 2000. "Public Opinion on Visible Minorities" in Leo Driedger and Shiva S. Halli (eds.), *Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge*, Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 152-171; John W. Berry and Rudolf Kalin. 2000. "Racism: Evidence from National Surveys" in Driedger et al, *Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge*, 172-185.

[30] see Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 25.

the inherent incompatibility between the "Canadian way of life" and that of Afro-

Caribbean immigrants and other racialized people in Canada. For those who see this

inherent incompatibility, culture, according to James:

> is identified as that which is possessed by Others, by people with
> particular 'looks,' who are characterized by their skin colour and/or other
> physical features, as well as by dress (or costume), food, religious
> practices and other 'visible' factors. These 'Canadians,' typically those with
> Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, do not perceive themselves as having a
> heritage from elsewhere, while Others do...This (is) an understanding of
> culture as visible and symbolic of 'foreigness'...[31]

Since it is in the workplace that participants found themselves in sustained early

interactions as the only black employees, cultural racism was experienced quite regularly

by some of them in a most forceful way. Heather, for example, speaks derisively of her

early experience as the only black employee in her first place of work.

> I was the only black on the job and they would make certain statements
> such as: 'That is the way you guys talk from where you come from. It is
> not so to say that.' They tried to correct my pronunciation and I had to tell
> them that that is the way I speak. They do not accept us or me ...because
> of my color and accent.[32]

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[31] see James, *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Ethnicity, Race and Culture,* 33.

[32] In a study of Caribbean women's socioeconomic, cultural, and sociopsychological
experiences in Canada, Mendoza contends that the above behaviour of white Canadians
in the workplace could be considered to be largely ethnocentric, that is, the allegiance
that one displays towards the ingroup. This attitude, which she defines as basically
emotional in character, generally succeeds in influencing the judgement of ingroup
members about the outgroup. In this situation involving Caribbean women in the
workplace, she believes that white Canadians react by trying to highlight the positive
perceptions of themselves by emphasizing the negative stereotypes of non-white
immigrants, because they probably feel threatened by the increasing numbers of non-
white immigrants in the workplace and society in general. see Aloma Mary Mendoza.
1990. "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological
Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario," Ph.D. diss., York University,
Toronto, Canada, 266. Meanwhile, another Afro-Caribbean immigrant observer of the
racist workings of Canadian society provides similar autobiographical accounts of
cultural racism that Heather has experienced in Canada. see Cecil Foster. 1996. *A Place
Called Heaven,* Toronto, ON: Harper Collins.

Thus, in Heather's case, speech or, to be more specific, the "foreigness" of her accent was the medium through which cultural racism was practiced.[33] One cannot not notice the apparent use of "race talk" in this instance as well.

At the same time though, while many participants believed that their culture was a upward mobility barrier in Canada, more men than women were able to recount instances in which they felt that they were discriminated against because of it and more men than women expressed strong feelings about it when asked the questions:

> On the basis of your own experiences in Canada or those of your friends and family, what do you think is the state of race relations in Canada?
>
> That is, do you think that racism against people of color, especially black people, is a major problem here in Canada?

Reggie, for one, sees the racist treatment of Caribbean black immigrants as endemic and emanating from a combination of white Canadians' belief that they are genetically and culturally superior to black people as well as to their ignorance of Caribbean culture. Reggie emphatically made his point about the pervasiveness and cultural root of racism in Canadian society.

> I know for a fact that this situation is bad in the school, courts, job market, etc.. We black people are continually complaining about the treatment we get from our bosses, supervisors, teachers and they are defending themselves and saying that they are not treating us badly but fairly and that the problem is with us. They say that we have a chip on our shoulder and using black as an excuse. We tell them that they do not understand us and the government has sent people down into the West Indies to try and understand our culture so that they can best relate to us and shatter this barrier and problem that we have. But I believe that they can send a million people down there. People's minds are made up about us. Their perception of us cannot change if they send them to live in the

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[33] Though not expressed by the participants, feelings of loneliness may also have been experienced as a result of cultural differences based on their racial and ethnic origin. And, loneliness has the potential to lead to feelings of alienation and disillusionment. see James, "Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience,"

West Indies. They will never abandon their belief because it is a belief that they are superior to us.

On the other hand, even though Thelma felt strongly about being ignored by white co-tenants, she did not consistently assign this to racist feelings they may hold toward black people. Instead, in alluding that "maybe that is the Canadian way," she reasoned that it was due to their cultural make-up rather than their acting out of racial prejudice. In her reasoning, therefore, she did not see a link between culture and racism because of the potential of culture to mask racism. Thus, unlike her husband, Thelma perceived racism as less of a problem for her while positing that it was Norris who "has more problems than me with color."[34] Marva responded somewhat similarly:

> It is difficult to say. I do not mix too much. I meet nice and not so nice white people. I approach them with caution. Anywhere I work I am well liked. I think this race business depends on what kind of person you are.

Individual Racism

As practiced in democratic Canada, individual racism pertains to the belief, opinion, or attitude that one's own racial group has values, customs, and norms that are

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[34] In a study of Jamaican immigrants in Britain, Foner found similar differences between women and men in their sensitivity to prejudice and racial discrimination. Men mentioned instances of prejudices and racial discrimination more often than working and non-working women. Though the status of Jamaican women and men was affected by their color, by being defined as black by the vast majority of whites, she argues, that unlike Jamaican men, Jamaican women were cushioned from the bitter sting of prejudice by their role in the family. While, on the one hand, their role as homemakers and mothers severely restricted their employment opportunities and for many it was a source of considerable frustration, on the other hand, they received prestige in the family in their valued role as mothers. In the case of Jamaican men, they were good fathers but were especially sensitive to racial prejudice because it tended to confine them to low-status and rather poorly-paid jobs. see Nancy Foner. 1976. "Male and Female: Jamaican Migrants in London," *Anthropological Quarterly* 49, 1 (January): 28-35.

superior to others. Because it is rooted in the individual's belief system, individual racism

is a form of prejudice. Prejudice is described as "an emotionally rigid attitude...toward a

group of people. It involves not only prejudgment but...misjudgment as well. It is

categorical thinking that systematically misrepresents the facts."[35] When one's actions are

based on prejudicial attitudes held, individual racism, which leads to the practice of racial

discrimination, is said to be involved. Thus, individual racism in the form of racial

discriminatory actions is the behavioral expression of internalized prejudicial attitudes.

Individual racism can be delineated into two forms, red-necked and polite or subtle

racism. Red-necked racism refers to the kind of old-fashioned racism that prevailed in the

past but still remains in the present among some white Canadians. Red-necked racism is

explicit and has a highly personal character to it either through physical abuse or verbal

abuse through derogatory slurs on others who are perceived as culturally or biologically

inferior. Not intimated by being labeled racist, it is said that red-necked racists take great

pride in being labeled racist.[36] It is also suggested that red-necked racists are to be found in

those white supremacist groups that are still very much present in a democratic society such

as Canada.[37] Since red-necked racism is not so openly practiced as before, only one

participant spoke of an incident that can be interpreted as an encounter with it.

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[35] see Henry et al, *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, 45.

[36] see Augie Fleras. 2001. *Social Problems in Canada: Conditions, Constructions, and Challenges*, (3rd ed.), Toronto, ON: Prentice Hall.

[37] see Peter S. Li. 1995. "Racial Supremacism under Social Democracy," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 27, 1: 1-17; Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliot. 1999. *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic, and Aboriginal Dynamics in Canada*, (3rd ed.), Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada.

Brent reported that he once "cussed out" his white supervisor because of what he

considered to be a racially disparaging remark made when he was advising a fellow white

co-worker of a more efficient way to perform a certain task. To promote himself

wherever he worked, Brent was never reluctant to let other white co-workers know how

much skill, talent, and work acumen he possessed. He was therefore quite quick to

retaliate verbally when he felt that his racial background was being used to ridicule his

occupational status-enhancing qualities. He said that on hearing him give advise to a

white co-worker of:

> how to better do a task with cotton balls instead of a rag, the supervisor
> turned around and said that I should be listened to because I know about
> cotton. I turned around and cussed him out...I left the job there and
> then....

Having spent close to three years in the United States before migrating to Canada in

1967, Brent was very conscious of his racial identity and of the import of racial slights

within the North American context.

Unlike the openness of red-necked racism though, polite or subtle racism is quite

insidious or, rather, "less visible but no less virulent."[38] It is described "as a contrived

attempt to disguise a dislike of others through behaviour that outwardly is nonprejudicial

in appearance."[39] "[I]ts worst effects," it is said, "are camouflaged by a Teflon veneer of

tolerance and politeness."[40] Two other rather similar biting commentaries on subtle

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[38] Small, *Racialised Barriers: The Black Experience in the United States and England in the 1980s*, 12 citing A. Sivanandan. 1988. "The New Racism," *New Statesman and Society*, 4 November, 8.

[39] see Fleras et al, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic, and Aboriginal Dynamics in Canada*, 81.

[40] Ibid., 81; Ibid.. 2003. *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada*, (4th ed.), Toronto, ON: Prentice Hall, 56 citing Satzewich, *Racism*

racism are that it is "smiling discrimination"[41] and, according to Small, those who

practice it "...smile in your face and stab you in your back."[42] Such instances of polite or

subtle racism are said to be especially evident in the arena of immigrants' economic and

social incorporation experiences when racialized people are denied jobs, promotions, or

accommodations.[43] One illustration of an instance of polite or subtle racism provided by

Fleras and Elliot is when an employer claims that a job "is filled rather than admit 'no

blacks need apply' when approached by an undesirable applicant."[44] This illustration is

very much in line with Herberg's understanding of what he calls "individual-personal"

discrimination.

> 'Individual-Personal' discrimination is when an individual or small number
> of individuals with 'gatekeeping' functions in an organization illegally
> limit the rights of or access to resources for people of certain ethno-racial
> groups, against which the gatekeeper is prejudiced.[45]

and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance;
Frances Henry, Carol Tator, Winston Mathis, and Tim Rees. 2000. The Colour of
Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society, (2nd), Toronto, ON: Harcourt Brace & Company.

[41] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2001. White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era,
Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 138 citing Roy L. Brooks. 1990. Rethinking
The American Race Problem, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

[42] see Small, Racialised Barriers: The Black Experience in the United States and England
in the 1980s, 13.

[43] see Fleras et al, Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic, and Aboriginal
Dynamics in Canada, 81 citing Frances Henry and Effie Ginzberg. 1985. Who Gets the
Work? A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment, Toronto, ON: Urban Alliance on
Race Relations and the Social Planning of Metropolitan Toronto; Fleras, Social Problems in
Canada: Conditions, Constructions, and Challenges, 88.

[44] see Fleras et al, Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic, and Aboriginal
Dynamics in Canada, 81.

[45] see Edward N. Herberg. 1990. "The ethno-racial socioeconomic hierarchy in Canada:
theory and analysis of the vertical mosaic," International Journal of Comparative Sociology
31, 3-4: 208.

Subtle racism, rather than red-necked racism, was the worst kind of racism that many participants felt they have faced, and continue to face, in Canada. Their view was quite consistent to that of other blacks. For example, in a study of the perception and practice of discrimination against blacks in Toronto, Head reports that: "A large majority of the adult black respondents (184 or 89.8 percent) feel that discrimination is 'mostly subtle'. Only 15 respondents (7.3 percent) feel that discrimination is 'mostly overt'."[46] In particular though, the participants in this study tended to juxtapose and compare the subtle racism that they feel confronts them in Canada to what they perceive as the overt form that exists in the United States. Believing that overt racism lets "you know who your enemy is," Simon was extremely caustic in his comparison of racism between Canada and the United States. He seemed to encapsulate the deep feelings that participants had internalized about their welcome and stay in Canada.

> There are certain places in the States where you knew you were not wanted and would not go there...In the States, once you know that this is the side of the fence you are not to cross, you do not. At first, I thought that they were so wicked but if you know who your enemy is, then you are in good shape. Then you know who to look for and who to avoid. But in Canada, you do not know who the person is. They are so wicked. It is so subtle-so insidious. I would rather be told that I am not wanted here instead of saying that it is alright to come in here but once you get in here, you are so marginal and treated with scant courtesy that you feel not wanted.

While one cannot disagree with Simon's depiction of the nature of American racialized relations that occurred during the Jim Crow, pre-1960s, era, one cannot agree that it has persisted unaltered as he alludes. His description does not fit with what others

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[46] see Wilson A. Head. 1975. *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and the Practice of Discrimination*, Ontario, CA: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 151.

have declared is now its most predominant form in the post-Civil Rights, post-1960s, era

in the United States. As Bonilla-Silva, for example, so illuminatingly argues:

> the US racial structure (the specific set of social arrangements and
> practices that produce and reproduce a racial order) was reorganized in a
> fundamental way from the Jim Crow period to the post-civil rights era.
> Whereas white privilege was achieved through overt and usually explicitly
> racial practices, today …it is accomplished through institutional, subtle,
> and apparently nonracial means. In consonance with this post-civil rights
> racial structure, a new racial ideology has emerged…I reserve the term
> *racial ideology* for the racially based frameworks used by actors to explain
> and justify (dominant race) or challenge (subordinate race or races) the
> racial status quo…I label the new, post-civil rights racial ideology *color-
> blind racism*…[47]

Additionally, even though subtle racism is, according to Pamela, a participant,

"the worst kind that you do not see but feel the effect of in boardrooms etc.," other

participants also believed that they felt its effect in their search for housing

accommodation in the Greater Toronto Area. Orin, for example, relates an episode of

subtle racism in which he believed that he and his Afro-Trini girlfriend were not rented

an apartment because of their race.

> We were looking for an apartment and my friend's wife, who was a white
> Canadian, found one for us when she called and was told that the
> apartment was available. She gave us directions and we went to see the
> apartment and this white woman with a strong European accent said that
> the apartment was taken. We left but we found it a bit fishy. My friend's
> wife went back with us and was told that the apartment was available. She
> then motioned to us and we got out of the car and we confronted the
> landlord that we were told that the apartment was taken. We were invited
> to see it but we did not take up the invitation.

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[47] see Bonilla-Silva, *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, 11-12.
Other researchers cited by Bonilla-Silva who have noted the institutional and subtle nature
of racism in America are Brooks, *Rethinking the American Race Problem*; Robert C. Smith.
1995. *Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't*, Albany, NY:
State University of New York Press. For more on color-blind racism see, Eduardo Bonilla-
Silva. 2003. *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial
Inequality in the United States*, New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc..

By discriminating against Orin, this white landlord, very much like real estate agents in the United States,[48] sought to maintain spatial as well as social distance between white Canadians and black people.

This racist practice was in no way uncommon in the Greater Toronto Area. In his research on how students negotiated their cultural, racial, and ethnic identities, James, for example, reports on a similar experience one of his students had with what she deemed "darts of racism." This Afro-Trini female, who migrated to Canada from Trinidad in the early 1970s, reported:

> There were other incidents, like when my husband and I were looking for an apartment. We were told on the phone that an apartment was available. We made an appointment to see it and went there. The superintendent took a white couple to see the apartment and left us in the lobby, then returned and told us it was taken. We were living just across the street, so we walked home, phoned the same building and inquired, and were told by the same superintendent that the apartment was available. We got the message and started to look elsewhere.[49]

The parallels in the above accounts are quite clear. They also underscore the equivalence between accent and racial identity in the minds of some white Canadians. We can assume that neither Carol's nor her husband's accent sounded expressively Trini or Caribbean to the superintendent. Thus, while their accent, over the phone, may have symbolized Canadian whiteness, their presence certainly did not.

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[48] see Diana M. Pearce. 1979. "Gatekeepers and Homeseekers: Institutional Patterns in Racial Steering," *Social Problems* 26, 3 (February): 325-342; George C. Galster. 1990. "White Flight from Racially Integrated Neighborhoods in the 1970s: The Cleveland Experience," *Urban Studies* 27, 3: 385-399.

[49] see James, *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Ethnicity, Race and Culture*, 45.

Systemic and Institutional Racism

Systemic racism refers to the laws, rules, and norms in Canadian society that result in the denial of access or inequality to non-whites within a multiplicity of systems such as education, employment, housing, and human services, among others.[50] Though similar to systemic racism, institutional racism emerged from individual racism and operates through organizations, whether educational[51] or business. As Herberg describes it: "'Institutional'...here means that discrimination continues to be practised (if no longer officially) in some institutions in some locales against some minorities, even though it is illegal."[52] In general, systemic and institutional racism is reproduced and reinforced by the other dimensions of Canadian racism. It is largely this dimension of racism that accounts for the participants' perceptions of the barriers that they hold impede their upward mobility in Canada.

The upward mobility barriers that the participants perceived as racist ranged from:

a: Being offered mostly temporary, low-status jobs that were not commensurate to their education, skill, and training.
b: Denial of desired jobs because of a lack of Canadian experience.
c: Being denied job interviews because your Caribbean accent signified your race.
d: Putting an X on my aptitude test results because I am black.
e: Being told that you are too qualified.
f: Résumés signifying job applicants' race and being used to screen them out.
g: Earning less money than similarly placed white employees.

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[50] Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 24; Henry et al, *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, 48.

[51] Increasing allegations of racism have been leveled at Canadian universities by students, progressive faculty members, and minority community members. see Frances Henry and Carol Tator. 1994. "Racism and the University," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 26, 3: 74-90.

[52] see Herberg, "The ethno-racial socioeconomic hierarchy in Canada: theory and analysis of the vertical mosaic" 208.

h: Being passed over for promotion despite having qualifications
similar to or better than white employees.

i: As the only non-white member of a work group, in not having your
contributions valued nor acted upon as if they came from you.

These upward mobility barriers are addressed in the order presented.

While participants acquired a few first jobs through networking with relatives and friends, the majority was obtained through referrals from employment agencies. For instance, June stated that she was informed by Canadian immigration officials in Trinidad that she should register with an employment referral agency in Canada as soon as possible. However, even though they depended on employment referral agencies to obtain work, it was the opinion of many that, by supplying them with mostly temporary factory work, the agencies were very discriminatory in their employment referral practices. In describing his job search experiences with employment referral agencies, Norris explains that:

> It was easier in certain areas and difficult in others. In factory work,
> it is easy for West Indians to get a job. I never had a problem in
> getting factory jobs but there are other higher level jobs of more
> status that I had problems in getting and so jobs of substance were
> harder to get.

When they sought more permanent and higher status jobs, they were told that they did not have the necessary Canadian experience for such jobs. For example, in describing her early incorporation experiences in the Canadian labor market, June relates that:

> When I came to Canada, I was doing over eighty words a minute and
> shorthand. Manpower[53] would send me to different companies and I would
> go and take the test and pass but yet I would be asked about what Canadian
> experience I possess. But you see, home, I had only worked for a little while
> as a clerk typist after I had completed school and since I came up here soon

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[53] Manpower is the largest temporary and fulltime employment referral agency in Canada and worldwide. see Naomi Klein. 2000. *No space, no choice, no jobs, no logo: taking aim at the brand bullies*, Toronto, ON: Vintage Canada.

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after, I did not gain much work experience in anyway. But when I was
working in my first job, I felt that I can do better than this. I did not come
to Canada for this. I felt that I can better myself. I found that job was too
menial and no education was needed to do it. I felt that I had a sufficient
educational background to do something that made me feel that I was
contributing something in relation to my education. I am very observant
and I observed how the workers in the companies were doing their jobs
and I felt that I too can do the job. That is the motivation that kept me
going and I felt that I cannot just sit back and accept that.

Other female participants, such as Aretha, related similar incidents whereby their lack of

Canadian experience was used by employers to bar their acquisition of jobs that they felt

were commensurate to their education, skill, and training.[54] Utilizing the lack of Canadian

experience as an upward mobility barrier is considered by some scholars as a blatant form

of discrimination. Sen, for example, "perceives it as a blatant form of discrimination, for it

is unjust to admit an immigrant to Canada on the basis of his skills, and then after arrival

refuse him permission to practise his skills because of his lack of experience."[55]

It was also exceedingly difficult for the participants to secure "jobs of substance"

on their own by responding to newspaper advertisements. Whenever they responded by

telephone requesting an interview, many felt that their Caribbean accent signified their

race and this barred them from being offered a job interview. In experiencing this form of

auditory discrimination, Ulric, whose first job in Canada was as a temporary factory

laborer, said that, even though he did not reveal that he was from Trinidad, "whenever I

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[54] It was also reported that a 31 year old chemical engineer from Iran applied to 700 to
800 companies with no job prospects. Consequently, he had to work at a pizzeria for $10
an hour. see Jean Lock Kunz, Anne Milan, and Sylvain Schetagne. 2001. Unequal
Access: A Canadian Profile of Racial Differences in Education, Employment and
Income, A Report prepared for Canadian Race Relations Foundation, Canadian Council
on Social Development. [Online] Available. http://www.crr.ca/ EN/ MediaCentre/
NewsReleases/ eMedCen_ NewsRe20010110.htm citing the Toronto Star 1999.

[55] see Ramcharan, *Racism: Non-Whites in Canada*, 71 citing J. Sen. 1977. "The Price of
Canadian Experience," Rikka 4, 3 & 4: 21-32.

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call up for a job interview, I was told sorry it is filled and it is because of my accent." The

practice of cultural racism is also very much apparent here. Ulric's belief that he was

discriminated against because of his accent was in no way conjectural. His perception of

racism reflected in his experience is borne out by an unprecedented series of field testing

carried out in the Greater Toronto Area in 1984.

Who Gets the Work? was the first attempt in Canada of a direct testing of racial

discrimination in employment by utilizing male and female individuals, white and black,

to apply for advertised positions in order to find out if employers discriminate by

preferring white to non-white employees.[56] These individuals applied for the same jobs

and presented identical qualifications through in-person testing and telephone testing.

The findings strongly confirmed, as well as measured, the continued existence of racial

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[56] The researchers who conducted the study describes *Who Gets the Work?* as one of those relatively rare social science studies that provided members of Canada's non-white population, especially blacks, with strong empirical evidence of the racism they allege they experience in the Canadian labor market. Over the eighteen years since its publication, it has remained one of the most often cited studies in the literature on racial discrimination in employment in Canada. see Frances Henry and Effie Ginzberg. 1985. *Who Gets the Work? A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment*, Toronto, ON: Urban Alliance on Race Relations and the Social Planning of Metropolitan Toronto Somewhat similar findings were obtained in a most recent field study conducted by a research group in Grande Prairie, Alberta in August 2000. Closely replicating the above study, two women with exactly the same profile, except one was aboriginal and the other white, were sent to make enquiries about rental accommodations and low-level retail and service industry employment. The researchers were meticulous in ensuring the two women presented the same profile so that they were basically the same in every way except skin color. The white woman was consistently told that work was available and rental suites were open more often for her than for the aboriginal woman. The gap only narrowed when the rental accommodation enquiries were made by phone or if the job would not require contact with the public. see Mark Evans. 2000. "The Realities of Racism," *Daily Herald Tribune*, March 30, 21. In the case of Britain, as early as the 1960s and 1970s, a series of test had provided similar results. see Collin Brown. 1992. "'Same Difference': The Persistence of Racial Disadvantage in the British Market" in Peter Braham, Ali Rattansi and Richard Skellington, *Racism and Antiracism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 53.

discrimination in employment in Canada. For example, in telephone testing, testers with

different accents such as a white Canadian accent, a Slavic or Italian accent, a Jamaican

accent, and a Pakistani accent, called a total of 237 job numbers. The different jobs called

ranged from unskilled labor, secretarial, service, skilled, to managerial. Though having

the same qualifications and experiences as white Canadian caller-applicants, there were 9

instances in which caller-applicants without white Canadian accents were told that they

did not qualify for the job. On the other hand, it was found that the same 9 employers had

told the white Canadian caller-applicants that they qualified and were invited to apply for

the job. In toto, the results of the telephone testing revealed that in order to secure 10

potential job interviews, a non-white Canadian-born and non-white immigrant had to

work harder and longer by having to make 18 calls while a white Canadian had to make

about 11 to 12 calls and a white immigrant had to make about 13 calls.[57]

Highly educated non-white immigrants did not fare much better when in search of

prestigious careers. In a study of the job search and career experiences of visible minority

Master of Business Administration (MBA) graduates who had graduated from Ontario

universities since 1975, Zureik and Hiscott report that they submitted more job

applications and took more interviews than white respondents but received fewer job

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[57] Other researchers have also reported on the signification of accent as a race marker.
For example, James reports on how surprised an interviewer was on one occasion and a
supervisor on another occasion to discover that one of the participants in his study, who
had acquired a job, was black. According to the participant, it was "...because she has 'no
accent,' and because the organizations had little experience with Black applicants, the
telephone callers merely assumed that she was White." see James, "Getting There and
Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience" 10-11.

offers. And, even when employed in prestigious jobs, they continued to feel that there

was discrimination against their group.[58]

In this present study, participants also believed that since résumés provided

information on where they had acquired their education as well as work experience, and

all except Brent had done all of their schooling in Trinidad before migrating, that they

also signified applicants' race and were used to screen them out. Aretha, for example, was

of the opinion that:

> There is not much on a résumé that will say that you are black. But they
> can know from your education and experience that you are black. They
> would read and know. And, you know when the job market is tight who
> will be getting the first call. And, again when you do not have any
> Canadian experience.

Others who were fortunate to bypass the interview stage did not fare any better.

Simon recounted an experience he had of perceived discrimination because of his race.

> I remember applying for a job at a (name of financial institution) and I
> wrote an aptitude test for an hour. After I had written the test, and left, I
> returned because I had forgotten my pen. I returned just in time to see this
> guy who gave me the test put one big red X mark across it. I was new to
> Canada so I did not know of the consequences of what he had done. I
> discussed it with my landlady and I told her that what bothered me most
> was not the X but the time I had wasted. Once you know that I am black,
> give me an excuse but do not waste my time. There were other
> experiences in which I was told that I was too qualified.

In being paid a lower wage than that of white employees who were less qualified

and less skilled and in being overlooked for promotion, participants also felt that they

encountered racism within the Canadian workplace. Entering Canada from the United

States with a three year technical degree, as mentioned, Brent first worked as a printer

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[58] see E. Zureik and Robert Hiscott. 1983. *The Experience of Visible Minorities in the Work World: The Case of MBA Graduates*, Report Submitted to the Race Relations Division of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, Ontario Ministry of Labour.

with a commercial printing company. He worked there for five months and left when he realized that he was being paid a weekly wage of $95.00 while less qualified and less skilled, white operators were receiving a weekly wage of $135.00. According to Brent:

> I was showing everyone at the plant how to do the work the right way. They were doing their work the wrong way. In thinking about this, I went to the boss and asked him about the wage difference since I learned my trade in the US and have papers to back it while the guy who does not know what the hell he is doing is making more than me. I told him that I am not just a printer here and that I carry out many functions here from the beginning to the end of the production line. I am skilled while he is only a machine operator. I was told that the guy was with the company for a long time. I asked what is a long time and I was not told. But he told me that I am lucky because it is not easy for *people of my kind* (emphasis mine) to pick and choose work. I had already made up my mind that I was leaving and I left the office with everyone watching me.

Participants also believed that they spent an inordinately long period of time in temporary employment within an organization and were not promoted by being offered a permanent position, no matter how well they worked. Compared to having been a member of the coast guard in Trinidad before migrating to Canada, Frank's occupational status was reduced with the acquisition of his first job as a machinist. He relates how exceedingly difficult it was for him to advance up the occupational ladder when overlooked for promotion in favor of white workers.

> In Canada, there was discrimination in the workplace. No matter how good I was, I was kept in one place for a long time. For example, I remained a machinist for over a year while white guys were promoted. I was the only black guy there for two years.

Problems in moving up the occupational ladder or in shattering the promotional "race ceiling"[59] were not particular to private sector employment but was also

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[59] "Race ceiling" is derived from the "glass ceiling" concept. According to James, the "glass ceiling" concept "refers to limitations in achievement." James also notes that in referring to racial minorities, Fleras and Elliot (1992: 100) point out: "If not openly barred from certain occupations, many find themselves shunted into menial and unskilled

experienced within Ontario's public service as well. Before migrating to Canada in 1980,

Norris had worked as a clerical officer in the public service of the government of

Trinidad and Tobago. A run-in with his supervisor resulted in him leaving his first

Canadian job as a temporary laborer in a printing firm. He held many other temporary

laboring jobs in the private sector after that until he landed his present temporary public

service job through an employment referral agency. He feels, however, that his inability

to be promoted to a permanent position within the public service of the Ontario provincial

government is due largely to rampant racial discrimination throughout its departments.[60]

During our interview conversation, Norris was quite hurt and embittered that he

has not been able to secure a permanent position despite having improved on his

educational qualifications with the completion of an undergraduate degree in Canada and

the accumulation of Canadian experience with close to ten years of stellar service. His

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occupations with little in the way of remuneration, security, or prospects for promotion."
Similarly, he presents Weinfeld (1990) as also noting: "equal opportunity exists for
Canada's White immigrant groups. Visible minorities still have far to go..." see James,
"Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience" 11.

[60] It is worthy to note that the purpose of the Employment Equity Act passed in 1986 was
to ensure equity in the workplaces so that no one is denied access to employment and
benefits for reasons unrelated to his/her abilities. A specific goal of the Act is to alleviate
the disadvantaged conditions experienced by women, persons with disabilities,
Aboriginal people, and visible minorities with respect to employment. Employers
designated under the Act must submit an annual report to the federal government
showing the extent to which these four groups are statistically represented among their
employees. The Act was revised and adopted, as revised, by the Canadian Parliament in
December 1995, strengthening the legislation and bringing the public service, the Royal
Canadian Mounted Police, and the military within the purview of the Act. However, it
applies to only 5 percent of the Canadian workforce, namely federally regulated and
crown corporations with more than a 100 employees. It does not cover provincial
governments or the private sector. see Kunz et al, Unequal Access: A Canadian Profile of
Racial Differences in Education, Employment and Income, A Report prepared for
Canadian Race Relations Foundation; T. John Samuel and Aly Karam. 2000.
"Employment Equity for Visible Minorities" in Driedger et al, Race and Racism: Canada's
Challenge, 134-149.

case is therefore emblematic of the systemic and institutional upward mobility barriers

that qualified, hardworking Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, immigrants face even

in Canada's public service.

> There was so much discrimination throughout the government. My job
> and educational experiences have increased tremendously and no matter
> how many times I applied I will always be turned down. I have always
> been great during interviews and I can never be told what I have done
> wrong but I cannot get the job. There was nothing they could tell me that
> would warrant a rejection. The person who got the position was always
> white. There was never a black person and that really hit hard. There was
> another position that I wanted and I spent nights reading the job manual
> and I did not get it and that hurt and I really studied for it and I felt that
> was for me. I still did not get it. I learnt so much. Every question posed I
> answered and they were impressed during the interview but I did not get it.
> All interviewers were white except for one black. One of the guards who
> worked there also told me of the problems he was experiencing in trying
> to move up. There was a lot of discrimination ...

An inverse relationship tends to exists between occupational status positions and

the numerical and proportional representation of certain people in these positions in Canada

as elsewhere. Numerically and proportionally, many more non-white people, especially

blacks for example, occupy lower occupational status positions than higher occupational

status positions in white host societies. As such, the higher up the occupational status

ladder a black individual travels, that is, the more upward occupational mobility

experienced, the less likely she/he will encounter other blacks or other non-whites. It is in

the workplace therefore, that those participants who had achieved a large measure of

upward occupational mobility and attained high level positions found themselves members

of racially-skewed groups in which they were the sole black or non-white person. It is

because they were in such skewed situations that successful participants felt their perceived

racist experiences had a lot to do with this highly disproportionate racial imbalance.[61] Their

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[61] Feelings of loneliness can also be an unintended consequential experience of such

experiences thus belie "the assumption that the higher the individual ascends along the occupational and educational ladder the less likely racial and ethnic discrimination are to be a central issue of concern"[62]

As the only non-white members in white work groups, these participants were of the opinion that their contributions neither were valued nor acted upon as if they came from them because of who they were. At one time, Simon, for example, was the only non-white faculty member among more numerous whites in the college in which he teaches. He relates his experience of the negative impact of this racial imbalance in regard to neither having his contributions valorized nor acted upon as if they were his. Simon said that on many occasions he had suggested ways to improve the program content of the college without having them either acknowledged or followed. He believed, he said, that "there was an association between the value of the suggestions and who made them." Nonetheless, he found that some of his suggestions eventually were implemented without credit ever having been given to him. He recounts, for example, that he has:

> ...been suggesting for the longest while the establishment of a multimedia computer center at the college and with the understanding that since I am the most qualified person there that I will head it. They skirted the issue and dropped the ball and what I saw was that my suggestions were then taken and sanitized and reprocessed by someone else and come back as someone else's ideas...

Much of what have been written on the economic incorporation experiences of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada have dealt with some, as well as others, of the

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upward mobility as well. see James, "Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience,"

[62] see Zureik et al, The Experience of Visible Minorities in the Work World: The Case of MBA Graduates, 1.

above perceptual experiences of the Afro-Trini participants. However, even though some of the earlier studies did not reveal that there was an absolute color bar in Canada, they, as Walker suggests, did provide a distinct set of impressions concerning blacks' experiences with perceived racism, the attitude of whites towards blacks, and some more objective information indicative of the blacks' place in Canada.[63]

A consistent finding was that a majority of black people, both immigrant and Canadian-born, believed that they had suffered in finding a job, gaining promotion, or working at a level commensurate to their education, skill, and training. They consistently reported that housing discrimination, particularly in acquiring rental accommodations, and employment discrimination were serious problems, while a feeling of non-acceptance by white Canadians was generally pervasive. For example, in a study conducted on racial minorities in Toronto, Head reports that 90 percent of Blacks and 72 percent of South Asians felt "some" or a "great deal" of discrimination when seeking housing, employment, and community services. In contrast, only 35 percent of European respondents reported on such discrimination. The schools and the media were also criticized for perpetuating biased images of blacks. Moreover, evidence confirming blacks' allegations of racial discrimination was gleaned from samples of white opinion. Surveys ranking blacks as the least acceptable neighbors or marriage partners reflected the same patterns as were perceived by blacks. A majority of white Canadians admitted to some degree of racial bias, and about one-third reported that they would move if many black people moved into their neighborhood. Specific characteristics were also attributed to blacks by some white persons surveyed, showing that stereotypes derived from slavery

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[63] James W. St. G. Walker. 1985. *Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience*, Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, Historical Booklet No. 41: 20.

still persisted. Substantial proportions of whites believed that blacks were lazy, unmotivated, lacking in intelligence and discipline, primarily of the lower class, and a drain on welfare and unemployment funds. Despite the variety of backgrounds and skills, training, and experience possessed by blacks in Canada, there remained a tendency to ignore these varied and vital characteristics by simplifying them in terms of traditional images.[64]

To the impressionistic evidence from survey samples were added objective data illustrating blacks' position in society. Analyses of employment statistics showed that occupational concentration remained a fact, with most blacks' position in society still clustered in lower status and service sectors. It was also the case that in most parts of Canada, blacks had a higher unemployment rate than the local average. Testing for employment discrimination by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association found that a majority of employment agencies would agree to screen out non-white job applicants. It was further shown statistically that once hired, blacks suffered significant income disadvantages, appearing as a group at the lowest end of the wage scale without regard for education, skill, and training. All this was confirmed by the federal government's immigration review in 1974, which showed that blacks enjoyed less upward occupational and social mobility than other Canadian groups. While the income differential was in part a consequence of blacks' segregation in the poorly paid service category, an Ontario Human Rights Commission study in 1983 reported that non-white individuals who held MBA degrees earned 25 percent less than whites with the same degree and the same professional qualifications. Walker concludes that:

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[64] Ibid., 20-21. Also, see Driedger et al, "Public Opinion on Visible Minorities" 157 for Head 1981 study.

Although the numerous studies and surveys had been prompted by fear of physical violence, they resulted in the exposure of widespread 'structural' discrimination and a convincing profile of black disadvantage shared, to various extents, by other visible Canadian minority groups. By the mid-1980s it was apparent that racial discrimination did exist in Canada and that it could not be defined in terms of violent episodes or any other individual actions. It was not the product of open hostility or even of conscious activity of any kind. A syndrome had been revealed, a vicious circle in which negative stereotyping, limited opportunity, and economic disadvantage continually supported each other.[65]

Using data from the 1986 Canadian census, Henry therefore finds it striking that, in Canada as a whole and in Ontario in particular, Afro-Caribbean immigrant women and men had high labor force participation rates of more than 75 percent.[66] For the Greater Toronto Area, the figure of nearly 79 percent for women was more than that of white Canadian-born women and that of 86 percent of men was slightly more than that of white Canadian-born men. To Henry, these "figures indicate that contrary to popular opinion, Caribbean migrants are as involved in the workforce as Canadian-born people."[67] Nonetheless, it was found that there were stark differences in the kinds of jobs held by Afro-Caribbean immigrants to those held by members of the white Canadian-born population. While there were not many Afro-Caribbean immigrants who occupied managerial, technical, and supervisory positions compared to members of the white Canadian-born population, they were overly concentrated in manual positions than members of the white Canadian-born population. In the non-filling of managerial positions, this affected women more than men. In 1986, as well, Afro-Caribbean women of all age groups earned less income than Afro-Caribbean men. More than likely, this

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[65] Ibid., 21.

[66] see Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 103.

[67] Ibid., 104.

income disparity was due to the double burden of racial and gender occupational

segregation of Afro-Caribbean women in poorly-paid service jobs.[68] As one of the signs

of the existence of racial discrimination in employment, one scholar sees Afro-Caribbean

women's occupational segregation as the consequence of the triple oppression of being a

woman, being an immigrant, and being black in Canada, and the place these women

occupy in the Canadian labor market.[69]

Quantitative Evidence of Racism:
Education, Occupation, and Income Compared

Some original tables constructed with data from the 1996 Canadian census on the

educational, occupational, and income status of members of the Caribbean-origin

population, white Canadian-born population, and the Chinese, South Asian, and Black

non-white populations provide more recent evidence of the continued existence of

systemic and institutional racism in Canada. Education, occupation, and income are

highly correlated in Canada,[70] but they also reflect different dimensions of its system of

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[68] see Hugh Armstrong and Pat Armstrong. 1975. "The segregated participation of women in the Canadian labour force 1941-71," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12, 4 (Part 1): 370-384; Monica Boyd. 1985. "Immigration and Occupational Attainment in Canada" in Monica Boyd, John Goyder, Frank E. Jones, Hugh H. McRoberts, Peter C. Pineo, and John Porter (eds.), *Ascription and Achievement: Studies in Mobility and Status Attainment in Canada*, Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 393-445; Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario;" Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*.

[69] see Myriam Merlet. 1987. "Black Women Immigrants" in Kathleen Storrie (ed.), *Women: Isolation and Bonding*, Toronto, ON: Methuen, 159-175.

[70] James Curtis, Edward Grabb, and Neil Guppy. 1999. *Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems, Policies*, (3rd ed.), Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada Inc., 49, 52.

social stratification. Hence, to detect the existence of systemic and institutional racism, it

is necessary to examine the causal links between education, occupation, and income.[71]

Some scholars have therefore continued to find that while there are members of non-

white immigrant populations in Canada who have high educational attainments, due

either to the selectivity of immigration or to high aspirations and individual efforts, when

compared to members of the white Canadian-born population, they have lower

occupational returns from this education and consequently lower income. Similarly, the

same type of occupation may yield different incomes for members of different non-white

immigrant populations.[72]

Education Compared

Table 8.1 compares the highest level of education achieved by members of the

Caribbean-origin and the white Canadian-born population, 15 years and over, by 1995,

when the census was taken. It is quite clear that members of the Caribbean-origin

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[71] Herberg recommends this approach in which he metaphorically presents education as the fuel for the socioeconomic engine in Canadian society and occupation and income as steering the direction of the socioeconomic travel of Canada's ethno-racial groups. see Herberg, "The ethno-racial socioeconomic hierarchy in Canada: theory and analysis of the vertical mosaic,"

[72] see T. R. Balakrishan. 1988. "Immigration and the changing ethnic mosaic of Canadian cities," Report for The Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy, Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada; Roderic Beaujot and Peter J. Rappak. 1988. "The role of immigration in changing socioeconomic structures," Report for The Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy, Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada; Warren E. Kalbach and Madeline A. Richard. 1988. "Ethnic-religious identity, acculturation, and social and economic achievement of Canada's post-war minority populations," Report for The Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy, Toronto, University of Toronto: Population Research Laboratory; Feng Hou and T.R. Balakrishnan. 1999. "The Economic Integration of Minorities in Contemporary Canadian Society" in Curtis et al, *Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems, Policies*, 214-225.

population are not on Canada's educational fringe but represent a highly educated

segment of its population, to the extent of even achieving a higher proportion (34

percent) of post-secondary and technical education than members of the white Canadian-

born population (29 percent).[73] Meanwhile, a lower proportion (31 percent) of the

Caribbean-origin population achieved a primary level education compared to the white

Canadian-born population to do so (35 percent). On the other hand, a similar proportion

(14 percent) of the Caribbean-origin population achieved a secondary level education

while a slightly lower proportion (21 percent) achieved a tertiary and university level of

education to the 22 percent of members of the white Canadian-born population.

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[73] As reported in the 1921 and 1931 censuses, even as early as that, blacks, of which a small Caribbean-origin population would have been a part, had lower illiteracy rates than Asian, Korean, Italian, Polish, and Ukrainian groups. And, in the 1981 census, available figures show that they were amongst the groups, they were numerous then, with quite low proportions of its members with only an elementary level of education, that is, less than a 9th grade education. Figures also supplied in the 1981 census on post-secondary schooling attained, that is, formal schooling at the college or university level, provide further evidence of the higher reaches of educational status attained by blacks in Canada. With 41 percent of them having attained post-secondary education, alongside Japanese, they were fifth in line after the Filipino (59 percent), Jewish (53 percent), East Indian (46 percent), and Korean (43 percent) groups while doing better than other European origin groups such as Scandinavian (40 percent), Dutch (39 percent), British (38 percent), German (37 percent), Polish (35 percent), Ukrainian (32 percent), French (29 percent), and Italian (23 percent). Thus, Herberg finds that "it is quite remarkable that of the top one-third of groups in 1981 post-secondary education, five of the sixth highest are visible minority groups, the Jewish are the remaining ethnicity...The British...once at or near the pinnacle, have fallen or displaced, by the very groups that were far beneath them in the Canada of yesteryear..." Herberg credits this shift in the educational hierarchy to the selectiveness of Canada's immigration policy since the late 1960s that favored the admission of immigrants with formal educational and occupational credentials. see Herberg, "The ethno-racial socioeconomic hierarchy in Canada: theory and analysis of the vertical mosaic" 210-213. Also, see Kunz et al, Unequal Access: A Canadian Profile of Racial Differences in Education, Employment and Income, A Report prepared for Canadian Race Relations Foundation where they report that regardless of age, non-white immigrants were enrolled in post-secondary institutions in higher proportions to members of the white Canadian-born population.

In addition, Table 8.2 presents a breakdown of the total number of members of the

Caribbean-origin population, 15 years and over, who earned certificates and diplomas

Table 8.1
Highest Level of Education Achieved by the Caribbean-Origin Population
and the White Canadian-Born Population, 1996
15 Years and Over

Education Level	Caribbean -origin	%	White Canadian- born	%
Primary	100,404	31	7,868,000	35
Secondary	44,532	14	3,238,590	14
Post-Secondary/Technical	115,164	34	6,324,660	29
Tertiary/University	67,788	21	5,197,660	22
Total	327,888	100	22,628,910	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Population Census, Selected Characteristics
for Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 100% and 20% Sample Data;
Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% Sample Data.

less than the level of a Bachelor's degree and those whose educational achievements were

above that of a Bachelor's degree by 1995. Many more members of the Caribbean-origin

population earned Bachelor's degrees than any other higher accreditation. Following the

20,142 who earned Bachelor's degrees, there were 5,724 who earned Master's degrees,

with lower totals for individuals who earned Medical, Dentistry, and Veterinary Science

degrees (1,152) as well as Doctorate (Ph.D.) degrees (972). Though, comparable figures

were not obtained for the white Canadian-born population as a whole, these figures

suggest that as members of the Caribbean-origin population in Canada, Afro-Trini, and

other Afro-Caribbean, immigrants, may have, by 1995, achieved accreditation at the

highest levels of learning in Canada.

An indication that the educational attainment of Afro-Trini immigrants was most

likely high, as well as higher in certain educational levels, than that of members of the

white Canadian-born population is gleaned from a study by Ornstein on the significant

disadvantage in education, employment, and income that ethno-racial groups experience

in the City of Toronto.[74] In analyzing the 1996 Canadian census, the study provides data

Table 8.2
Caribbean-Origin Population by
Less than Bachelor's Degree and Above Bachelor's Degree, 1996
Age 15 Years and Over

Highest Degree, Certificate, Diploma	Total
Less than Bachelor's Degree	299,628
Bachelor's Degree	20,142
Medical/Dentistry/Veterinarian Degrees	1,152
Master's Degree	5,724
Doctorate Degree (Ph.D.)	972
Total	327,618

Source: 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% sample.

on the highest level of education attained by members of the immigrant population from

Trinidad and Tobago. In Table 8.3, this data is compared with that of members of the

white Canadian-born population. A considerably lower proportion (19.4 percent) of the

immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago who were between the ages of 25 and

64 in 1995 when the census was taken had not completed high school (no high school and

some high school) compared to 33.2 percent of the similarly aged members of the white

Canadian-born population. Meanwhile, while the percentage (26.2 percent) of immigrants

from Trinidad and Tobago graduating from high school was negligibly higher than the

proportion (25.5 percent) of members of the white Canadian-born population,

approximately 50 percent more immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago graduated from

trade schools than members of the white Canadian-born population. Moreover, at the

level of college graduate, the proportion (23.9 percent) of immigrants from Trinidad and

Tobago with college degrees was far higher than the proportion (13.1 percent) of

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[74] see Michael Ornstein. 1996. *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census*, Institute for Social Research, York University, Toronto.

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members of the white Canadian-born with such degrees. Even at the level of completing

some university studies, the proportion (2.5 percent) is slightly higher for immigrants

Table 8.3
**Highest Level of Education Achieved by the Immigrant Population from
Trinidad and Tobago and the White Canadian-Born Population, 1996,
Age 25-64 Years**

Education Level	Immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago %	White Canadian-born Population %
No High School	6.3	8.2
Some High School	13.1	25.0
High School Graduate	26.2	25.5
Trade School Graduate	15.8	7.1
College Graduate	23.9	13.1
Some University	2.5	2.1
University Graduate	10.1	14.8
M.A. Degree and Higher	2.2	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Adapted from Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto:
An Analysis of the 1996 Census*, 36-37.

from Trinidad and Tobago. However, at the completion of higher levels of education, that

is, university graduates and higher, members of the white Canadian-born population

recorded much higher proportions to the immigrant population from Trinidad and

Tobago, with 14.8 percent to 10.1 percent and 4.2 percent to 2.2 percent members of the

white Canadian-born population to immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago graduating

with Bachelor's and higher degrees respectively.

Occupation Compared

All in all then, given the strong possibility that a substantial proportion of

members of the Caribbean-origin population, 15 years and over, may have been able to

hold their own educationally with members of the white Canadian-born population

coupled with evidence that some immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago in the City of

Toronto may be among some of the more well-educated, one would expect to find Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, immigrants employed in similar occupations, especially in management occupations, in similar or near similar proportions to members of the white Canadian-born population. The evidence strongly suggests, however, that this is unlikely.

Table 8.4 provides a numerical and proportional breakdown of the occupational distribution of members of the Caribbean-origin and white Canadian-born population, 15 years and over, who worked mostly fulltime in Canada in 1995 and reported in the 1996 Canadian census. Overall, while there were similar proportions of members of the Caribbean-origin and white Canadian-born populations in health occupations such as nursing and in art, culture, recreation and sport occupations, there were variations in the proportions of members in other occupations. Of significance, the proportion of members of the Caribbean-origin population in management occupations was notably lower than the proportion of members of the white Canadian-born population in such occupations. Five percent of the members of the Caribbean-origin population were in management occupations in relation to 9 percent of the white Canadian-born population. It is evident that members of the Caribbean-origin population had a considerably higher proportional representation in the skilled, manual occupations than members of the white Canadian-born population. Thirteen percent of them were in occupations unique to processing and in manufacturing utilities to 8 percent of those similarly occupied members of the white Canadian-born population. Meanwhile, a higher proportion (10 percent) of them held positions in the social science, education, government service, and religion, with a slightly higher proportion (27 percent) in sales and service occupations

to similarly occupied members of the white Canadian-born population. There were also

slightly lower proportions of members of the Caribbean-origin population in natural and

Table 8.4
Caribbean-Origin and White Canadian-Born Population by Occupation,[75] 1996,
15 Years and Over

Occupations	Caribbean-origin	%	White Canadian-born	%
Management Occupations	11,016	5	1,289,125	9
Business, finance, and administrative occupations	51,516	23	2,718,250	19
Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	8,784	4	712,495	5
Health occupations	10,728	5	719,450	5
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	22,464	10	975,385	7
Occupations in art, culture, recreation, and sport	6,048	3	386,315	3
Sales and service occupations	61,560	27	3,724,430	26
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	23,652	10	2,018,355	14
Occupations unique to primary industry	1,980	1	680,690	5
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing utilities	29,700	13	1,093,040	8
Total	**227,448**	**100[a]**	**14,317,535**	**100[a]**

Source: Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Population Census, Selected Characteristics for Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 100% and 20% Sample Data.
[a] Does not add up to 100% due to rounding.

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[75] Members of the Caribbean-origin and white Canadian-born population in management occupations would include senior managers and other managers; those in business, finance, and administrative occupations would include business and finance professionals, administrative support staff, and clerical workers; those in natural and applied science and related occupations would include scientists and technicians; those in health occupations would include registered nurses; those in occupations in social science, education, government service, and religion would include researchers, teachers, and other public servants; those in art, culture, recreation, and sport would include professional entertainers, athletes, baseball, hockey, football players etc.; those in sales and service occupations would include retail salespersons, chefs, cooks, members of the protective services, domestic service workers; those in occupations unique to primary industry would include those in farming, forestry, and mining; and those in occupations unique to processing, manufacturing utilities would include manufacturing, mechanical, and fabrication workers.

applied sciences and related occupations (4 percent), with a notably lower proportion (1

percent) of members employed in primary industry occupations.

However, even though it also applies to the educational distribution of members

of the Caribbean-origin population in Table 8.2, it must be noted at this point that

caution must be taken in interpreting the results from this occupational distribution as

well as the following income distribution. Since these data pertain to members of the

Caribbean-origin population in Canada as a whole, in which there are sizeable portions

of Canadian-born, but of Caribbean ancestry, persons and Caribbean immigrants, they

do not present us with accurate occupational profiles of the Caribbean immigrants in

Canada. For instance, it is more than likely that in being educated and, in living and

working in Canada longer than more recently arrived Caribbean immigrants, that

Canadian-born persons of Caribbean ancestry may have achieved higher educational,

occupational, and income levels than Caribbean-born persons in Canada. Nonetheless, in

examining data from the 1991 Canadian census, James, Plaza, and Jansen found that

"[w]hether born in Canada or having immigrated at a young age, men and women of

Caribbean-origin all seemed to be at a disadvantage in the world of work, even if they

had completed some or most of their primary, secondary, or post-secondary education in

Canada."[76]

From the above table then, one can deduce that, even though members of the

Caribbean-origin population in Canada as well immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago in

the City of Toronto compared educationally quite well with members of the white

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[76] see C. James, D. Plaza, and C. Jansen. 1999. "Issues of Race in Employment:
Experiences of Caribbean women in Toronto," *Caribbean Woman Studies* 19, 3:
129-130.

Canadian-born population, as significant members of the Caribbean-origin population in Canada, Afro-Trini immigrants, especially Afro-Trini female immigrants, may surely have remained disproportionately less employed in high-status and high-income management positions to members of the white Canadian-born population in 1995 as they were some ten years earlier. Moreover, both men and women may also have been overly represented in such skilled, manual occupations as processing and manufacturing and sales and services.[77]

There is clear empirical evidence that suggests that this is indeed the case with immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago who reside in the City of Toronto. Once more Ornstein's study provides us with census data to compare the occupational distribution of female and male immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago and white Canadian-born women and men in the City of Toronto.[78] Table 8.5 shows that there were rather extremely lower proportions of female and male immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago in such high-level occupations as high-level manager, middle manager, and professional. It is only at the level of higher non-manual do we see a bit of parity in the proportions. Meanwhile, there were much higher proportions of female and male immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago

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[77] Richmond also found that Afro-Caribbean women who arrived in the decade, 1971-1981, were heavily over-represented in the processing and manufacturing industries, the proportion being three times more than that of Canadian-born women. In the case of Afro-Caribbean men arriving in that decade, they too were relatively concentrated in processing and, to a lesser extent, in service occupations. see Anthony H. Richmond. 1988. "Caribbean Immigrants in Britain and Canada: Socio-economic Adjustment," *International Migration* 26, 4 (December): 369.

[78] see Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census.*

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in lower non-manual occupations to that of the white Canadian-born population while the

proportions were not so starkly different for those in lower manual occupations. For male

immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago, it is only in the skilled manual and supervisory

Table 8.5
Immigrant Population from Trinidad and Tobago and White Canadian-Born
Population by Occupation and Sex, 1996, Age 15-64 Years

Occupational Level	Female		Male	
	% Immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago	% White Canadian-born	% Immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago	% White Canadian-born
High-Level Manager	0.3	0.8	0.5	1.8
Middle Manager	1.8	7.1	6.4	9.8
Professional	15.1	17.8	10.7	16.3
Higher Non-Manual	22.1	22.3	14.5	14.8
Skilled Manual/Supervisor	0.1	0.8	16.3	10.7
Lower Non-Manual	53.9	46.2	33.6	28.3
Lower Manual	6.5	5.0	18.0	18.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Adapted from Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census*, 66-71 .

occupations do we see that the proportion is higher than the proportion of the white

Canadian-born population in such occupations. It is quite obvious that this occupational

distribution closely follows the distribution revealed by Henry for Afro-Caribbean

immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area.[79] Moreover, it is also apparent that the twin

forces of racial and gender occupational segregation may have strongly influenced the

allocation of the female immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago in lower proportions in

high-level manager and middle manager positions to that of their male counterpart and

white Canadian-born males, though they are in higher proportions to their male

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[79] see Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism.*

counterpart in professional and higher non-manual occupations.[80] Most likely, these professional and higher non-manual occupations are service occupations, such as nursing and clerical, that women, whether immigrant or native, tend to dominate in large numbers.

Income Compared

The ability of Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, immigrants to better their lives in Canada by acquiring material rewards, in particular, depends a great deal on the educational and occupational status attained as well as on the financial remuneration they receive from working. In addition, earning high incomes was also crucial to their economic potential to provide their children with the quality of lifestyle and opportunities that they themselves did not have in Trinidad. With the incomes they earn, however, the achievement of this major migratory goals appears to be very difficult for Afro-Trini, and other Afro-Caribbean, immigrants in Canada.

Considerable comparative research has been conducted in Canada on the income earned by members of the white Canadian-born and foreign-born populations, with many researchers pointing to income disparities between them.[81] Richmond, for one, found that

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[80] Mendoza sees sex discrimination as operative in such situations in which the leadership positions in the workplace are invariably given to white men. see Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario" 158.

[81] Beaujot, Basavarajappa, and Verma, for example, reported that the average total income for all males in Canada in 1980 was $16,918, but that foreign-born males earned more than did those born in Canada by a margin of about $2,000. It was further reported that the immigrant income advantage was due to a combination of factors, among which age, education, occupational distribution, location, and length of residence were the most important. After removing the advantageous effects of the age and educational profile of immigrants, however, the authors found that only those men from Britain and Europe

the overall average total income of Afro-Caribbean male immigrants was below the

average for white Canadian-born males, and substantially below that of immigrant men

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(excluding southern Europe) had higher incomes than equivalent white Canadian-born men. However, the situation of female immigrants differed considerably. By receiving an average total income of $8,872, they were more disadvantaged. Unlike immigrant men though, immigrant women's age, but not educational, advantage over Canadian-born women, led to their receipt of $550 more than white Canadian-born women. Moreover, recently-arrived immigrant cohorts, particularly non-white female and male immigrants from non-traditional source countries, were disadvantaged despite their relative concentration in high-income metropolitan areas. see Roderic Beaujot, K. G. Basavarajappa, and Ravi B. P. Verma. 1988. *Income of Immigrants in Canada, 1980*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Catalouge 91-527E.

Also reporting the income situation in 1980, Herberg also finds that:

> In comparison to educational and occupational standings, only the Jewish
> retained their preeminent standing, here accompanied not by visible
> minority groups but by other 'white' ethnicities. In the opposite direction,
> Native Peoples were at the lowest end of the income range, with the
> Indochinese, Portuguese, Greeks, Blacks and Filipinos close by, in that
> order. This transpired because there is, as yet, no requirement in the
> Canadian private sector, and indeed in much of the public sector
> employment, that within occupations of equal 'social value' there must be
> appointment at the same pay for members of different ethno-racial groups.
> Notwithstanding, the principal cause for income differentials between
> ethno-racial groups in Canada, even when their educational capital is
> comparable would, of course, be the inability of minority group members
> to gain appointment to occupations appropriate to their educational
> credentials. see Herberg, "The ethno-racial socioeconomic hierarchy in
> Canada: theory and analysis of the vertical mosaic" 216.

Hou and Balakrishnan also examined ethnic variations in education, occupation, and income and the connections between these dimensions of socioeconomic status. They found that some European groups had attained income parity with the white Canadian-born population in 1990, even though their educational levels were much lower. On the other hand, even though the non-white populations tend to have a higher level of education, most of its members were still underrepresented in high-status occupations and have incomes lower than what their educational and occupational achievements would merit. see Feng Hou and T. R. Balakrishnan. 1996. "The Integration of Visible Minorities in Contemporary Canadian Society," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 21, 3: 307-326.

as a whole in 1980.[82] In taking into account the effects of age and education, it was

discovered that Afro-Caribbean male immigrants received average total incomes that

were far below the level that would be expected had they been determined by the same

factors that influenced the incomes of white Canadian-born males. Using an index of

relative income that measured the degree of deviation of immigrant incomes from the

average income of same sex-persons of equivalent education who were born in Canada,

the index ranged from a low 51 percent for Afro-Caribbean male immigrants who spoke

French and who had some non-university education to a high of 93 percent for English-

speaking Afro-Caribbean male immigrants who had secondary education. However, in

the case of English-speaking Afro-Caribbean female immigrants with less than university

education, they received average total incomes that exceeded those of white Canadian-

born women. Richmond suggests that the higher average total incomes that these Afro-

Caribbean immigrant women received in 1980 were more a function of the number of

weeks and hours worked rather than qualifications.[83] Significantly, however, the income

benefit that these English-speaking Afro-Caribbean female immigrants appeared to have,

relative to white Canadian-born women, declined in direct proportion to their level of

education. On the whole, Afro-Caribbean female immigrants with a university education

received wages that were 90 percent of those of equivalent white Canadian-born women.

In comparison, Afro-Caribbean male immigrants made only 78 percent as much as did

their white, Canadian-born male counterpart with similar qualifications.

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[82] see Richmond, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Demo-economic Analysis*; ibid.. 1990. "The Income of Caribbean Immigrants in Canada" in Shiva S. Halli, Frank Trovato, and Leo Driedger (eds.), *Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations*, Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 363-379.

[83] see Richmond, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Demo-economic Analysis*, 43.

To have an indication as to what extent the income situation of Afro-Caribbean immigrants may have changed from that of 1980, Table 8.6 presents comparative data on the annual total income earned in 1995, and reported in the 1996 Canadian census, by members of the Caribbean-origin and white Canadian-born populations. The figures exclude income earned or received outside of Canada. Also, since Afro-Caribbean immigrants' annual total income would result more from employment, because of the recency of entry of many them into Canada, than from a combination of other sources such as transfer payments, rent and investment income, and self-employment, as would more be the case with members of the white Canadian-born population, annual total employment income from fulltime work would have been a better comparative measure of the income earned by both groups. Data on annual total employment income earned were not obtained for both of these groups, and Afro-Trini immigrants in particular, but only for such members of Canada's non-white population as Chinese, South Asians, and Blacks. Rather than annual total employment income, Ornstein provides data, however, on the median employment income earned by immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago and members of the white Canadian-born population.[84] As a means to present a comparative income profile of immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago in the City of Toronto, this statistic was limited though as we shall see.

From an examination of the data in Table 8.6, it is quite obvious that the income distribution of Afro-Caribbean female and male immigrants may not have improved over time, that is, since 1980, when the annual total income of persons of Caribbean-origin is compared to that of members of the white Canadian-born population, 15 years and over

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[84] see Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census.*

and working fulltime. This fact is brought into stark relief when we note that even though simple comparisons over time may be one way to examine the change of relative income position among racial groups in Canada, they do not account for the continuous flow of new Afro-Caribbean immigrants with high education, skills, and training. If accounted for, there may have been a degree of income parity, that is, once they had open access to high-income jobs in the Canadian economy. Undoubtedly, this is not the case as we have seen.

The table shows that in all income ranges, excluding the lowest, low - $9,999, lower proportions of members of the Caribbean-origin population received comparable incomes to members of the white Canadian-born population. Concerning those in the lowest income range, approximately 4 out of 10 or 41 percent of the members of the Caribbean-origin population earned an annual total income of less than or equal to $9,999 in 1995. This proportion was a far cry higher than the 27 percent of the white Canadian-born members to earn similar incomes. It is also at the high end of the income continuum that the disproportionate earning potential of members of the Caribbean-origin population diverged sharply in 1995. For example, in the $50,000 - $59,999 income range, only 3 percent of the Caribbean-origin members earned high incomes within this range to 5 percent, close to double, of the members of the white Canadian-born population. Also, at the highest income range, $60,000 and over, the proportion did not change for members of the Caribbean-origin population but, when compared to the 7 percent of the Canadian-born members who earned some of the highest incomes in Canada in 1995, they were at a severe disadvantage, relatively-speaking. According to Herberg, such an income distribution "...pattern reeks of pay inequity-the systematic denial of pay equal to that

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warranted by qualifications and position. In short, this is systemic discrimination."[85] And,

even though speaking to the situation that existed in 1980, as reported in the 1981 census,

Herberg added conclusion that "...the visible minorities suffer from brutal income

inequality, likely because of racial discrimination that prevents awarding wages equivalent

to credentials" was pertinent in 1995 as it was then.[86]

Table 8.6
Annual Total Income Earned by the Caribbean-Origin
and White Canadian-Born Populations, 1996,
15 Years and Over and Working Fulltime

Income Level	Total Caribbean -origin	%	Total White Canadian- born	%
Low to - $ 9,999	133,884	41	582,0145	27
$10,000 - $19,999	68,796	21	500,1965	24
$20,000 - $29,999	50,544	15	338,2710	17
$30,000 - $39,999	36,324	11	258,9090	12
$40,000 - $49,999	18,900	6	166,5480	8
$50,000 - $59,999	9,648	3	105,1105	5
$60,000 and over	9,396	3	140,6235	7
Total	327,492	100	20,916,730	100

Source: Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Population Census, Selected
Characteristics for Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions,
100% and 20% Sample Data.

More evidence provided in Table 8.7 displays a breakdown of the annual total

employment income and annual average total employment income earned by Chinese,

South Asians, and Blacks, the three largest non-white populations in Canada, over the age

of the 15 years and who worked fulltime in 1995. Because of the differences in the source

of income and the ethnic diversity of the Black and Caribbean-origin populations in

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[85] see Herberg, "The ethno-racial socioeconomic hierarchy in Canada: theory and analysis
of the vertical mosaic" 218.

[86] Ibid.

Canada, it is not wise to make a comparison between the income distribution of the Black population in this table and the income distribution of the Caribbean-origin population in Table 8.6. Nevertheless, the pattern of income distribution is so similar that it is hard to overlook. Thus, very much like the income distribution of the Caribbean-origin population in Table 8.6, large proportions of Blacks are in lower income ranges while small proportions are in higher income ranges. But what is even more interesting is that when compared to the somewhat similar income distribution of Chinese and South Asians, Blacks account for the highest proportion, 33 percent, to earn incomes in the lowest income range, low to - $ 9,999, than 31 percent for Chinese and 32 percent for South Asians.[87]

When we examine the situation at the other end of income continuum, that is, the highest income range, we find that a smaller proportion, 4 percent, of Blacks received high incomes from employment in Canada to 6 percent for Chinese and a similar 6 percent for South Asians. What these unequal proportions say is that Blacks, the third largest non-white population in Canada, are at an economic disadvantage not only relative to the white Canadian-born members but also to the other significant non-white populations in Canada. This economic disadvantage is also reflected in the average total employment income earned by Blacks in 1995. Of these 3 major non-white populations, Blacks received the lowest, $20,979 to $23,907 for Chinese and $23,375 for South

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[87] Kunz et al report that this disparity may partly be accounted for by the fact that, for both women and men, Chinese and South Asians were most likely to have had a university degree, especially at a young age, while Blacks may have had had above-average secondary school completion rates but below-average university completion rates. see Kunz et al, Unequal Access: A Canadian Profile of Racial Differences in Education, Employment and Income, A Report prepared for Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

Asians, that is, differences in employment income of close to and a little under $3,000

respectively.[88]

Table 8.7
Annual Total and Average Total Employment Income of Canada's
Non-White Population of Chinese, South Asian, and Black, 1996,
15 Years and Over and Working Fulltime

Income Level	Chinese	%	South Asian	%	Black	%
Low to - $ 9,999	124,525	31	104,640	32	83,630	33
$10,000 - $19,999	84,590	21	70,020	22	51,110	20
$20,000 - $29,999	68,690	17	55,480	17	48,790	19
$30,000 - $39,999	49,620	12	39,470	12	33,685	13
$40,000 - $49,999	30,630	8	22,440	7	16,780	7
$50,000 - $59,999	19,415	5	13,665	4	9,165	4
$60,000 and over	25,480	6	19,790	6	8,850	4
Total	402,950	100	325,505	100	252,010	100
Average Total Employment Income $	23,907		23,375		20,979	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% sample.

Finally, by using median employment income as the comparative statistic,

Ornstein compared the income earned by immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago, and

other non-white immigrants, to that of members of the white Canadian-born population

in the City of Toronto.[89] Since his study was concerned more with providing a detailed

description of "ethno-racial" groups in the City of Toronto and not with the "causes of

inequality" or "discrimination," he used the median employment income rather than the

average employment income for 1995 as his measure of central tendency. The median is

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[88] In analyzing income data from the 1991 census, Li also found such income disparities.
see Peter S. Li. 1998. "The Market Value and Social Value of Race" in Satzewich,
*Racism and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of
Resistance*, 115-130.

[89] see Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996
Census*.

the level of income in the middle of the distribution. By definition, half of the members

of a group has an income below the median and half has an income above. The median

therefore indicates the middle of the income distribution because it is unaffected by

unusually high and low values. However, by de-emphasizing the positive tail of the

distribution, for instance, the median yields smaller gender and racial differences than

would a comparison of average total employment income. Because of this statistical

limitation, Orstein's study was not overly fruitful to compare members of the immigrant

population from Trinidad and Tobago and the white Canadian-born population in

various income ranges.[90] Nonetheless, the study did show that the median employment

income of female and male immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago, who worked fulltime

in 1995, was $20,000 and $25,000 respectively and these were $10,000 lower than the

income earned by white Canadian-born women and men.

By comparatively examining census and research data on the educational,

occupational, and income levels of members of the Caribbean-origin population, white

Canadian-born population, Chinese, South Asian, and Black non-white populations, and

the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago, this deductive analysis of such

quantitative data complements the participants' understanding of the negative

occupational and income consequences of the upward mobility barriers that they deemed

racist and which they alleged to have encountered in Canada. Both data sources are

complementary because the impact of systemic and institutional racism cannot always be

measured solely by people's perceptions of personal discriminatory experiences or by

numbers. All in all then, the assertion can be made that the strong positive association

that exists between education, occupation, and income was not overly instrumental in

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[90] Ibid., 62-65.

advancing the upward mobility of Afro-Trini immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area. As members of the Caribbean-origin population in Canada, Afro-Caribbean, and in train Afro-Trini, immigrants were as educated as members of white Canadian-born population and more so in certain fields. But, as reported in the 1996 Canadian census and similar to the situation in the 1986 Canadian census, their occupational and income returns did not equate their educational attainments. They were therefore employed in lower proportions in high-status and high-income management positions while overly represented in the skilled, manual positions relative to similar occupationally-situated members of the white Canadian-born population. It is in this sense, then, that race, according to Li, "...can be seen as having a market value in that the origin of some people adversely affects their economic returns in the labour market, while that of others improves the outcomes of their market participation." [91]

Conclusion

In seeking "jobs of substance" in the Greater Toronto Area, the participants of this study did not envisage that the spectre of racism would thwart their ambition to acquire these jobs. Moreover, they were shocked by the subtlety, as well as by the pervasiveness, of the perceived racism they encountered in their daily interactions with white Canadians in the larger society as well as in the world of work. As perceived, the upward mobility barriers did not fester, and affect them, only at the very early stages, or entry level, of the employment process. Once employed, they were seen to have affected

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[91] see Li, "The Market Value and Social Value of Race" 117.

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the availability of opportunities for upward interoccupational mobility for these Afro-Trini immigrants in Canada.

This finding was not only consistent with the findings of a host of studies on perceived racism that non-white people, especially blacks, encounter in the Canada but was confirmed by strong evidence gleaned from the comparative analysis conducted in this chapter of objective education, occupation, and income data from the 1996 Canadian census. Thus, these Afro-Trini immigrants' accounts of the upward mobility barriers that they perceived as racist and which they alleged they encountered in the Greater Toronto Area were not misguided impressions of what they thought they might have encountered. They were real and they had real negative consequences to their lives.

CHAPTER 9

RESPONDING TO PERCEIVED RACISM:
"LEARNING THE ROPES" TO UPWARD OCCUPATIONAL AND SOCIAL
MOBILITY IN CANADA

Migration and Socioeconomic Success: An Indelible Link

The belief that an indelible link exists between migration and socioeconomic

success for Afro-Caribbean people has a strong historical base in their lived experiences

since emancipation. In order to better their lives through the acquisition of educational

and employment opportunities that were not available in their home countries, Afro-

Caribbean people have constructed migration ideationally as the principal means to

acquire these opportunities. Migrating to attain a better life abroad did not stay in the

realm of ideas but, in being actualized, has become a dominant part of the culture of

Afro-Caribbean people. As such, the Afro-Trini immigrants who participated in this

study were following an historically institutionalized way of life that is ingrained in the

upward mobility psyche of Afro-Caribbean people.

Undoubtedly, then, these Afro-Trini immigrants knew fully well what they

wanted to achieve in migrating to Canada or in deciding to remain in Canada after

arriving as visitors. Many, therefore, arrived armed with roadmaps to successfully

achieve their major migration aspirations. To those participants with children, the need to

succeed was ever so greater. In a nutshell, their roadmaps to achieve socioeconomic

success were to use their education, skill, and training, as well as improve on this set of

human capital, to acquire high-status and high-income jobs in Canada. Moreover, the

majority of these women and men was, relatively speaking, very successful in Trinidad.

Some had held high-status jobs as teachers and as members of the police service and

coast guard while others were successful academically. Success, therefore, was not new

to many of them and so to fail in Canada was out of the question. This was made quite

clear by Carol:

> ...[A]mong my family, we have a history of success and it is expected that
> we will be successful. Therefore, within my family everyone who has
> been away has done well. It is not in our family network that only one
> individual would have done well...but, in my family circle, everyone who
> was away got their formal education and their degrees and a lot of them
> went back home to Trinidad and got good jobs. Success is not a new
> experience in our family...

Confronting and Resisting Perceived Racism

Despite the fact that the majority of participants had experienced initial downward

interoccupational mobility with their migration to Canada and were very despondent with

their steep status loss, they were never defeated. In fact, it appears that only one

participant had resigned himself to his occupational fate of being able to only hold down

temporary work since his arrival. While resignation is understood as the "outward

compliance, but inner dislike and rejection of the system," rejection exists when

individuals believe that they are powerless to change their status.[1] As we discussed in the

previous chapter, after Norris was repeatedly turned down for fulltime positions in

various departments of the Ontario provincial government, he was convinced that he was

unable to move up the occupational ladder because "there was so much discrimination

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[1] Aloma Mary Mendoza. 1990. "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural
and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario," Ph.D. diss.,
York University, Toronto, Canada, 268-269.

throughout the government." To cope with the feeling of rejection, Norris had resigned

himself to not "fight the system." As he narrates:

> There was a lot of discrimination and I said that I cannot fight the system.
> If this is the way it got to be, then this is the way it got to be. You cannot
> fight the system but flow with the system. Kind of exist in it.

Norris, however, was able to find some solace, or be "less pressured" as he said, from the

unpaid, religious work he has been doing in the church he has established. Because of the

faith he has in his God, Norris has not given up all hope that good things, occupation-

wise that is, will eventually come his way. As he states:

> I believe that if I work hard enough and do what is right, everything will
> fall in place. I am certain that I do not have false hope.

Therefore, even though Norris was not successful in obtaining fulltime work in the

Ontario provincial government, he continued to think successfully and view his situation

as temporary.

Unlike Norris though, other Afro-Trini participants did "fight the system" early

upon their arrival, and continued to do for a long time after. They neither were overly

intimidated by the newness of their surroundings nor by the nature of the socioeconomic

relations within. They refused to buy into Canada's system of social stratification that

there is an "entrance status" for racialized immigrants. Likewise, they refused to lose their

mobility dream by abandoning their drive to "make it" in Canada. This penchant of the

participants to stick with it, that is, to believe that they, according to James, "...would

succeed because there were no other ways, psychologically, to retain their motivation to

become successful workers..." was explained by one of his respondents:

> ...I just think that the system won't change so therefore we either deal with
> it, learn how to deal with it, or don't deal with it at all. For me, I am

learning how to deal with it and I am getting experience that I need and want to excel in my career. I like what I am doing...But it's a challenge and I think it is something that you will always have to deal with in life. It is something that Black people have to deal with and there is no end to it...We cannot make the system make you fail.[2]

Other researchers also speak of blacks' refusal to adopt a victim mentality. For example, Small declares:

> Black people have always and in all places refused to submit to the imposition of racialised barriers and have utilized diverse tactics for asserting their humanity and affirming their dignity...Black people have reached deep into their culture, religion, heritage and personal experiences to employ various tactics and strategies - individual and collective, ideological, cultural and physical - to resist the imposition of inequality, and to carve out space to create their own lives and priorities.[3]

This refusal to adopt a victim mentality was quite evident in Steve's, June's, and Simon's views of their first jobs as reported earlier. In many respects, therefore, the Afro-Trini participants, as we have seen, did not accept their economic plight as given and thus were not satisfied with the nature of their first jobs and even subsequent jobs in Canada.

As such, notwithstanding the urgent need to secure an income when immigrants recently enter a country, voluntary occupational disruptions were many and occupational mobility changes were rapid for some participants. As Simon's reported case demonstrates, in his move from being an encyclopedia salesman to one "...who had to clean the dentures of strangers..." in a hospital, participants rather quickly abandoned temporary, low-status jobs for other jobs that invariably were not better. Moreover, it appears that voluntary occupational disruptions and rapid occupational mobility changes

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[2] see Carl E. James. 1993. "Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience" in Paul Anisef and Paul Axelrod (eds.), *Transitions: Schooling and Employment in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 20.

[3] see Stephen Small. 1994. *Racialised Barriers: The Black Experience in the United States and England in the 1980s*, New York, NY: Routeledge, 13.

were more prevalent amongst those participants who had left professional occupations in Trinidad immediately before migration and had suffered severe downward interoccupational mobility and steep status loss with the temporary, low-status jobs they initially were obliged to acquire in Canada.

It may have also been the case, though there is no evidence of it in the interview data gathered, that some of them may have felt that if they can leave, relatively-speaking, high-status and high-income jobs before migrating, then they could easily leave low-status and low-income jobs soon after migrating. Additionally, it also appears to be the case that the more well-educated, younger participants, especially men, and, in some cases those without the commitment of having to provide for children, quit jobs with impunity. However, even when there were children present, there were some militant-minded participants, mostly men as well, who quit their jobs at their first brush with the upward mobility barriers that they perceived as racist.

It is not uncommon for immigrants to become militant, and even angry, when they encounter unanticipated racist barriers to their occupational mobility aspirations. This is likely to be the case "because injustice when first encountered and not expected is a different thing than long-simmering racial injustice that is always anticipated."[4] As such, while Henry sees "leaving the job when it became intolerable as a way of coping with racism," particularly for male participants in her study,[5] I am inclined to see the

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[4] Mary C. Waters. 1999. *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*, New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 184.

[5] see Frances Henry. 1994. *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 107. Other researchers such as James also tend to view the strategies that blacks in Canada adopt as they confront perceived racism as one of coping with it rather than resisting it. see Carl E. James. 1990. *Making It: Black Youth, Racism and Career Aspirations in a Big City,* Oakville, ON: Mosaic

quitting of their first jobs, and some other subsequent jobs, by the Afro-Trini participants

in this study as a form of resistance to, rather than a way of coping with, perceived

racism. This is based on the understanding that no matter how unequal the situation,

people are never utterly powerless-they resist.

It was apparent though that whether a female participant was married or not,

having children to provide for was an attenuating factor as to how much she could have

resisted and what form the resistance would take. Some women, therefore, especially

single women with children, did not abandon or quit their temporary, low-status jobs as

quickly as men but remained longer in them so as to maintain their only source of income

and/or to augment the family's rather meagre income as may be warranted. As Mendoza

also reports:

> ...most women are financially responsible for themselves and in many
> cases, their families also. The need for money is even more real when a
> family emigrates to a new country. In the case of Caribbean women this is
> indeed so, since the majority of them and/or their spouses fall within the
> lower socioeconomic status, or are single parents. Therefore, they work
> either to supplement low family incomes, or to provide a family income.
> As a matter fact, it is often the wife's earnings that raise family income
> above poverty levels.[6]

In part, this accounted for the somewhat arrested occupational mobility that

Aretha, as a single mother of 2 and, to a lesser extent, Esther, a single mother of 4, had

experienced for most of their working lives in Canada. Of note, however, other reasons

were advanced by other women for choosing to remain working for relatively long

periods in temporary, low-status jobs. These Afro-Trini women had "learnt" that this was

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Press; ibid.. 1993. "Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience,"
3-20.

[6] see Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and
Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario" 158-159.

one way in which they were to obtain Canadian experience, whose lack of employers used to deny them "jobs of substance;" to circumvent the perceived racist upward mobility barrier that they felt their Caribbean accents engendered whenever they responded to a job advertisement by telephone; and to have stints of Canadian experience entered on their résumés.

Nevertheless, even though there were not as many female as male participants who were militant, those who were were as militant as male participants. They, too, were not willing to "just sit back and accept that" as June had reported earlier. More of June's narration of a facet of her early economic incorporation experiences gives us a pretty good idea of the militancy that some of these Afro-Trini female and male immigrants displayed in their challenges to the perceived racist upward mobility barriers that they held they encountered during their search of this better and better jobs in Canada. To the question of whether she felt that she had been discriminated against on the job, June's response was:

> Yes. When you are trying to climb the corporate ladder, then you will encounter discrimination. Everyone is trying to get up and when you apply with the qualifications etc. you do not get the job. I always ask why I have not gotten it and to determine how I can better myself for the next application. The reason I was given for not getting a job was that even though the other girl (who was white) and I had the same marks from the test, I was told that she tipped the scale because she had more experience than me. But I told them that I worked here (health insurance company) longer than she had. I was told that she studied computers. But I countered with the fact that I had on-the-job training and if you put schooling with on-the-job training, schooling is less than on-the-job training. You still have to learn the job. She got her qualifications in school and I got it at work. *I fought it and I got the job.* (emphasis mine).

It is also crucial to note that even though the majority of participants were very

despondent with the steep status loss that resulted with migration, at no time did any of them flee Canada and returned to Trinidad to live permanently or anywhere else for that matter immediately after their arrival. This does not mean though that some of them did not question, at some point in time, whether they had made the right decision to migrate to Canada. In fact, the overall majority of them indicated that, at times, they had harbored the notion of permanent return, and most of them indicated that they plan to do so in retirement. In this regard, while Carol together with her family, and Devon without his, were the only participants who returned and made an attempt to reestablish a permanent life in Trinidad, their return, of slightly more than and close to fifteen years respectively after their arrival, was a more a movement to take advantage of Trinidad's booming economy at the time rather than a flee from perceived racism in Canada. For instance, Devon was a fulltime teacher in Canada for fifteen years when he made his shortlived return in 1983 and, like Carol, had not suffered initial downward interoccupational mobility upon migrating. Decidedly, because this notion of permanent return was held by the majority of them, and, yet all have remained, is highly suggestive of how strong they held fast to the belief that migration must lead to their achievement of socioeconomic success in Canada. Rather than flee from perceived racism, it is the belief that an indelible link exists between migration and their socioeconomic success that the participants drew heavily on to "learn the ropes" to upward occupational and social mobility in Canada.

This chapter therefore focuses on how participants "learnt" to adopt and utilize upward mobility strategies. These upward mobility strategies were dependent upon their

understanding of the upward mobility barriers that they perceived were racist and which they held they encountered, of their work experiences, of their perception of their opportunities and upward mobility goals, and of their drive to be successful abroad. Like most non-white immigrants in Canada, their success should be seen as a sign of the tremendous tenacity and militancy they possess when, in the face of overt and covert attempts to deny them an equal opportunity in the economic system, they have been able to show significant degrees of upward occupational and social mobility when compared to their immediate post-migration occupational status position.[7]

Mobility Strategies:
"Learning the Ropes" to Upward Occupational Mobility in Canada

In "learning the ropes," which they had to do quickly and, at times, surreptitiously, near all of the participants had to reevaluate their roadmaps to achieve socioeconomic success in Canada. Expecting that their education, skill, and training would have initially secured high-status and high-income jobs, they, especially the more well-educated, skilled, and trained, had to come to grips with the fact that their human capital, that they had placed so much store on before migrating, had no initial upward occupational and social mobility value upon arrival in Canada. Moreover, since Canada's post-1967 immigration and population control policies had placed a great deal of weight on applicants' education, skill, and training as a condition of admission, this was a most wrenching experience for near all of them. Nonetheless, these Afro-Trini immigrants did not waver in their resolve that having a sound education and continually improving on it

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[7] Ramcharan also spoke to the courage, tenacity, and achievement motivation displayed by most non-white immigrants in Canada. see Subhas Ramcharan. 1982. *Racism: Non-Whites in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Butterworths, 67.

were key to the achievement of their upward occupational and social mobility aspirations in Canada. In a large measure then, these Afro-Trini immigrants' reevaluation of their roadmaps to achieve socioeconomic success is a distinct feature of their ability to be strategically flexible and of their ability to build multiple options abroad.[8]

The upward mobility strategies these immigrants "learnt" to adopt and utilize comprised of gaining work experience; developing networks; knowing hiring practices; deflating qualifications; improving education, skill, and training; and being self-employed. Each upward mobility strategy is discussed in turn. Moreover, in the face of being repetitive, the point is once more being made that these upward mobility strategies directly relate to the upward mobility barriers that the participants perceived as racist and which they articulated in the previous chapter. These upward mobility strategies are also presented in the manner in which the participants articulated them.

Gaining Work Experience:
"I sent her my résumé and that time my résumé was full."

These Afro-Trini immigrants continued to use the employment referral agencies, especially Manpower, to obtain "temporary, low-status jobs in occupations not commensurate to their education, skill, and training." Mendoza also found this to be the job search strategy that the Caribbean women in her study adopted to gain their first jobs in Canada.[9] Other than providing the much needed income, however, the participants in

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[8] Charles V. Carnegie. 1987. "A Social Psychology of Caribbean Migrations: Strategic Flexibility in the West Indies" in Barry B. Levine (ed.), *The Caribbean Exodus,* New York: Praeger, 32.

[9] see Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario,"

this study used their various stints of temporary employment to their upward occupational

and social mobility advantage. As has been pointed out, "immigrants who expect to stay

and move up the status ladder make the best of discriminatory treatment while they

must."[10]

Thus, when perceived racism, as identified by such upward mobility barriers as

the "denial of desired jobs because of a lack of Canadian experience" and in "being

denied job interviews because your Caribbean accent signified your race," had limited the

upward occupational and social mobility of some of the participants, they used their work

assignments in temporary, low-status jobs, and stayed rather long at some of them, to

obtain the necessary Canadian experience. Their goal was to be better equipped to obtain

better jobs. Consequently, other than the undoubted cognitive value that working in these

temporary job assignments provided for these newly-arrived immigrants, it is the tangible

manifestation of the achieved Canadian experience, as displayed in their résumés, that

they, by this time, had "learnt" was a valuable asset in their quest for better jobs. As

Norris proudly stated of his résumé when he had submitted it to "a friend from Guyana, a

contact, who found me through the grapevine" and who had sought him out for another,

but better, temporary public service position, "I sent her my résumé and that time my

résumé was full."

In conjunction, though not pleased, filling up résumés with Canadian experience

also provided the participants with the means to present less and less of their work

experience gained in Trinidad that they valued greatly and was now not valuable to the

acquisition of better jobs in Canada. Furthermore, since, most often, perception guides

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[10] Ibid., 269.

actions or behavior, evidences of work experience gained in Trinidad were also removed

because some Afro-Trini participants, for example, Aretha, you may recall, were of the

opinion that they were taken as indicators of their race and, were therefore, used to screen

them out of desired jobs.

Developing Networks:
"...because my father had always told me to get to know people in position and
influence who may be able to help me along the way. I developed a list of
contacts. I learnt that for my own survival and that has helped me tremendously
along the way."

There was an added bonus in working in many temporary, low-status jobs for

these Afro-Trini immigrants that is indicated by Norris' use of "a friend from Guyana, a

contact, who found me through the grapevine" in his job search. Being recently-arrived

immigrants, these jobs provided them with the necessary conditions to network across

national origin, racial origin, and organizational lines. In their day to day interactions

within the various workplaces, these Afro-Trini immigrants met and formed networks

with other Afro-Trini, and Afro-Caribbean, immigrants who had come before them and,

as such, were more familiar with the workings of the "system," especially on some of the

best ways to obtain certain "jobs of substance." Some of them, for example Esther, were

therefore able to acquire their present fulltime job through networking.

Other studies have also shown the important use made of networking in Afro-

Caribbean immigrants' quest for good jobs in Canada.[11] Also, since in the late 1960s and

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[11] see Mendoza, "An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and
Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-Born Women in Ontario;" James, "Getting
There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience;" Henry, *The Caribbean
Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*; Dwaine Plaza. 1996. "The Strategies
and Strategizing of University Educated Black Caribbean-born Men in Toronto: A Study of
Occupation and Income Achievements," Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto.

early 1970s, it was not likely that many of them would be employed within one

workplace in the Greater Toronto Area, as indicated by Heather's experience of being

"the only black on the job," these networks were small, close-knit, and dense, meaning by

dense that the interactions among its small number of members were plentiful and

regular, where work-related, and other, information was transmitted via, what Ho

describes as, "gossip.[12] Furthermore, Ho also sees networking as an institutionalized

defensive response to an alienating environment.[13]

Dependent on the nature of their temporary job assignments, some participants

also had to interact quite regularly with individuals, some of them white, working in other

organizations and had developed friendly relations with them. At times, therefore, they

used these white contacts, among others, to their, and their spouses, advantage during job

searches. The value that the Afro-Trini participants' placed on the use of networking in

their desire for better jobs is revealed in Norris' declaration that when he had submitted

his full résumé to his "contact," he had also already known a "lot of Ministry officials":

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[12] "The term 'gossip' is not used in its pejorative sense of 'badmouth' or 'badtalk,' or in the sense of meddling in other people's affairs. Rather, 'gossip' is used here to refer to what Trinidadians call 'oletalk,' which is a verbal exchange between two or more persons either on the telephone or in face-to-face gatherings during which they chat casually about what is happening in each other's personal lives and in the lives of other people they know. This type of interaction has been described by Hannerz (1967) as 'gossip,' which he regards as a way of getting information about others that allows one to construct a detailed map of one's social environment." see Christine G. T. Ho. 1985. "The Caribbean Connection: Transnational Social Networks, Non-Assimilation and the Structure of Group Life Among Afro-Trinidadian Immigrants in Los Angeles," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 77. As a newly-arrived Afro-Trini immigrant in Canada in 1997, I observed as well as participated in various networks while employed in a financial institution in business district of the City of Toronto from the end of 1998 to the beginning of 2000. In fact, networking proved to be one of the major institutionalized means for me to be "in the know" about the nature of Canada's socioeconomic system, which was an essential and vital aspect of my research.

[13] Ibid., 74.

because my father had always told me to get to know people in position and influence who may be able to help me along the way. I developed a list of contacts. I learnt that for my own survival and that has helped me tremendously along the way.

When asked the question on the interview guide that, "Do you believe that Canada is a land of opportunity?," Pamela, as well, was equally convinced of the importance of learning the use of networking in order to "seize the opportunity." Her response was:

> Yes. But, it does not come and find you. You have to go out and get it. You have to work for it. You have to seize the opportunity. You have to be out there. You have to network as well. This I have learnt. You have to use the people around you to know what is happening...

June fully articulated the successful use of many aspects of this upward mobility strategy that we have looked at so far.

> I spent a year at my first job and then a week at the laundry. I got the laundry job through Temporary Manpower because I told them that I did not like the job that I was doing but all they had was a laundry job so I took it...but I stayed only a week. So, I went back to Permanent Manpower and again asked for a fulltime clerical job. Since Permanent Manpower could not get me a fulltime clerical job, I went back to Temporary Manpower and after working a year in the factory I began to pick up a lot of experience. You begin to pick up a lot about the place...this was good for me because by being sent to different companies I gained experience and that is what I wanted...I was then sent to a health insurance company and it was there I used my typing skills. I stayed there for two and a half years and I learnt a lot from it, from a health and hospital perspective...by that time, I wanted a fulltime job in the health industry and I saw this job that I wanted...it was also five minutes from my ...apartment...and I was sure I could get it because I had contacts at that time. In the health insurance business, you meet many people...and I knew one of the guys there and that is what I did. I got the job and I remained there for twenty-five years. When I started, the only job there was filing and I was advised by my friend that I should take it because when I am in the company I would be able to apply from within for any job...I started as a file clerk and, after two weeks, there was an opening. It was a position in which you would not be trained because people were moving around a lot. They needed someone with experience and I applied since most health insurance are the same...I got the job...I also got ...Steve's...job through contact from insurance...I knew a manager of

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(automobile company) who was my contact and we had a good working relationship...

Knowing Hiring Practices:
"What I was told that I had to do was to seek out work in the warehouse parking boxes and doing other heavy lifting work to get into the company."

June's articulation of her use of temporary job positions and networking to Steve's and her upward intra- and interoccupational mobility advantage also gives us a glimpse of another upward mobility strategy used by these Afro-Trini immigrants in their pursuit of better jobs. As shown, through networking, participants were "advised" that in order to secure better jobs, they had to get their feet "in a company" by first acquiring either temporary or fulltime, low-status jobs. Not everyone was as fortunate as June, however, to get "in" in low-level positions in occupational fields that they had hoped to secure work in with their migration to Canada. Some participants had to accept jobs in low-level, manual laboring positions in order to have a chance of acquiring higher-status, clerical positions that they had aspired to upon migration. What is more, it also meant that they had to remain working in these low-level, manual laboring positions for long periods of time with the hope that higher-status clerical job openings, for example, would materialize.

But, other than the availability of these openings, participants also had to "learn the ropes" of companies' hiring practices as well in order to compete for these better jobs. Once again, as fairly newly-arrived immigrants in Canada by this time, they had to rely on networking to provide this information. George describes aspects of this process that he, and other Afro-Trini, and Afro-Caribbean, immigrants used to experience upward

interoccupational mobility in Canada.

> I realized that there were many people with university degrees from the
> West Indies who could not get office jobs. What I was told that I had to do
> was to seek out work in the warehouse parking boxes and doing other
> heavy lifting work to get into the company. There were good jobs there,
> paying good wages and benefits. Once you get in and you have covered
> your probationary period, you can join the union. There is a seniority
> system in the union and after two years seniority, you can apply for a job
> that is advertised. That is how some of us got good jobs...and at (company
> name), they will pay for your schooling and that is how many of us got
> into the office work in finance and marketing...

Deflating Qualifications:
"I was warned by my wife not to volunteer information about all of my qualifications.
That I should only tell them what they need to know...that if I let them know all that I
have, I will not get the job."

As George's above narration indicates, there were many well-educated, Afro-

Caribbean immigrants who could not secure jobs in Canada commensurate to their

qualifications. There were also many of them who could not secure fulltime, or even

temporary, low-status jobs through employment referral agencies, or on their own for that

matter, by presenting the full array of their pre-migration qualifications. In order not to be

denied these temporary, low-status jobs because they may be deemed as over-qualified

and thus perceived as more likely to quit in pursuit of more commensurate jobs or may be

considered a threat to whites' image of superior intelligence that they hold if their

possession of qualifications higher than whites was known in the workplace as some

participants were "advised," the common practice amongst members of the Afro-

Caribbean community in the Greater Toronto Area, especially the more well-educated,

was to deflate their qualifications.[14] All participants were not pleased to adopt this

surreptitious, job search method, however, and neither did everyone adopt it.

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[14] Plaza also describes how university-educated Afro-Caribbean men needed to "water

Those participants who deflated their qualifications were influenced by four main

considerations. They were: (a) Whether it was the first job that participants were seeking

to obtain? (b) How pressing was the need to secure an income immediately upon arrival?

(c) Whether they had family members to provide for, especially if there were children

present? (d), Whether the jobs were high-status and high-income jobs? These

considerations, either working in concert or singly, were relevant in convincing Brent that

he had to deflate his qualifications when job searching in the Greater Toronto Area.

However, in the beginning, Brent was not pleased that he had to do adopt this

surreptitious upward mobility strategy when told by his wife that it was the only way he

would have been able to possibly acquire his first job in Canada. But, as he said, he had

his two sons, who had remained in Trinidad and who he wanted to join him, to consider.

As such, there was added pressure on him to earn an income very soon upon arrival. At

the same time though, Brent was extremely proud of the Graphic Arts degree that he had

recently acquired from studying in the United States. He had fully intended to use this

credential, and others, to secure a "good job" in Canada. He, however, had to readjust his

plan and "learn the ropes," that is, that he had to deflate his qualifications when he went

to his first job interview. As he tells it when asked: "What was the first job you had in

Canada? and How did you get this job?"

> I did not go through Manpower to get the job. I saw it advertised in the
> newspaper and I phoned them and they called me for an interview...I was
> warned by my wife not to volunteer information about all of my
> qualifications. That I should only tell them what they needed to
> know...that if I let them know all that I have, I will not get the job. If I
> did, I will be a threat to them especially if I know more than the owner of

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down" their resumes so as not to be perceived as a threat to potential white employers.
see Plaza, "The Strategies and Strategizing of University Educated Black Caribbean-born
Men in Toronto: A Study of Occupation and Income Achievements" 245.

the place. I deliberately kept back. They put me on a machine and I operated it. I stayed there for five months.

Since arriving in Canada, Brent had returned to school on a part-time basis and had augmented his education by acquiring a Bachelor's Degree in Administrative Studies from Ryerson Polytechnic Institute, as it was then called, in downtown Toronto.[15] He, however, continued the practice of deflating his qualifications when seeking high-status and high-income jobs. Brent provides more details of this upward mobility strategy that some of the participants adopted and utilized against the perceived racist upward mobility barrier they alleged to have encountered in Canada when in their job searches they were "told that you are too qualified." Brent relates that in securing a prestigious administrative job, he had neither submitted on his résumé nor told the interviewers that he had an Administrative degree as well as a Graphic Arts degree. As he narrates:

> I never told them that I had two degrees...I never willingly gave out that information. All I did was make my qualifications a little higher than what was required to do the job...A few days later, I brought in my diplomas... and he (work colleague) was amazed at my qualifications and was surprised that I did not present them with my job application. I said, if I had, I would not have gotten the job. Most of the other guys advanced without qualifications but were supported by others in the organization. I applied for a job as a Logistics Manager and you had to have a degree. They were shocked when it became known that I had a degree and questions were asked about where I obtained it. They were shocked. I got the job. I was the only man qualified within the organization for the job and after two years, I became Special Project Manager...I remained there for fifteen years and left when they were downsizing in 1990...

There were other more well-educated participants who were more inclined to complain of having to deflate their qualifications and so less inclined to do it. They were those who had been in professional occupations immediately before migration and had experienced the most severe status loss with migration. These participants were

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[15] Ryerson Polytechnic Institute is now called Ryerson University.

extremely proud of the qualifications they had arrived with and which had provided them, most recently, with a certain level of occupational and social status in Trinidad. Moreover, they had fully planned to use them with the expectation that they would derive a higher occupational and social status from its use in Canada. Thus, to deflate their valued qualifications in order to acquire jobs that were of a lower status to what they had left behind in Trinidad was like a "body blow" to many of them. As such, these were the participants who refused outright to deflate their qualifications to obtain temporary, low-status jobs in Canada. As a case in point, although Simon was one of the more well-educated participants to experience severe status loss from his pre-migration professional occupational status to that of sales and service with the temporary, low-status jobs he had initially, and subsequently, were obliged to accept, the value he had placed on his pre-migration, educational accomplishments did not waver. In fact, he was so steadfast in his resolve of what they should offer him in Canada that he never wavered in his post-migration decision to "never deflate nor minimize" his qualifications. Moreover, Simon neither was married nor had migrated with children, so his resolve was not tested by the need to provide for others. As he states quite emphatically:

> There were other experiences in which I was told that I was too qualified. I have never deflated nor minimized my certificates to get a job even though that was a practice in order to get a job. I will never do that. I showed all my certificates, GCE,[16] certificates in Pitman shorthand, and typing. If there was a typing position or shorthand, I knew I could handle it. Many times, I was told that I will not like to do that when I look for work. I would say, yes, that may be so, but I want a job.

Therefore, even though Simon needed to secure an income, in his quest for better jobs, he quickly quit temporary, low-status jobs that he felt were beneath his station while

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[16] GCE pertains to the General Certificate of Examination which is granted to students who have attended secondary school and passed the Ordinary Level Examination and/or

not deflating his qualifications to get them. After surmounting other upward mobility

barriers, however, Simon's decision to steadfastly stay on course to achieve a measure of

upward occupational and social mobility in Canada did pay off for him in the end. Rather

than by deflating his qualifications, he was eventually able to obtain a high-status and

high-income job by enhancing his qualifications through his earning of an engineering

degree from Ryerson Polytechnic Institute. In 1998, therefore, Simon had come full circle

in his occupational mobility trajectory when his pre-migration occupation is compared to

the post-migration occupation he held at that time (see Table 7.2 and 7.4). As a college

professor, he was therefore able to regain his pre-migration professional occupational

status through upward interoccupational mobility in Canada.

Improving Education, Skill, and Training:
"I went to Seneca College for awhile to brush up on my typing, math, and spelling in order
to get a job...I wanted to go into office work so I went back to school."

It is quite apparent that these Afro-Trini immigrants continued to perceive the

improvement of their education, as well as their skill and training, in Canada as important

to the realization of their upward mobility dreams. As we recall, the majority of them had

migrated to Canada with this goal in mind. In this regard, even though their pre-migration

education, skill, and training attainments were not initially valued in Canada and, as such,

did not provide them with the jobs that they desired, their understanding of the link

between education, occupation, and income was not affected by it. In fact, while they

continually "learnt the ropes" and adapted to the "system," and attained varying degrees

of upward occupational and social mobility as we have so far seen, overall, they did not

alter their roadmaps to achieve socioeconomic success in Canada. By 1998, therefore, all

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the Advanced Level Examination.

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of the participants had improved on their education, skill, and training from the time of their arrival in Canada. While some engaged in on-the-job training and/or pursued job-related courses, others opted for more formal education at some of the community colleges as well as at other institutions of higher learning such as Ryerson Polytechnic Institute, the University of Toronto (U of T), and York University (York).[17] Additionally, there were participants who made education a career.

Steve, for example, learnt new skills in fabricating through on-the-job training at the automobile plant where he worked for close to twenty years. Also, as we saw with June, she too had engaged in on-the-job training to augment her knowledge of the health insurance business. This was also the case with Marva who was employed at a financial institution where the use of new computer technology was rapidly advancing from the late 1980s and thus necessitated her need for on-the-job training. In fact, of the 6 women who pursued post-secondary/technical education in Canada, 5 of them had successfully completed their studies and obtained certificates in such fields as book binding, typing, shorthand, stenography, and computer software application. For example, Lorna studied at Seneca College, a community college, and graduated as a stenographer while Esther related that she had engaged in a combination of on-the-job training as well as had enrolled in "Seneca College for awhile to brush up on my typing, math, and spelling in order to get a job...I wanted to go into office work so I went back to school."

However, female participants who engaged in on-the-job training told tales of early experiences in which it was obvious that they could not have "learnt" from white female employees so as to advance their upward occupational and social mobility aspirations. They

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[17] The University of Toronto (U of T) and York University (York) are two of the leading tertiary/university education institutions in Canada. Both are situated in the Toronto area.

had to be "self-taught," as June had once described it, because of the perceived individual racism they contend to have encountered in their dealings with white female employees. Esther, for example, related one encounter that she had in which she felt that her race was a major factor in her strained interpersonal relationship with a "particular (white) girl" and which had seriously undermined her on-the-job training. Her tale also exemplifies the tenacity of these Afro-Trini immigrants to stay the course and, as she said she had done, become a "master" in the job. Moreover, her tale also displays the interrelationship between race and gender as well as the significance of race over gender when it comes to relations between black and white women in Canada.[18] In her book, partially entitled "Sisterhood Denied," Janiewski reports on the existence of similar racial and gender dynamics between black and white US female tobacco and textile workers in Durham, North Carolina around the middle of the 20th century.[19] In this instance, Esther relates what transpired in 1997, the year before our interview conversation.

> This particular (white) girl is one who I liked very much but she wants me to
> be below her and not up there with her at all. Even though, we went through
> hard times together, she withheld certain information from me which I could
> have used to understand the job and at one time I was having so much
> problems that I was the laughing stock on the shift. This was about a year
> ago and now I am the master.

A few of the male participants also pursued post-secondary/technical education to advance their occupational and social mobility in Canada. Two of them, George and Ulric, who had left Trinidad with primary level education and Orin who had arrived with a

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[18] James also finds it interesting that black women tend to compare their challenges and experiences in being black and female in Canada to those of black males and not to those of white females. see James, *Making It: Black Youth, Racism and Career Aspirations in a Big City*, 21.

[19] see Dolores E. Janiewski. 1985. *Sisterhood Denied: Race, Gender, and Class in a New South Community*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

secondary level education pursued job-related-courses in accounting, fabricating, and criminal law in Canada. Orin, however, who "had completed some courses" in criminal law while employed with Ontario's justice department rued the day that he did not complete his academic programme at the two Canadian universities he attended. Orin lamented that: "I regret to this day that I did not finish university here since I went part time at York and U of T." Orin's lasting deep regret is to be understood in light of the fact that entering a programme of study at a Canadian university and graduating with a degree, or degrees, that results in the attainment of high-status and high-income jobs in Canada was the pinnacle of the realization of the migration aspirations for most of these Afro-Trini participants, even though pursuing tertiary/university education may not have been their primary motivation for migrating to Canada in the first place.

Alongside Keith, who migrated as a student since he was accepted to enter York University, other participants completed tertiary/university education in Canada and obtained high-status and high-income jobs. Participants such as Devon, Reggie, Keith, and Pamela improved on their education in Canada by obtaining degrees from the University of Toronto and York University. While Devon already was a fulltime teacher when he acquired a Mathematics degree from York University, Pamela and Reggie were able to enjoy considerable upward interoccupational mobility to the professional occupational category as teachers. In Keith's case, he acquired a job in a professional capacity with the Ontario provincial government. However, Pamela's upward interoccupational mobility, based largely on her outstanding educational accomplishments in Canada, was quite pronounced and represents one of the highest measure of upward interoccupational and intraoccupational

mobility experienced by the participants from their time of arrival.

Initially employed as a temporary salesperson in a clothing retail store in downtown Toronto upon arrival in Canada in 1969, as the principal of an elementary school in 1998, Pamela's occupational status had changed to that of professional. Her upward interoccupational mobility represents one of those few occasions in which a qualified member of the Afro-Trini, and Afro-Caribbean, immigrant population would not have deflated her/his qualifications to acquire a high-status and high-income job in Canada. In fact, it would not have been possible for Afro-Caribbean people to deflate their qualifications to acquire such a job in the first place. What is more, as a black female immigrant, the interactive negative effects of her race, gender, and immigrant status that work to make this accomplishment that more difficult cannot be overlooked. It is because of this fact, that her success in overcoming them adds significance to her accomplishment. Pamela's occupational mobility history in the Greater Toronto Area, that is presented below, is additionally notable because it also epitomizes the significantly successful use that the Afro-Trini immigrants in this study made of migration and of the fortune of access to the upward mobility opportunities that they had sought abroad.

One Participant's Occupational Mobility History in the Greater Toronto Area, 1969-1998

Snippets of Pamela's occupational mobility history in the Greater Toronto Area have been detailed throughout this study. However, following Gestalt psychology, the sum of the parts do not always make the whole. Pamela attended one of the top convents, a female secondary school, in south Trinidad where most of the other female members of her family

had also received their secondary education. She was quite successful at both the Ordinary and Advanced Level examinations. However, even though she was eventually sponsored by her sister, Pamela did not migrate as a young, 19 year old, single, childless, well-educated woman with the idea either of remaining permanently in Canada or of pursuing undergraduate and/or graduate work at a Canadian university, even though she had the necessary entrance qualifications to be accepted to pursue undergraduate studies. In fact, as she reported, "I initially came on vacation because my sister was here." As such, because she was on a holiday visa, her admission status did not provide her with the necessary authorized documentation to work in Canada. Nonetheless, as Pamela recollected, she was able to obtain a temporary, low-status job as a salesperson in a clothing retail store where she worked a 12 hour shift for three months and was paid in cash. Pamela's not so fond memories of her first stint of employment in Canada was that "it was tough…it was winter."

However, despite the fact that Pamela was initially in a temporary, low-status and low-income job upon arrival in Canada, her occupational status began to rise in Canada when she was granted landed immigrant status and with the attendant authorization to work, she acquired her next job, a fulltime job, at a bank through the activation of primary kinship network relations with her sister who was employed there. She described how she worked there for a year as a bank teller while frustrated with the nature of banking operations since, as she said, "balancing was not my forte and I had problems with balancing." Convinced because of this, that "this is not my calling," she began to be strategically flexible by contemplating building other upward mobility options. Help came along in the form of a large check deposit that a bank client was once making. Impressed by its

size, she enquired from the client where she was employed. Always having had an inclination to teach, she was convinced that this was what she wanted to do in Canada when told by the client that she worked at a teachers' college. In addition, from the client, a client who had become a "contact" by this time, she was also able to "learn" what the application procedure entailed to enroll in the teachers' college. Pamela applied, was accepted, and after a two year period of study graduated with a teaching diploma.

With the acquisition of a teaching position with the (Name) Separate School Board in 1973, Pamela enjoyed upward interoccupational mobility with her rise in occupational status from financial to professional. However, after teaching for three years and "earning less than similarly placed white employees," because, as Pamela said, she did not have a degree rather than as a result of racism, Pamela decided to disrupt her occupational mobility and enroll in a degree granting program at York University. Pamela defines the situation of this early economic incorporation experience and her response to it in this way:

> I worked at the (Name) Separate School Board for three years and I taught
> with three other white men and I did the same job as the men but I got
> one-third of their pay because I did not have a degree. So I decided to
> leave teaching and enroll in a university programme...

By this time, however, Pamela had gotten married and found university life rather stressful as a result. To cope with the conflict between academic and family commitments, Pamela continued her programme of study as a part-time student while returning to fulltime teaching employed under another school board. By the late-1970s, Pamela was able to obtain a Bachelor's degree in Psychology which was later followed by a Master's degree in Theology in the early 1980s. She also indicated that she plans to obtain a Ph.D.

in Theology. In obtaining her present high-status and high-income position as the principal

of an elementary school as well as her first teaching job, Pamela stated that a lot had to do

with her "hard work." Nonetheless, she also showed that she was also very much

cognizant of how difficult it was for non-white people, especially Afro-Caribbean women,

to be so successful in Canada. As she relates:

> I was hired by the (Name) Separate School Board and the (Name) School
> Board but I do not know based on the 'system' how I got in...Maybe I
> was lucky or the interview was successful and they tried me. There are
> only one black principal and one black vice-principal.

Pamela's occupational mobility history that has been detailed tells us much about

the understanding that these Afro-Trini immigrants' had of the strong link that exists

between education, occupation, and income in Canada. In fully understanding that link,

Pamela never abandoned her success ambition of seeking a high-status job that paid well.

But, in disrupting her occupational mobility because of it, she was able to raise her

education to a commensurate level to her upward occupational mobility aspirations.

Being Self-Employed:
"...I do not need this pressure. I am going to work for myself..."

Immigrant self-employment is not only understood as a measure of a high degree

of economic incorporation but is also considered as one of the major, what Portes calls,

"grassroots resistance" to immigrants' inability to achieve a measure of intra- and/or

interoccupational mobility within the occupational structure of a host society.[20] This was

not the case for all of the self-employed participants in the study, for near all of them, for

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[20] see Alejandro Portes. 1996. "Transnational Communities: Their Emergence and Significance in the Contemporary World System" in Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz and William C. Smith (eds.), *Latin America in the World-Economy*, Westport, CT: Praeger, 151-168.

example, Carol, Brent, Orin, and Reggie, did achieve a large measure of intra- and interoccupational mobility. On the other hand, Frank was the first participant to be self-employed and it was as a direct response to encountering a high level of unanticipated upward mobility barriers that he perceived as racist in the labor force when, as he related, he was denied promotion "[n]o matter how good..." he was and "...was kept in one place for a long time." Frank also relates that he decided to quit his job and become self-employed because:

> it was getting rough. The foreman was picking on me. I got the rotten
> hours while his friends got the good hours. And, at the same time, the
> music was really picking up, so I did not care.

As we recall, Frank was a trained musician, having represented Trinidad and Tobago at Expo 67 in Canada. After two years of employment as a machinist, Frank drew on this musical expertise and quit his job, opting instead to open a Caribbean music business with strong transnational connections between Canada and the Caribbean region. As such, having experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility, with severe status loss, when his occupational status changed from professional to manufacturing/mechanical with migration, Frank neither experienced upward intra- nor interoccupational mobility within the Canadian occupational structure. Therefore, unlike the other participants who remained in the labor force of the Greater Toronto Area and who reported similar and/or other encounters with perceived racist upward mobility barriers, the pressure that Frank experienced in his resistance to them was rather shortlived. Carol, however, was more fortunate than Frank in that she experienced initial upward, rather than downward, interoccupational mobility with migration and, with

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voluntary occupational disruption so as to return to school, she was able to regain her immediate post-migration occupational supervisory status. Her decision to open an eatery business serving Caribbean and Canadian food, therefore, was arrived at, not as a means to resist perceived racism which would have shortened the period of pressure that accompanies this resistance but rather, to satisfy her entrepreneurial drive.

For the other self-employed participants, that is, Brent, Orin, and Reggie, their situation was quite different to that of Frank's and Carol's. Like Pamela, migration eventually resulted in a large measure of educational and occupational success for them. In enjoying high-status and high-income occupational positions in the professional and managerial/administrative ranks, they have all experienced upward interoccupational mobility since their arrival in Canada. However, as we had previously discussed, upward occupational mobility brought unintended consequences to the working lives of these high achievers. In acquiring their high-status and high-income jobs, they found themselves as members of racially-skewed groups in which they were the only non-white members among more numerous white men. This was also Pamela's experience but, in her case, race, gender, and immigrant status intersected to simultaneously structure the dynamics of her group membership in the (Name) School Board. She was not only the sole non-white individual on the school board but, triply, she was the only non-white female immigrant amongst more numerous native white male board members. In explaining her experience there and in the school system, she reveals that she felt pressured as well as quite uncomfortable as the only non-white female member of the Board. However, as she relates, she had decided not to let it be a depressing situation for

her:

> Because the school system is not heavily female at the top, what I noticed
> with white men is that there are a few of them who find it comfortable to
> talk to me but there are some others who would rather pass me by, literally
> and figuratively, but it is their loss. They cannot engage with me... I do
> not know whether they are intimated or not but I know that I am an
> intelligent woman...

In their struggle against perceived racist upward mobility barriers, it appears that

the pressure that Brent, Orin, and Reggie experienced was quite extreme and it intensified

rather than lessened with their successes. By 1995, Brent as we may recall, had made

great strides up the occupational mobility ladder in Canada. He was not only in a senior

managerial position (see Table 7.4) but was also the only non-white member of a white

male-dominated board of a major provincially-owned organization. He reports, however,

that the expectation was that he should conform to the culture of the board and, in the one

instance, when he stepped out of line by asking what he felt were some pertinent

questions concerning corruption in the organization, the white board members made it

quite obvious, he said, "that they could not trust this guy. He was rocking the boat and

could not be trusted." Brent reports that he felt that he "...was pressured because of the

statement I made..." and all efforts were made to force him to resign. This feeling of

being pressured to conform is not uncommon for individuals who are members of skewed

groups.[21] Because the contrast between them and the majority is exaggerated, they are

very visible in skewed groups and are under constant pressure as well as under

surreptitious surveillance to conform.[22] In Brent's case, he felt that the contrast was racial.

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[21] see Rosabeth Moss Kanter. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporation*, New York: Basic
Books.

[22] Or, as James reports one black female respondent said of her hiring in a hotel where the
executives were exclusively white: "...I kind of felt that I was certainly hired because I

Though not articulated by Brent, surely the alignment of his race and immigrant status could surely also be considered an interactive factor in his feeling of being pressured.

Orin also related an incident in which it was quite clear to him that the perceived racist upward mobility barriers that he believed he encountered did not diminish with his rise to a top position in Canada's occupational structure. Orin stated that he "was one of the first African descent person" to hold a certain prestigious position in Ontario's criminal justice system:

> [A]nd one day in court, while sitting at the (job position name) table, this white guy, who was a lawyer, wanted to speak to the (job position name). He asked all the whites around the table for the (job position name) excluding me and was told that I am the (job position name). He asked in this surprised tone of voice, 'Are you the (job position name)' and I answered, 'Yes' in the same surprised tone of voice. It just goes to show that in the mid-80s people neither understood nor accepted the fact that black people could hold prestigious positions in the judiciary.

As soon as it was financially advantageous for him to do so, Orin retired from the public service after some twenty-five years of service and opened a cultural business enterprise with strong transnational connections to Trinidad. In Reggie's case, however, he resigned from his teaching position after ten years of service. As a member of the teaching profession, Reggie also related incidents in which his "only-black-in-the group" status became very problematic for him.

It is very much apparent, therefore, that even though these male self-employed participants had expended considerable effort and had struggled continually over long periods against the perceived racist upward mobility barriers that they alleged confronted them, they did not relinquish their mobility dream to be successful in Canada. Without

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represented the conservative White viewpoint so I fitted in well with their scheme of things. I didn't rock the boat; I wasn't radical." see James, "Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience" 12.

question, their migration did lead to socioeconomic success but it was a success that came with a price. After having "made it" in Canada, these men, as Brent's below narrative deliberation of his decision to be self-employed reveals, showed signs of burn-out due to the constant struggle they had waged against perceived racist upward mobility barriers. Brent also reveals that with the pressure,:

> I discussed with my wife that my kids are now grown and have finished university and so I do not need this kind of money. It is good to make it but I do not need this pressure. I am going to work for myself and I decided to go into the car repair business.

Brent's narration is therefore very suggestive that for some of the participants in the study who were quite successful, self-employment was considered more as a form of escape from rather than a form of resistance to perceived racism in Canada. Likewise, Henry reports that escape from workplace racism was the primary motivation that some of the participants in her study advanced for becoming entrepreneurs.[23]

Conclusion

This chapter explored the participants' tenacity and militancy as they confronted and resisted perceived racism, especially racist upward mobility barriers, that they believed they encountered during their incorporation in the economy of the Greater Toronto Area. It also identified and examined the upward mobility strategies they learnt to adopt and utilize. Significantly, this chapter's discussion dealt with how they were able to eventually move up the occupational and social mobility ladder in Canada from positions that, for the majority of them, were lower than their immediate pre-migration occupational status positions.

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[23] see Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, 107.

It was also clear that all of the participants held strong notions that their migration to Canada must lead to socioeconomic success. In fact, their belief that an indelible link exists between migration and socioeconomic success was so strong that it emerged as a very important feature that they drew heavily on in their quest for the high-status and high-income jobs that they sought in Canada. At the same time, though, socioeconomic success came with a price for some of the more successful participants, especially men, on whom the strictures of perceived racism were more greatly felt.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Motivations and Perceptions of Mobility

It is something of a truism that most voluntary migrants migrate principally for economic reasons, that is, to improve their occupational and social status in a host society through the acquisition of jobs that are of a higher-status and higher-income to the jobs they had left behind in their home society. In line with other studies, this exploratory case study of the perceptions and responses of 20 Afro-Trini immigrants to their economic incorporation experiences in the Greater Toronto Area found this to be true for the majority, 65 percent, of them.

It was also found that even though other participants presented other major motivations for migrating, for example, to be near relatives and close friends, as a means to take one's mind of a tragic event by somehow breaking with the past, or to satisfy a "...yearning to see the world," among others, it turned out that all of them were equally committed to the improvement of their occupational and social status in Canada. It was also quite evident that these Afro-Trini women and men who migrated from Trinidad from the late 1960s to 1980, because of what some of them also stated was a lack of educational opportunities for themselves, as well as for their children, did so to advance their and their children's educational standard as well.

By migrating, these Afro-Trini female and male immigrants demonstrated that they had a firm grasp of the strong link that exists between education, occupation, and income in the North American context. This was not surprising really given the fact that

the overall majority of them was part and parcel of well-educated, skilled, and trained members of the Afro-Trini, and Afro-Caribbean, population who had their most productive working years ahead of them. In the late 1960s, Canada's immigration and population control policies were altered to admit such non-white immigrants in record numbers after decades of barring their entry mainly because of their race.

From interview data gathered on 16 employable participants, that is, participants who were neither students when they migrated from Trinidad nor upon arrival in Canada, four original tables were constructed. The first table compared these participants' immediate pre-migration occupational status in Trinidad and their initial post-migration occupational status in Canada. In effect, this involved a comparison of the last jobs held in Trinidad and the initial jobs acquired in Canada. The results of this comparison showed that 7 participants who were in professional and clerical jobs in Trinidad immediately before migration experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility when they were obliged to initially accept temporary jobs in lower-status occupations in Canada. Preliminary observations revealed that many of them may have been obliged to acquire sales and service jobs. However, a comparison made solely of the occupational categories in which the participants acquired jobs did not tell us whether the 1 participant who had acquired an initial professional job and the 3 who were in initial clerical jobs in Canada had held such jobs in Trinidad immediately before migrating. Neither, did we know much about the occupational status changes of the remaining 9 participants. For instance, we did not know whether the participants who were in initial manufacturing and mechanical and skilled and unskilled occupations in Canada were in such occupations when they migrated from Trinidad. Since the sample size was small, it was possible to

construct another table that allowed us to determine who the participants were who had experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility as well as to understand how they perceived such a change in their occupational status.

What came out from this comparison of each participant's immediate pre-migration occupational status and initial post-migration occupational status in the second table was that 10 of them or 62.5 percent of the 16 employable participants had experienced initial downward interoccupational mobility, with the majority of them, 6 of them, being men who had held professional jobs such as teachers and police officers immediately before migrating from Trinidad. They, more than other participants, were deeply dissatisfied with the initial temporary, low-status clerical and sales and service jobs that they were obliged to acquire in Canada. Moreover, these initial temporary, low-status jobs were not commensurate to their set of human capital, that is, their education, skill, and training, and as such they considered them menial, demeaning, and beneath them. Consequently, they became very despondent and felt a steep sense of status loss with their move to Canada. What became obvious was that the higher the status of the immediate pre-migration occupation of these participants, the more dissatisfied they were, the more severe the downward slide in status was perceived, and the sharper they experienced the status loss that accompanied such a downward occupational status change. On the other hand, only 2 participants, both women, had the good fortune of experiencing initial upward interoccupational mobility when they were able to acquire jobs in higher status occupations to what they had immediately left behind in Trinidad. Of the remaining 4 participants, 1 woman and 3 men acquired initial jobs in the same occupational fields that they had held jobs in prior to their migration from Trinidad. Since

the initial occupational outcome of their move to Canada was one of horizontal intraoccupational mobility, they neither felt dissatisfied nor despondent with this lateral shift in occupational status.

Perceptions and Expectations of Mobility

One major research question that guided the analysis of this study was:

To what extent do immigrants' perceptions of occupational and social mobility in Canada relate to the level of mobility expectations they held prior to migration?

For the majority of these black female and male immigrants from Trinidad, migration to Canada did not lead to the aspired initial improvement in occupational and social status. Especially for those who felt that they had fallen from grace, their perceptions of their early economic incorporation experiences were quite similar. They had strongly expected to acquire initial high-status and high-income jobs very soon after their arrival in Canada that would immediately augment their pre-migration occupational status or, if not, at least initially maintain it. As many of them soon found out, though, Toronto was not the City of Gold, as one participant had described it, and as many in the Caribbean region had believed it to be. Many of the participants, especially the more well-educated, skilled, and trained who had held professional jobs in Trinidad immediately before migrating, had migrated with the strong notion that high-status and high-income jobs were easily available and they fully expected to completely utilize their set of human capital to acquire these sought after jobs. Moreover, some of them had migrated resolute that their upward mobility aspirations were indeed easily achievable since the likelihood of this happening had been emphasized by immigration officials in

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Trinidad. However, in migrating to Canada, the sharp contrast between their expectations and the reality of their initial situation made it that much difficult to bear.

Nonetheless, even though the majority participants realized that their education, skill, and training did not immediately lead to the jobs that they sought, they continued to place great store on their set of human capital, as well on improving on it, as the principal means to successfully realize their upward mobility aspirations abroad. This was very much apparent in their roadmaps to achieve socioeconomic success in Canada. In fact, the value they placed on their education, skill, and training did not wane and continued to provide the ideational link between their major motivation for migrating and the means to achieve this success in Canada. By the 1960s, this ideational link was well ingrained in the mobility psyche of Afro-Trini, and Afro-Caribbean, people. In fact, many of them were from families in which, with the migration of other family members, migration had become highly institutionalized. Without a doubt, these Afro-Trini immigrants are to be considered as the contemporary representatives of Afro-Caribbean people on whom migration was to be an essentially shaping feature of improved occupational and social status.

Thus, when the perceptions held by these Afro-Trini immigrants of their failure to acquire the desired high-status and high-income jobs initially upon migration were explored, six major findings emerged from the study. (a) They had migrated with the expectation that educational and employment opportunities were plentiful and easily available in Canada. (b) They had migrated with the expectation that they would have been welcomed in Canada. (c) They had migrated with the expectation not to encounter upward mobility barriers, far less upward mobility barriers that could considered racist, to

the realization of their mobility aspirations in Canada. In fact, it was clear that many did

not even think that they may have been present and that they would hinder their mobility

drive. As such, soon after arrival in Canada, they were (a) quite dismayed that the high-

status and high-income jobs that they sought were not available to them at the beginning.

(b) They were also shocked at the various forms of racism they believed they

encountered, racism which some held was insidious and pervasive in Canada. (c) From

their accounts of perceived racism they felt they encountered, they were quite certain that

racist upward mobility barriers seriously impeded their attainment of the high-status and

high-income jobs that they sought with migration.

Their accounts of alleged encounters with upward mobility barriers that they

perceived were racist were: (a) Being offered mostly temporary, entry level jobs that

were not commensurate to their education, skill, and training. (b) Denial of desired jobs

because of a lack of Canadian experience. (c) Being denied job interviews because your

Caribbean accent signified your race. (d) Putting an X on my aptitude test results because

I am black. (e) Being told that you are too qualified. (f) Résumés signified job applicants'

race and were used to screen them out. (g) Earning less money than similarly placed

white employees. (h) Being passed over for promotion despite having qualifications

similar to or better than white employees. (i) As the only non-white member of a work

group, in not having your contributions valued nor acted upon as if they came from you.

The examination of quantitative educational, occupational, and income data strongly

supported their allegations. Moreover, these perceived racist upward mobility barriers

were considered to be systemic and institutional in nature. This sharp incongruence

between these black immigrants' pre-migration expectations and post-migration

economic incorporation experiences is highly consistent with what other Afro-Caribbean immigrants have experienced in Canada as various studies have shown.

In light of the participants' above perceptions of racist upward mobility barriers that they alleged they encountered, two more original tables were constructed, as mentioned. The major purpose behind the construction of these tables was to determine whether the participants were able to improve their occupational and social status through the acquisition of better jobs to those that they were initially obliged to acquire. As such, while one table compared their initial post-migration occupational status and their occupational status attained at the time of interview in 1998, the other provided partial occupational case histories of each participant that covered her/his mobility trajectories from her/his initial post-migration occupational status to the occupational status attained at the time of interview. The major finding that resulted from this exercise was that near all of the employable participants were able to progressively acquire better jobs and, resultantly, enjoy varying degrees of upward occupational and social mobility in Canada. For example, while 4 or 25 percent of the employable participants held initial post-migration professional and clerical jobs and no one was in initial post-migration financial jobs, there were 7 or 43.75 percent of them in such jobs at the time of interview. Significantly, as well, of the 5 or 31.25 percent of the employable participants who were obliged to initially accept temporary, low-status, sales and service jobs when they migrated to Canada, no participant was employed in these jobs at the time of interview. These findings were quite suggestive that some of the participants who were in professional jobs in Trinidad immediately before migrating to Canada and were obliged to accept initial, temporary, low-status, sales and service jobs eventually may have been

able to improve their occupational and social status through the acquisition of these higher status, professional, financial, and clerical jobs. While this deduction is reasonable, it was only able to be confirmed through an examination of the occupational mobility trajectory of each employable participant.

Occupational mobility occurred in either of or in two ways for these Afro-Trini immigrants. It occurred either intraoccupationally and/or, more often, interoccupationally. Since some of the male participants who had held professional jobs in Trinidad immediately before migration had suffered the severest status loss with migration, the mobility trajectories of participants who were in professional jobs in 1998 were some of the first to be examined. Overall, it was found that they, among others who initially were obliged to accept temporary, low-status, sales and service jobs, for example, were indeed able, over time, to incrementally improve their occupational and social status through the acquisition of higher status or better jobs. Simon, as we may recall, typified this ascent up the occupational and social mobility ladder in Canada. However, it was noted that while some of the participants, like Simon, were able to regain the occupational status that they lost with migration, many more were able to surpass their pre-migration occupational status. In addition, after spending between 20 to 30 years in Canada, 4 out of the sample of 20 participants were self-employed when the interviews were conducted in 1998. Finally, there were other participants who had retired in 1998 after having bettered their initial post-migration occupational status as well.

Responding to Perceived Upward Mobility Barriers

Another major research question that guided the analysis of this study therefore was:

> How would immigrants respond when they believe that the mobility expectations that they held prior to migration were not being realized because of perceived upward mobility barriers?

Because the initial post-migration occupational status of the majority of the participants was far below that of their immediate pre-migration occupational status, it became doubly important to examine how they were able to accomplish their upward mobility feats. It was also apparent that, like other non-white immigrants, especially Chinese immigrants, these Afro-Trini immigrants had acquired an "entrance status" immediately upon arrival in Canada that, despite their level of education, skill, and training, had limited their access initially to only temporary, low-status jobs. "Entrance status" was understood to have the potential of locking non-white immigrants somewhat in a caste-like location in Canada's stratification system whereby upward mobility becomes quite difficult. Consequently, because these Afro-Trini immigrants were able to remove themselves from this imposed status and shatter the "race ceiling" to upward occupational and social mobility in Canada, these accomplishments were highly suggestive that they surely had had to struggle in order to succeed. In this respect, what, therefore, emerged as a most significant finding in the study was that, despite the presence of upward mobility barriers that they perceived as racist, they all strongly believed that their migration would surely lead to socioeconomic success. To a large degree, this strong belief shaped the nature their responses took to the perceived racist upward mobility barriers that they believed they faced. Indeed, there was strong evidence

in the study that indicated that these immigrants did not migrate to fail.

First, though many were dissatisfied and despondent with their experiences of initial downward interoccupational mobility, they were never defeated. This finding was supported by the fact that not one of them returned to Trinidad either very soon after arrival or at anytime in all of their years of residence in Canada so as to escape perceived racism.

Second, both women and men, but men in particular, who were in the professional ranks in Trinidad and had experienced the most severe status loss with migration, were very tenacious and militant. In this regard, they were not shy to confront the perceived racist upward mobility barriers in their search for higher-status and higher-income jobs. In fact, it can be argued that their resolve not to fail was strengthened considerably by the daily challenges that they faced. As such, in their early years in the labor market of the Greater Toronto Area, they were never satisfied with their first nor subsequent temporary, low-status jobs. Considered in this study as a form of resistance to perceived racism, some of these male participants, especially the more well-educated as well as those participants whose actions were not constrained by the financial obligation of having to provide for children, quit these low-status jobs with impunity with their first brush with perceived racist upward mobility barriers and/or when they felt that the jobs were too beneath them when performing certain tasks. Though some female participants did not engage in such frequent voluntary occupational disruptions and rapid occupational mobility as much as some men, it was determined that most of them were equally tenacious and militant as men in their search for higher-status and higher-income jobs in Canada.

The third and final evidence that indicated that these immigrants did not intend to fail despite the perceived racist upward mobility barriers they alleged they encountered was in their tenacity not to abandon their roadmaps to achieve socioeconomic success in Canada. They had placed great store on their education, skill, and training, and on improving on them, to provide them with the high-status and high-income jobs that they desired. Thus, even though they painfully realized that their set of human capital had no initial occupational mobility value for them upon arrival in Canada, they did not waver in their belief in its value nor in their resolve to reap occupational rewards from it. As such, they neither wavered in the strong belief held of the link that exists between education, occupation, and income nor in the strong belief held that their migration to Canada must eventually lead to socioeconomic success.

Thus, many of them felt that they were in control of their destiny, that is, that their future was in their hands and any success that they had to achieve was to result on the constant improvement of their education, skill, and training, and, most importantly, on their "learning the ropes" to upward occupational and social mobility in Canada. In actuality, their cognitive project to learn hinged on their adoption and utilization of upward mobility strategies rather quickly, well, and at times, surreptitiously. Relying on the expectation of any goodwill or assistance from white Canadians to rise up the occupational and social mobility ladder may have been an expectation of theirs or a feature of their pre-migration roadmaps to achieve socioeconomic success but, with migration, they soon realized that this was not to be. These immigrants thus showed that they did not leave Trinidad to fail and, as such, both female and male immigrants revealed how they "fought" the "system" to achieve varying measures of upward

occupational and social mobility in Canada. They also demonstrated their ability to be strategically flexible as well as their tendency to adopt multiple upward mobility options while staying firmly on a predetermined course to achieve socioeconomic success in Canada. In this light, many turned what they considered to be racist upward mobility barriers into stepping-stones to rise up the occupational and social mobility ladder in Canada. How they "learnt the ropes" to upward occupational and social mobility and "fought" the "system" by turning perceived racist upward mobility barriers into stepping stones was demonstrated in the following ways.

This was never more clearly shown in the study than in their continued use of temporary employment referral agencies to obtain temporary, low-status jobs so as to gain Canadian experience; to obviate the need to pursue the acquisition of jobs via telephone interviews in order to limit employers' use of their Caribbean accent as a determinant of their race which they perceived employers used to screen them out; and to replace their work experiences gained in Trinidad, which they also perceived indicated their race and were used by employers to screen them out as well, with stints of Canadian-gained work experiences on their résumés. This was an upward mobility strategy, however, that women were more inclined to use than men, especially those married women who had children. Since the responsibility of childcare has traditionally fallen on women, it appears that the inclination of both married and single female participants who had children to quit temporary, low-status jobs rather quickly was attenuated by this fact. As such, they more than men took advantage of this "bad" situation.

Working in temporary, low-status jobs also proved to be invaluable in other ways.

First, it provided both female and male participants with the opportunity to learn the

value and use of networking with other Afro-Trini, and Afro-Caribbean, co-workers as

well as with white Canadians working in other organizations. Many, therefore, developed

"lists of contacts" of people who assisted them in acquiring better temporary, low-status

jobs as well as fulltime, higher-status and higher-income jobs. Second, networking was

also an invaluable resource through which newly-arrived immigrants gained much

needed knowledge on how the "system" worked and how best to circumvent it in order to

acquire better jobs. For example, many of them learnt that, in order to acquire better jobs,

they had to get "in" in a company at the bottom of its occupational ladder by accepting

temporary, low-status jobs and then they could apply for better jobs from within the

company. Though there were participants who had to accept temporary, low-status,

manual jobs to acquire desired fulltime, higher-status, clerical jobs, this response was

quite successful to their upward occupational and social mobility.

What is more, even though not accepted and engaged in at all times by these

immigrants, especially the more well-educated, they also learnt, through networking with

co-workers and friends as well as through others who were close to them such as spouses,

that they were to act surreptitiously in their job searches. Since many of the participants

were denied temporary, low-status as well as fulltime, higher-status jobs because they

were considered "too qualified," their response to this perceived racist upward mobility

barrier involved the practice of deflating their qualifications to obtain these jobs. Some

participants did obtain desired higher status and higher income jobs this way while

others, especially males who were in the professional ranks immediately before migration

and had strongly felt their initial downward occupational slide with migration, refused to

submit to the further humiliation of deflating their qualifications to acquire temporary, low-status jobs that were not commensurate to their education, skill, and training. Those participants who did not adopt this job search practice were firm in their conviction that their education, skill, and training should, and eventually would, be the vehicle to carry them up the occupational and social mobility ladder in Canada.

Improving upon one's educational qualifications either through on-the-job training or through more formal channels such as enrolling in community colleges or universities in the Greater Toronto Area was a response that all of the participants adopted, in varying degrees, to obtain better jobs either intraoccupationally and/or interoccupationally. For some, though, on-the-job training neither was easily obtained from other more experienced white employees nor did its receipt level the playing field for promotional advancement when in competition with other white employees. When on-the-job training was not easily obtained from white co-workers, participants responded tenaciously by relying on their intelligence and skill to train themselves or to be "self-taught" as one female participant described it. This was one instance in which it was found in the study that the immigrant's race was more significant than or primary to the immigrant's gender in conditioning the economic incorporation experiences of female participants.

It was also the case that even when participants were fortunate to obtain high-status and high-income jobs due to the level of formal education attained, for example, there were those participants who acquired first and second degrees in Canada and had gotten top jobs, they continued to perceive that racist upward mobility barriers remained a pronounced obstructionist feature to their continued upward occupational and social mobility. One unintended consequence of acquiring high-status and high-income jobs for

these Afro-Trini immigrants was that they found themselves members of work groups that were skewed sharply by racial, gender, and immigrant numerical differences. It was deduced that this skewness occurred because there was an inverse relationship between upward occupational mobility and the numerical and proportional representation of black people in high-status and high-income occupational positions in Canada. Invariably, therefore, these female and male high achievers were often the sole black female and male immigrants among more numerous white males where one of their reported encounters with perceived upward mobility barriers was that their contributions neither were valued nor acted upon as if they came from them. Other white co-employees were credited for these high achievers' contributions. Added to that, they were also under considerable pressure to conform to the dictates of the white-dominated work groups. Flowing from this, another significant finding in the study was that these high achievers, especially males, displayed signs of burn-out with the constant struggle waged against perceived racist upward mobility barriers to reach the top. In taking this fact into consideration, the decision of the majority of them to be self-employed was construed as a response to escape from rather than resistance to perceived racism.

Reflections

For theoretical guidance, this study utilized an adapted multivariate model.[1] Unlike Milton Gordon's stages or types of assimilation, the dominant paradigm to describe the immigrant adjustment process, the multivariate model did not assume that

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[1] It was adapted from the multivariate model developed by Goldlust and Richmond. see John Goldlust and Anthony H. Richmond. 1974. "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation," *International Migration Review*, 8, 2 (Summer): 193-225.

assimilation is the preordained outcome when "immigrants meet hosts." Since Gordon's

stage model of assimilation was more representative of the Anglo-conformity and

Melting Pot models of adjustment of early European immigrants, it assumed the

"directional, unilinear, nonreversible, and continuous" cultural and structural

assimilation, especially, of all immigrants in the United States, in particular. In doing so,

it did not cater for the "new immigrants" in the United States and Canada who were

racially and culturally dissimilar to the majority white population. In this light, the

adapted multivariate model utilized incorporation rather than assimilation as its

explanatory concept of immigrant adjustment. The term incorporation was favored

because it "has the advantage of not involving *a priori* value judgements concerning

desirable outcomes or conveying the same ideological overtones that have come to be

associated with the notion of 'assimilation'."[2]

The multivariate model was also theoretically fruitful in connecting home and

host societies when considering how immigrants adjust to life in a host society. As such,

it allowed for a consideration of a set of pre-migration and post-migration characteristics

that showed that immigrant populations can be extremely diverse and that their

experiences are neither controllable nor uniform. As such, all immigrants may neither

become less culturally distinctive nor fully structurally assimilated in a host society.

Crucially, the multivariate model made room to include immigrants' race as a very

significant determinant of their social and economic incorporation experiences in a host

society such as Canada.

The multivariate model was also considerate of the various motives for migration

as well as the various auspices or conditions under which immigrants seek admission into

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[2] Ibid., 195.

a host society. For example, even though it is assumed that most immigrants migrate for economic reasons and, as independent immigrants, use their education, skill, and training as the main means to enter Canada under the "points system," the model made allowance for the incorporation of immigrants who entered for non-economic reasons such as to visit relatives or close friends or to satisfy a "yearning to see the world." In this regard, it was shown that immigrants were admitted into Canada either as students, visitors, assisted relatives, or family members. Nonetheless, because of the immigrants' race, their incorporation experiences in the Canadian economy were not dissimilar. All faced upward mobility barriers that they perceived as racist. On the other hand, gender discrimination was not a form of discrimination that appeared to have concerned female immigrants.

Though the multivariate model was extremely helpful in many respects in understanding the economic incorporation experiences of the Afro-Trini participants in this study, it did not account for the distinctiveness of their migration to Canada. Very much like other Afro-Caribbean immigrants, Afro-Trini immigrants tend to migrate principally for economic reasons but there is a cultural context to Afro-Caribbean migration that cannot be overlooked. Migration has become an institutionalized way of life for Afro-Caribbean people. It has defined who they are and has historically determined who they can become. Thus, though economic motives may be paramount in Afro-Trini immigrants' migration decisions, they are very much shaped by cultural factors that are permeated with symbolic meanings and social practices. In fact, migration has defined entire small Caribbean societies. Resultantly, there are more Montserratians living abroad than on the island. Furthermore, just being abroad, even for non-economic

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reasons, has bestowed social status on individuals. Crucially, as well, migrating has become synonymous with socioeconomic success, that is, to be considered a success one must migrate.

There are indeed deficiencies in this study that need to be addressed if this study is to be replicated. For example, because the intent of this study was to probe deeply into Afro-Trini immigrants' recollection of their past lived economic incorporation experiences in Canada, the main thrust of the research methodology was to conduct semi-structured, in-depth interviews with a sample of them who were residing in the Greater Toronto Area. Once the analysis of the interview data began, however, it was soon realized that the smallness of the sample imposed restrictions on the variability of the choice of participants' reported lived economic incorporation experiences to draw on.

While there were those participants' interviews that provided mountains of data, there were other interviews where not as much were gleaned, relatively speaking. As such, there were participants such as June, Steve, Brent, and Simon whose lived economic incorporation experiences appear to dominate the discussions in the study. Because of this, as the analytical stage of the research progressed, there were growing concerns, not only with how representative were the findings but on how representative they were of the sample as a whole. Conjoined, an additional concern was that the majority of the sample was obtained through snowball sampling and the use of this data gathering technique presents further questions as to the representativeness of the findings. Nonetheless, what was important about this aspect of the research methodology is that it brought out the individuality and distinctiveness of sample members and provided intensive knowledge of the lived economic incorporation experiences of some of them. If

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otherwise, this feat would have been impossible to achieve by working with a larger sample or by relying solely on quantitative data and/or data from secondary sources.

The quantitative aspect of the research methodology also placed certain limitations on the study. For example, though an attempt was made in the study to gather more definitive quantitative data on the size and on certain socio-demographic characteristics of the Afro-Trini immigrant population in the Greater Toronto Area, the result was still largely impressionistic. Much needed immigration and census stock data that could have provided a better socio-demographic profile were not obtained and therefore not presented. It proved to be too costly to acquire. This limitation greatly affected the analysis. Moreover, it greatly limited the analysis of the race characteristics of this immigrant population. Because for the first time the race question formed a significant part of the Canadian census in 1996, the study therefore had to overly rely on the racial breakdown of the non-white and Caribbean immigrant populations in Canada as well as on the Caribbean-origin population in Canada, in the province of Ontario, and in the Greater Toronto Area.

Fortunately, the study did benefit tremendously from the availability of primary census and secondary quantitative data on the educational, occupational, and income status of members of the Caribbean-origin population, white Canadian-born population, Chinese, South Asian, and Black non-white populations, and, to a limited extent, on the immigrant population from Trinidad and Tobago in Canada and in the Greater Toronto Area. The comparative analysis of this quantitative data provided definitive evidence of the existence of systemic and institutional racism in Canada as well as provide strong support to the Afro-Trini participants' accounts of the perceived racist upward mobility

barriers they alleged they encountered. The four originally constructed tables that compared and reviewed the Afro-Trini participants' immediate pre-migration occupational status and initial post-migration occupational status were also able to offer a rather solid idea of the early effects of the perceived racist upward mobility barriers they alleged they encountered and of the nature of the mobility journey they would have had to undertake in surmounting them.

Implications for Future Research

As the study progressed, it became obvious that the Afro-Trini immigrants interviewed engaged in a process of ethnic disidentification in their attempts to differentiate themselves from other Afro-Caribbean immigrants, especially Jamaicans, who have been stigmatized as criminals in the eyes of white Canadians, especially employers. In applying this process to explain the distancing actions of Asian immigrants in the United States, Hayano describes the process as "the reactions taken by ethnic groups who are perceived by themselves or outsiders to be 'close,' who might be mistaken for one another, and who feel the need to establish their authentic ethnic status."[3] Each Asian ethnic group, Hayano continues:

> frequently exhibits a pronounced tendency toward maintaining its own unique ethnic identity as it pertains to religion, food, language, or culture. Hence, within various Asian American groups it is not difficult to find evidence of inter-ethnic stereotyping, discrimination, and persistence claims of cultural or physical superiority.[4]

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[3] see David M. Hayano.1981. "Ethnic Identification and Disidentification: Japanese-American Views of Chinese-Americans," *Ethnic Groups* 3, 2: 158.

[4] Ibid..

Reid and Hellwig also give an account of this process of ethnic disidentification that

characterized the distancing relations between Afro-Caribbean immigrants and African-

Americans as they both sought entry into the economy of New York City during the early

decades of the 20th century.[5] Some of the interview data obtained in this study, and now

presented, provide such a start.

> You see in Canada everyone is Jamaican and, here, once you are black
> you are seen as Jamaican. That is a stigma we have on us. You see Canada
> is experiencing problems with blacks and I will say that 75 percent of it is
> because of Jamaicans. They equate blackness with Jamaicans. They have
> not been educated with the different nationalities of the Caribbean.[6]

This is the response I got from June when I had asked her:

> Do you think that your color/race, accent, or nationality plays an important
> part in how you are identified in Canada?

Like June, many other Afro-Trini participants felt that the racist stereotype of

Jamaican immigrants as criminals, who are involved in drugs, robberies, and killings,[7]

has been expanded to cover all black immigrants from the Caribbean region. Because of

this, they believed that the tendency of members of the white majority, and other non-

black immigrants, to view all Afro-Caribbean immigrants as black immigrants from

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[5] see Ira de Augustine Reid. 1939. *The Negro Immigrant: His Background Characteristics and Social Adjustment*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press; David J. Hellwig. 1978. "Black Meets Black: Afro-American Reactions to West Indian Immigrants in the 1920's," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 77, 2 (Spring): 206-224.

[6] This sentiment was also expressed by black youth in James' study. see Carl E. James. 1990. *Making It: Black Youth, Racism and Career Aspirations in a Big City*, Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press.

[7] The charge has been made that the media and the police are the two main institutions responsible for the social construction of the criminal identity pegged on Jamaican immigrants. see Frances Henry, Carol Tator, Winston Mathis, and Tim Rees. 1995. *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, Toronto, ON: Harcourt Brace & Company; Frances Henry. 1999. *The Racialization of Crime in Toronto's Print Media*, Toronto, ON: Ryerson Polytechnic University.

Jamaica accounts to a large degree for the perceived racism they encounter in Canadian society and economy. They were of the opinion that this imposed, pan-Jamaican identity has hindered their acceptance by whites, especially white employers, in Canada.

Because of their sheer numerical strength quite early in the settlement of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada, Jamaican immigrants have had the greatest impact on the identity of other black immigrants from the Caribbean region. More than any other immigrant population from the Caribbean region, they have felt the brunt of, and were the vanguard in the struggle against, racism in Canada. Consequently, as a process of social re-identification, the criminalization of Jamaican immigrants has engendered negative social and economic relations which are experienced in one way or the other in varying degrees by most Afro-Caribbean immigrants, regardless of status. As such, the criminal stigma attached to identification as Jamaican immigrants, and the resultant social and economic inhibitions, were of major concern to the participants in this study. To George, therefore:

> I am seen as Jamaican. Everyone is Jamaican. And, I know of certain
> places when you go people look up at you scared. They do not trust you.

In seeking employment, June was also of the opinion that:

> It was difficult as a black person to find a job. As a black person, they
> assumed that we were from the Caribbean and most likely Jamaicans.

On the whole, female participants were equally offended as male participants with their identification as Jamaican immigrants. Like June, Lorna was very offended whenever she was identified as a Jamaican immigrant.

> They do not know where you are from. They say that you are from
> Jamaica. I am offended. As far as I am concerned, we are different.

Race was therefore primary in the social identification of these Afro-Trini immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area. As Simon stated:

> My color is primary-it is first...I mean the first impression that people have of you is based on the external. So they see a black person and okay here is another Jamaican nigger. Without stopping to find out, they make the initial assessment on the basis of what they see externally.

The above narratives indicate that these Afro-Trini immigrants were very concerned in being falsely identified as Jamaican immigrants. They felt that there were severe socioeconomic costs in being so identified. In rebutting such an identification, it is very likely that they will attempt to make their ethnic identity very distinctive by employing various ethnic and national markers as other Afro-Caribbean immigrants have done in the past. In so doing, they will be invoking the centrifugal force of ethnicity which ethnicizes their race rather than the centripetal force of racial identity which racializes their ethnicity. The endgame will be to differentiate and so distance themselves from Jamaican immigrants as much as possible. No doubt, this is one area of study that cries out for further exploration, especially of a comparative and cross-cultural nature, when "black immigrants 'meet up' with black immigrants in a white host society."

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

General Format

In general, the interview guide consists of a series of clusters of conversational

questions under particular themes. These are more "traffic management" questions since

no exact phrasing or strict sequencing of questions will be used. Variants of the questions

that appear below will be inserted at appropriate moments in the conversation to elicit the

desired information. Each interview will last approximately two hours. No more than two

interviews will occur in a single day, with at least a two hour break between interviews.

Section I of the interview guide will provide general pre-migration and post-

migration characteristics of the participants. These characteristics consist of such socio-

demographic data as participants' length of residence in Canada; homeownership and

residential mobility; migration history; motivations for, and auspices of, migration; age;

age at arrival; marital status; number, sex, ages of children, and ages of children at time of

their arrival in Canada; educational, economical, and occupational status attained in

Trinidad and Canada.

Section II of the interview guide deals with the gathering of more pre-migration

and post-migration research data, but more of a subjective nature, on participants' lived

experiences in the Canadian economy and society, especially in regard to their

employment experiences in Canada: on the various jobs that they held in Canada; how

were they acquired?; how long did they stay at each job?; how satisfied were they with

each job in relation to their level of education, skill, and training?; how did the first job

compare with the job that was held at home?; and why did they leave one job for another?; and what was their present job? More subjective themes also probed were participants' pre-migration expectations and initial post-migration experiences; on whether they felt that they had been prejudiced and discriminated against in their search for jobs, housing, etc. and in their search for better jobs; and on how they have responded to the prejudices and discrimination or barriers that they felt confronted them, especially within their various workplaces.

Introductory Statement

Hi. I thank you for deciding to collaborate with me on my dissertation research project. As I told you, my name is Oswald Warner and I am a Trini from Chaguanas studying for my doctorate in Sociology/Urban Studies at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. One of the conditions I need to fulfill to obtain my doctorate is to complete an original research work. To do so, I have chosen to explore how Afro-Trinis have attempted to "make it" in Canadian society, especially as it relates to their employment experiences since arrival in Canada.

I will like to have your permission to tape record our entire conversation. If you are uncomfortable with the use of a tape recorder then I will like your permission to take notes while we speak. However, no one but me will listen to the tapes or read the notes. Generally, our conversation should last approximately two hours. I want to stress that any information I obtain through our conversation will be kept entirely private and confidential, and your identity will be protected at all times during my conversations with other Afro-Trinis and in my subsequent write-up of the research information collected. Further, I am

assuring you that your name and all personal details would be changed. If you do not have any questions at this time, I will like to proceed by, first, asking you a few questions about your life here in Canada.

Section I

Objective: Participants' General Pre-Migration and Post-Migration Characteristics

Opening Conversation, Residential Mobility, and Homeownership

1. How long have you been living in Canada?

2. How long have you lived in this area of Canada?

3. Where did you live in Canada before moving to this area?

4. What brought you to this area to live?

5. Do you own your own home or are you renting?

6. Did you own your own home in Trinidad?

Migration History and Motivations for, and Auspices of, Migration

1. Where were you living in Trinidad?

2. How long did you live there?

3. Did you live in any other country before migrating to Canada?

4. Why did you decide to leave Trinidad?

5. Why did you decide to migrate to Canada?

6. What were your most important reasons for leaving Trinidad for Canada?

7. Do you have relatives living in Canada? How many? Where do they live?

8. How important were they in your decision to settle in Canada and in what ways did

they assist you? In finding accommodation, a job, locating the supermarket, bus and train stations etc?

9. Did you migrate to Canada on your own as an independent immigrant, an entrepreneur, or were you sponsored by a relative?

<u>Age; Age at Arrival; Marital Status; Number, Sex, Ages of Children, and Ages of Children at the Time of their Arrival</u>

1. How old are you?

2. How old were you when you migrated to Canada?

3. Are you married, divorced, or single? Or, cohabiting (living together)?

4. Were you married in Trinidad or did you marry here?

5. What nationality is your partner?

6. How many children do you have? Are they boys and/or girls? How old are they?

7. How old were your children when they arrived in Canada?

8. Did they migrate with you?

9. Do you have any children who do not live here with you at this time? How old are they?

<u>Educational, Economical, and Occupational Status Attained in Trinidad and Canada</u>

1. What level of schooling have you achieved in Trinidad?

2. Did you continue your schooling in Canada? And, if so, why?

3. What type of education, training, and skills have you acquired in Canada?

4. Did you finish the course and receive a certificate, diploma, or degree?

5. What are your plans education-wise for the future?

6. What educational goals have you set for your children?

7. What type of education, training, and skills will you like to acquire in Canada?

8. Do you own any business here in Canada or in Trinidad?

9. If so, what type of business are you engaged in?

10. Is your Canadian business linked to Trinidad or vice versa?

11. Why did you establish a business here in Canada?

12. How long has it been established?

13. What type of work did you do in Trinidad?

14. What position did you hold in the job you were doing in Trinidad?

15. What type of work were you doing when you migrated from Trinidad?

16. What was the first job you had in Canada?

17. How did you get this job?

18. Did you find this job on your own or did you have help from relatives, friends, or

   employment agencies?

Section II

Objective: Pre-Migration and Post-Migration Subjective Research Data on Participants' Perceptions of Lived Experiences in the Canadian Economy.

Pre-Migration and Post-Migration Occupational Mobility

1. What did you think of the first job that you acquired in Canada?

2. Was that the job you expected to acquire when you migrated?

3. Based on your level of education, training, and skill was that first job the job you had

   expected to acquire when you migrated to Canada?

4. Were you satisfied with your first job based on your education, skill, and experience?

5. How does your first job compare with the last job you had been doing at home?

6. Was it a better job than the job you held in Trinidad?

7. Were you satisfied with your first job in Canada? If not, why?

8. How long did you stay in your first job?

9. Why did you leave your first job?

10. Have you had trouble of any kind in finding work in Canada?

11. Have you had trouble holding down a job?

12. What are the other jobs you have held in Canada?

13. How did you obtain these jobs?

14. Where did you turn for assistance?

15. Did you consider these jobs better than the first and previous jobs?

16. How long did you remain in each job?

17. Why did you leave each job?

18. How did you go about obtaining other jobs?

19. What work are you doing at this time?

20. How long have you been in this job?

21. Do you consider your present job to be better than the job you had held in Trinidad and the other jobs you have held in Canada since arriving?

Pre-Migration Expectations and Initial Post-Migration Experiences

1. Have you ever been to Canada before you came to live?

2. What were your expectations of Canada before you arrived?

3. How did you perceive your life would be in Canada before you arrived?

4. What did you expect that Canada would offer to you?

5. How did you plan to achieve what you had expected to achieve?

6. Did you obtain what you expected Canada would have offered to you when you arrived?

7. Did you feel Canada was a land of opportunity?

8. Have you had any experiences with discrimination when you arrived? On the streets, the bus, the train, neighbors, work, etc.

9. How would you describe your first year in Canada?

10. Were there many other non-whites in the places where you worked?

11. What were some of your experiences either as the only black or one of a few non-white employees in the places where you have worked?

12. During the first year, what do you believe was the most difficult to cope with here in Canada?

13. And, in subsequent years, what have been your most difficult experiences?

14. Can you explain the situation or circumstances under which your idea of how life would have been in Canada have changed?

Perceptual Experiences of Prejudices and Discrimination

1. Do you think that you are treated better or worse when you are known as someone originally from the Caribbean?

2. Since you have been in Canada so long, can you recount any experiences of prejudices and discrimination you may have had in this country? On the streets, the bus, the train, neighbors, work, etc.

3. When you look for work, do you think that being an Afro-Trini makes it easier or

more difficult to find a job and/or be promoted?

4. Can you relate any instances in which you felt that you have been discriminated against on the job-type of task allotted, promotion, etc.? If so, is it because you are black, male, female, Caribbean, or foreigner, for example?

5. What do you see as the most important obstacles that you had to overcome in order to get ahead in Canada?

6. Do you think it makes a difference in the treatment you receive from employers, other workers, or the members of the public when you are known as someone from the Caribbean?

7. Did you feel comfortable at the places where you worked?

8. How were you treated on the job by your supervisors and/or co-workers?

9. Have you always worked in places where the majority of employees was whites? If so, what were your experiences like?

10. Do you feel wanted in this country?

11. On the basis of your experiences in Canada and/or those of your friends and family members, what do you think is the state of race relations in Canada? That is, do you think that racism against people of color, especially black people, is a major problem here in Canada?

12. On the basis of your experiences in Canada and/or those of your friends and family members, what do you think is the state of race relations in Canada? That is, do you think that racism against people of color, especially black people, is a major problem here in Canada?

13. Taking into account your experience in Canada, do you feel accepted by the larger

society (white Canadian society)? Or, at times, did you or do you feel like packing up and returning to Trinidad?

Responding to Perceptual Experiences of Prejudices and Discrimination

1. If you have experienced discrimination in the workplace, how did you respond to it? What did you do? Did you leave the job or did you remain?

2. Why did you feel that you had to deal with it instead of leaving the job?

3. What other strategies did you adopt?

4. Did you receive any assistance from anyone, relatives and/or friends in the form of advice, guidance etc., of the best way(s) to respond to workplace discrimination?

5. Did you always follow the advice given? If not, why not?

6. How successful were your strategies to overcome workplace discrimination?

7. Were the strategies you adopted directly responsible for your acquiring better jobs, promotions, etc.?

Table 5.1
The Caribbean Immigrant Population in Canada, 1996

Place of Birth	Total	Before 1961	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-1996
Anguilla	95	20	35	30	0	0
Antigua/ Barbuda	2,075	90	570	840	440	140
Aruba	560	110	105	260	60	30
Bahamas	1,100	80	135	370	355	165
Barbados	15,225	1,510	5,170	4,720	2,535	1,285
Bermuda	1,795	430	335	495	350	180
Cayman Islands	185	25	10	40	45	65
Cuba	3,100	115	200	335	835	1,620
Dominica	2,345	20	485	745	710	380
Dominican Republic	4,560	40	125	300	1,890	2210
Grenada	7,095	105	1,065	2,410	1,815	1,695
Guadeloupe	225	15	25	75	65	45
Haiti	49,395	230	2,315	18,140	17,125	11,585
Jamaica	115,800	3,555	17,715	43,555	29,575	21,400
Martinique	315	10	40	125	115	25
Montserrat	585	60	155	230	80	55
Netherlands Antilles	540	120	80	130	165	40
Puerto Rico	235	20	25	55	65	70
St. Kitts/ Nevis	2,465	125	670	920	635	115
St. Lucia	2,360	75	500	650	655	485
St. Vincent/ Grenadines	7,170	350	1,440	2,485	1,535	1,355
Trinidad/ Tobago	62,020	1,270	14,035	19,055	13,330	14,325
Turks/Caicos Islands	10	0	0	0	0	0
Virgin Islands, British	80	0	10	25	10	30
Virgin Islands, US	65	20	10	15	10	0

Table 5.1 (Continued)

| Grand Total | 279,400 | 8,395 | 45,255 | 96,005 | 72,400 | 57,300 |

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20 % Sample Data

Table 5.3
Caribbean Immigrants in the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec,
and British Columbia (BC), 1996

Place of Birth	Total Canada	Total Ontario	% Ontario	Total Quebec	% Quebec	Total BC	% BC
Anguilla	95	65	68	10	10	0	0
Antigua/ Barbuda	2,075	1,485	72	215	10	95	5
Aruba	560	355	63	45	8	75	13
Bahamas	1,100	790	72	105	9	85	8
Barbados	15,225	10,475	69	2,915	19	685	5
Bermuda	1,795	1,090	61	125	7	245	14
Cayman Islands	185	110	59	10	5	30	16
Cuba	3,100	1,660	53	860	27	245	8
Dominica	2,345	1,960	84	155	7	60	3
Dominican Republic	4,560	1,605	35	2,760	60	115	2.5
Grenada	7,095	5,530	78	870	12	180	2.5
Guadeloupe	225	20	8	195	87	0	0
Haiti	49,395	3,285	7	45,470	92	240	0.5
Jamaica	115,800	100,330	87	5,845	5	3,020	3
Martinique	315	75	24	235	75	0	0
Montserrat	585	330	56	190	32	0	0
Netherlands Antilles	540	370	69	45	8	80	15
Puerto Rico	235	75	32	70	30	30	13
St. Kitts/Nevis	2,465	1,970	80	290	12	80	3
St. Lucia	2,360	1,850	78	295	12	45	2
St. Vincent/ Grenadines	7,170	4,900	68	1,550	22	185	3
Trinidad/ Tobago	62,020	48,400	78	5,110	8	2,610	4
Turks/Caicos Islands	10	0	0	10	100	0	0
Virgin Islands, British	80	60	75	0	0	15	19
Virgin Islands, US	65	40	61	0	0	0	0

Table 5.3 (Continued)

Grand Total	279,400	186,830[a]		67,375[b]		8,120[c]	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, 20% Sample Data.

[a] Figures do not add up to 186,850 as in Table 5.2.

[b] Figures do not add up to 67,370 as in Table 5.2.

[c] Figures do not add up to 8,145 as in Table 5.2.

APPENDIX D

Table 5.5
Immigrants from Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and Guyana in the City Areas of the Greater Toronto Area, 1996

City Area	Haitian	Jamaican	Trinidad and Tobago	Barbadian	Guyanese	Total 1,000 and more
Mississauga	140	19,110	4,245	1,605	4,110	29,210
Brampton	110	12,655	2,010	810	2,340	17,925
Etobicoke	90	13,550	1,930	480	2,125	18,175
York	105	8,815	1,050	545	1,425	11,940
Toronto	305	11,055	3,450	1,490	2,600	18,900
East York	50	2,395	815	320	505	4,085
North York	215	23,260	3,185	1,275	4,915	32,850
Scarborough	310	27,275	5,565	2,230	7,925	43,305
Markham	10	4,830	865	375	980	7,060
Pickering	10	2,660	925	355	1,030	4,980
Ajax	0	2,365	520	295	565	3,745
Whitby	10	1,340	305	90	335	2,080
Oshawa	20	1,115	555	190	285	2,165

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996: profile of census subdivisions [computer file], Aug. 1999 (STC 95F0181XDB96001)

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