RACISM IN THE WORKPLACE:

ITS IMPACT ON LIFE SATISFACTION

OF A SAMPLE OF

CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF

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FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY
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ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis was to investigate the impact of racial discrimination in the workplace on the life satisfaction of a select group of Caribbean immigrants in Winnipeg. It also examined the relationship between the mirgrants' use of support systems to deal with this discrimination and their level of life satisfaction. It further examined the relationship between the experience of racism and the migrants' self identification as Canadian.

The researcher hypothesized that: (a) the experience of racial discriminaton in the workplace would negatively affect the life satisfaction of West Indian immigrants in Winnipeg; (b) respondents level of identification with the larger society and ultimately of themselves as Canadians would be negatively affected by their experience of racism in the workplace; (c) the use of support systems to combat the experience of racism in the workplace would have a positive effect on respondents level of satisfaction and their level of identification with the larger Canadian community.

The approach used to collect the data required the construction of a scheduled questionnaire. The questionnarie was administered to twenty men and twenty women who were employed in Winnipeg during the summer

of 1987. Variables evaluated were respondents':

(a) perception of self as the object of racism in the workplace;

(b) use of support systems to combat experience of racism in the workplace;

(c) level of identification with the workgroup;

(d) level of social interaction with white Canadian colleagues away from the job situation;

(e) identification of self as Canadian;

(f) level of job satifaction;

(g) level of life satisfaction.

The results indicate that there is no strong relationship between the immigrants' experience of racial discrimination in the workplace and their level of life satisfaction. While respondents might have experienced workplace racism in its various forms, their overall satisfaction with their lives as West Indian immigrants living in Winnipeg is of a high level.

While respondents' level of identification with the workgroup was high in the area of task performance, their level of social interaction with their white Canadian colleagues away from the job situation was low. Respondents' level of identification of themselves as Canadian was generally low.

The results also indicate that the use of support systems to deal with racism affects respondents' level of life satisfaction and identification of self as Canadian. When the network of support included more formal organizations such as unions, school boards and the Human Rights Commission, respondents reported higher levels of life satisfaction and identification of self as Canadian.

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, human beings have travelled outside the places in which they were born. At times these population movements have been voluntary, at other times they have been the result of some natural or human made disaster. The growth of cities, the development of new resources and territories and the increasingly international context of activity depends upon the settlement, temporary or permanent, of individuals in diverse locations away from their place of birth and upbringing.

In recent years, the vast shifts of population have increasingly become a cause for concern both to the host and the sending countries. In fact, the freedom with which individuals cross borders has become more and more curtailed as a consequence of political and economic reasons. Nations receiving immigrants have tried to control their immigrant population growth with various forms of restrictions. This increased concern is reflected in the passage of various laws and regulations restricting the flow of individuals from one country to another.

The United Nations has identified migration as one of the areas of social concern. While individual countries have in various ways responded to the population shifts,

the world body has attempted to focus on the immediate problems created by vast movements of people, as well as on long-range planning for human settlements.

The people of the Caribbean have had a long tradition of movement and migration. They have travelled outside their various islands to the large continents, mainly Europe and the Americas, but they have also moved extensively within the Caribbean region itself. The islands have always experienced various degrees of population shifts. First, there was internal migration which occurred immediately after the abolition of slavery as the freed slaves moved away from the plantations into peasant type agricultural settlements. Beginning in the mid 1800's West Indians travelled extensively within the region and to other countries outside the region. They travelled in significant numbers to Latin America as they were attracted by the availability of employment in the various banana, citrus and sugar plantations of the region.

In the first half of this century, the population movement was towards the United Kingdom and north-western Europe to meet the manpower needs resulting from World Wars I and II. The post World War II population shifts from the Caribbean to North America and Europe happened as a result of dramatic changes in the economic and social character of the sending and receiving countries. As the receiving countries experienced more growth in their economies, the

rising standard of consumption made available to immigrants an increased number of jobs at the bottom of the occupational scale. As well, increased technology made transportation between Europe and the Americas easier, thus making the exchange of goods and services between these sending and receiving societies more accessible.

The people of the Caribbean islands were colonial subjects, and so outward migration was to the large metropolis of the respective colonial powers. People from the British West Indian islands migrated to Great Britain, the Dutch West Indians went to the Netherlands, the French West Indians to France, and the Hispanic islanders went to the United States. By this time the United States exerted a great deal of influence on these Hispanic countries, although they could not be considered colonies in the same manner that the other islands were to the European powers. In addition to the large number of Caribbean persons migrating to Europe and the United States, significant numbers also migrated to Canada.

Statement Of The Problem

The movement of population has been and remains an essential component of social development and change. One of the major problems arising out of population shifts, and which has become a social issue on a global level, has been the issue of racism. As for Canada it

regards itself ideologically as a multicultural society, implying that different races and cultures can retain their own characteristics without prejudice and without pressure to conform to some acceptable main-stream norm This is not to say that Canadians have not held racist beliefs or that they have avoided discriminatory acts based on racial or cultural differences. The plight of Canadian Aboriginal peoples in their struggle for a viable place in the social, economic and political structure of their native country attest to this reality. The French-Canadian struggles of the 1970's, while taking on the political form of separatism, can be seen as an attempt by this cultural and linguistic group at improving their social and economic status. Hostility towards Canadians of African and Asiatic origins has a long history in Canada, and has in the past culminated in riots between Black, Chinese and Indian migrant groups and the white host population as documented by writers such as Walker (1980), Ramcharan (1982) and Bolaria and Li (1985). Racial tension betwen the dominant white and the less powerful minority ethnic groups continue today although they are expressed more covertly. At a consultation "Toward A National Race Relations Strategy", held in Winnipeg July 5, 1986, it was reported that 63 percent of the complaints made to the Human Rights Commission nationally involved racism.

In Winnipeg in 1984 racial slogans were painted on the French-Canadian Cultural Centre and the building was

torched. In 1985 the Native Family Centre received the same treatment. Also in 1985 the building in which a small group of West Indians held church services was stoned while service was in progress. As well, racist slogans were painted on the homes of some Sikh families. In 1986 black patrons were barred from entering the local "Blue Jeans Club". These are only a few examples of overt expression of the racial tension which exists in the community.

This study will investigate the experiences of a select group of Caribbean people who have settled in Metropolitan Winnipeg. It will examine the impact of racism on the life satisfaction of those immigrants who perceived themselves as the object of racism in the workplace. It will also inquire into the migrants' use of support systems in dealing with racial discrimination experienced in the workplace and how this affects their life satifaction. It further looks at the relationship between life satisfaction and the migrants' level of identification of themselves as Canadians.

Definition of Principal Concepts and Terms

Race   The concept of race is primarily a classificatory system based on biological characteristics, within which the various groups of humankind may be arranged. Each racial group is characterized by a more or less consistent resemblance among its members on a number of

socially selected physical traits, acquired through common heredity, by which one distinguishes that population from other populations within the species. The primary physical traits of distinction are: skin colour, shape of the head, form and colour of hair, eye colour and form and shape of the nose.

Among the different features or traits which have been used for classification, skin colour has been the basic feature used as a basis for racial prejudice.

Racial Prejudice This is a doctrine of racial supremacy, and, may be defined as, "an ideology of racial domination or exploitation that (1) incorporates beliefs in a particular race's cultural and/or inherent biological inferiority, and (2) uses such beliefs to justify and prescribe inferior or unequal treatment to that group". (Wilson, 1973, p 32)

Racial Discrimination "... distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise on equal footing of human rights and fundamental freedoms". (U.N.I. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, p 19)

<u>Occupational Racism</u>   Various United Nations
Resolutions and Human Rights Legislation
in different countries have made racism, which
is the practice of prejudice by dominant groups
against other less powerful groups, unacceptable
in any overt manner.   In the workplace, it is
expected that occupational opportunity will be
available to all on the basis of merit or
ability, that economic transactions will be
carried out according to the rules of the market
place and not in any way influenced by a
person's colour or ethnic heritage.   As we
examine the presence of racism within the
Canadian workplace, and specifically in
Winnipeg, the definition proposed by Hiesland
(1970, p 5) is appropriate for this
investigation:

> ...A problem in perception, an
> attitude or prejudice which leads an
> employer to make what an objective
> observer would consider an irrational
> decision with respect to the hiring
> and placement of workers, considering
> their qualifications and qualities
> necessary for the technical performance
> of the job.

For the purpose of this study, <u>occupational
racism</u> will be defined as any act within the
workplace which is viewed as discriminatory on
the basis of skin colour by the Caribbean
migrant.   This study will deal with migrants'

perception of racial discrimination in the workplace. In order to develop a clear definition of the term perception for the purpose of this study, I will first define the term cognition.

Cognition

Cognition refers to all the mental activities associated with thinking and knowing. In Webster's New International Dictionary, (p. 440) cognition is defined as "an intellectual process by which knowledge is gained about perceptions or ideas". In Modern Dictionary of Sociology (p. 56), Theodorson and Theodorson gives a more detailed definition as follows:

> The process by which an individual comes to know and interpret his environment. Cognition comprises all the processes by which an individual acquires knowledge, including perceiving, thinking, remembering, wondering, imagining, generalizing and judging.

Perception

Perception is most appropriately defined in terms of experiences that stem directly from sensory stimulation. In other words, it is how a person becomes aware of, apprehends, or comes to understand through one of the senses. Theodorson (1969 p 295) defines it as, "the selection, organization, and interpretation by

an individual of specific stimuli in a situation according to prior learning, activities, interest, experiences etc. ... a process and a pattern of response to stimuli...a function of the situational field, that is of the total configuration of stimuli as well as of previous and cultural conditioning". Perception is, therefore, part of an individual's knowledge base and is that awareness of the environment acquired through physical sensation which includes the influence of personal and social objects.

Person Perception

Person perception focuses on the process by which impressions, opinions or feelings about other persons are formed. This deals with the manner in which an individual infers the traits and intentions of another towards him/her and in turn affects how that individual feels towards the other and ultimately towards self. This involves subjective judgment and inferences that go beyond the kind of sensory impressions that characterize perception. Theorists in this field of study (Asch 1952, Tagiuri 1958, Secord 1964, Kretch 1969) conclude that these cognitive and affective processes are important in social interaction.

In this study <u>perception</u> can be defined as <u>the observations and inferences migrants make</u> <u>about the intentions and attitudes of others in</u> <u>the workplace towards them, which they feel are</u> <u>discriminatory</u>. What is being measured is not objective in a simple manner but rather people's perceived discrimination. Much of this subjective experience is inevitably shaped by the past experiences and personality of the perceiver. Here, even when the researcher assume a truthful report, there is a serious problem of validity since she knows how mistaken she can be in her conscious awareness of her own characteristics and feelings. However, this researcher concurs with Tagiuri (1958) who states, "...the perceiver is maximally inclined and able to use his own experience in perceiving or judging or inferring another's state or intentions". (p xi) As Asch 1952 states, "To act in the social field requires knowledge of social facts - of persons and groups. To take our place with others we must perceive each other's existence and reach a measure of comprehension of one another's needs, emotions and thoughts". (p 139) To define repondents' perception of racial discrimination in the workplace, the study will therefore seek to

investigate what was the actual event that happened; what was perceived to be the motive of the person who did the act and the impact on the person to whom the act of discrimination was done.

As mentioned above, social factors induce selectivity in what a person perceives and how he/she interprets it, but a vital part of everyday life is a person's inward experience. Since an individual's impression of those persons with whom he/she interacts are important determinants of behaviour; the migrant's perception - feelings about the world around him/her and how the objects in it make life rich and full to a greater or less degree is significant to the migrant's sense of wellbeing.

Support Systems   Some of the phrases used to define the word support in dictionaries are: lend assistance, to enable, to strengthen, and encourage. System is defined as a set of units with relationship between them. For the purpose of this investigation support systems will mean units which lend assistance to enable and encourage the migrant to get along. They will refer to an aggregate of significant individuals through whom the migrant becomes aware of occupational opportunities and to whom he/she

turns for help in dealing with discrimination. These may include family members, friends, relatives, and organizations. The network of enablers can be expanded to include other individuals over time.

Life Satisfaction   This is a state of happiness or contentment derived from having ones needs adequately met. Part of the sum total of life satisfaction is related to the job situation. The social approval and status accorded individuals for successful achievement and enjoyment of social interaction with the work group is part of the state of happiness. Some investigators have found that job satisfaction and success in occupational pursuits contributed to their subjects' positive view of themselves and their lives. For the purpose of this study Life satisfaction will be used to describe an individual's state of contentment and/or satisfaction with all areas of life in the Canadian setting.

Identification and Acceptance   The Modern Dictionary of Sociology defines identification as, "a social psychological process involving assimilation and internalization of the values, standards, expectations, or social roles of another person into one's behaviour and self

conception" (Theodorson and Theodorson 1969,
p 19). Identification occurs when an individual
adopts behaviour derived from another person or
group because the behaviour is associated with a
positive status in the group. (McCall and
Simmons, 1966) The position an individual
occupies in the society influences the people
with whom that person will interact. The
individual's career forms an important link
between self and social organizations. It ties
the individual and self to society and its
organizations and institutions. This process
allows a person to develop an identity which
transcends one's immediate world and makes one
identify with the larger society.

> We are more likely to adopt one
> group's perspective if we have
> favourable feelings towards its
> members. If we are treated in a
> friendly and sincere manner by a
> group, and, in time, come to
> identify with its members, we
> feel obligated to comply with its
> ways under most circumstances.
> (Haas and Shaffir, 1978, p 16)

Since the occupational system influences the
positions an individual occupies in society, and this
in turn determines with whom and in what ways the
individual interacts in the larger society,
identification with the work group is seen as the basis

for social integration or adaptation for the immigrants in this study. For the purpose of this study, identification will be determined by the degree to which migrants identify themselves as part of their work group and their level of interaction with white Canadians away from the job situation as well as by respondents' degree of identifying themselves as Canadians.

Purpose of the Study

Canada, a country built by immigrants, officially adheres to a policy of cultural pluralism rather than assimilation, implying mutual toleration for a multiplicity of identities co-existing within the society. Prior to 1962, however, Canadian immigration laws were restrictive with respect to source of immigrants by geography and race so that relatively few "people of colour" were allowed entry into this country, which historically admitted well in excess of a hundred thousand immigrants annually.

Since World War II there has been great demand for immigrant labour to work in the expanding economies of the large industrialized countries. This resulted in a liberalization of Canadian immigration laws and the subsequent admission of an increasingly larger percentage of Canada's immigrant population from third world countries. Consequently, the ethnic composition

of the Canadian population is changing and the cultures towards which tolerance is extended have multiplied and diversified dramatically beyond the minor variations of northern Europe which formerly was almost the sole supplier of immigrants to Canada. Concomitant with this change in population composition are the problems associated with a considerable degree of adaptation which, despite multiculturalism, must take place on the part of the immigrants and the host society.

As a result of the liberalization of its immigration laws, Canada has during the last two decades seen a significant increase in the number of Caribbean immigrants entering the country. Caribbean immigration as a percentage of Canadian immigration has tripled in each of the last two decades. As Table I shows, it tripled from .69 percent in the decade 1950-1959 to 3.34 percent during 1960-1969, and tripled again in the period 1970-1979 to 11.02 percent (Walker 1984). Immigrants must be integrated into the political and economic institutions of the society, and they must be allowed to participate fully in the advantages this country offers. There is evidence, (Reitz 1981, Muszynski and Reitz 1982, Silvera 1984) to suggest that in the case of West Indians the transition is not proceeding smoothly.

The purpose of this study is to share with practitioners in the helping professions insights into

some of the problems faced by West Indians due to the experience of racism in the work place in a multiracial, multicultural community such as Winnipeg. The study seeks to identify job-related problems which are perceived by respondents as a consequence of racial discrimination. The study will investigate the relationship between the migrants' use of support systems to deal with this perceived discrimination and their level of satisfaction with the job and with life in general. It will further examine the potential relationship between perceived discrimination and the migrants' self identification as Canadian.

Rationale

The rationale for the study of the West Indian migrant in the workplace in Winnipeg is that such an investigation is a timely one, since there is a paucity of work in this area and none specifically dealing with West Indian immigrants. For many years the newcomers settled in the large urban centres which were the main ports of entry; namely, Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Few immigrants went to other provinces. Within the past ten to fifteen years, Winnipeg has seen an increase in its population of migrants who are different in many ways from the Eastern Europeans who came before. Caribbean migrants, because of their skin colour, have a higher level of visibility than

Europeans. However, coming from ex-British colonies
West Indian migrants in this sample do have a heritage
that has many parallels to the Canadian situation. All
the countries from which they came were former colonies
of England and still belong to the Commonwealth;
therefore, they share a legal heritage founded in
English Common Law. Canadian customs are therefore not
as alien to people from the Caribbean as they might
have been to the earlier immigrants from Eastern Europe
who did not speak the language and did not have the
same socio-political experience as those of British
colonies.

Canada, as a member of the United Nations, signed
the declaration that reaffirmed the rights of the
individual and disclaimed racism.

On November 2, 1963, the United Nations General
Assembly declared as one of its goals, the elimination
of all forms of racial discrimination. Article 7 of the
convention states that:

> ...parties undertake to adopt immediate and
> effective measures particularly in the fields
> of teaching, education, culture, and
> information with a view to combating
> prejudices which lead to discrimination and
> to promoting understanding, tolerance, and
> friendship among nations and racial ethnic
> groups, as well as propagating the purposes
> and principles of the charter of the United
> Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human
> Rights, the United Nations Declaration of the
> Elimination of All Forms of Racial
> Discrimination." (United Nations, October
> 1985, p.1).

In view of Canada's public stance as a signatory to this declaration, and the change in immigration laws over a period of time that permitted entry into the country without the consideration of colour, cities such as Winnipeg are faced with the need to consider these newcomers in their midst.

Migration and adjustment to a new society is an anxiety provoking experience. Social workers and other social planners should ensure that these migrants become full participants in the Canadian society. In order to do this, it is important that practitioners in the helping professions understand the experience of the Caribbean migrant in the workplace and those factors such as racism which may bring additional stress to the migrant's life. One of the consequences of stress associated with racial discrimination for immigrants in the new environment would be their involvement with social service agencies in the community.

The workplace was chosen as the area of focus for this study as migrants spend most of their waking hours on a job, which is where they must by necessity interact with others from the dominant culture. The intention of the emphasis in the Canada Immigration Act on education, training and skill is that immigration will contribute to manpower needs for Canadian economic development. "The Department of Manpower and

Immigration was established in 1966 to advance the supportive role of immigration in improving Canadian manpower" (Kritz et al 1981, p. 198). The opportunity for immigrants to work and achieve their goals in the workplace is vital to overall adjustment and life satisfaction which will undoubtedly enhance the migrant's performance in the workplace and ultimate contribution to the country's economy. However, if the immigrants are subjected to racial discrimination in the work place, this will result in dissatisfaction which will have a negative effect on the ultimate aims of the Department of Manpower which is, "improving Canadian manpower."

Studies similar to the one proposed here have been done primarily in the United Kingdom and the United States. (Bennett 1981, Bryce-Laporte 1983, Cohen 1982, Foner 1978, Patterson 1968). Very little work has been done which focuses on Caribbean immigrants in Canada. This study will therefore add to the body of literature available on Caribbean migrants and will be a step towards further investigation of racism as providing significant stress to the migrant.

CHAPTER 2

A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Investigation of the literature indicates that there is a wealth of information on migration which permits the researcher to obtain a theoretical view of this topic. The information that is readily available on the Caribbean migrant has been mostly collected in the United States and the United Kingdom while information on the Caribbean migrant in Canada is sparse. Nevertheless, there are some findings which are pertinent to this study which shall be discussed below.

In addition to migration literature, works on race relations provide background information for this investigation. Recognition of racism as a serious social problem has resulted in numerous studies of its impact on individuals and various ethnic or cultural groups. Again, there is little research on this problem as faced specifically by the Caribbean migrant in Canada. Other literature which provides relevant background information for this investigation includes reports of studies about individuals in the workplace and studies concerning socio-cultural, economic and political factors affecting Caribbean people.

Immigration Theory

Much of the literature on international migration has focused on the causes of migration (the "push" factors) and on the costs and benefits to receiving nations (Kritz et al 1981). At least four theories are put forth to explain migration. The most well known is the "push-pull" theory. This theory explains factors which push migrants to leave their country of origin. It explains why individuals move in response to population pressure, lack of economic opportunity and political changes. As migrants are "pushed" to leave their homeland there are factors which "pull" them to the receiving countries - primarily the promise of a better life.

One example is the barbarian invasion of Europe. Until the establishment of strong national states there were large movements of peoples in Europe and Asia. The barbarian tribes on the fringes of the Roman Empire wandered in many directions and several times captured Rome itself. The Arabs spread across North Africa and Spain. Led by the desire for wealth, power and adventure, the Mongols captured an enormous empire.

Another example can be found in the explorations of later Europeans. The great voyages of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries opened new avenues of escape for Europeans persecuted from the

seventeenth century onward because of their political or religious beliefs, and for those seeking economic opportunities. Many of these went out to find a better life in the colonies.

More recent examples can be found of the "push" involvement in migrations. When India was partitioned between the Union of India and Pakistan in 1947, religious warfare between Hindus and Moslems brought about mass migration involving thousands of persons; Moslems sought refuge in Pakistan and non-Moslems moved from Moslem territory into the state of India. The upheaval of World War II left millions of refugees scattered throughout Europe, especially in Germany. Similarly the Vietnan and Cambodian wars have given the western world the so called "boat people".

Whether motivated by religious, political or economic consideratins, individuals, families, and small groups continue to be "pushed" from one area and "pulled" to another.

A second theory -- referred to alternately as "household networks" or "transitional communities" -- explains why <u>entire villages</u> appear to move and to facilitate movement by others. For example, whole tribes or villages often undertook mass migration to secure new food supplies and more living space or to escape from natural catastrophes or hostile invaders.

A third theory -- the historical structural one --

explains why people from the developing world move to industrialized countries; the international economic system siphons off cheap surplus labour from the periphery to operate the factories of the metropole.

Finally, a public policy theory suggest that laws or the absence of a clear enforceable policy can encourage, discourage, or divert the flows of people. After W.W.II, Great Britian had an open door policy to Commonwealth immigrants. When the influx of third world immigrants grew too large for the host population to successfully handle, the British government instituted restrictive immigration laws, thus stemming the flow of immigrants into that country. During this same period Canada and the United States made their laws less restrictive in order to "pull" cheap labour from third world countries into their economies.

Scholars agree that no single factor explains emigration, but rather a combination of factors related to economic and social development and political change.

Within the literature on immigration there are several theories which discuss factors influencing the adjustment process experienced by immigrants. One such theory expounded by Cardona and Simmons (1975) suggests that there is a tendency for immigrants to migrate to areas which put up the least number of psycho-cultural

barriers. Thus a person will migrate to an area which already has people of his/her cultural background and will avoid those areas which have few (in relative terms) commonalities. A second theory suggests that there exists an "immigrant host framework" which stresses two concepts, "adaptation" on the part of the immigrant and "acceptance" on the part of the host country (Patterson, 1964).

Investigators applying the "immigrant/host framework" have found that there are expectations by both the immigrant and the receiving (or host) country. Each has its own system of beliefs which may perceptually coincide or conflict with the other. More often, the cross-cultural contact results in conflict. "The immigrant enters a society relatively unknown to him and constituting for him an unstructured field of behaviour. Only rarely does reality in the society correspond to his picture of it" (Brooks, 1975 p. 4). When the somewhat divergent value systems of the immigrant and host country emerge, an interactive process takes place. On the part of the immigrant there is adaptation, which is manifested as acculturation. This involves learning new skills, roles, and new values, while still maintaining the indigenous culture. For example, although fluent in English and often possessing a working knowledge of

Canadian culture, the Caribbean immigrant must still learn those social cues which are a part of this new culture and which may, indeed, be entirely different from the world in which he or she previously lived.

As indicated earlier in this discussion, in addition to adaptation there is also the process of acceptance by the host culture. This acceptance "...consists of an enlargement or modification of the receiving society's organizational framework or cultural pattern, so as to include certain elements retained by the minority or immigrant group". (Patterson 1964, p. 10)

Adaptation on the part of the immigrant and acceptance on the part of the host society involves dynamic aspects implied by these processes and the theoretical ideal end product, i.e., absorption. Absorption may be defined as the complete adaptation by the immigrant, either as a group or an individual, accompanied by complete acceptance by the host society. While conceptually the "immigrant/host" framework implies an orderly process, the actual processes are anything but orderly. Adaptation does not necessarily coincide with acceptance and may even precede it. Acceptance itself is likely to be greater in some areas of interaction than in others.

Within the host population with whom the immigrants are in frequent and prolonged interaction during their waking hours, namely the workforce, there are shared values and norms. Since the newly arrived immigrant will not necessarily share them or even be aware of them, these have to be learned. Members of the host workforce have the power to grant or withhold acceptance; both in the formal sense as fellow employees or in the less formal sense as workmates. The immigrant/host framework implies that the closer the immigrant is seen to conform to the values and behaviour of the host society, the more likely it is that acceptance will be shown by members of that society.

Ideally, immigrants who have adapted to the host country should be 'absorbed' (Patterson 1964, Rex 1970, Brooks 1975). However, conformity by the immigrant does not necessarily guarantee acceptance; as Richmond states,

> ...the more established ethnic strata may resist the tendency towards structural assimilation in order to maintain their position. Institutionalized discrimination may relegate immigrants in general, or certain nationalities to an inferior 'entrance status' which may persist in later generations (Richmond and Zubrzychi 1984 p. 1).

It is clear from the literature, then, that as a process, migration is characterised by a great many

changes which necessitate adaptation to novel circumstances. Roskies (1978) argues that since organisms have a definite limit to their capacity for adaptation, this necessity to adapt could be seen as resulting in a possibly higher mental illness rate for immigrants. Specifically, sources of stress range from problems with cultural discontinuity, to change in family structure, to lack of receptivity of the host country. Arguing along the same line as Roskies, DaCosta (1978) saw the experience of racism in the school system by black children with the consequence of deflated self concept. He also found that this low self concept was reinforced by parents who, as non-whites in Canadian society, are given inferior and negative values as individuals, and who in turn pass on to their children in subtle ways their private pain about their negative evaluation by the society. This they do mainly by denying their children's pain caused by their experience of racism in the school system. This, then, gives rise to the question of racism as a factor in adaptation or acceptance. The study of race relations offers more specific explanations.

Race Relation Theory

For the present I will draw heavily upon the works of Rex (1970), Kinloch (1974) and Greenberg (1982).

Their analyses of race relations in terms of colonial structures is very relevant to this investigation since both Canada and the Caribbean countries have had the colonial experience as their heritage. These writers in their investigations of race relations, put forth a thesis of racial or cultural domination by a particular elite which defines certain physical differences as socially significant (i.e. the importance of "whiteness over blackness"). In their analysis, the migrant population in colonized countries is an economic elite which exercises influence and has high status, as the representative of an external economic or political power. Sometimes these elite migrants form a settler class, as in the case of the British and Northern Europeans who settled in the New World. Often they are transient, returning in due course to the imperial country of origin as in the case of the plantation economies of the Caribbean. If they do not do so voluntarily, they may eventually be forced out if there is a successful revolt against colonial domination as evidenced by the Haitian revolution against the French.

As stated by Kinlock (1974 p. 7),

> race relations involve the ongoing
> interaction on individuals, group and
> societal levels between groups defined as
> races, resulting in continuous modification
> of intergroup relations in both the
> structural and attitudinal levels.

In his analysis of the ongoing relationship between colonial structures and the evolution of race relations, Kinlock maintains that the nature of a society's race relations, its social definition of race, and the rise of institutional racism are embedded in a colonial past. In a colonial setting, he explains,

> ...this negative social definition is translated into political policy through the subordination and exploitation of certain groups defined as 'races'. In this manner a racist social system is developed on an ongoing basis by a colonial elite - i.e. an external group that emigrate to another society, conquers the local population and import other races/groups for economic labour purposes and develop a racist economy and social structures to ensure its superordinate position. (Kinlock 1974 p. 6)

Greenberg (1980 p. 21), in his analysis of internal colonialism and cultural domination concurs with Kinlock and states:

> ...world wide patterns of white European hegemony were imposed within national borders, creating in the process oppressed 'racial colonies'. People of colour became ethnic minorities enbloc, collectively through conquest, slavery, annexation or a racial labour policy....
>
> The unevenness of development creates 'advanced' and 'less advanced' groups. The superordinate group now ensconced as the core, seeks to stabilize and monopolize its advantages, by institutionalizing the differences between the groups and allocating roles and benefits in ways that perpetuate the differences. The contrast between core and periphery, consequently emerges

as a cultural division of labour a super-imposition of cultural differences upon economic inequalities.

The colonial or unequal power approach to the study of race relations emphasizes the relevance of social differentiation based on perceived physical and cultural differences and the rationalization of discrimination on the basis of a biological theory of racial differences. Rex (1970) concludes that "discrimination is at the centre of all race relations problems" and that "physical features such as colour can operate as a very effective criteria for distinguishing a group and they are more irradicable than cultural characteristics." (p 130)

Kinlock argues that as economic development takes place, racially defined minorities will begin to reject the negative definitions imposed on them by those in power. This is accomplished by a combination of re-education and re-socialization, and mass political and social action on the part of the oppressed racial minorities. Conflict intensifies as the governing group tries to suppress these actions; however, suppression serves only to increase minority pressure for change, ultimately leading to a new system of racial interaction.

The pattern of race relations expounded by Rex, Kinloch and Greenberg - one based on the society's

colonial past - is the basis for the evolution of race relations in both Canada and the Caribbean. A strict racial caste system such as that which existed in the West Indies under slavery and in the United States during and even after slavery was never present in Canada. However, the system of interaction which has developed in Canada between the dominant Anglo-Saxon group and other less powerful ethnic groups is essentially one of negative competition based on the state of the country's economy and the need for labour. The notion here is that this kind of relationship is a factor in the "acceptance" and "adaptation" processes of the "immigrant/host framework" and that this is particularly relevant to the adaptation of "coloured" immigrants.

The next chapter discusses race relations as they evolved in Canada and the Caribbean.

Life Satisfaction

For the most part the literature discussed has been focused on migration and race relations. Other areas of investigation pertinent to this study are studies on Life and Job Satisfaction. Satisfaction may be thought of as resulting from need gratification. In the work situation job satisfaction lies in rewards for

task accomplishment which are largely monetary but also include some "psychic" rewards. While income or monetary rewards provide satisfaction of physiological and safety needs, psychological needs which include self-esteem and self-actualization are satisfied through job content, the status or social approval accorded individuals for successful achievement and the enjoyment of social interaction with the work group above and beyond the task activity. Researchers in job satisfaction have therefore recognized income, job content, promotional opportunities and degree of work group interaction as important variables and have reported consistent correlations between these variables and level of satisfaction (Robinson & Shaver 1975).

In the case of Life Satisfaction, most of the studies have been done on the elderly population. However, there are some works that discuss other populations. Life satisfaction can be seen as a state of overall happiness or contentment from having ones needs adequately met. Job satisfaction is therefore, a major factor of life satisfaction. Research has shown that working people experience a higher level of overall satisfaction than the unemployed and that there is correlation between self esteem and satisfaction. (Robinson and Shaver 1975). As Berger (1963 p 76) states:

> ...the social control of ones occupational system
> is so important because the job decides what one
> may do in most of the rest of one's life -- which
> voluntary associations one will be allowed to
> join, who will be ones friends, where one will be
> able to live.

A proposition drawn from exchange theory postulates that the greater success the male experiences in the occupational system, the greater the marital satisfaction he and his wife will experience. According to this line of reasoning, the greater the level of marital satisfaction based on positive definition of economic rights in terms of income and life style, the more gratified the partners will be with each other and the system or situation in which they find themselves. (Burr et al 1979)

In this study, these postulations on job and intrafamilial satisfaction are seen as analogous to life satisfaction in general and are very pertinent to the study of West Indian immigrants in the workplace. Following Robinson and Shaver (1975), it is expected that expressed happiness or satisfaction is a prime indicator of a person's general adjustment, while replies of unhappiness or dissatisfaction can be seen as one component of alienation from the social system.

CHAPTER 3

PERSPECTIVE ON RACE RELATIONS
IN CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Canada and Race Relations

Canada has not been fertile ground for an ideology
of racism, and indeed no indigenous system of racial
ideology has ever grown here, for example, as occurred
in the United States. However, as both Porter (1965)
and Walker (1980) found, careful examination of the
Canadian "mosaic" reveals that it is a vertical one,
particularly in economic terms, with the ranking
frequently being defined racially.

Since Canada is a country with a colonial past the
theory of race relations put forth by Rex, Kinloch, and
Greenberg, as outlined earlier, is also applicable to
the Canadian situation.   Here one can see similar
colonial experiences of super-ordinate colonial rule
and sub-ordinate conquered native Indian. The issue of
the social and economic inequality of Canadian
aboriginal peoples and their continued struggle for a
viable place in the Canadian socio-economic political
structure demonstrates this. Porter (1965) notes that
Indians, Inuit and Metis peoples consistently occupy
the lowest ranking positions in Canadian society.

Historically, racism toward indigenous peoples has taken the form of paternalistic policies and treatment which have prevented their full participation in the major, social, economic and political spheres. "The Indian Act, dating from 1876 to the present, continues in practice, a policy of wardship initiated by the British to protect a supposedly "childlike" people considered incapable of managing their own affairs". (Hughes and Kallen 1974 p. 104) The result of such policies has been unequal access to power, privilege and prestige.

Hostility toward Canadians of African and Asiatic origins, whether expressed overtly or not, has a long history in Canada. As in all other parts of this hemisphere, Blacks in Canada started out in the role of the slave. Slavery as a labour system did not develop on a large scale in Canada as no large plantation system existed in this country. However, as Walker (1980) notes "...until the early nineteenth century, throughout the founding of the present Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario, there was never a time when Blacks were not held as slaves in Canada." (p. 19) As such they made a valuable contribution to the economic development of the country.

Following the abolition of slavery in the British Commonwealth, coloured immigrants who came to Canada

were Black Loyalists who left the United States for Canada during the American Revolutionary war. These, according to Bolario and Li (1985), "... made many valuable contributions to the British war efforts as soldiers, guides, spies, woodsmen, batmen, buglers, musicians and general labourers." Both Walker and Bolaria and Li point out that although promised the same treatment and rewards as whites, blacks did not receive it when the war ended. A small portion received smaller acreages and less fertile land than the allotments given to whites. Blacks were not allowed to own title to the land. They were granted allotment on a "licence of occupation".

The different treatment given to the early black settlers kept them in poverty and resulted in many becoming indentured servants providing cheap labour to the white settlers. This drew resentment from many unemployed whites, resulting in Canada's first race riot. In 1784 a mob of white workers attacked some black areas in Nova Scotia, destroyed black property and drove may blacks out of town. As the black community grew the racism that lay beneath the surface gradually came to be institutionalized with segregated churches and schools and laws against the full participation of Blacks in the life of the communities in which they lived. (Bolaria & Li 1985). School

segregation was legally established under "The Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Public Schools in Upper Canada" (Hill 1981). It was not until 1965 the last segregated school in Ontario was closed.

The literature (Patel 1980, Ramcharan 1982, Bolaria and Li 1985) reveals that from the outset the whole question of the Asian presence in Canada was a question of labour exploitation. Early Chinese and Japanese labourers imported to build the railways, were unwelcome in even the lowest occupational positions upon completion of the railways. To the extent that their labour was needed, because other labour was not available, it was useful and therefore acceptable. But as soon as there was a surplus of labour, the Asians began to be identified as a threat to Canadian society and virtually every evil was blamed upon them.

Canada's immigration laws were the main tool used to stem the flow of Asian immigrants to the country. Between 1885 and 1921 Chinese immigration was limited by the imposition of a head tax upon every Chinese entering the country. As well, "in 1923, the Canadian parliament passed the Chinese Immigration Act, which in essence excluded all Chinese from entering the country." (Bolaria & Li 1985 p. 86) The Act was repealed after World War II. In British Columbia the legislature passed anti-Chinese bills aimed at

curtailing the political and civil rights of the Chinese in that province. They were also barred from entering the professions or holding certain skilled jobs.

Japanese and East Indians, though not prohibited from entering the country by legislation, were limited through arrangements under "gentlemen's agreements" between the Canadian government and the governments of their respective countries. The ability of the Japanese community to organize itself was perceived as an economic and political threat. As a result, "The Asiatic Exclusion League was formed in Vancouver to exclude all Asian from the province". Patel (1982). According to Patel the anti-Chinese/Japanese riots resulted from the predominantly British-origin population being "obsessed with the desire not only to maintain their British heritage but also to exclude the 'undesirables' who were considered racially and culturally inferior" (p.9).

Japan's entry into World War II resulted in the violent disruption of the Japanese community and the destruction of Japanese- Canadian subculture in 1942 through the forced removal of the group from their communities. Families were uprooted and the community lost whatever status it earlier possessed.

The situation of French-Canadians cited earlier shows that "people of colour" are not the only groups

who have experienced negative race relations in Canada.
Ramcharan (1982) notes that "... the French-Canadian in
Quebec was assigned an inferior social and economic
role historically..."(p. 8) Valliérs, (1971) in
describing their situation, called them "the white
niggers of America" due to the racism they experienced
from Anglo-speaking Protestant Canadians. He described
the French as "exploited second class citizens" who had
no control over economic and social policy. Both
writers concluded that the French struggles of the
1970's, while taking on the political form of
separatism, must be seen as an attempt at improving
their social and economic status.

Racial discrimination is an individual, group, and
systemic problem in Canada. Much legislation has been
passed aimed at eradicating and remedying
discriminatory behaviour. Human rights acts, labour
codes and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms contain
provisions to address the problem.

Section 15 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms
protects every individuals' right to equality without
discrimination. It states:

> (1) Every individual is equal before
> and under the law and has the right to
> the equal protection and equal benefit
> without discrimination and in particular,
> without discrimination based on colour,
> religion, sex, age or mental or physical
> disability.

> (2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any
> law, program or activity that has as its
> object the amelioration of conditions of
> disadvantaged individuals or groups including
> those that are disadvantaged because of race,
> national or ethnic origin, colour, religion,
> sex, age or mental or physical disability.

Despite legislation, today Native people in Canada do not have anything that begins to approximate equality in a country they inhabited before any others. In his 1984 Royal Commission Report, Judge Abella stated "Non-whites all across Canada complained of racism. They undeniably face discrimination, both overt and covert" p. 47.

Race Relations in the Caribbean

Kinloch's analysis holds true for the peoples of the Caribbean. The Caribbean peoples are mainly of African descent. Important minorities are East Indians (mainly in Trinidad and Guyana), Chinese, and, European, of British, French, Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese extraction. There are also many people of mixed blood, and racial and cultural mixtures make the West Indies one of the more cosmopolitan areas of the world.

In terms of race relations the peoples of the Caribbean have over the last four centuries evolved from a state where by custom and by law any person of European birth or ancestry, regardless of economic circumstances, intellectual ability, or educational

achievement enjoyed social status superior to that of any non-white person. From the late 1600's to the mid 1800's, the white migrants in the Caribbean regarded the larger non-white population as subordinate and inferior, ascribing to them status positions of slavery for the African and indenturship for the East Indians and Chinese who arrived later.

On the plantations as well as in the cities, the colour of one's skin fixed both the social position and the occupation of the possessor, with blackness indicating menial and arduous labour and whiteness reflecting superiority and leisure. The abolition of slavery and consequent decline of plantation economy in the mid to late 1800's ushered in a crucial turning point giving rise to a new pattern of black-white relations. The masses of freed blacks began to reject the negative definitions imposed on them by the plantation masters and sought to forge a national and cultural identity that would demonstrate less cultural economic and political dependence on Great Britain and Europe and look more to Africa for aesthetic and cultural inspiration. This period perhaps, reached its zenith in the pan-Africanist movement of Marcus Garvey in the 1920's.

The 1930's for most Caribbean countries saw the beginning of a period of decolonization and nationalism which dislodged the ruling British elite and culminated

in the granting of political independence in the 1960's. One consequence of the granting of political independence was a new arrangement between the two principal racial groups. The white migrant group gave up formal political control and many whites repatriated to Great Britain. Although the granting of independence meant the formal transfer of political power from a white colonial elite into the hands of a local black middle class, economic power remained with the white settler class and a significant proportion of mulattoes. In terms of race relations, independence assured majority black political representation leading ultimately to a new system of racial interaction in new nation states.

The post independence years ushered in the process of forging a new identity, for each nation state of the region, out of the mass experience over time and in quite unique circumstances. This, in natural response to the obstinate fact of a society that has been deeply segmented historically in terms of clearly designated superordinates and subordinates, is being achieved by West Indians, "through a complex process of transformation through adjustments, rejection, affirmation and innovation." (Nettleford 1978 p. 68)

Since the different countries started gaining independence in the 1960's, sentiments of black consciousness and national pride are surging among

Caribbean peoples in their homeland as well as expatriates and no less among Caribbean immigrants in Canada.

The foregoing indicates that the pattern of race relations which has evolved in Canada is one of negative competition between the more powerful Anglo-Saxon white groups and the less powerful ethnic groups. As well, colonialism created a situation in the Caribbean in which complexion and socio-economic status have traditionally been highly correlated.

However, West Indians in their native lands have not been exposed to the same kind or degree of racially-biased situations that so many experience in Canada. Also, black West Indians in Canada experience minority status for the first time. In the Caribbean they are the majority group. This majority position gives each individual a certain sense of security which is lost in Canada. Coping with this minority status in an unfamiliar environment, where blackness has been traditionally associated with negative stereotypes, can be very traumatic for the individual. This situation must, therefore, be seen as a factor in the process of adaptation and must impinge upon Caribbean immigrants' level of satisfaction with their lives in Canada.

CHAPTER 4

CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANT

Canadian Immigration Laws and the Caribbean Immigrant

West Indians have been present in Canada for over a hundred years, if only in small numbers. Prior to 1967, non-white immigration had been successfully limited to a very small percentage of the immigrant population by Canada's restrictive immigration policy which was based on race and geography. Up until this time hundreds of thousands of white migrants were actively encouraged to enter and settle in Canada while severe restrictions were placed on non-white entry.

Under the highly restrictive Immigration Act of 1910 and its amendment of 1919 and the various Orders in Council which followed up to the 1950's, the world was divided into two classes of countries for the purpose of emigration to Canada, the "preferred" and the "non-preferred". The preferred were: "First, returning Canadian citizens, then British subjects from Great Britian and the self governing dominions other than Rhodesia, next came United States citizens. European farmers with capital were also accepted" (Green 1976). Under the Act, wide powers were conferred on the Governor General in Council which permitted the

"Immigration Officer-in-Charge" to carry out a definite policy of exclusion. Immigrants most affected by the Act came under clause "C" which read:

> c ...prohibit or limit in number for a stated period or permanently the landing in Canada or the landing at any specified port or ports of entry in Canada of immigrants belonging to any nationality or race, or of immigrants of any specified class or occupation by reason of any economic, industrial or other condition temporarily existing in Canada or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their particular customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after entry. (Quoted in Green 1976 p. 17)

Economic conditions dominated immigration policy but the over-riding factor which severely restricted the entry of non-whites was clearly stated by Sir Richard McBride, head of the administration of British Columbia when in 1914 he observed, "...we have always in mind the necessity of keeping this a white man's country." (Chandrasekhar 1986 p. 30). These same sentiments were expressed by McKenzie King, then Prime Minister of Canada in his statement to Parliament 1947 on immigration policy.

After World War II in the late 1940's and early 1950's, the Canadian economy experienced rapid economic expansion, low unemployment and a slow growing domestic labour force. There was great demand for foreign

labour which indicated the need for changes in the
guidelines and liberalization of the immigration policy
in order to meet the demands of the labour market.
McKenzie King, in his highly discriminatory speech,
stressed the need to not change the fundamental
composition of the Canadian population, and he brought
in regulations which gave extensive powers over the
composition of immigrant arrivals from the circle of
countries lying outside the "most preferred" nations
group. He stated:

> The policy of the government is to foster
> the growth of the population of Canada by
> the encouragement of immigration. The
> government will seek by legislation,
> regulation, and vigorous administration, to
> ensure the careful selection and permanent
> settlement of such numbers of immigrants as
> can advantageously be absorbed in our
> national economy... There will, I am
> sure, be general agreement with the view
> that the people of Canada do not wish as a
> result of mass immigration to make a
> fundamental alteration in the character of
> our population. Any considerable Oriental
> immigration would, moreover be certain to
> give rise to social and economic problems
> of a character that might lead to serious
> difficulties in the field of international
> relations. (Green p. 21)

Like many other peoples from non-white British
Commonwealth countries, West Indians were barred from
entering Canada unless they fell into a few specific
categories - eg. student and female domestic help.
According to Bolaria and Li, between 1905-1955 the
total number of West Indians coming to Canada did not

exceed 3,400. Most of the early pre-World War II migrants were imported to work in the mines in the Maritimes, as well as to serve as porters, waiters and cooks on the expanding railway system. They were also employed to tend boilers and furnaces and as general seamen on ships in the Great Lakes. Some who had served in the army during World War II, were allowed to remain and settle here. Canadian immigration statistics show there were 35,800 immigrants from all of the Caribbean from 1945 to 1967. In 1955, faced with a demand for household workers, the government established a domestic service scheme with British Caribbean governments. Under this scheme up to 300 domestic servants a year were allowed to enter Canada to fulfill the demands of the Canadian labour force.

As the "preferred" countries experienced rapid economic growth after World War II, there were fewer people emigrating from these countries to meet the needs of the Canadian labour force. Canada then saw the need to further liberalize its immigration laws to admit more people from the "non-preferred" countries in order to meet its labour needs.

This recognition resulted in a non-discriminatory immigration policy which was no longer an open system for whites and quota system for non-whites. Once the annual quota of immigrants to be admitted was determined, it was to be on a first come first served

basis and to be based on a weighted scale known as the "point system." The point system came into effect in 1967. Under the system the applicants' age, skill, education and employment possibilities in Canada became the main factor in assessing applications. The immigrants were to be assessed according to a score system with a maximum of 100 points. The score card is given in Figure 1. For admission an independent immigrant needed a minimum of 50 points out of a total of 100. Dependents were admitted subject only to medical fitness and security clearance. Nominated immigrants were also assessed but on a reduced point system and the minimum score for admission was between 25 and 30 points. Admission was easier if the nominator was a Canadian citizen.

Figure 1
Canadian Immigration Score Card

Subject	Maximum Points
1. Education (1 mark for each year of schooling	20
2. Adaptability, motivation, resourcefulness, initiative	15
3. Demand for the occupation immigrant intends to follow	15
4. Occupational skill	10
5. Age (maximum for the applicant between 18 and 35) and 1 mark deducted for each year of age over 35	10
6. Pre-arranged employment in Canada	10
7. Language ability (English and/or French	10
8. A sponsoring relative in Canada	5
9. Area to which the immigrant goes	5
Total	100

Source: Canadian Statistical Review 1970

The liberalization of the immigration laws resulted in a substantial increase in Caribbean immigration to Canada in the last two decades, as can be seen from the numbers in Table I(a).

While in previous years no country outside of Great Britian, United States and Europe featured in the top ten leading source countries of immigrants to Canada, in 1973 Jamaica placed fifth and Trinidad placed tenth (Driedger 1981), Segal (1980) also notes that while in 1968 68% of Canadian immigrants were from European countries, by 1974 that number was reduced to 41%, with the remainder coming from non-white countries.

Table 1(a)

West Indian Immigration to Canada, 1900 - 1979

Year	West Indians	Percentage of Total Canadian Immigration
1900-1901	374	.03
1910-1919	1,133	.06
1920-1929	315	.02
1930-1939	637	.27
1940-1949	2,936	.68
1950-1959	10,682	.69
1960-1969	46,030	3.34
1970-1979	159,216	11.02

Source: Walker 1984 p 9.

Migration from the West Indies to Canada peaked during the 1970's. This trend leveled off in the first half of the 1980's to an annual average of just over 6.7% of the total number of immigrants accepted into this

country.   Table 1(b) shows the intake for the first
five years of this decade.

Table 1(b)

West Indian Migrants as Percentage of All
Immigrants Accepted into Canada, 1980-1985.

Year	Total	West Indian	Percentage of Total Canadian Immigration
1980	143,177	7,254	5.1
1981	128,618	8,566	6.6
1982	121,147	8,630	7.1
1983	89,157	7,216	8.1
1984	88,199	5,585	6.3
1985	84,253	6,104	7.2

Source: Complied from Statistics Canada, Publication
          No. 11-003E "Canadian Statistical Review"

Two factors other than the change in Canadian
immigration laws contributed to the substantial
increases of Caribbean migrants entering Canada.
Firstly, during this period, following race riots in
Great Britian, that country closed its doors to
unrestricted immigration from non-white Commonwealth
countries, consequently, English speaking Caribbean

people who would previously have migrated to Britain chose instead to take advantage of Canada's liberalized immigration laws. Secondly, the increasingly hostile atmosphere in Britain toward non-whites encouraged many earlier immigrants from the Caribbean to Britain to migrate from Britain to Canada.

Secondly, the realities of demographic pressures with a limited rate of economic development in the region resulted in increasing migration pressures in the seventies. Table 2 gives selected demographic and economic data on the Caribbean countries from which respondents in the sample came. Examination of this table shows that these countries are comprised of small land masses, and, with the exception of Belize and Guyana, they experience high population density and low per capita gross domestic product.

Much of the already small land mass of these countries is owned by white Americans and Canadians who have bought land indiscriminately in the region. Concomitant with this is the fact of extensive North American export and intense salesmanship of ideas, styles, standards, symbols, products and processes. Local governments and economies can neither produce nor provide such products for general consumption. Thus, faced with the prospect of nationalism and a nation without enough land or prosperity, many West Indian

Demographic and Economic Data on Caribbean Countries Used in the Sample

Table 2

Country (Date of Independence)	Population	Area (Sq. Mls.)	Population Density per sq. ml.	G.D.P. (US $ million)	Per Capita G.D.P. US $
Barbados (1966)	252,000	166	1,516	950.4	3,817
Belize (1981)	146,000	8,864	16	184.5	1,200
Grenada (1974)	107,000	133	809	50.2	459
Guyana (1966)	795,000	83,000	9.6	560.7	690
Jamaica (1962)	2,225,000	4,411	504	2,979	1,339
St. Kitts-Nevis (1983)	44,404	104	427	48.1	920
St. Vincent (1979)	115,000	150	767	59	513
Trinidad & Tobago (1962)	1,176,000	1,980	594	5,700	4,847

Source: Migration and Development in the Caribbean
The Unexplored Connection.   Pastor 1984 p. 5

nationals saw immigration as their only alternative. These conditions not only contribute to emigration but also to the "brain drain" of the young, the daring and ambitious, and sometimes the trained and accomplished as well.

The last two decades have witnessed a significant shift in the pattern of Caribbean immigration to Canada. As a refuge from Caribbean poverty and neo-colonialism, Canada enjoys a certain positive image among Commonwealth Caribbean peoples. Canada is viewed as the new "El-Dorado" and when they focus on Canada's own colonial heritage they feel a tangible affiliation with this country which they hope to view as their adopted homeland.

West Indians in the Canadian Workforce

Studies on Caribbean exiles have mainly been centred on the West Indian community in England. Little has been done in studying Caribbean immigrants in Canada who on arrival here find themselves in a society where structural racism is a reality, and where they have to compete for the first necessity for their survival - a job.

The Human Rights Acts in the various provinces of Canada prohibit discrimination on the basis of colour, nationality, place of origin, sex, religion, creed, physical handicap, etc, in the areas of employment,

housing and services. Yet, the Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society in its report "Equality Now" (1984) found that "there is evidence of racially discriminatory mechanisms that provide different advantages and benefits to people of different races" (p. 4). This committee found that the most important issue brought before it was finding work, preferable in keeping with a person's qualifications. It states:

> Visible minorities encounter a variety of systemic discriminatory practices in the workplace. Minority workers are denied access to employment by such recruitment and selection procedures as word-of-month recruiting, 'Canadian experience' criteria and culturally biased testing procedures and interviews. Barriers also exist for advancement and promotion through relegation of the minority person to low status and low income positions, through seniority policies and through limited exposure to new job openings. p. 33

Reitz (1981) found that at least two groups of individuals, West Indian Blacks and South Asians, have lower incomes and experience more unemployment than other persons; only a small part of which can be attributed to differences in job qualification. He found that West Indians have high levels of education but low job status and in particular West Indian men have very low incomes in relation to education and work experience.

In their studies of West Indian domestics in Canada, Turrittin (1976) and Silvera (1984) found that West Indian women, in their efforts towards upward mobility in the workplace, had negative experiences with Manpower counsellors at various centres. Turrittin states:

> ...it would appear that the source of difficulties these women have had 'getting on' is the treatment they have experienced by representatives of institutions meant to aid them, as well as by employers... Women have found that Manpower does not approve of their leaving domestic work and in effect encourages employers to pay low wages to women, some of whom are heads of households. (p.314)

They also found that the circumstances under which these women entered the country and worked as domestics were basically exploitive.

Ramcharan (1976), in his study of two hundred and ninety West Indian heads of households in Toronto, found that among white-collar workers 33% were only able to obtain jobs of a lower status than they held in their former country while among blue collar workers only 26% were able to find suitably commensurate jobs, with the majority having to take jobs as unskilled or service workers. In the same study he found that 58% of all the respondents experienced discrimination in employment. According to Driedger (1981 p. 214) "The individual needs to achieve a firm clear, sense of

identification with the heritage and culture of the ingroup in order to find secure ground for a sense of well being."

He states however:

> In Canada entrance status is characterized by low status occupational roles and a subjugation to a process of assimilation laid down by the charter group. This situation held and holds for immigrants generally. Less preferred immigrants, moveover, although they were allowed to enter Canada were channelled into even lower status jobs than the norm. (p.202)

Ramcharan (1982)identified the less preferred as South Asians, Filippinos and West Indians.

Muszynski and Reitz's (1982) study of ethnic pluralism in Toronto found a full 72% of West Indians responded that they perceived discrimination to be a serious problem for their group.

Discrimination in employment is a very serious problem for individuals and groups who suffer it because it determines their ability to support themselves in the world and has important feedback effects on social and psychological adjustment. The fact that racial minorities are relegated to low-skill occupations profoundly affects their social status and psychological self image in a negative way. Once a group becomes associated with a lower status, it becomes difficult for it to achieve an improved

position, since other persons who regard members of that group as inferiors will consciously or unconsciously hinder their economic advancement. Muszynski (1982) found racism and prejudice prevented minority workers from being considered for supervisory positions because white workers would not stand for a non-white supervisor.

The Caribbean immigrants in Canada find themselves in a position to experience double discrimination. First, they belong to an immigrant minority group and second, they are black. Black people in the Caribbean have always been in the numerical majority even when under the subjugation of the white minority whose slaves and servants they were. Coming from countries where they not only formed the majority but where many were widely represented in the middle and higher classes, they bring with them visions, desires and training for leadership and accomplishments. Upon arrival, however, they find that for the first time in many generations they must deal not only with the myth of the superiority of the white race over all other races, most of all the Black, but they must also deal with their minority status. It goes without question that the general treatment they receive, and the jobs and opportunities they obtain must have a major impact on the realization of aspiration and perception of self as part of the Canadian conglomorate.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

This study is concerned with the discrimination due to race, as perceived by a select group of immigrants from the English speaking Caribbean now residing in Metropolitan Winnipeg. It examines the impact of racism on the life satisfaction of migrants who perceived themselves as objects of racial prejudice and discrimination in the workplace. It also investigates the migrants use of support systems in dealing with racial discrimination in the workplace and how this affects life satisfaction. It further looks at the relationship between respondents' level of life satisfaction and the degree to which they identify with the larger Canadian society.

In this chapter, I shall describe the rationale for the hypotheses, state the hypotheses, describe the methods used to test them and discuss the limitations of the study. There are two major hypotheses to be tested in this study. The first hypothesis centres on the perception of self as the object of racism in the workplace and how this affects life satisfaction. The second hypothesis centres on the migrants' use of support systems to deal with racism thereby enhancing life satisfaction.

Rationale for Hypothesis I

The literature (Hughes and Kallen 1974, Green 1976, Reitz 1981, Muszynski and Reitz 1982, Abella 1984, Silvera 1984, Walker 1984) shows that racial discrimination exists in the workplace in Canada. Some investigators, such as Muszynski and Reitz, have found West Indians to be among the most discriminated against in the workplace with respect to having restricted employment opportunities. Thus, West Indians were found to have low job status and very low income in relation to education and experience when compared to other groups.

Social identity is seen as being derived from an individual's group membership, and, job status and career tend to determine or influence one's social status outside the workplace. These must, therefore, be seen as important and integral parts of one's identity (Berger 1963). The experience of racism in the workplace by Caribbean immigrants must therefore, be seen as having significant impact upon their overall adjustment in the wider society and their overall satisfaction with life. The various stresses arising out of adjustment to changes inherent in the migration experience, compounded by the experience of racism in the workplace provide the rationale for Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 1.

The greater the degree to which West Indians who have immigrated to Canada perceive that they have been the object of racism in the workplace, the lesser the degree of life satisfaction that they will experience.

The following sub-hypotheses have been formulated:

1a   As perceived discrimination decreases, identification with the workgroup increases.

1b   As perceived discrimination decreases interaction with white Canadians away from the job situation increases.

1c   As perceived discrimination decreases the level of life satisfaction increases.

1d   As perceived discrimination decreases the level of identification of self as Canadian increases.

Rationale for Hypothesis II

In the Caribbean there are very close family and friendship ties that provide material as well as emotional support; church, friends, employer, employee are all part of this helping network. For the West Indian whose family can be described as "extended" moving into a society where the family is for the most part nuclear, the process of adjustment is particularly difficult.

Since social agencies as they exist in Canada are substantially different from those in the Caribbean, it is the informal helping network that is sought first for problem resolution. Separation from the traditional support systems must, therefore, have wide-spread implication for Caribbean migrants. For Caribbean migrants the problems of adjustment inherent in the migration experience are further compounded by the experience of racism in the workplace. In the absence of familiar supports they find that they must face and deal with problems alone, or adapt to the Canadian mode of seeking help from highly structured, formal social systems such as human rights commissions and social welfare agencies. The rationale for Hypothesis II is therefore, that the migrants' use of support systems to deal with perceived racism in the workplace has considerable impact on adjustment to Canadian society and their life satisfaction.

Hypothesis II

The more formal the network of support used by Caribbean immigrants to deal with racism in the workplace, the greater the degree of life satisfaction that they will experience.

The following subordinate hypotheses are derived from this:

IIa. As the support network includes more formal systems, identification with the work group increases.

IIb. As the support network includes more formal systems, interaction with white Canadian colleagues increases.

IIc As the support network includes more formal systems, life satisfaction increases.

IId As the support network includes more formal systems, identification of self as Canadian increases.

Operationalizing the Variables in the Hypotheses

Discrimination was measured by:

(a) perceived refusal of employment at time of recruitment because of skin colour;

(b) placement in lower status positions at time of employment because of skin colour;

(c) perceived refusal of promotion on the job because of skin colour;

(d) perceived exclusion from social activities with white colleagues because of skin colour;

(e) perceived refusal of service by customers because of skin colour;

Response to the following questions represented the view of the individual as being the object of racism in the workplace and are items 8 and 12 to 18 on the questionnaire.

Questions:

8.   Did you experience any problem finding a job here?
     _____Yes   _____No

     If Yes, what were they?

12. (a) Was your first job here the same as your
         former occupation in your own country?
            Yes   No

     (b) If NO, was it in your estimation of the
     same, higher, or lower status?
         Higher   Same   Lower

     Please tell why it was one of the above.

13. What is your present job?

14. (a) Have you encountered any problem(s) on your
     job(s) which you felt were directly related to
     your being a coloured immigrant?
            Yes   No

     (b) If yes, what were they?

     (d) What were the consequences?

15. (a) Has your colour prevented you from getting
     promoted on the job?
            Yes   No

     (b) If YES, describe what happened.

16. (a) Were there any times when you felt you were
     not hired because of being West Indian?
            Yes   No

     (b) What were the circumstances?

17. (a) Have you been given a fair chance to achieve
     your goals in the workplace?

     (b) Give reasons for your answer.

18. (a) Do you feel you have been discriminated against by any of the following:
____Employer   ____Supervisor   ____Workmates
____Consumers ____Others (Please specify)

(b) What was the situation?

For these items, open ended questions were used to give respondents freedom in giving verbal descriptions of their experiences in which they thought they had encountered incidents of racial discrimination.

Respondent's level of social interaction with white Canadian colleagues was obtained through the following questions which appear as items 19 and 21 on the questionnaire.

19. (a) Has your colour kept you from being accepted socially by other workers on the job?

(b) Describe it?

(c) What were the consequences?

The following question which appears in item 20 on the questionnaire was used to measure respondents level of identification with the work group.

20. (a) To what degree do you feel you are really a part of your workgroup. On a scale of 1-5 where would you place yourself?

5 ____Really fully part of my work group
4 ____Included in most ways
3 ____Included in some ways but not in others
2 ____Do not feel I really belong
1 ____Not a part of work group

(b) Explain your answers.

21. Do you socialize with white Canadian colleagues
    when you are away from the job?

    <u>Identification of self as Canadian</u> was measured by
    item 22 on the questionnaire.

22. To what degree do you feel yourself a West Indian?
    Where would you place yourself on a scale from
    1 - 5 (5 being the highest value).

    1   2   3   4   5

    To what degree do you feel yourself a Canadian?

    1   2   3   4   5

Hypothesis II which deals with respondents' use of
support systems and level of life satisfaction was
tested by items 9, 23, 26 and 27 of the schedule and
are set out below. Specifically items 9 and 23 dealt
with use of support systems while items 26 and 27
elicited respondents' expressed level of satisfaction
with their jobs and with their lives in general as
Caribbean migrants in Winnipeg.

Questions:

9. (a) List the people and/or organizations from whom
    you solicited help when trying to find a job
    here.

23. (a) List the people/organizations from whom you
    solicited help when you came against racial
    discrimination.

26. (a) All things considered, how satisfied are you
    with your job? Where would you place yourself
    on a scale of 1 - 5 (5 being the highest value)

        5 Very satisfied
        4 Satisfied
        3 Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
        2 Dissatisfied
        1 Very dissatisfied.

    (b) Explain your answer.

27. In general, how satisfied are you with your life as a West Indian immigrant in Winnipeg? Where would you place yourself on this scale?

        5____Very satisfied
        4____Satisfied
        3____Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
        2____Dissatisfied
        1____Very dissatisfied

(b) Explain your answer.

Concepts such as identification and satisfaction are complex and multidimensional in nature and therefore difficult to measure. The use of the above fixed alternative questions to measure these concepts can be seen as limiting the content validity of these measures as they do not cover all the items that represent these concepts. In order to strengthen content validity, respondents were asked to explain their choice of answers thereby giving them a chance to go through the process of recall and evaluation of their experiences and these are described in reporting the findings of the study.

The schedule was designed to include items to obtain the following information: (a) age; (b) sex; (c) education; (d) occupation; (e) income; (f) country of origin; and (g) length of residence in Canada. This information provided a general description of the

sample as well as enabling the researcher to identify the relationship between variables such as occupation, income, length of residence and identification and satisfaction.

Research Design

This study is an exploratory one. The design is exploratory/descriptive in nature. (Sellitz, 1959, p 50-51) As the events to be studied are in the past, the approach would be ex post facto. It accords with the definitional content proposed by Kerlinger, being a "...systematic empirical inquiry in which the investigator does not have control of the independent variables because their manifestations have already occurred..." (1979, p 379).

Sampling allows the researcher to draw conclusions about a larger population with a minimum of cost and time. Thus, information from a selected group of West Indian migrants will permit some tentative generalization to a larger group of Caribbean people. Probability sampling, while often the best way to obtain true representation, would have been both impractical and inappropriate. For various reasons it was not feasible to use a random sample. Drawing a sample from a group such as West Indians in Winnipeg is extremely difficult because the parameters of the total population are not known. The only way to draw even a

moderately accurate random sample would have been to take a private census of all West Indians in Winnipeg and then to have drawn from this. This method would have involved a large expenditure of funds and extensive time - neither of which was available to this reseacher.

The researcher utilized a purposive sample. In an exploratory study it is important that the investigator be able to select subjects. Utilization of "judgement" in using a purposive sample allows the researcher to select a sub-group from a population which, on the basis of available information, can be judged to be representive of a population in a general way (Miller, 1977, p 55). This type of sampling is also supported by Selltiz (1959) who states: "The basic assumption behind purposive sampling is that with good judgement and appropriate strategy, one can hand pick the cases to be included in the sample." (p. 520) This technique assumes a considerable knowledge of the population and sub-group (Miller, 1977, p. 55). As a West Indian immigrant living in Winnipeg for the past ten years, this researcher has sufficient knowledge of the West Indian population to be able to use this particular sampling method.

There are some advantages to the use of purposive sampling. It reduces the cost of sample preparation

and field work. Units can be selected to meet the investigator's time constraints. There are, however, some disadvantages. As this is a non-probability sample, variability and bias are difficult to control or measure.

Criteria for the Selection of Subjects

To ensure that participants were migrants who had lived their early years in the West Indies, the subjects must have been born in the Caribbean. The subjects must have also been involved in church activities or in one of the West Indian "clubs" in Winnipeg. It is from these organizations that the sample was selected. Respondents must have lived in Canada for a period not less than five years. This time element was introduced to reduce the effect of stress usually experienced by new immigrants, due to the separation from their country of origin and the early stages of acculturation, which could introduce bias in the responses. All participants must have been currently employed. Unemployed individuals were excluded from the sample, as were those individuals who might have been seeking employment or had lost their jobs as they may have introduced additional bias. These individuals would probably have been experiencing additional stress which might introduce bias in their life satisfaction responses.

Collection of Data

The data were obtained by the use of a structured questionnaire administered by the researcher (Appendix A).

There are some advantages to the personal interview. It usually yields a higher percentage of returns and information is more likely to be correct. The researcher can make return visits to complete items on the questionaire or correct mistakes. The interviewer is able to control who responds to the questionaire (Miller, 1977 p 84). One negative aspect of the personal interview is that "the human equation" is difficult to control. There is no way to eliminate perceptual distortions. For example, there were no allowances made to distinguish between the responses of individuals who might have been married to or in an intimate relationship with a white Canadian. Another negative feature is that personal contacts take more time. As a consequence, since all interviews were conducted by the researcher, the sample size was small (Miller, 1977).

Prior to the administering of the questionnaire, it was pre-tested on ten people and adjustments made. The items were assigned a code name and number for each sub-group item.

In addition to the data collected by use of the

structured interview schedule, this study also utilized data from Statistics Canada and other governmental agencies. Materials collected by agencies as part of the administrative process are, as Selltiz (1959) indicates, collected routinely. These data therefore have a reduced amount of bias.

It might be thought that an immigrant from the Caribbean researching this particular subject would have no problem in procuring interviews. This researcher found this not to be the case. Initial contact with those who participated in the study was made through churches and local West Indian Associations. The writer met individually with six known leaders of these various organizations and with O.T. Anderson, then Chairperson of the Race Relations Committee. Through these discussions held during the summer of 1985 and a search of the library which showed no previous work done in this area, the writer determined there was need for such a study.

During the initial discussion with community leaders a much larger study was envisioned which it was felt could be used to lobby government in the area of affirmative action in employment.

Following this, the writer visited various churches and association meetings where she introduced herself as a social work student at the University of

Manitoba and stated the purpose of the project. These
meetings generated many questions from those in
attendance wanting to known specifics about what kind
of data would be collected, how they would be analysed,
in what format results would be presented, to whom they
would be available and how they would be used. Several
individuals who were in these meetings later contacted
the writer by telephone and stated they had experienced
what they perceived to be serious racial discrimination
in the workplace but would not grant an interview.

These people were afraid that if any part of their
stories appeared anywhere in print they would be
identified and would suffer serious consequences, maybe
even lose their jobs. One individual thought that if a
copy of the written report was kept in the university
library, consequences of her telling her story might
even affect her son who was to start attending
university soon.

When the proposal for the project was approved by
the thesis committee in the spring of 1987 the writer
again attended meetings of the organizations mentioned
earlier, explained the project, answered questions and
asked for volunteers to be interviewed. No volunteers
came out of these meetings. The questionnaire was
pretested on ten people known to the writer. These
individuals later served as resources from whom names
of other potential participants were obtained. These

latter persons were contacted by telephone and an interview requested. A few people contacted this way still refused to be interviewed. Most, however, were interested in the project and were very cooperative.

Interviews were conducted during July and August 1987 in the homes of respondents during weekday evenings and on weekends. Few problems were experienced with people not keeping appointments for interviews. Each respondent signed the "Participant's Consent" before the interview started (Appendix II). The interviews lasted from a brief 20 minutes to $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The average length of time interviews were about 45 - 50 minutes. The questionnaire was administered to forty persons.

Analysis and Presentation of Data

The study examined the relationship between the perceived racial discrimination and the migrants' adaptation to and identification with the larger Canadian society and their level of life satisfaction. These were further examined against factors such as length of residence in Canada, education, income and occupation.

Respondents' occupations were placed into four categories: unskilled labour; skilled labour and services; technical and sales; professional and managerial. Educational attainment was measured by the

highest level of education achieved. Income categories were also used.

The sampling technique and the small size of the sample did not allow for statistical analysis for test of significance. Therefore, analysis of the data include the following procedures: frequency distribution for each item was computed and mean scores for each dimension were tabulated; responses were placed on a scale of high, moderate and low and the resulting data examined to determine if positive answers were related to high levels of satisfaction. The findings are presented in tabular, graph and narrative form in the following three chapters.

Limitations of the Study

The major limitations of this study are those of size and representativeness of the sample. The study is time limited in that it does not include the experiences of Caribbean migrants with racism in the workplace over a given period of time. Furthermore, all respondents interviewed are from the English speaking Caribbean, due to this researcher's language facility being English only, and her lack of money to utilize a translator for non-English speaking Caribbean migrants.

A major limitation of the study then is that it is unknown to what extent the sample is representative of the total English speaking West Indian population in Winnipeg. This limits very much the extent to which the findings of the present study can be generalized to the black population of either Winnipeg or Canada. With no specific census information on this group of people the researcher used judgement, relying on her personal knowledge of West Indian immigrants, to select the subjects for the sample. Effort was, therefore, made to select a cross section of people according to occupation. Thus, respondents included homemakers, cleaning women, couriers, tradesmen and professionals.

Other limitations are, no statistical test of significance were used and there was no control group. The criteria for the selection of subjects and the fact that this is a purposive sample, and not randomly selected prohibited the use of statistical tests of significance. It is acknowledged that this might introduce bias in the process and put limitations on the validity of the findings of the study. Furthermore, the constraints of time and funding prevented the use of a control group for comparison. The use of a control group of white immigrants would have provided comparison in the experiences of the two groups in the workplace. This would have given some indication of whether or not white immigrants had

similar experiences of discrimination as coloured immigrants, and whether or not the discrimination experienced by Caribbean immigrants was in fact due to race. Thus, a control group of white immigrants would have strenghthened the validity of the findings.

Finally, interview bias and the limitation this put on the study must be considered. "The personal interview, as a face-to-face interpersonal role situation, is beset with peculiar problems, especially with regard to validity and reliability of the information obtained." (Nachmias and Nachmias 1981 p. 106) This is particularly important in this study since the researcher is herself a West Indian immigrant employed in Winnipeg. In order to reduce the risk of bias the instrument of measurement, that is the questionnaire, was carefully constructed to ensure that content validity is reasonably strong, bearing in mind the constraints already mentioned. The use of a combination of fixed alternative and open-ended questions, designed to measure the concepts being investigated according to how they have been defined, is an effort to strengthen content validity.

As stated earlier, the study is descriptive and as much as possible respondents' own words have been used in reporting their experiences and opinions. During the interview probing was limited to the occassional request to respondents to be more explicit in their

responses when asked to explain their choice of answer to alternative fixed answers. As well, the researcher had no knowledge of the experiences of any of the respondents prior to the interview. The usual careful observation of non-verbal activity of respondents during the interview was maintained and helped to assess consistency and accuracy in responses.

Despite the limitations of this study, it can be useful as a pilot project. In this respect the findings do indicate the need and provide the basis for further study in this area. Social planners, educators and service providers should also find this useful in determining their approach to this problem of racism when dealing with visible minorities.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS:

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

The results of the study are presented in the next three chapters. In this chapter I outline the findings on the general characteristics of the sample and respondents' experiences of racial discrimination in the workplace. Chapter 7 details the results of racial discrimination in the workplace as it affects indentification and life satisfaction. In Chapter 8 results on the use of support systems to deal with racism and how this affects identification and life satisfaction are given.

General Characteristics of the Sample

The sample of 40 migrants who participated in the study represented eight different English-speaking Caribbean countries as follows: Jamaica (13); Trinidad and Tobago (8); Barbados (5); St. Vincent (4); Guyana (4); Grenada (2); Dominica (2); Belize (2). As stated earlier, the majority of the peoples of the Caribbean are of African descent. However, many other ethnic groups are represented. The composition of the sample was as follows: African or Blacks (30); Mixed (5); East Indian (4); Lebanese (1). The five persons of mixed heritage were one each who was Afro-Chinese,

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particular course of study, but subsequently decided to make Canada their home. The other 5 (12.5%) came because their fiancés were already here and had asked them to join them.

As the main reason for emigrating is economic advancement, which is often tied to educational achievement, Table 3 compares the level of education of the immigrants at the time of entry to Canada with their present level of education. The table shows that the majority of respondents, in their quest to take advantage of opportunities for self-advancement, have upgraded their education since coming to Canada. Education is seen by the people in this sample as the vehicle to "get ahead".

Table 3

Level of Education at Entry into Canada and at Present

Level of Education	At Entry into Canada		At Present	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Primary 0-8 years	8	20%	7	17.5%
Some High School	6	15%	4	10%
High School Graduate	11	27%	3	7.5%
Prof. College/Some University	12	30%	9	22.5%
Bachelors Degrees	3	7.5%	8	20.0%
Graduate & Post Graduate Degrees	0	0	9	22.5%
	40	100%	40	100%

Two of the traditional indicators of social class have been income and education. Thirty-six respondents answered the income question. According to these indicators, as shown in Tables 3 and 4, the members of the sample used in this study probably had a higher social class than the general population of Metropolitian Winnipeg. While this sample is too small for any generalizations to be made about the total Caribbean migrant population and even less so about the population of Winnipeg, some comparisons can be made.

The level of education of the migrants compares favourably with that of the Canadian population at large. The census information for 1980 shows that one in five Canadians over the age of 15 years have eighth grade or less education. For the migrants in this sample 17.5% or slightly less than one in five have eighth grade or less education. The median years of schooling for this age group across Canada is 11.8 years and for Manitoba 11.4 years. For this sample, the median years of schooling is 13.9 years. Those with no degrees, certificates or diplomas make up 51.1% of the total Canadian population. In this sample only 35% have no degrees, certificates or diplomas, while 42.5% of the migrants have university degrees. This compares favourably with the general Canadian population in which 13.7% of people 25 to 44 years have university degrees. There are no figures available for

Manitoba in this category.

The above information on education shows the education of the sample to be well above that of Manitoba and Canada in general. It is possible that a larger study might find this level of education consistent with the Caribbean population in Winnipeg as Canadian immigration laws and selection policies do favour the more educated and skilled as immigrants. Immigrants have also found that a certificate from a Canadian educational institution is a passport to a decent job and therefore the majority have taken advantage of this and upgraded their education.

Income is the other indicator of social class. There are problems associated with trying to obtain the exact income of individuals, as people in general are reluctant to disclose this information. As a workable solution, it was decided to use an income range as an indicator of income.

Table 4 gives the income range of the sample. As the table shows the mean annual income of the thirty-six respondents is $28,722.00. It should be noted, however, that two women in the $15,000 to $20,000 category were each working one and a half jobs. The mean income of those who responded to the question compares favourably with the mean income of Manitobans which at the time of this investigation was $24,513.32 according to Statistics Canada. The overall higher educational level of the

Table 4   83

Income Range of Respondents at Time of Interview

Income in $	Number	Percentage
10,000-15,000	4	10%
15,001-20,000	8	20%
20,001-25,000	0	0%
25,001-30,000	4	10%
30,001-35,000	8	20%
35,001-40,000	7	17.5%
40,001-and up	5	12.5%
No response	4	10%
Total	40	100%

Mean $28,722
Median $32,500

When the items concerning repondents' jobs are examined and comparisons are made between the jobs held before migration and their first jobs in Canada, there is evidence of downward mobility in job status. Tables 5(a), 5(b) and 5(c) show the types of jobs respondents held prior to migration to Canada, their first jobs in Canada and the jobs they held at the time they were interviewed. While only 22.5% held unskilled positions in their homeland prior to migration, 42.5% reported unskilled first jobs in Canada. If we take into consideration the fact that 10 respondents did not enter the job market until after they had completed at least an undergraduate university education, then the incidence of downward mobility is even higher.

When the respondents were asked to compare the status of their first jobs in Canada with those they held prior to migration, 26 (65%) reported the jobs they took when they came to Canada were of lower status than what they held in their country of origin. The three (7.5%) whose first jobs in Canada were of higher status than they held prior to migration all did university post graduate degrees before entering the job market. Eleven respondents (27%) reported they got jobs of the same status they held prior to migration. These were all in the unskilled and service categories.

Table 5 (a)
Occupational Categories Before Migration

Category	No.	Percentage
Unskilled Labour	9	22.5%
Services & Skilled Labour	10	25.0%
Technical and Sales	10	25.0%
Professional & Managerial	11	27.5%
TOTAL	40	100%

Table 5 (b)
First Jobs Held by Immigrants in Canada

Category	No.	Percentage
Unskilled Labour	17	42.5%
Services & Skilled Labour	8	20.0%
Technical and Sales	10	25.0%
Professional & Managerial	5	5.0%
TOTAL	40	100.05

Table 5(c)
Job Categories at Time of Interview

Category	No.	Percentage
Unskilled Labour	9	22.5%
Service & Skilled Labour	4	10.0%
Technical and Sales	7	17.5%
Professional & Managerial	20	50.0%
TOTAL	40	100.0%

Eleven respondents entered the country having worked in professional and managerial occupations prior to migration. Of these, four, held managerial positions in their own country. Although Table 5(c) shows more persons have moved into a job in this general category "managerial and professional" since coming to Canada, none of them have worked in managerial positions in this country. All the respondents presently in this category are professionals by virtue of their education and are line workers in their respective organizations.

Perception of Self as the Object of Racism

Respondents perception of themselves as objects of racism in the workplace was measured by a composite index of six questions, which are items 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 in the questionnaire, as set out below:

Question 13: Have you encountered any problems on your job(s) which you felt were directly related to you being a "coloured" immigrant?

14: Has your colour prevented you from getting promoted on the job?

15: Were there any times when you felt you were not hired because of being West Indian?

16: Have you been given a fair chance to achieve your goals in the workplace?

17: Do you feel you have been discriminated against by any of the following: Employer; Supervisor; Workmates; Consumers?

18: Has your colour kept you from being accepted socially by other workers on the job?

Response choices of "Yes" and "No" were offered for each question, and all three parts of question number 17. In this index a range of 0 to 9 times is possible for each respondent to indicate situations in which he or she perceived him or herself as the object of racism in the workplace. Table 6 gives the frequency distribution of the respondents' scores. The aggregate score of "Yes" responses of the 40 respondents was 164 out of a possible 360. This gave a mean score of 4.1 out of the possible 9 situations in which each respondents' perception of self as the object of racism in the workplace could have occurred.

Table 6

Frequency distribution of Respondents Perception
of Self as the Object of Racism in the Workplace

| Index Score | No. of Respondents | | | Combined Scores |
	Male	Female	Total	
0	1	0	1	0
1	2	3	5	5
2	1	1	2	4
3	6	3	9	27
4	1	2	3	12
5	5	6	11	55
6	1	3	4	24
7	2	1	3	21
8	0	2	2	16
9	0	0	0	0
TOTAL/ SCORE	20/ 71	20/ 93	40	164

Total Scores: Male 71; Female 93

Mean Scores :   All respondents 4.1;
                Male 3.55; Female 4.65

Figure 2(a) is a graphic representation of the frequency distribution. Here the mode is shown as 5, indicating that of the 40 respondents 11 said they experienced what they perceived to be racism in five out of the nine situations.

This finding also shows that of 40 respondents, 39 (97.5%) perceived themselves as the object of racism in the workplace with varying degrees of frequency, thus indicating that the perception of self as the object of racism is very high for this group. Only one (2.5%) of the 40 respondents indicated no experience of racism in the workplace.

Figure 2 (a)

Perception of Self as the Object of Discrimination
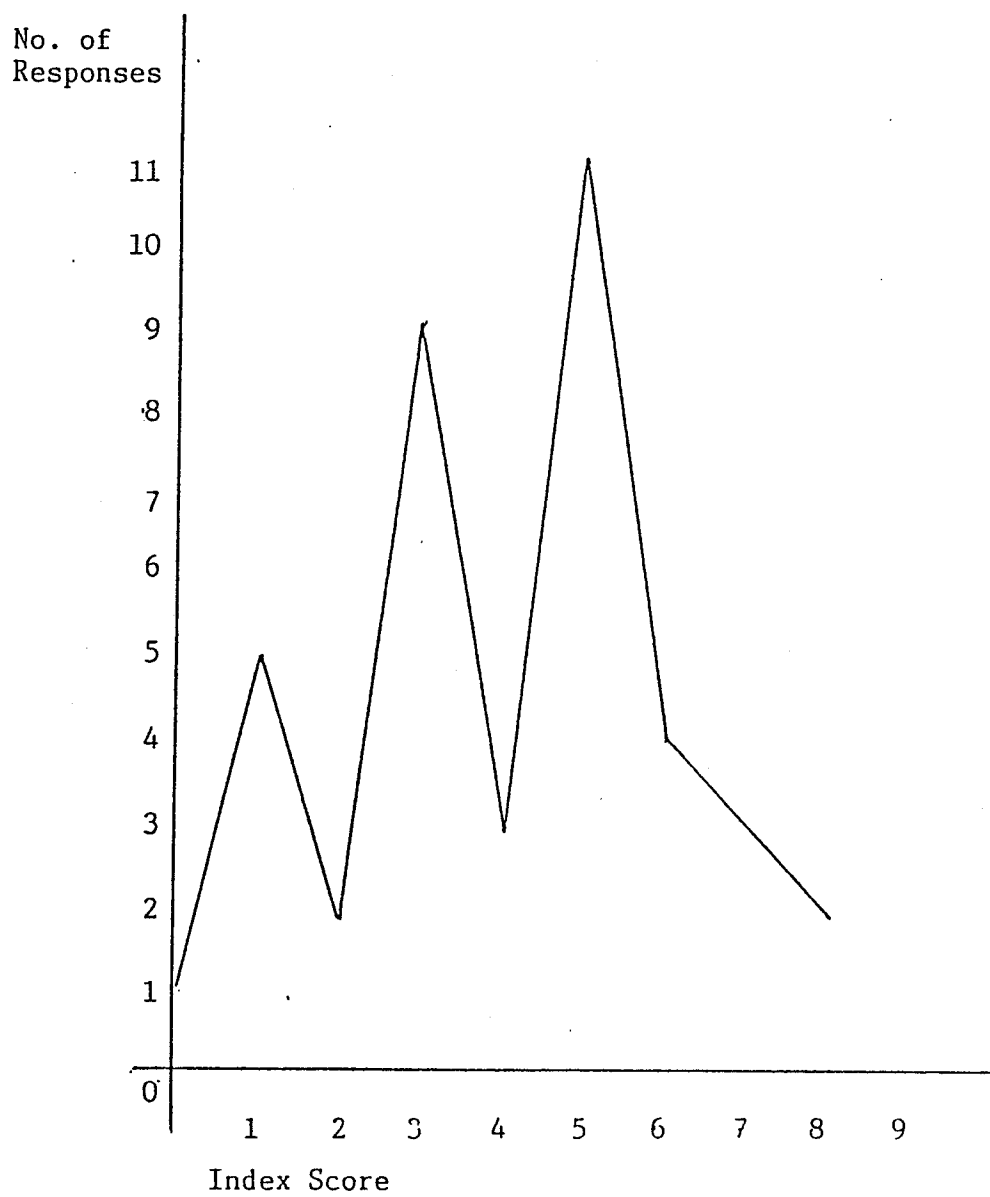
Women reported more situations in which they perceived themselves to be the ojbect of racism in the workplace. The aggregate score of "Yes" for women in the group was 93 with a mean score of 4.65, while for men the aggregate was 71 with a mean of 3.55. Figure 2(b) gives a graphic reprsentation of these scores and shows that women out-score men in the average number of situations in which they perceived themselves to be the object of racism in the workplace.

Each question in the index is open-ended in design to give respondents freedom in giving a verbal description of their experiences in which they perceived they had encountered racial discrimination. In each case respondents were asked to explain or describe the situation which resulted in a "Yes" response to any of the above questions. The following section describes experiences of some respondents while seeking employment as well as while on the job.

Perceived Discrimination While Seeking Employment

Twenty-five respondents (62.5%) in the sample said they experienced what they perceived to be racial discrimination while seeking employment. Of the fifteen persons (37.5%) from the sample who reported no experience of racial discrimation while seeking employment, three came as students and had completed post graduate degrees before entering the job market full time.

Figure 2 (b)

Comparing Frequency Distribution Scores

for Males and Females

No. of
Responses

Legend
____ Female; Mean 4.65
--- Male;   Mean 3.55

Index Score
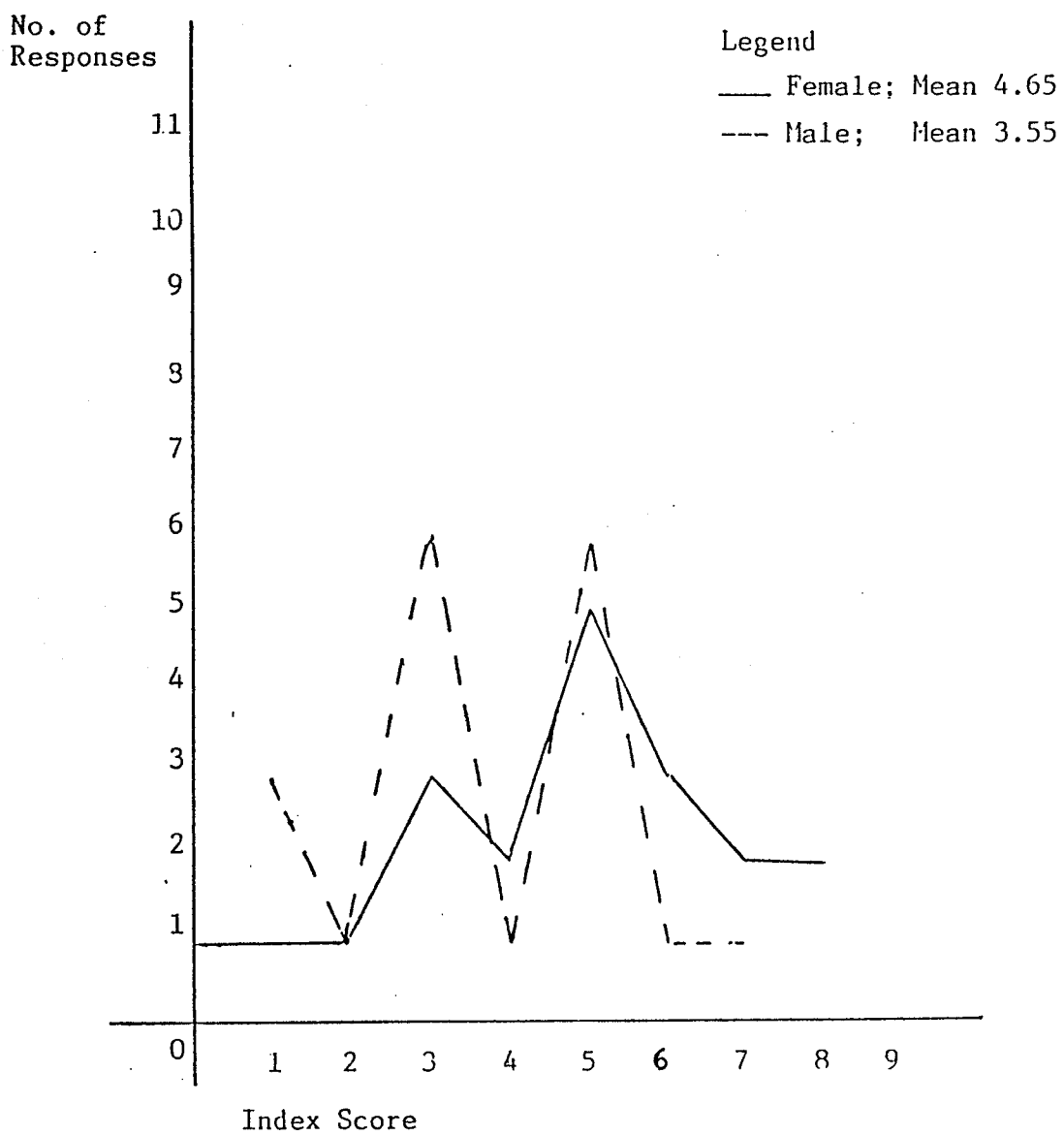
Three came directly to sponsors as domestic helpers while seven others held various unskilled positions. The respondents holding unskilled positions felt that their kind of work is of such low status that these positions are mostly filled by coloured immigrants, hence the reason for them not experiencing any discrimination at the time of their recruitment.

Two of the respondents who experienced no discrimination while seeking employment held managerial positions prior to coming to Canada. They had relatives here and visited Canada before making the decision to emigrate. They said they knew what to expect in the job market so they did not try to find jobs comparable to what they held previously. They sought and found lower status jobs without experiencing any problems.

The twenty-five respondents who experienced discrimination while seeking employment came from all occupational levels and were as follows: nine were in the Professional category in their own countries prior to coming to Canada; ten in Technical and Sales; five in Skilled Labour and one in Unskilled Labour. Of the nine who were in professional positions, four said they had problems getting their educational certification accepted as on par with Canadian certification.

The respondents who reported experiencing discrimination while seeking employment, said that they

had encountered discrimination from prospective employers in the private sector, from public agencies and from the staff of Canada Employment Centres.

The most frequent incidents encountered appeared to occur at the time of the interviews. In the typical case the respondent would answer an advertisement in the newspaper, would go for an interview and would fail to obtain the job. In these situations the prospective employer would rarely tell the respondent that they were being denied the position on account of race. Instead, the respondent would be told that he/she would be called later, but was never contacted. Some respondents repeated this procedure several times before they were able to obtain employment.

A combination of - "no Canadian experience", covert discriminatory attitudes, such as apparent surprise and discomfort by the interviewer when faced with an applicant who is a person of colour, and one occasion of direct overt discriminatory remarks were cited by respondents. Following are examples of experiences related by respondents.

One person was sent to a job by a Canada Employment Centre counsellor. Upon arrival for his prescheduled interview he asked for the manager and was told the manager was out. After waiting for over an hour, he finally met the manager who turned out to be the same

person who first told him the manager was out. The interview consisted of this person informing him -- "Listen, I have nothing against you personally, but if I hire you my meat won't sell so I can't give you the job. You understand, I have to protect my business."

Another respondent related that she had had several years experience in banking prior to coming to Canada. She applied and was interviewed and selected along with two other applicants, who were white, to write a test for a position in a bank. This position was of lower status than her last job. The individual who did the initial interviewing and supervised the writing of the test was very impressed with her performance and assured her she would be selected for the position. She was then taken to meet the person who would confirm her selection. She observed that this person seemed surprised when they met, and "was obviously uncomfortable and at a loss for words". This person left the room for a few minutes and upon returning, informed the respondent that someone else was selected to fill the position. This respondent eventually got a similar job in another bank without even being interviewed. A friend of hers had a friend who was a friend of the assistant manager of the bank. He offered her the job on the basis of what he was told of her previous experience in banking.

Another respondent related that she had a degree and

thirteen years experience in her field of work prior to coming to Canada. Before migration, she was in middle management in the organization for which she worked. When trying to get her first job in Canada she got a list of job vacancies from the Canada Employment Centre. She made applications to six of these places. She was told in three personal interviews for line worker positions that she needed Canadian experience in order to be employed. At two of three interviews for jobs of even lower status, she was also told she needed Canadian experience and at the other interview she was told she was overqualified for the position. In some of these interviews she was advised to do a period of volunteer work in order to get Canadian experience. This person eventually accepted a job of lower status in an organization which at that time had several openings for line positions comparable to her own training and experience.

A total of 19 respondents (47.5%) in the sample said they were told in interviews that they were being denied employment because they had no Canadian experience.

Two young men related similar stories of phoning prospective employers in response to newspaper advertisements and being told to come and complete application forms. In each case when the respondent arrived he was told the vacancy was already filled. Each returned home, phoned again the following day and was told

the position was still vacant. Each related to the person at the other end of the phone his experience of the previous day. In one case a different person then came on the phone and told the respondent that the position was indeed filled but that the person who first answered the phone was not aware of this. Of course, the respondent did not believe this. In the other case when the respondent related his experience of the previous day, the person at the other end hung up the phone without responding and left it off the hook.

Perceived Discrimination at the Workplace

Twenty-eight persons (70%) experienced problems while working on the job which they perceived as related to their being coloured immigrants. The types of problems experienced include racial discrimination by means of covert racist attitudes, unfair placement in low status positions for unduly long periods of time after recruitment, racist remarks by others in the workplace, being denied social acceptance by white co-workers, consumers refusing to accept service from a person of colour and being denied promotion. Table 7 gives the frequency distribution of the problems experienced.

These respondents reported experiencing discrimination from consumers, co-workers, their immediate supervisors and employers while on the job. The most

Table 7

Frequency Distribution of
Types of Problems Experienced on the Job

Problem Experienced	Yes	No	Total
Covert racist attitudes	23	17	40
Racist remarks	23	17	40
Unfair low status placement	22	18	40
Denied social acceptance	17	23	40
Denied promotion	13	27	40
Consumer refuses service	8	32	40

Table 8

Frequency Distribution of
Persons from whom Discrimination was Experienced

Category of Persons	Yes	No	Total
Supervisors	23	17	40
Workmates	20	20	40
Employers	16	24	40
Consumers	10	30	40

prevalent offender was the supervisor. In the majority of these cases, the discrimination was not perpetrated by their first supervisors but usually by a new supervisor whenever there was a change of personnel in this position. Table 8 shows the distributions of perpetrators of racial discriminatory behaviours.

Discrimination by Supervisors

Reports of discrimination by supervisors ranged from cutting back hours of work; refusing respondents

opportunity for upward mobility, harassment, intimidation and threats to force respondents to resign, to laying off respondents in order to employ a white person. Following are examples of some of the situations encountered by respondents. A former medical secretary at a community health clinic reported:

> I worked in that position for four and one half years. I was good at my work and got along well with everyone -- doctors, nurses and especially patients. Three years ago a new director came on staff. She started pushing me around with the intent that I should quit. I did not quit so she started giving me other duties and finally laid me off saying my position was not needed. Two days after I left my position was renamed and posted on the bulletin board. Within a week it was filled by a white person with less experience. I went to the Human Rights Commission but they said there was no clear case of racial discrimination.

This person now has a job as a sales clerk in a department store although she is a trained and experienced medical secretary.

A former restaurant employee who had just recently quit her job in anger reported that after getting a new supervisor her hours had been gradually cut back from full-time to between 16 and 10 hours weekly. Also, although she was the longest time employee in the restaurant, she was not allowed to serve tables whenever there were special occasions such as parties and banquets. She repeatedly asked for more hours and finally confronted her supervisor for an explanation as to why her hours were

cut back and she was removed from certain duties. He told her he was the boss and she should not question what he did. If she didn't like it she should leave. She left and found another job.

A machinist at a motor vehicle factory said he had been repeatedly denied opportunity for upward mobility although required to teach new white recruits how to operate the machines. They in turn were often later promoted above him.

A motor vehicle sales representative who described himself as an aggressive worker who has consistently done well on his job making top sales for his company told of racial slurs made against him and described how recently his supervisor deprived him of an award.

> Records of each person's sales are kept in the office and tallied at the end of the month, quarter and year for these awards. It's an incentive and you get an extra bonus. This man became so jealous that one day when I was not there he gave the other salesmen cards on which to record their sales to be turned in to him at the end of the month. The day the award went to someone else, I questioned it because I knew I made the most sales. He simply said I didn't turn in my card to him. I pointed out that the records were in the office and I knew nothing of his new card system. He said sarcastically, 'to bad for you.' You see they are just jealous and don't want to see blacks progress.

A Licenced Practical Nurse reported:

> I got along well with my co-workers and supervisor until about six months ago when they found out I bought this house. Since then their attitudes towards me have changed. I often hear them making unkind racial remarks but I pretend not to hear. Now, the supervisor has become very partial. I am

being pushed to work harder, doing my duties as
well as those of white workers, who, will report to
work, then say they are not feeling well and are
allowed to go home without a 'sick slip' from the
doctor. Seeing the frequency with which this is
now happening, one day I asked the supervisor about
it when I was required to do another workers duties
along with mine. She said to me, "You are
different".

One registered nurse said her supervisor and doctors
on the ward recognized her years of excellent performance
and recommended her for the position of Head Nurse. The
white nurses working under her became very critical and
uncooperative. Apart from making racist remarks they
sabotaged her work to the point of endangering patients'
lives. She was forced to leave this position for fear she
might be held responsible for a patient's death due to
their negligence. She was offered another position in the
same hospital as a regular R.N. on a ward with a larger
racial mix. She worked in this position until she was
again made Head Nurse, after which she left that
hospital.

One man felt that he was overqualified and underpaid
on both his previous and present jobs. He has a Ph.D in
English but could only find employment with the Department
of Indian Affairs teaching Maths in a Northern Manitoba
school. While in this school he applied for a position
to teach English but a white, far less qualified person
was recruited. He felt his position in this school should
have been at least head of the English department. He

also applied and was recommended by the Dean for a position in the English department of Brandon University and felt the only reason he did not get the job was because he was black. Having "had enough of the North" where he worked for several years, he came to Winnipeg, but over the past four years has not been able to obtain a job as an English teacher. He has left the teaching profession.

> "I needed a job so after trying unsuccessfully for almost a year to get a teaching position, I had to take whatever I could get."

Three teachers reported experiencing opposition from their colleagues when they applied for positions as vice-principals. All three felt that if they were white they would not have experiencd any opposition as they all have Masters degrees in education, many year teaching experience and had proven themselves competent in the classroom. One who was teaching in a northern community said threats were made to do him bodily harm if he was selected for the position of Vice-Principal. A less qualified, less experienced white individual was selected and so this respondent subsequently left that job. Another reported that he had worked in the city for many years and was a very active person both in the school community and in the black community. He was by-passed twice for a vice-principal's position. The third time the opportunity came around, he protested to the school board

and was selected. This brought protest from his white colleagues but the school board had no choice but to select him. When he took up his position, he was not given an office and for several months was allowed to carry out very few of the responsibilities of a vice-principal. With quiet diplomacy he gradually worked himself into the role and all its responsibilities. He has been in this position for three years and while he said he has gained the respect of his colleagues for his high level performance, he has not been confirmed in the post permanently because the principal has not recommended it and has given him no reason why.

The third person, a woman, said that when she expected to be appointed vice-principal, she was adroitly transferred into "special education" to set up a special project. While she was occupied with this project, a white person with fewer years experience and less competent than herself was given the position of Vice-Principal. Since then each time she asked about promotion to vice-principal, the Superintendent redirects her interest to some other "special project" with assurance that no one else can do it was well as she can. He then makes promises that the next vice-principal's position that comes available will be hers but this has not happened in four years.

One person perceived pressure from his supervisor to carry a heavier workload than his white counterparts as

racial discrimination. This person has a masters degree in psychology and worked as a social worker in a child welfare agency. He described how his supervisor assigned him the largest caseload and, the most difficult cases in the unit. He was often asked to do psychological assessments on children with whom he was not working and also used as a consultant by those working with the children he assessed. This gained him the respect of many of his white colleagues but he felt his supervisor was jealous because he did not expect a black person to be so competent. His caseload became unmanagable and he worked late most evenings and sometimes on the weekends. He reported, "Supervision time was spent picking my brain and any comment made by him about my expertise was done with sarcastic overtones." This person felt his supervisor pressured him because he is black and might have been trying to get him to quit his job. Consequently he asked for a transfer to another unit.

Thirty nine of the forty persons in the sample reported experiencing what they perceived to be racial discrimination in the workplace i.e. at time of recruitment as well as while working on the job. Respondents were asked about the consequence to them of their experience. Responses to the items concerning consequences of the discrimination experienced is given in Table 9.

Table 9

Consequence to the Immigrant of Perceived Racial

Discrimination

Consequence	Number	Percentage
Psychological	39	100.0
Loss of Income	28	72.0
Quit	9	23.0
Transferred	7	18.0
Outside Intervention	7	18.0
Physical altercation	1	3.0

N = 39
* Percentage given to the nearest whole number.

As shown in the table, the two most frequently
mentioned consequences of the experience of racial
discrimination in the workplace are its psychological
effects and loss of income. All thirty-nine persons who
reported experiencing discrimination said this experience
had psychological consequences for them. One man who
reported that over a two month period he applied for more
than twenty jobs and attended about a dozen interviews
felt he was repeatedly denied employment because he was
not a white person. He described the effect this had on
him as follows:

...When they treat you like this over and over, you know, it makes you feel like you're not good enough to do their job, when all you want is an honest bread, you start to wonder in yourself if something is wrong with you. You can't even pay for your own accomodations and food. You have to depend on the kindness of others for everything. It makes you feel worthless. Then when you finally get a job the racism hit you in the face daily in one form or another, it affects your mind, it makes you angry and mistrustful of the white people.

Another person who had used the Human Rights Commission in his fight against racial discrimination in order to be tenured in his position stated:

However qualified and competent you are, this sort of thing does something to your psyche. You begin to doubt yourself and it affects you psychologically, even after you have fought and won. The very fact that you have to use outside forces to be legitimized destroys part of you. It is a threat to one's very core of being.

Among the 28 respondents who reported loss of income as a consequence of racial discrimination three factors were cited as resulting in loss of income. These were as follows: one being denied employment at the time of interview; two, being placed in a job with lower status and less pay than would be given a white worker with similar qualification and experience, and three, being denied promotion to a higher status better paying position.

One person related her experience of a combination of psychological stress, loss of income, being transferred and subsequently quiting her job. She described this consequences as follows:

At recruitment I was placed in a low status, low paying position not commensurate with my qualifications and experience. I worked the first two years to prove myself to everyone. Over the next two years I applied for better paying positions twice and was denied, despite the fact that I often received verbal commendation for my performance. I had been working in this position for four years and had two supervisors who were very impressed with my performance. This was my third supervisor. At our very first meeting he told me he had heard I was very good at my job. In less than four weeks after that he started harassing me and at one point told me that, as my supervisor he could make it so difficult for me I would have no alternative but to resign. From there on he tried very hard to carry out his threats. Before the end of three months he asked for my resignation after we had had a verbal confrontation. I refused to resign and challenged him to fire me if he could. He got the supervisor of that section, who had previously commended me on my excellent performance, to side with him against me.

For the next three months, I endured what amounted to psychological torture. I reported to the director of the company who first met with my immediate supervisor and myself. When nothing was resolved he met with the two of us and the section supervisor. It was shocking the allegations those two made against me. None of these could be substantiated but of course it was their word against mine. I did get some support from the director but I left that meeting feeling like I had been run over by a truck. I was devastated. I became so depressed I couldn't go to work for two weeks. I asked the director to investigate the allegations and although he promised he would he never did. I was transferred to another unit with better pay but I left six months later because I could not trust the new supervisor I had and my respect for the section supervisor was completely destroyed."

One person's experience of racial discrimination resulted in arguements which ended in a physical altercation with a co-worker.

Outside intervention involved the use of unions by three respondents and appeal to the Human Rights Commission by four. None of those who appealed to their unions felt the union fought hard enough on their behalf. The Human Rights Commission ruled in favour of one respondent. The other three could not prove to the commission that racism was a factor in the problem they experienced.

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS:

DISCRIMINATION, IDENTIFICATION,

AND LIFE SATISFACTION

Two of the factors related to the migrants' successful adaptation and identification with the host society are the degree to which they are permitted to participate fully and to achieve their goals in the economic, political and social life of that society. The findings show that the principal reason for the migration of West Indians to Canada is economic success; that is, the achievement of their economic aspirations. I hypothesized, therefore, that their level of life satisfaction will be positively related to the degree that their economic aspirations have been realized and that this in turn is related to the degree of prejudice and discrimination encountered in the workplace.

In this and the next chapter, I will set out a detailed analysis of the findings of the study as it relates to respondents' experience of racial discrimination in the workplace and how this affects identification and life satisfaction. Figure 3 below sets out the eight sub-hypotheses arising out of the two major hypotheses of the study which have been stated in Chapter 5.

Figure 3
Sub-Hypothesis
Hypothesis I

R   I   Decreased Racism results in Increased
           Identification with the Work Group.

R   Z   Decreased Racism results in Increased
           Interaction with White Canadians.

R   L   Decreased Racism results in Increased
           Life Satisfaction.

R   C   Decreased Racism results in Increased
           Identification of Self as Canadian.

Hypothesis II

S   I   Increased use of Formal Support Systems
           result in greater Identification with Work
           Group.

S   Z   Increased use of Formal Support Systems
           result in increased interaction with White
           Canadians.

S   L   Increased use of Formal Support Systems
           result in increased Life Satisfaction.

S   L   Increased use of Formal Support Systems
           result in increased Identification of Self
           as Canadian.

Legend: R: Racism; S: Support Sytems;
            L: Life Satisfaction
            I: Identification with work group
            Z: Social Interaction with white Canadians
            C: Identification of Self as a Canadian.

Discrimination and Life Satisfaction

Respondents generally indicate a fairly high level of satisfaction with their lives even though experiencing racial discrimination from their employers supervisors and workmates. Scale values, given to level of life satisfaction range from, (1) being very dissatisfied, (2) dissatisfied, (3) neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, (4) satisfied and (5) very satisfied. None of the respondents indicated being very dissatisfied and only 1 (2.5%), indicated being dissatisfied. Seven (17.5%), said they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied while the rest, 32 (80%), were quite satisfied irrespective of whether or not they had experienced racism from employers.

Contrary to expectations, the findings of this study indicate that there is no strong relationship between respondents' experience of racial discrimination in the workplace and their level of satisfaction with their lives as West Indian immigrants living in Winnipeg. For example, of the 23 who reported being discriminated against by supervisors, 16 said they were generally satisfied with their lives and two said they were very satisfied. Tables 9(a), 9(b), 9(c), 9(d) and 9(e) show the responses and relationships according to the different categories of persons from whom discrimination was experienced by the sample.

Table 9(a)

Level of Life Satisfaction by
Employer Discrimination

Employer Discrimination	Level of Satisfaction					
	Very Dis. Sat.	Dis. Sat.	Neit-her	Sat.	Very Sat.	Row Total
Yes	0	1	3	11	1	16 40.0
No	0		4	16	6	24 60.0
Column Total	N %	1 2.5	7 17.5	25 62.5	7 17.5	40 100.0

Mean: Yes   = 3.75   No   = 4.09

Table 9(a) shows that respondents who reported
experiencing racial discrimination from employers also
report medium high levels of life satisfaction with 12 out
of 16 (75%) in the "satisfied" and "very satisfied"
categories. This figure is lower than the 20 out of 24
(83.33%) for those not experiencing employer discrimi-
nation, however, the mean scores of 3.75 and 4.09 reflect
these percentage differences.

Table 9(b)
Level of Life Satisfaction by
Supervisor Discrimination

Supervisor Discrimination	Level of Satisfaction					
	Very Dis. Sat.	Dis. Sat.	Neit-her	Sat.	Very Sat.	Row Total
Yes	0	1	4	16	2	23 57.5
No	0		3	9	5	17 42.5
Column Total		1 2.5	7 17.5	25 62.5	7 17.5	40 100.0

Mean: Yes   = 3.83; No   =4.12

As indicated by Table 9(b), respondents who experienced racial discrimination from their supervisors are also generally satisfied with their lives. Of the 23 in this category 18 (69.6%) reported being "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with their lives. This figure, as in the case of employer discrimination, is also lower than the 14 out of 17 (70.5%) for those not experiencing supervisor discrimination. Here also the difference in these percentages are reflected in the mean score of 3.83 and 4.12.

Table 9(c)
Level of Life Satisfaction by
Workmate Discrimination

Level of Satisfaction

Workmate Discrimination	Very Dis. Sat.	Dis. Sat.	Neit-her	Sat.	Very Sat.	Row Total
Yes	0	1	5	13	1	20 50.0
No	0		2	12	6	20 50.0
Column Total N	1	7	25	7	40	
%	2.5	17.5	62.5	17.5	100.0	

Mean: Yes = 3.70; No = 4.20

Table 9(c) shows the strongest tendency towards higher levels of life satisfaction for those who experienced no racial discrimination from their workmates with only 2 of of 20 (10%) being less than satisfied with their lives. Respondents who experienced racial discrimination from workmates reported the lowest

level of life satisfaction. Among this group 6 out of 20

(30%) were less than satisfied with their lives.

Table 9(d)
Level of Life Satisfaction by
Consumer Discriminatin

Level of Satisfaction

Consumer Discrimination	Very Dis. Sat.	Dis. Sat.	Neit-her	Sat.	Very Sat.	Row Total
Yes	0		3	5	2	10 25.0
No	0	2	3	20	2	30 0 75.0
Column Total	0	2 5.0	6 15.0	25 62.5	7 17.5	40 100.

Mean: Yes   = 3.90; No   = 3.93

In Table 9(d) it can be seen that those who

experienced racial discrimination from consumers and those

who did not are equally satisfied with their lives, with

mean levels of satisfaction of 3.90 and 3.93

respectively.

The above tables show that for each of the areas

investigated the mean level of life satisfaction is in the

middle range, and closer to the "satisfied" end of the

scale.   For those who reported no experience of racial

discrimination in each category the mean level of life

satisfaction is more toward the high "satisfied" range.

Life satisfaction mean scores are shown in Table 9(e), by

each of four groups of persons in employment where

perceived discrimination was reported.

Table 9(e)
Mean Life Satisfaction Scores by
Perceived Discrimination from four
Groups of Persons in Employment

Perceived Discrimination in Employment	Discriminated Against	Not Discriminated Against
Consumer Discrimination	3.90	3.93
Supervisor Discrimination	3.83	4.12
Employer Discrimination	3.75	4.08
Workmate Discrimination	3.70	4.20

Taking a range of 3.5 to 4.5 as reasonably high level of life satisfaction one can see in Table 9(e) that for the most part West Indian immigrants in Winnipeg, although reporting high levels of experience of racial discrimination, are also experiencing high levels of life satisfaction. Therefore, the hypothesis that high levels of racial discrimination result in low levels of life satisfaction cannot be accepted for this sample. It should be noted however that although the difference is small those who experienced no discrimination scored consistently higher levels of life satisfaction than those who perceived they were discriminated against.

Discrimination and Identification with the Work Group

If migrants are to make successful adaptation to their new society they should be able to achieve a sense of belonging and be able to identify with the new society.

This can only happen to the extent that they are able to extend their primary group relationships to include members of the majority society. The workgroup is seen as an important link to the development of stable social and intergroup relations between the immigrants and the host society. The degree of this level of interaction is relevant to the acceptance shown by the host society and is significant to the level of adaptation and ultimate satisfaction of the migrants. This was measured through questions eliciting responses on respondents degree of identification with their work group; their interaction with white colleagues away from the job; and the degree to which respondents identify themselves as Canadians.

Respondents were asked the following questions:

(a) To what degree do you feel you are really part of your work group ?

(b) Has your colour kept you from being accepted socially by others on the job?

(c) How much do you socialize with white Canadian colleagues when you are away from the job?

(d) To what degree do you feel yourself a Canadian?

Table 10 gives the frequency distribution of responses to the item dealing with the sense of belonging to a group.

Table 10

Sense of Belonging in the Workplace

Degree of Inclusion	Number	Percentage
Really fully part of my workgroup	7	17.5
Included in most ways	18	45.0
Included in some ways	13	32.5
Do not feel I belong	2	5.0
Not a part of a workgroup	-	-
Total	40	100.0

As can be seen from this table only two respondents,(5%) of the sample, felt no sense of belonging to the work group. There is a high level of identification with the work group as more than 60% of the respondents said they felt included in most ways or totally while 32.5% said they were included in some ways.

Close examination of respondents' level of identification with the work group and their experience of racism show that no relationship was found between respondents' perception of themselves as the objects of racism and the degree to which they identified with their workgroup.

As shown in Tables 11(a), (b), (c) (d) and (e), respondents generally had a medium high level of identification with the work group irrespective of their experience of racial discrimination in the areas investigated.

Table 11(a)
Identification with Work Group by
Employer Discrimination

Idenficiation with Work Group

Employer Discrim- ination	Not part of a Work group	Do not feel I Belong	Included Someways	Included Most ways	Really Belong	Row Total
Yes	0	1	5	8	2	N % 16 40.0%
No	0	1	8	10	5	24 60.0%
Column N Total %		2 5.0	13 32.5	18 45.0	7 17.5	40 100.0%

Mean: Yes   = 3.68; No   = 3.79

As can be seen Table 11(a) indicates no difference in levels of identification with the work group between those respondents who experienced racial discrimination from employers and those who did not experience this discrimination. In each group 62.5% that is 10 out of 16 reporting discrimination and 15 out of 24 reporting no discrimination, fall into the "Included in Most Ways" and "Really Belong" categories indicating medium high levels of identification with the work group.

Table 11(b)
Identification with Work Group by
Supervisor Discrimination

Identification with Work Group

Supervisor Discrimination	Not part of a Work group	Do not feel I Belong	Included Someways	Included Most ways	Really Belong	Row Total
Yes	0		9	11	3	N %
						23
						57.5%
No	0	2	4	7	4	17
						42.5%
Column Total N		2	13	18	7	40
%		5.0	32.5	45.0	17.5	100.0%

Mean: Yes   = 3.74; No   = 3.76

Table 11(b) shows that those respondents who experienced racial discrimination from their supervisors reported slightly lower levels of identification with the work group than those who reported no discrimination. Fourteen of the 23 (60.87%) who reported discrimination and 11 out of 17 (64.70%) who reported no discrimination are in the "Included in Most Ways" and "Really Belong" categories. This difference is reflected in the mean scores of 3.74 and 3.76.

8Table 11 (c)
Identification with Work Group
by Workmate Discrimination

Identification with Work Group

Workmate Discrim- ination	Not part of a Work group	Do not feel I Belong	Included Someways	Included Most ways	Really Belong	Row Total
Yes	0	1	8	10	1	N %% 20 50.0%
No	0	1	5	8	6	20 50.00%
Column Total N %		2 5.0	13 32.5	18 45.0	7 17.5	40 100.

Mean: Yes = 3.55; No = 3.95

Table 11(c) indicates that those respondents reporting discrimination from their workmates also reported slightly less identification with the workgroup than those reporting no discrimination. Although 11 out of 20 (55%) of those reporting discrimination and 14 out of 20 (70%) of those reporting no discrimination fall into the high range of identification with the work group, that is "Included in Most Ways" and "Really Belong" the true difference is reflected in the mean scores of 3.55 and 3.95.

Table 11(d)

Identfication with Work Group
by Consumer Discrimination

Consumer Discrim- ination	Identification with Work Group					
	Not part of a Work group	Do not feel I Belong	Included Someways	Included Most ways	Really Belong	Row Total
Yes 1	0		5	4	1	N % 10 25.0%
No 2	0	2	8	14	6	30 75.0%
Column N Total %		2 5.0	13 32.5	18 45.0	7 17.5	40 100.0%

Mean: Yes = 3.60; No = 3.80

Table 11(d) also shows slightly lower levels of identification with the work group for those respondents who experienced discrimination from consumers than for those who did not experience this discrimination. This is reflected in the mean score of 3.60 and 3.80 respectively.

TABLE 11 (e)

Mean Level of Identification with the
Work Group Score by Perceived Discrimination from
Four Groups of Persons in Employment

Perceived Discrimination in Employment	Discriminated Against	Not Discriminated Against
Supervisor Discrimination	3.74	3.76
Employer Discrimination	3.68	3.79
Consumer Discrimination	3.60	3.80
Workmate Discrimination	3.55	3.95

Table 11(e) show the mean scores for respondents feeling of belonging with the work group and their experience of being discriminated against by supervisors, employers, consumers and workmates. The mean scores indicate that there is no appreciable relationship between these variables. The difference in mean level of identification with the work group reported according to perceived racial discrimination by each category of persons in employment is minimal. This level of identification ranges from a highest value of 3.7 when discrimination is by supervisors to a lowest value of 3.55 when discrimination is by workmates. Thus, the hypothesis that perception of self as the object of racism is related to low levels of identification with the work group cannot be accepted for this sample.

Discrimination and Social Interaction with White Canadian Co-workers

Table 12 gives the frequency distribution of responses that indicate the degree to which respondents socialized with white Canadians away from the job. Thirty persons (75.0%) socialized with their white Canadian colleagues very little or none at all away from the job situation. Only ten (25.0%) said they socialized with some frequency and none said they did so frequently. This finding seem to emphasize that identification with the work group for this sample is primarily confined to job task performance and not to social interaction as reported by respondents.

Table 12   121

Social Identification with White Canadians

Frequency	Number	Percentage
None at all	11	27.5
Little	17	42.5
Some Frequency	12	30.0
Frequently	0	0.0
Total	40	100.0

The relationship between respondents' experience of discrimination and the degree to which they interacted socially with their white Canadian colleagues was strong for those respondents who reported being discriminated against by employers, as shown in Table 13(a). There the mean scores show that those who experienced racial discrimination from employers had a considerably higher frequency of socializing with white Canadians away from the job situation than those who did not.

Table 13(a)
Social Interaction with White Canadian
Colleagues by Employer Discrimination

Employer Discrimi-nation	Social Interaction				Row Total N %	
	Frequently (4)	Some (3)	Little (2)	None (1)		
Yes (1)	0	5	10	1	16	40.0
No (2)	0	7	7	10	24	60.0
Column N Total %	0 0	12 30.0	17 42.5	11 27.5	40	100.0%

Mean: Yes 2.25;   No 1.87

Table 13(b)
Social Interaction with White Canadian Colleagues
by Supervisor Discrimination

Social Interaction

Supervisor Discrimination	Frequently 4	Some 3	Little 2	None 1	Row Total N	%
Yes 1	0	6	12	5	23	
						57.5%
No 2	0	6	5	6	17	
						42.5%
Column N	0	12	17	11	40	
Total %	0	30.0	42.5	27.5		100.0%

Mean: Yes   = 1.60; No   =2.00

This table shows that the degree of social inter-
action with white Canadian colleagues away from the job
situation is less frequent for those who experienced
racism from supervisors.

Table 13(c)
Social Interaction with White Canadian Colleagues
by Workmate Discrimination

Social Interaction

Workmate Discrimination	Frequently 4	Some 3	Little 2	None 1	Row Total N	%
Yes 1	0	4	9	7	20	50.0%
No 2	0	8	8	4	20	50.0%
Column N	0	12	17	11	40	
Total %	0	30.0	42.5	27.5		100.0%

Mean: Yes   = 1.85; No   =1.70

Table 13(d)
Mean Level of Social Interaction
with White Canadian Colleagues Score
by Perceived Discrimination in four
Areas of Employment

Perceived Discrimination in Employment	Discriminated Against	Not Discriminated Against
Employer Discrimination	2.25	1.87
Workmate Discrimination	1.85	1.70
Supervisor Discrimination	1.60	2.00

The mean scores in table 13(d) indicate that the relationship between experience of racism in the workplace and the level of socializing with white colleagues away from the work situation is related to the category of person from whom the racism was experienced. When racism is experienced from supervisors, the level of social interaction is less. The level of social interaction improves when racism is experienced from workmates and is highest when the racism experience is from employers.

Discrimination and Identification of Self as Canadian and West Indian

On the assumption that experience of racial discrimination would result in low levels of identification with the larger Canadian community, respondents were asked to what degree they (1) felt themselves Canadians; (2) felt themselves West Indians. Tables 1 gives frequency distribution of the responses to those questions.

Table 14
Identification of Self as Canadian
and as West Indian

Degree of Identification	Canadian		West Indian	
	N	%	N	%
1. Very low	5	12.5	-	-
2. Low	12	30.0	1	2.5
3. Medium	15	37.5	2	5.0
4. High	5	12.5	7	17.5
5. Very High	3	7.5	30	75.0
	40	100%	40	100%

This table shows that 37(92.5%) respondents identified themselves strongly as West Indian in the high to very high range. This is to be expected particularly because these are first generation immigrants who would still feel very strong ties to their country of origin. Eight respondents only (20%) identified themselves in the high to very high range as Canadian. Bearing in mind that mean length of residency for the sample is 17.25 years, this seem to indicate a low level of "strong" identification with the larger white Canadian community. The table shows, however, that 15 respondents indicated a medium level of self identification as Canadian. When combined with the eight who identified strongly as Canadian this gives 23 (57.5%) who identified reasonably well with the larger society while 17 (42.5%) identified only marginally in the low to very low range as Canadians.

There is no evidence of a strong relationship between the immigrants' experience of discrimination and the degree to which they identified themselves as Canadians. However, close examination of the findings show a tendency toward a higher level of identification with Canadian society by those reporting no discrimination in the categories examined. This can be seen in Tables 15 (a), (b), (c) and (d).

Table 15(a)
Canadian Identification as Affected by
Discrimination from Employer

Employer Discrimination	Canadian Identification					Row Total
	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	N %
Yes	2	6	4	3	1	16 40.0 al
No	3	6	11	2	2	24 60.0%
Column N Total %	5 12.5	12 30.0	15 37.5	5 12.5	3 7.5	40 100.0%

Mean: Yes = 2.69; No =2.75   %

Table 15(a) shows no strong relationship between respondents' experience of racism from employers and the degree to which they identified themselves as Canadians. Four out of 16 (25%) of those who experienced this racism fell into the "high" and "very high" categories compared with 4 out of 24 (16.6%) of those who did not experience this discrimination. The mean scores of 2.69 and 2.75 reflect a more accurate picture which is a tendency towards higher levels of identification of self as Canadian for those experiencing no discrimination from this group.

Table 15(b)
Canadian Identification as Affected by
Discrimination from Supervisor

Supervisor Discrimination	Canadian Identfication					Row Total	
	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	N	%
Yes	4	6	11	2		23	
							57.5%
No	1	6	4	3	3	17	
							42.5%
Column N	5	12	15	5	3	40	
Total %	12.5	30.0	37.5	12.5	7.5		100.0%

Mean: Yes = 2.04; No =3.23

In Table 15(b) a stronger tendency is found towards a greater degree of Canadian identification by those respondents who did not experience racial discrimination from their supervisors. This is reflected in the mean scores of 2.04 and 3.25. Only 2 out of 23 (8.7%) who experienced this discrimination reported "high" levels of identification of self as Canadian while 6 out of 17 (35.3%) who did not reported "high" and "very high" levels of identification.

Table 15(c)
Canadian Identification as Affected by
Discrimination in from Workmates

Workmate Discrimination	Canadian Identification					Row Total	
	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
Yes	2	8	9	1		20	
							50.0%
No	3	4	6	4	3	20	
							50.0%
Column Total	5	12	15	5	3	40	
	12.5	30.0	37.5	12.5	7.5		100.0%

Mean: Yes = 2.45; No =3.00

From Table 15(c) it can be seen that racism from workmates affect slightly how immigrants identify themselves as Canadians. This is reflected in the mean scores of 2.4 and 3.00.

Table 15(d)
Mean Level of Identification of Self as Canadian
Score by Discrimination from Employer, Supervisor
and Workmates

Perceived Discrimination in Employment	Discriminated Against	Not Discriminated Against
Employer Discrimination	2.69	2.75
Workmate Discrimination	2.45	3.00
Supervisor Discrimination	2.04	3.23

The mean scores in Table 15(d) show that, as in the case of social interaction with colleagues away from the work situation, identification of self as Canadian for this sample is related to the category of person from whom racism is experienced. When the racism experienced is from the employer it seems to have the least bearing on how respondents identify with the larger society since that identification score is highest of the three. Identification of self as Canadian is intermediate when the experience of racism is from workmates and is lowest when the racism is experienced from supervisors.

Inter-relationshps Between Social Interaction, Work Group Identity, Canadian Identity

Tables 16, 17 and 18 show the relationship between respondents' identification with the work group and the

level to which they:

(a) socialize with white Canadian colleagues;

(b) identify themselves as Canadians; and

(c) are satisfied with their lives, respectively.

Table 16
Social Interaction with White Canadian Colleagues
by Identification with Work Group

Social Interaction

Identification with Work Group	Frequently	Some	Little	None	Row Total
					N %
Do not belong to a work group	-	-	-	-	
					%
Do not feel I belong	0	0	1	1	2
					5.0% %
Included in some ways	0	1	6	6	13
					32.5 %
Included in most ways	0	5	9	4	18
					45.0
Really Belong	0	6	1		7
					17.5
Column Total N	0	12	17	11	40
%	0	30.0	42.5	27.5	100%

Table 16 shows there is a relationship between respondents identification with the work group and their level of social interaction with white Canadian colleagues away from the job. The greater the degree of identification with the work group, the more frequent social interaction with white Canadian colleagues. The seven respondents who identified most stongly with the workgroup also reported the greatest freqency of social interation with white Canadian colleagues.

Table 17
Canadian Identification by Identification with
Work Group

Canadian Identification

Identification with Work Group	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	Row Total N %
Do not feel I belong		1		1		2 or 5.0%
Included in some ways	3	6	4			13 or 32.5%
Included in most ways	1	5	7	4	1	18 or 45.0%
Really belong	1		4		2	7 or 17.5%
Column Total	5 12.5	12 30.0	15 37.5	5 12.5	3 7.5	

Table 17 depicts at the relationship between the degree to which respondents identified themselves with the work group and their level of identification as Canadian. It shows a tendency towards a positive relationship between identification with the work group and identification as Canadian. Twelve out of 18 persons who said they were included in most ways, and six out of seven who felt they really belonged in the work group also reported a medium level or more degree of Canadian identification.

Table 18
Level of Life Satisfaction by
Identification with Work Group

Life Satisfaction

Identification with Work Group	Very D.S.	Dis. sat.	Neit her	Satis fied	Very Sat.	Row Total N	%
Do not feel I belong				2		2	
							5.0%
Included in some ways			5	7	1	13	
							32.5%
Included in most ways		1	2	13	2	18	
							45.0%
Really belong				3	4	7	
							17.5%
Column Total N	0	1	7	25	7	40	
%		2.5	17.5	62.5	17.5		100.0%

Results shown in Table 18 coincide with those in the previous two Tables. They show that the greater the feeling of identification with the workgroup, the greater the degree of life satisfaction experienced by respondents. Here again fifteen out of eighteen persons who said they were included in most ways, and, all seven who felt they really belonged in the work group also reported high levels of life satisfaction.

CHAPTER 8

RESULTS:

USE OF SUPPORT SYSTEMS

IDENTIFICATION AND LIFE SATISFACTION

Availability and Use of Support Systems

One of the answers to occupational success - which is the immigrants' goal-lies in the importance of having good contacts or support systems. For the migrants this must of necessity include individuals through whom, especially on arrival, they find jobs or at least rely on heavily for information about job and/or other available opportunities. This network also provides other kinds of support in dealing with the migration experience and the integration process and is usually expanded over time to include other individuals and groups.

When the items dealing with availability and use of support systems were examined, it was found that the majority of respondents had contact with relatives and/or friends who were already settled here and to whom they could turn for support. In this sample only four persons came to Canada having no prior knowledge of anyone to whom they could turn for support. Two came directly to universities as students. They reported that soon after arrival they were referred to appropriate student organizations through which they could find needed support to help them get along in the new place. Two others came

directly to employer-sponsors and had no other form of support initially. The other 36 came to relatives and/or friends who were already settled here and whose own support systems were also available to help the new arrivals settle in the new place. Table 19 shows the kinds of supports available to respondents at time of entry into Canada.

Table 19

Support Systems Available at Entry into Canada

Source of Support	Number	Percentage
Relatives and Friends	19	47.5
Friends only	17	42.5
Employer Sponsor only	2	5.0
Student Organization	2	5.0
TOTAL	40	100.0

One frequently used method of recruiting new employees is through word of mouth by those already on the job. The contacts West Indians in this sample had prior to emigration were not strong supports for finding jobs. Except for the bank employee referred to in Chapter 6, one domestic whose friend found her an employer-sponsor, and one other person who got her job through the help of her fiance's pastor, all the respondents got their first jobs independent of the direct influence of any one they knew prior to their arrival in Winnipeg. Friends and

relatives gave much help in instructing many respondents where to go to enquire about jobs, and in transporting them to job interviews. Eighteen (45%) of the sample had this kind of support.

Immigrants in this sample, for the most part, got their first jobs through responding to newspaper advertisements. Although 22 persons (55%) in the sample tried to find jobs through the Canada Employment Centre, only two were successful in obtaining the jobs for which they were referred. Four respondents felt they were discriminated against by Canada Employment Centre counsellors who told them they could not get the jobs they were seeking and instead referred them to lower status jobs. One person reported that although she did not get any of the jobs to which the counsellor referred her, she felt she got good help from this institution as the counsellor she saw instructed her on how to rewrite her resumé in a sufficiently detailed manner.

The study has shown that perception of themselves as the object of racial discrimination brought psychological stress as well as economic loss to the lives of the migrants. Respondents were therefore asked about whom they went to for support, and how much help they received in dealing with the problems of racial discrimination. Responses of the 39 persons who experienced racial

discrimination are given in Table 20. The table shows that at the time of the interview, respondents in this sample had expanded their support systems to include family, friends and church groups. Many were also members of at least one of the many West Indian clubs in the city. As would be expected, these were the groups most frequently used for support when dealing with racial discrimination. Respondents were also aware of the availability of formal institutions in the community to deal with discrimination; and as stated earlier, four took their complaints to the Human Rights Commission. As well, others turned to their unions or other appropriate bodies, such as school boards, for support.

Table 20

Support Systems Used to Deal with Discrimination

Support Systems	Number	Percentage
Family/Friends	39	100.0
Church/Club included	17	44.0
Human Rights Commission included	4	10.0
Union/Prof. Organization included	3	8.0

Note   N=39   Percentage to the nearest whole number.

Although seven individuals, (25%) of those reporting discrimination while on the job, said their experience resulted in their being transferred on their jobs, they

did not list their employers as support against discrimination. In each case employers refused to accept their allegations of discrimination and said their problems were due to personality clashes, thereby denying the existence of racial discrimination. One respondent in this group reported getting strong support in the form of encouragement from a white colleague.

In reporting the help they received in dealing with racism in the workplace, respondents for the most part felt they got very little help from formal institutions. Except for one person whose case was investigated by the Human Rights Commission, all the others said they were told they did not have a clear case of racial discrimination. Their experience with the commission left them very frustrated.

For this sample, the most helpful support was found in family and/or friends and in the church and clubs of which they were members. In general, respondents felt that they got a high level of psychological support from these sources, which helped them cope with the effects of racial discrimination.

Coping with Discrimination

The findings of the study show that, along with the use of available support systems, situational factors (such as type of discrimination identified and the racial composition of the workplace) and personal factors (such

as the perception of the source of the problem and the attributions about control of outcomes) differentially affect the way that respondents cope with perceived discrimination on the job. The registered nurse's case cited above is one example of how racial mix at the workplace affects coping.

A sense of one's personal control has been found to be related to effective coping. Teachers and nurses who experienced racial prejudice from children and patients reported not having a repeat of such behavior from the same individual after direct confrontation. One respondent who was asked by her immediate supervisor to resign, refused to do so and instead took the matter to top management. A total of seven respondents in similar situations asked for and received transfers. A bank employee who had continuously received very good evaluations for years of excellent performance, refused to sign a poor evaluation from a supervisor who did not want her promoted. She took the matter to management and was subsequently promoted.

In situations where respondents experienced discrimination from their supervisors but felt they personally had no control, some quit their jobs as illustrated by the two teachers, the medical secretary and one restaurant employee mentioned in Chapter 6. Others like the machinist and the automobile salesman felt they

had no control over their situations, so, although they had personally confronted their supervisors they felt there was nothing else they could have done.

Social Interaction and Support Systems

In tables 21(a) through to 24(d), I examine more closely respondents' use of support systems to combat the racism they experienced in the work place, and look at what relationship, if any, there is between the use of support systems and the degree to which respondents (a) identify with the work group; (b) interact socially with white Canadian colleagues; (c) identify themselves as Canadians; and (d) their level of life satisfaction. These tables indicate that all these variables are related to each other.

Table 21(a)
Identification with Work Group, as Affected by
Exclusive use of Family/Friend Support System

Identification with Work Group

Family/ Friends Support System	Not part of a Work Group	Do not feel I belong	Included Some	Included Most	Really Belong	
Yes	0	2	9	8	3	22
No	0	0	4	9	4	17
		2	13	17	7	39

Mean: Yes = 3.50; No = 4.00

From Table 21(a) we see that those respondents who said "yes" to using only family and/or friends as their support to combat racism indicated a lesser degree of identification with the work group than those who indicated "no". The latter who used other sources of support as well, had a mean value for identification with the work group of 4.0 compared with 3.5 for those who used only family and friends. Two of those using family/friends only as support indicated they felt no sense of belonging to the work group.

Table 21(b)
Identification with Work Group as Affected by
the addition of Church/Club Support Systems

Identification with Work Group

Church/ Club Support System	Not part of Work Group	Do not feel I belong	Included Some	Included Most	Really Belong	
Yes	0		5	9	3	17
No	0	2	8	8	4	22
		2	13	17	7	39

Mean: Yes   = 3.80; No   = 3.60

When the support system includes the church/club as in Table 21(b), the mean value for identification with the work group for respondents who included church/club support is 3.80, compared to 3.60 for those who did not receive support from churches or clubs. This difference is relatively small, but indicate a possible effect of

such support on work group identity.

Table 21(c)
Identification with Work Group as Affected by
the Inclusion of Union/Professional Organization
Support System

Identification with Work Group

Profes- sional Organ. Support	Not part of Work Group	Do not feel I belong	Included Some	Included Most	Really Belong	
Yes	0	0	0	3	2	5
No	0	2	13	14	5	34
		2	13	17	7	39

Mean: Yes = 4.40; No = 3.64

Table 21(c) above shows that whereas only five of the thirty-nine persons used professional organizational support, their identification with the work group was high (m=4.40) compared with those who did not (m=3.60). Fewer than half of those who did not utilize such support had as strong an identification as all of those who did.

Table 21(d)
Mean Level of Identification with Work Group Score
by Three Groups of Support Systems

Support System	Yes	No
Formal Organizations included	4.40	3.64
Church/Club included	3.80	3.60
Family/Friend only	3.50	4.00

Table 21(d) shows the mean scores for the three groups used as support and brings into focus the

relationship between the use of various types of support systems to combat racism in the work place and the degree to which respondents identify with the work group. The mean scores indicate that there is a tendency towards an increase in identification with the work group as the work related net work support is utilized. Thus the less formal network of family and friends has a negative effect, and church and clubs as well as more formal systems such as professional bodies and agencies such as the Human Rights Commission have a positive effect. The latter is the most positively associated with identity with the work group. The findings as indicated by Table 21(d) support the hypothesis that as the support network becomes more formalized, identification with the work group increases.

Social Interaction with White Canadians and Support System

Table 22(a)
Mean Social Interaction with White Canadian Scores
by Family/Friend Support System

Social Interaction with White Canadians

Family/Friend Support System	Frequently	Some	Little	None	
Yes	0	1	12	9	22
No	0	10	5	2	17
	0	11	17	11	39

Mean: Yes   = 1.63; No   = 2.47

Table 22(a) shows the mean scores for level of

social interaction with white Canadians for those
respondents who used family and friends only as support
against racial discrimination in the work place. The
table shows that none of the respondents had frequent
social interaction with their white Canadian colleagues.
Of the 22 respondents whose support network consisted only
of family/friends, 11 interacted socially with some
frequency; 12 did little social interacting while 9
did not interact socially with their white colleagues at
all. This shows that for this group the level of social
interaction with their white Canadian collegues is low.

Table 22(b)
Mean Social Interaction with White Canadian Scores
by Church/Club Support System Included

Church/Club Support System	Social Interaction with White Canadians				
	Frequently	Some	Little	None	
Yes	0	8	5	2	17
No	0	3	12	9	22
	0	11	17	11	39

Mean: Yes   = 2.11; No   = 1.90

Table 22(b) indicates a higher level of social
interaction with their white Canadian colleagues occurs
for those respondents whose support network includes
church/club than for those who did not use this support
system. Overall the level of social interaction is low.

Table 22(c)
Mean Social Interaction With White Canadian Scores
by Union/Professional Organization Support System

Union/Prof. Organization Support System	Social Interaction with White Candians				
	Frequently	Some	Little	None	
Yes	0	3	2	0	5
No	0	8	15	11	34
	0	11	17	11	39

Mean: Yes   = 2.60; No   = 1.91

Table 22(c) indicates more frequent social interaction with white Canadian colleagues for those respondents whose support network included the use of formal organizations to deal with racism than for those who did not use a formal organization. The frequency of social interaction is only a "little".

Table 22 (d)
Mean Level of Social Interaction With White Canadians
Score by Three Support Systems Groups

Support System Used	Level of Social Interaction	
	YES	NO
Union/Prof. Organization included	2.60	1.91
Church/Club included	2.11	1.90
Family Friends only	1.63	2.47

When we look at the mean scores for social interaction with white Canadian colleagues away from the work situation we notice that this is generally low regardless of type of support system used. The highest level of

social interaction is among those who, by including formal organization in their support network, must interact with white Canadians in these support groups. Even for this group the indicator is still only a medium level of socializing with a 2.60 mean score value out of a possible 4.

In explaining responses to the question about social interaction, respondents said most social interaction was work related such as office Christmas parties and functions for retirees. Some said they had invited white colleagues to their homes but were never invited to their colleagues' homes in return. One person described how he invited white colleagues to anniversary celebrations, barbeques, picnics, domino games and fishing trips. He said they always came and had good times but he had never been invited to any of their social activities. This kind of non-reciprocal behavior seems to present a problem for the greater percentage of this sample who, in their countries of origin, are from small face to face communities where such gestures of friendship are reciprocated.

Although there were no items included in the questionnaire on friendship ties, one noticeable finding is that generally respondents indicated they did not have what they would regard as 'good friends' among their white colleagues. It appears as if there were a lack of trust

of white colleagues by this sample.

Canadian Identification and Support Systems

Tables 23(a), 23(b), 23(c) and 23(d) give the mean score value for respondents' level of identification of self as Canadians and how this is affected by the support networks used to deal with racial discrimination in the workplace.

Table 23(a)
Identification of Self as Canadian
by Exclusive use of Family/Friend Support System

Family/ Friend Support System	Canadian Identification					
	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	
Yes	3	11	7	1		22
No	2	2	7	3	3	17
	5	13	14	4	3	39

Mean: Yes   = 2.27; No   = 3.17

Looking at Table 23(a) we see that columns 1 and 2 carry close to 60% of those who used family and friends only as support and that these have a low level of identification as Canadians (Columns 1 and 2 in row 1). In contrast, 76% of those with medium to high Canadian identification did not rely solely on family and friends as a support network (Columns 3, 4 and 5 in row 2).

Table 23(b)
Identification of Self as Canadian by,
Inclusion of Church/Club Support Systems

Canadian Identification

Church/Club Support System	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	
Yes	4	6	5	1	1	17
No		6	10	4	2	22
	4	10	15	5	3	39

Mean: Yes   = 2.35; No   = 2.72

In Table 23(b) the church/club support network seems to affect Canadian identification of self as Canadian. However, the difference in mean scores between the two groups is relative small, and the distribution is scattered.

Table 23(c)
Identification of Self as Canadian by Inclusion
of Union/Professional Organizations Support Systems

Canadian Identification

Union/Prof. Organ. Support System	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	
Yes		2	1	1	1	5
No	5	10	13	4	2	34
	5	12	14	5	3	39

Mean: Yes   = 3.20; No   = 2.64

In Table 23(c) where the support network used to combat racism includes formal organizations of the white society, respondents tend to identify themselves to a greater degree as Canadians than when it does not include

formal organizations. There is a difference between mean scores of the two groups of half a point (3.20 - 2.64 = 0.56).

Table 23(d)
Mean Level of Identification of Self as Canadian Scores
by Three Support Network Groups

Support System	Yes	No
Union/Prof. Organ. included	3.20	2.60
Church/Club included	2.35	2.72
Family/Friend only	2.27	3.17

The numerical means set out in Table 23(d) show that when the support network includes members of the dominant group as in union and professional groups, the level of identification with that group is greater than when it includes only in-group members, as in family and friendship groups. This seem to indicate that when respondents must by necessity interact with the white society, by soliciting the support of formal organizations because of the extent of the racism they experienced, they in turn developed a greater feeling of identification with that society.

Life Satisfaction and Support System

Table 24(a)
Life Satisfaction by Exclusive Use of
Family/Friend Support System

Life Satisfaction

Family/ Friend Support System	Very Dissat- isfied	Dissat- isfied	Neither	Satis- fied	Very Satis- fied	
Yes	0	2	4	14	2	22
No	0		2	10	5	17
	0	2	6	24	7	39

Mean: Yes   = 3.72; No   = 4.17

Table 24(a) shows medium levels of life satisfaction among those who used family/friends only as support in dealing with racism. Those whose response was "no", indicating they included other sources, show higher levels of life satisfaction.

Table 24(b)
Life Satisfaction by Church/Club Support System Included

Life Satisfaction

Church/Club Support System	Very Dissat- isfied	Dissat- isfied	Neither	Satis- fied	Very Satis- fied	
Yes	0	0	3	9	5	17
No	0	2	3	15	2	22
	0	2	6	24	7	39

Mean: Yes   = 4.11; No   = 3.77

With a mean score of 4.11 on life satisfaction the respondents in Table 24(b) who agreed that their support network included church/club show greater life satisfaction than those who did not include those groups

(M=4.11). Their satisfaction score is higher on average than those who relied only on family and friends (M=3.72).

Table 24(c)
Life Satisfaction by Union/Professional Organitions as
Included in Support Systems

Union/Prof. Organ. Support System	Life Satisfaction					
	Very Dissat- isfied	Dissat- isfied	Neither	Satis- fied	Very Satis- fied	
Yes	0			2	3	5
No	0	2	6	22	4	34
	0	2	6	24	7	39

Mean: Yes   = 4.60; No   = 3.80

As seen in Table 24(c) those respondents whose support network to deal with racism have included the use of formal organizations experience very high levels of life satisfaction (M=4.60) However, only five out of the 39 respondents did so, and three were very satisfied.

Table 24 (d)
Mean Life Satisfaction Scores
by Three Support Network Groups

Support Systems	Life Satisfaction	
	YES	NO
Union/Prof. Organization included	4.60	3.80
Church/Club included	4.11	3.77
Family/Friend only	3.72	4.17

Mean scores in Table 24(d) show respondents report higher level of life satisfaction when the support network includes a more formal group or organization to combat racism. Those who used family/friends only attained a

level of 3.72 indicating close to satisfied out of the maximum value attainable of 5 for very satisfied. Those who included church/club in their support network attained a mean value of 4.11 which is better than satisfied. The support network that includes formal organizations, in which the respondent is involved in interaction with the larger white community, results in a very high level of satisfaction, 4.60 out of the maximum attainable of 5.

These findings support the hypothesis that as support systems used for dealing with racism are expanded to include more formal organizations the level of life satisfaction increases.

Other Variables and Life Satisfaction

As discussed earlier, the hypothesis that perception of self as the object of racism in the workplace results in low levels of life satisfaction is not supported by the data. The study found, however, a positive relationship between the level of life satisfaction for this sample and the following intervening variables:

(a) income

(b) education

(c) job satisfaction

Tables 25, 26 and 27 show that income, education and job satisfaction are all positively related to life satisfaction. It is significant to note that these findings are consistent with those of research findings reported in the review of the literature.

Table 25

Income and Level of Life Satisfaction

Life Satisfaction

INCOME	Very Dissat.	Dis. Satis.	Neither	Satis.	Very Satis.	Row Total
10,000-15,000			2	2		4 11.1
15,001-20,000			3	3	2	8 22.2
20,001-25,000						0 0.0%
25,001-30,000			1	3		4 11.1
30,001-35,000			1	7		8 22.2
35,001-40,000		1		5	1	7 19.4
40,001-UP				1	4	5 13.9
Column Total	0 0.0%	1 2.8%	7 19.4%	21 58.3%	7 19.4%	36 100.0%

Table 25 shows a positive relationship between respondents' income and level of life satisfaction. In this sample those with the highest income -- i.e. over $30,000.00 (rows 5, 6 and 7), are among those experiencing the highest level of life satisfaction (columns 4 and 5). Of the 36 respondents who answered the income question, 20 fell into this income group. Of that 20, eighteen reported high levels of life satisfaction.

Table 26

Level of Education and Level of Life Satisifaction

Life Satisfaction

Education	Very Dissat.	Dis. Satis.	Neit-er	Sat.	Very Sat.	Total
Primary 1 - 8 yrs.			1	6		7 17.5%
Some High School 1 - 4 yrs.			1	1	2	4 10.0%
High School Graduate			2	1		3 7.5%
Professional College Graduate			1	6	2	9 22.5%
Bachelors Degree			1	7		8 20.0%
Post Graduate Degree		1		5	3	9 22.5%
Column Total	0 0.0%	1 2.5%	6 15.0%	26 65.0%	7 17.5%	40 100.0%

Table 26 shows that in this sample respondents
with the highest levels of education (rows 4, 5 and
6) experience the highest levels of life
satisfaction (columns 4 and 5). Here we see that
26 of the 40 respondents fall into the post secondary
education group. Of this number, 23 reported high
levels of life satisfaction. Only one is dissatisfied
and two are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.

Table 27

<u>Relationship between Job Satisfaction
and Life Satisfaction</u>

Job Satis-faction	Life Satisfaction Very Dissat.	Dis. Sat.	Neit-her	Sat.	Very Sat.	Row Total
Very Dissat.						0 0.0%
Dis. Sat.			3			3 7.5%
Neither		1	3	5		9 22.5%
Sat.			1	18	2	21 52.5%
V. Sat.				2	5	7 17.5%
Column Total	0 0.0%	1 2.5%	7 17.5%	25 62.5%	7 17.5%	40 100.0%

Table 27 shows a correlation between respondents' level of job satisfaction and their level of life satisfaction. Those respondents reporting high levels of job satisfaction (rows 4 and 5) also report high levels of life satisfaction (columns 4 and 5).

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION

An exploratory study was made of the effects of the experience of racial discrimination in the work place on the overall adjustment and life satisfaction of West Indian immigrants in Metropolitan Winnipeg. The finding is that the existence of racism is a reality in Winnipeg, Although it is not massive and violent, nor in the case of blacks, associated with ghetto-type residential patters as is the case in some parts of the United States and England. The experience of racism in the work place by the respondents in this sample is that it is institutionalized and expressed very subtly on the interpersonal level.

Many respondents reported that they had no problem obtaining their present employment, and that racially discriminatory attitudes and behaviours from the white population towards them improved considerably on jobs which they had held for a number of years. Much of the racial discrimination which was perceived occured in interaction with consumers or fellow workers. None of the respondents reported having encountered discrimination while interacting with the upper levels of management. However, a surprisingly high percentage of respondents reported experiencing racial discrimination with middle

and low level management, that is, their immediate supervisors.

One of the major factors indicated by this present study was that persons of all income, educational and other categories examined perceived racial discrimination both while seeking employment as well as while on the job. Caribbean immigrants held jobs in a number of different occupations, and some held positions with high prestige and income such as doctors and university professors. This might indicate that not the individual person, but the "Stereotype" that others regard the individual as representative of, drew discrimination. The racial discrimination which was perceived by the members of the sample was not enforced by the laws of Canada nor the laws of Manitoba, nor was it enforced by any physical force. All respondents perceived the racial discrimination they experienced to be a function of personal prejudices.

Many respondents said that discrimination due to race in Metropolitan Winnipeg was extremely subtle. It was hard to pin down. The great majority of these people said that they experienced some anxiety due to this subtle racial discrimination. On the other hand, some persons were quite definite in making their assertions about the presence of racial discrimination in Metropolitan Winnipeg. As one professional person said, "...discrimination in Winnipeg is about as subtle as a sledge hammer".

Analyses of the data show that some respondents suffered initial downward mobility in job status on their arrival in Canada. This was true for all categories of workers except those at the very bottom of the occupational ladder and is confirmed by other studies in the literature. However, over time upward mobility has in fact been enjoyed by many immigrants. We should note, however, that for some, this semblance of upward mobility might be more apparent than real since many of these respondents had in fact returned to their original occupational status after a period of downward mobility.

Many immigrants in the sample found that when they first arrived and applied for employment for which they had qualifications they were told they needed Canadian experience. The demand for this qualification is unfair when it has no relevance to the proper performance of the task and especially so since it is impossible for newly arrived immigrants to have Canadian experience. Individuals in this study felt they were denied employment opportunities for reasons that had nothing to do with acquired ability but rather because of the colour of their skin. Thus, skin colour was used as an arbitrary barrier to stand between a person's ability and his or her opportunity to demonstrate it.

Some respondents found that academic qualifications obtained in their country of origin were not recognized by employers; therefore, they had to accept low status, low

paying jobs. It should be noted that the educational system in the British Caribbean countries is patterned on the British educational system. Certification from these countries when assessed by recognized educational or professional organizations in Canada is accepted as on a par with Canadian certification of similar level. Still others have acquired high levels of skill on the job but lacked formal evidence of this. Refusal by employers to give credit to these credentials and this experience can be devastating to immigrants who need to get jobs as soon as possible after arrival.

Career mobility was stressed as a problem. The majority of the sample experienced downward mobility when they got their first job. Over time many, through obtaining additional Canadian educational certification and Canadian experience on the job, experienced some degree of upward mobility, usually taking them to the level they had attained prior to emigrating. The problem becomes more unreasonable for those who found that after obtaining recognized qualifications and proven job skills here in Canada they were simply not promoted or given the same job opportunities as whites with similar and in some cases, less qualifications. Promotions are given on the recommendation of supervisors. In this study, respondents' immediate supervisors are the most frequently named perpetrators of racism. They are the main obstacles in denying opportunities for upward

mobility in the work place.

While one could argue that is is reasonable to expect downward mobility in job status for new immigrants, the individuals in this sample who experienced downward mobility felt that this was due to racism. The general experience was that even where jobs were available requiring their education and skills, respondents were denied employment when they applied for those positions and as a result, had to accept low status jobs sometimes far below what they expected. For example, one woman had completed high school and two years of secretarial college in Jamaica with skills in typing, shorthand, and accounting, and had eight years experience working in this field. She said she was turned down for more than a dozen secretarial positions for which she applied. She eventually had to take a job as a household domestic. Others who accepted junior positions in their field of work with hopes for early promotion had problems getting promoted into better positions and found themselves locked into low status, low paying jobs for several years.

These findings concur with the theory of race relations based on colonial structures discussed in the literature as expounded by Rex (1970), Kinloch (1974) and Greenberg (1980). West Indian immigrants are allowed into the country to fulfill the demands of the Canadian labour force. However, the very subtle ways in which they are sometimes denied employment and upward mobility in the

work place indicate a racist economy with social structures where roles and benefits are allocated in ways that ensure the superordinate position of white Canadians and perpetuate differences based on skin colour.

These kinds of discriminatory behaviours on the part of employers and supervisors, which amount to systematic denial of access to available employment opportunities, make it clear that there is need for some kind of bias-free mechanism for determining the validity of foreign credentials and experience and making these equally available to employers and employees. There also needs to be some monitoring of employment practices to ensure that employers are not unreasonably making Canadian experience a job requirement. As well, there needs to be a system in place for making sure that recruitment, hiring, promotions and ultimately earnings are more equitable.

Despite the very high level of perceived discrimination reported by this sample, the expected association between perceived discrimination and low levels of satisfaction with the job and life in general was not supported by the findings of this study. The data suggest that while West Indians in this sample might have experienced racial discrimination in its various forms in the workplace, their overall satisfaction with the migratory experience is of a high level. Respondents generally judged their degree of satisfaction not in

comparison with other Canadians, but in so far as they have achieved their economic aspirations and were materially better or worse off than in their country of origin. The relative placement of their new position was what became important rather than their absolute levels of gratification and deprivation.

The hypotheses that perceived discrimination would be negatively associated with respondents' (a) identification with the workgroup; and (b) identification of themselves as Canadians, were not supported by the findings of the study. The degree to which respondents identified themselves as Canadians showed no strong relationship to their experience of discrimination.

In explaining their answers for their responses on identification with the work group, respondents, for the most part, did not give much weight to the social aspect of their interaction with the work group. Generally, respondents indicated that their performance on the job was good and that they were respected for this. They were for the most part included in all job related matters. Socially, most of them were "not in the ingroup" where their white colleagues were concerned and they had no desire to be "in", as put by one respondent who stated:

> "On the job I give 120% to their 100. I'm
> included in anything to do with the job. My
> opinion is respected and my suggestions often
> acted upon with good results. In that way I'm
> 100% 'in' and that's fine. Socially I have different
> values and interests. I will have lunch or coffee
> with them, but I'm not in on the gossip, and frankly,
> I don't want to be."

On the matter of identifying themselves as Canadians, respondents, for the most part, felt that while they "will never be fully accepted as Canadians by the white population", the fact that they were working, contributing citizens who in some cases had spent most of their lives here, they were part of the Canadian community. Hence the level of identification was primarily medium to high. The small minority who said they felt they were 100% Canadian - three in all - were in the highest educational and income levels and had each been in Canada for more than 25 years. These respondents explained that the decision to identify themselves as 100% Canadian had no relevance to their experiences but was rather a "psychological decision which more blacks need to make". As one professional said:

> The discrimination I experienced had nothing to do with where I came from. I have been discriminated against firstly, because I'm black and secondly, because I'm a woman. I've lived more than half my life in this country. I raised my family here. I am a working contributing citizen. This is my home. I will not forget my roots. I go back to Trinidad occasionally, but this is my country. I am a Canadian.

On the other hand, the expected negative relationship between experience of discrimination and level of interaction with white Canadians was confirmed. Many respondents in this sample explained that they found it difficult to make friends with white Canadians because

their own efforts in this direction elicited no reciprocity from their white colleagues.

This non-reciprocity can be examined in light of the immigrant host framework of immigration theory which proposes a process of "adaptation" on the part of the immigrant and "acceptance" on the part of the host country resulting in absorption. The findings here indicate that adaptation does not necessarily coincide with acceptance and that acceptance itself is greater in some areas of interaction than in others. The experience for this sample is that even where immigrants have demonstrated "adaptation" acceptance by the white host society is limited to certain areas of job performance which for the most part do not include supervisory positions for the migrant. The lack of reciprocity in the social field seems to confirm Richmond's statement quoted earlier that "...the more established ethnic strata may resist the tendency toward structural assimilation in order to maintain their position."

Past studies have documented the strong relationship between income, occupational and educational status, and satisfaction. The association found in this sample between respondents' level of life satisfaction and these variables was therefore not unexpected. By far the clearest association was found between respondents' level of satisfaction with their jobs and their level of life satisfaction.

All respondents in this sample who perceived themselves as objects of racist attitudes and behaviours in the workplace reported experiencing some form of psychological stress as a result of this experience. Although colonialism and its attendant oppression of blacks in the Caribbean created situations in which complexion and socio-economic status have traditionally been highly correlated, West Indians in their native lands have never been exposed to the same kind or degree of racially biased situations that so many experience in Canada. It is therefore a totally new and shocking experience for these individuals to discover that housing, employment and services which are necessities of life can be denied a person purely on the basis of skin colour. Such an experience can be traumatic for the individual. The situation undermines the individual's self worth leading to hurt and anger, and creating feelings of anxiety, frustration, and generalized feelings of insecurity. When this is coupled with feelings of insecurity due to one's being new in an alien environment and where for the first time one has minority status, the situation can become critical and lead to psychological problems. The impact of racism is, as one respondent stated, "a threat to the very core of ones being."

Alienation from the traditional support systems have widespread implications for immigrants. When there is no

system for "bridging the gap" during the period of transition and when there is a lack of skills that would ease the process of adjustment to a new society, psycho-social problems arising from the adjustment process are compounded. Individuals who find themselves in this position are sometimes forced to seek help from the more formal systems provided by the society but sometimes find they cannot relate to these formal organizations and so have difficulty using their services. The small minority in this sample who were able to integrate with the formal support systems of the host society were among those with the highest levels of education and income who also reported highest levels of satisfaction and identification.

Caribbean immigrants in this sample relied heavily on informal support systems such as family and friends to help them deal with the problems and stresses they experienced as a result of racial discrimination. Many respondents often found comfort in their faith and turned to the church as a support system. It must be recognized, however, that for immigrants these networks, where they exist at all in Winnipeg, are much less developed than they would be in their homeland and therefore, much more limited in the help that can be expected and/or given. For example, church membership and regular attendance is a highly significant aspect of life in the Caribbean. As well as the religious quite often many of the educational

and social activities of the community are organized and maintained by the church and therefore it functions as a meaningful support system in the community. The minister is generally a central figure who is accorded high status and is a resource person in varying capacities, including being a counsellor for psycho-social problems.

Many Caribbean immigrants in Winnipeg see the church as distant and formal. As a result church attendance and the significance of the church as a support system is considerably reduced or no longer exists. On the other hand, there are a number of small churches which have been established by West Indians in Winnipeg in recent years and which in a very limited way fulfill some of the roles of the church in their homeland. Many of the respondents in this sample were members of or attended these churches and used them as support systems in dealing with racial discrimination.

It is therefore, significant that the findings of the study indicate the possibility of a positive relationship between the use of these informal support systems and the variables tested. These findings support the hypothesis of the study that satisfactory use of available support systems to deal with racial discrimination in the workplace is associated with: (a) higher levels of life satisfaction; (b) higher levels of identification with the work group, and (c) higher levels of identification of self as Canadian.

One interesting finding of this study is the low level of social interaction between individuals in the sample and their white Canadian colleagues. This is true both in the workplace and away from the work situation, and seems to be due, at least for some respondents, to the lack of reciprocity on the part of whites to gestures of friendship from people of colour. If one accepts, as the literature implies, that the workplace is a primary conduit into the larger society, then it is clear that, when immigrants are denied opportunities for economic advancement and positions of prestige, through being denied promotions on the job, and when this is coupled with denial of social acceptance, they are also being denied passage into the larger society and its institutions. The high levels of satisfaction and identification reported by this sample seem to contradict that this is so.

One might ask then, what is the meaning (for this sample) of satisfication and identification? As stated earlier, the respondents in this sample measured their satisfaction in terms of material possessions relative to what they had prior to migrating or to what they perceived their situation would have been had they not migrated.

For many West Indians, their materialistic views of North America and the relative ease with which one can obtain credit result in the acquisition of "goods" relatively soon after arrival in Canada. This sometimes

entails working at two jobs to earn the payment for these goods obtained by credit. Is the job seen then only as a means to satisfy physical needs and can one expect that these respondents whose energies are now devoted to satisfying the physical needs will later be seeking the satisfaction of higher or psychological needs for greater self-actualization?

Psychological theory (Maslow 1954) states that self maintenance and actualization are as necessary for our effective functioning and survival as are physical maintenance and enhancement. If a life situation is unfavourable for fulfilling potentials, people will begin to feel a sense of frustration and dissatisfaction. Life will become meaningless and incomplete for they are missing the fulfillment of themselves as human beings. This might eventually be the situation of immigrants who are denied involvement in the larger Canadian society due to racial discrimination in the workplace.

Devore and Schlesinger (1981) conclude:

> "Work for many ethnic adults is an absorbing experience. Middle-class Blacks manifest the puritan orientation toward work and success more than any other group in our population. This leaves them little time for recreation and or other community experience."

Many respondents in this sample spoke of giving more to the job than their white colleagues. This was how they found acceptance. One might assume then that this 'over

performance' on the job brings a certain level of respect and acceptance, and, as the job fulfills their economic aspirations this brings the level of satisfaction being sought to this group.

Some respondents stated that identification of self as Canadian is a psychological decision the immigrants must make even when they are aware they are not accepted by whites as Canadians. The study shows that social interaction with whites away from the job situation is minimal and even when respondents reported a strong sense of belonging with the work group this was related primarily to task performance and little or none at all to social interaction. Berger (1963), cited in the literature review, suggests that even identities that we consider to be our essential selves are socially bestowed and must be socially sustained; thus one cannot hold on to any particular identity all by oneself. Is the identifying of self as Canadian on the part of the few immigrants, who did so, therefore, a defence mechanism to maintain human dignity in defiance of lack of social permission on the part of white Canadians?

Conculsion and Recommendations

While the size and method of selection of the sample does not allow for generalization of the findings of this study to the larger population of Caribbean immigrants or to people of colour in Canada, the findings for this group

are as follows:

(a) the perception of self as the object of racism in the workplace is very high;

(b) the effects of the experience of racism in the workplace are felt primarily through loss of income as well as its psychological impact on the immigrant;

(c) Caribbean immigrants in this sample experience a high level of satisfaction with their lives despite the experience of racism in the workplace.

The findings of this study, although specific to this sample have strong implications for social service practioners. Racism in Canada is a fact. Racially discriminatory attitudes and behaviours are not limited to one ethnic or cultural group. It seems to appear in casual, unpredictable, interpersonal contacts. The frustrations and stresses created in the migrant's life by the acculturation process, which for people of colour is further compounded by racism, has strong implications for those in the social services field dealing with West Indian blacks as clients.

The individual's ability to deal with the phenomenon of racism is crucial to his or her mental health and continued adjustment. It is therefore crucial that non-blacks working with Caribbean immigrants be aware that racism exists in Canada. Coming out of a colonial slavery background and being faced with racism in Canada many

blacks perceive the "system" (meaning white people) as oppressive. The client who holds such a perception and who must seek help from a white professional is likely to be at least ambivalent and probably resistant to any trust in the counsellor. Many white Canadians react to the issue of racism with horror and denial. Professionals who have neglected to analyse their own feelings about racial issues and deny the existence of racism will not be able to talk openly with clients about racial issues. This will create problems in the building of trust and implementing the principles of a counselling relationship with the client. Denial of racism by service providers constitutes a block which inhibits the personal and collective growth of its victims and prevents self actualization.

The implication for service providers is, therefore, that they should be able to acknowledge that racism exists in this society and resolve their own issues around this phenomenon if they are to be enablers to immigrants who must deal with racial discrimination. Based on the findings of the study, they must be able to encourage and support immigrants in the use of formal support systems as the study shows that respondents' who used unions and professional organizations to combat racism experienced the highest levels of life satisfaction and identification with the larger Canadian community. This will enhance the

immigrants' personal and collective growth and promote self actualization and their useful contribution to the larger community in the spirit of a multicultural, multi-racial Canada.

The first and foremost recommendation arising out of this study is the need for further study of this phenomenon. This study must be seen as only a pilot project. There is need therefore for a larger and more extensive study which will investigate the incidence of racial discrimination in employment as well as in service areas such as housing, health, education and justice and to see what impact the experience has on the lives of visible minority who are immigrants.

Secondly, the government of Canada recently announced its intention to increase its quota for the annual intake of immigrants to meet the country's economic and population needs. The government needs also to be pursuing more vigorously programs to promote the acceptance and integration of the various ethno-cultural immigrant groups into the social, economic and political fabric of this country. The government of Canada, over the past few years, initiated actions directed at combating racism. Among these are the promotion of immigrant language training, funding of unicultural and racial group organizations and affirmative action programs. Many in the dominant white culture group, however, are resentful of these efforts on the part of government to assist

immigrant groups. Only recently the news media reported the remarks of a Minister in the Manitoba government commenting with negative overtones that programs promoting multiculturism are funded by WASP citizens while the beneficiaries are other cultural groups. There also those who resent equal opportunity employment programs and regard this as reverse racism. It is therefore a strong recommendation of this study that the government of Canada educate WASP Canadian citizens to understand the positive contributions being made to this country by third world immigrants.

The third recommendation of this study is to the Caribbean immigrant community in Winnipeg. There is need for this community to set up its own structures to facilitate community support for new immigrants from this ethnic group in their efforts to settle here.

Fourthly, social workers can be important facilitators to assist new immigrants in their adjustment in this society. They need to be educated in cross cultural social work. This area of study should be required for all social work students. Social service agencies need to employ more third world immigrants with social work training from their countries of origin. After a year on the job, these third world trained social workers, with proper performance evaluation, should be classified and given equal employment opportunities as on par with their white colleagues according to education and

performance.

   As a pilot project this study finds that Caribbean immigrants in Winnipeg are comparatively new. They have for the most part successfully dealt with the initial stresses and strains of the experience of settling in a new country. Basic needs for shelter and work, any kind of work, have been met and people are quite satisfied with their lives as Caribbean immigrants settling in Winnipeg. The process of integration is, however, a long one. Integration means full participation while retaining as much cultural heritage as desired without being denied equality of opportunity. This is necessary for a truly multicultural Canada.

APPENDIX I

Survey Research Questionaire

1. What is your country of origin?
    ___Jamaica ___Trinidad & Tobago ___Guyana
    ___St. Vincent ___Barbadoes
    ___Other (Please specify)

2. Ethnic Background?
    ___African ___East Indian ___Chinese
    ___Mixed(specify) ___Other(specify)

3. (a) Age at last birthday ___
    (b) Sex:___Male ___Female

4. Level of Education at time of entry into Canada.
    * If you had not completed any of the level
    listed below, please tell how many levels were
    done.
    ___Primary_____# of years
    ___High School_____# of years
    ___High School Graduate_____Certificate
    ___Professional College Training____# of years
    ___University Graduate (please specify)
    ___Degree   ___Diploma
    ___Certificate   ___Other

5. When did you come to Canada? ___Month ___Year

6. What were the most important reasons why you came
    to Canada?

7. List the people and/or organizations whom you knew
    were available to help you cope with getting along
    in the new place when you first arrived in this
    country?

8. Did you experience any problems finding a job here?
   ____Yes ____No
   If YES, what were they?

9. (a) List the people and/or organizations from whom you solicited help when trying to find a job here.

   (b) How much help did you receive from each?

10. What was your first job here?

11. What was your last job before coming to Canada?

12. (a) Was your first job here the same as your former occupation in your own country?
    ____Yes ____No

    (b) If NO, was it in your estimation of the same, higher, or lower status?
    ____Higher ____Same ____Lower
    * Please tell why it was one of the above.

13. What is your present job?

14. (a) Have you encountered any problem(s) on your
    job(s) which you felt were directly related to
    your being a coloured immigrant?
    _____Yes _____No

    (b) If yes, what were they?

    (d) What were the consequences?

15. (a) Has your colour prevented you from getting
    promoted on the job?
    _____Yes _____No

    (b) If YES, described what happened.

16. (a) Were there any times when you felt you were
    not hired because of being West Indian?
    _____Yes _____No

    (b) What were the circumstances?

17. (a) Have you been given a fair chance to achieve
    your goals in the workplace?

    (b) Give reasons for your answer.

18. (a) Do you feel you have been discriminated
    against by any of the following:
    ____Employer ____Supervisor ____Workmates
    ____Consumers ____Others (Please specify)

    (b) What was the situation?

19. (a) Has your colour kept you from being accepted
    socially by other workers on the job?

    (b) Describe it?

    (c) What were the consequences?

20. (a) To what degree do you feel you are really a
    part of your workgroup. On a scale of 1-5 where
    would you place yourself?
    5____Really fully part of my work group
    4____Included in most ways
    3____Included in some ways but not in others
    2____Do not feel I really belong
    1____Not a part of work group

    (b) Explain your answers.

21. Do you socialize with white Canadian colleagues
    when you are away from the job?

22. To what degree do you feel yourself a West Indian?
    Where would you place yourself on a scale from
    1 - 5 (5 being the highest value).

    1   2   3   4   5

    To what degree do you feel yourself a Canadian?

    1   2   3   4   5

23. (a) List the people/organizations from whom you solicited help when you came against racial discrimination.

   (b) How much help did you receive from each?

24. What is your present level of education?

25. What is your present level salary in $

        10,000 - 15,000   15,001 - 20,000
        20,001 - 25,000   25,001 - 30,000
        30,001 - 35,000   35,001 - 40,000
        40,001 and up.

26. (a) All things considered, how satisfied are you with your job? Where would you place yourself on a scale of 1 - 5 (5 being the highest value)

        5 Very satisfied
        4 Satisfied
        3 Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
        2 Dissatisfied
        1 Very dissatisfied.

   (b) Explain your answer.

27. In general, how satisfied are you with your life as a West Indian immigrant in Winnipeg? Where would you place yourself on this scale?

        5____Very satisfied
        4____Satisfied
        3____Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
        2____Dissatisfied
        1____Very dissatisfied

   (b) Explain your answer.

28. Do you think racial discrimination is a problem in Winnipeg.

       5. Very serious problem
       4. A somewhat serious problem
       3. A problem
       2. Not a problem
       1. No opinion

APPENDIX II

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT

This is to indicate that I_____
undertand the nature of my involvement in this research.

I realize that the results will be included in the researcher's Masters of Social Work thesis.

I have been assured that my participation will be confidential and that no names will be used in the presentation of the results.

By signing this form below, I give consent to be interviewed and have the material included in the project.

I understand that the results of this study will be shared with me and that I am free to contact the researcher whenever it may be necessary.

Signature of Participant_____
Date_____
Signature of Researcher_____
Telephone # of Researcher_____

APPENDIX III

CODE BOOK

VARIABLE NAME	DESCRIPTION
I.D.	1 to 40
Country of Origin	1. Jamaica 2. Trinidad 3. Barbados 4. St. Vincent 5. Other
Ethnic Background	1. African 2. East Indian 3. Chinese 4. Mixed 5. Other
Age	Actual No. of Years 99 Missing Value
Sex	1. Male 2. Female
Marital Status	1. Married 2. Divorced/Separated 3. Never Married
Level of Education at Entry	1. Primary 1-8 years 2. High School 1-4 years 3. High School Grad. 4. Prof. College Training 5. University 1st degree 6. Univ. Grad & Post Grad
Present Level of Education	1. Primary 1-8 years 2. High School 1-4 years 3. High School Grad. 4. Prof. College Training 5. University 1st degree 6. Univ. Grad & Post Grad

Length of Time in Canada	Actual No. of Years
Reason for Coming to Canada	1. Economic 2. Study 3. Family
Available Support System at Entry	1. Yes 2. No
Employer/Sponsor Support System at Entry	1. Yes 2. No
Family/Friend/Relative Support at Entry	1. Yes 2. No
Church/Club Support at Entry	1. Yes 2. No
Problems Finding Job	1. Yes 2. No
No Canadian Experience	1. Yes 2. No
Problems with Qualification	1. Yes 2. No
Perceived Covert Racism	1. Yes 2. No
Relative/Friend Support to find Job	1. Yes 2. No
Church/Club Support to find Job	1. Yes 2. No
Canadian Immigration & Employment to find Job	1. Yes 2. No

Newspaper Adv. to find Job	1. Yes 2. No
Job before coming to Canada	1. Unskilled labour 2. Services & Sk. Lab. 3. Techincal & Sales 4. Prof. & Manager
First Job in Canada	1. Unskilled labour 2. Services & Sk. Lab. 3. Techincal & Sales 4. Prof. & Manager
First Job Status	1. Higher 2. Same 3. Lower
Present Job	1. Unskilled labour 2. Services & Sk. Lab. 3. Techincal & Sales 4. Prof. & Manager
Job problems related to being coloured immigrant	1. Yes 2. No
Problem - Racist remarks	1. Yes 2. No
Problem - denied promotion	1. Yes 2. No
Problem - consumer objecting	1. Yes 2. No
Unfair placement problem	1. Yes 2. No
Less Wage Consequence	1. Yes 2. No
Consequence of being transferred	1. Yes 2. No
Quit Job Consequence	1. Yes 2. No

Intervention by outside organization	1. Yes 2. No
Has colour prevented you getting job	1. Yes 2. No
Not hired because West Indian	1. Yes 2. No
Fair chance to achieve goals	1. Yes 2. No
Discriminated against by employer	1. Yes 2. No
Discriminated against by supervisor	1. Yes 2. No
Discriminated against by workmates	1. Yes 2. No
Discriminated against by consumers	1. Yes 2. No
Colour prevent social acceptance	1. Yes 2. No
Part of Workgroup	5. Really part of 4. Included most ways 3. Included some ways 2. Don't feel I belong 1. Not ascertained
Family/Friend Support Against Discrimination	1. Yes 2. No
Church/Club Support Against Discrimination	1. Yes 2. No
Union/Professional Organizations Support Against Discrimination	1. Yes 2. No

Income	1. 10,000 - 15,000
	2. 15,001 - 20,000
	3. 20,001 - 25,000
	4. 25,001 - 30,000
	5. 30,001 - 35,000
	6. 35,001 - 40,000
	7. 40,001 and up

Social Interaction with
 White Canadians

4. Frequently
3. Some Frequency
2. Little
1. None at all

Degree Feel Self Canadian

1. Very Low
2. Low
3. Medium
4. High
5. Very High

Degree Feel Self West Indian

1. Very Low
2. Low
3. Medium
4. High
5. Very High

Level of Job Satisfaction

5. Very Satisfied
4. Satisfied
3. Neither Satisfied
   nor dissatisfied
2. Dissatisfied
1. Very Dissatisfied

Level of Life Satisfaction

5. Very Satisfied
4. Satisfied
3. Neither Satisfied
   nor dissatisfied
2. Dissatisfied
1. Very Dissatisfied

Perception of racial
 Discrimination in Winnipeg

5. Very serious problems
4. Somewhat serious
   problem
3. Not a serious problem
2. Not a problem
1. No opinion

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