WEST INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS IN MONTREAL

by

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Preface

I would like to express my thanks to the many West Indians in Montreal with whom I conversed during the summer of 1963. I owe especial thanks to Mr. Richard Leslie, Mr. Milton Hogg, Mrs. Dorothy Wills, Mr. Ivanhoe Morrison, Mr. Willoughby Edwards, Miss Cecile Barrett, Mr. Donald Duncan, Ted and Celia Wilson, and Miss Greta Goring. The warm hospitality with which I was received simplified my task immensely, and gave me many hours of enjoyment and satisfaction, and speaks much of the general friendliness of the West Indian population of Montreal.

This Thesis is based on data collected during July-September 1963 while I was employed as a Research Assistant by Professor R.F. Salisbury of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, McGill University.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The basic aim of this study is to describe the existing formal associations of West Indian immigrants in Montreal. This involves presenting first, information on the types of West Indian associations present in Montreal in terms of their ideology and goals, plus information on their organizational structure, hierarchy of offices and roles, formalization of authority and activities, membership base and recruitment policies. Secondly this involves describing the activities of these associations in terms of how these activities meet the needs of West Indian immigrants in Montreal, on the individual and the group level; and how these associations are the expression of divisive or cohesive forces in the West Indian immigrant group itself. This leads us into our third avenue of inquiry: how do the social divisions, which are present in the West Indian immigrant group in Montreal, affect the joining and participating in certain kinds of associations by the individual; how do these social divisions affect the everyday working of these associations; how do these social divisions affect the pattern of relationships between the different West Indian associations in Montreal.

A. Review of the Literature

There have been no previous studies of West

Indian associations in Canada or the United States, other than of Puerto Ricans. All previous studies of West Indian immigrants have been carried out in Britain. These studies have been primarily concerned with "race relations" and the adjustment of immigrants to British life. Few studies focus specifically on associations, but most mention the types of formal associations found. A listing of types mentioned follows:

Nationalist associations by Little[1], Manley[2], Collins[3], and Glass[4].

Cultural associations by Little[5].

Recreational and Community centres by Collins[6], Richmond[7], and Griffith[8].

Revivalist Sects by Ruck[9].

Church-affiliated clubs by Little[10], Manley[11], Griffith[12], and Glass[13].

Savings clubs by Ruck[14].

Social clubs by Little[15], Richmond[16], Griffith[17], and Glass[18].

Mutual-aid societies by Collins[19], Collins[20], and Ruck[21].

Athletic clubs by Richmond[22].

Gambling groups by Little[23], and Collins[24].

Student associations by the PEP Report[25], and Glass[26].

Informal social groupings based on common territory or

origin by Banton[27], and the PEP Report[28].

Home-visiting patterns and gift exchange by Collins[29] and Collins[30].

Cooperative house-buying groups using these houses as social centres by Glass[31].

"Wakes" by Collins[32].

The above studies are listed because the research involved was carried out in different parts of England and Wales and demonstrates the widespread existence of associations among West Indian immigrants. Most of the above researchers also mention the greater prevalence and social importance of informal associations over formal ones[33]; although the informal associational structures were studied briefly or not at all.

While groupings like the extended family or lineage can perform activities which will here be related to associations, for example, Kosa[34], Bruner[35], Moss and Cappanari[36], Thomas and Znaniecki[37], these groupings are not considered associations in the present context and are therefore not part of the problem under discussion here and are not treated.

The study of the activities of associations and how these activities relate to the tribal societies of which they are a part has long been a concern of Anthropology. Webster discusses the role of secret societies in

tribal life.[38] Wedgwood also discusses the organization and functions of secret societies in tribal life.[39] Lowie describes associations in different societies[40], and criticizes Schurtz's schema of the evolution of associations, and delineates principles concerning the organization of associations in tribal societies.[41] Traditional savings societies among the Yoruba are described by Bascom.[42] Further discussions are given by Chapple and Coon[43], Goldenweiser[44], and Llewelyn and Hoebel.[45]

The role of associations among tribal peoples in transition to urbanism is analyzed for West Africa by Little[46] [47], and Banton.[48] Little examines Tribal Unions, mutual-aid societies, occupational associations and recreational associations. Banton describes much the same types of associations in Freetown.

Other studies have demonstrated the role of associations in the life of other immigrant groups, e.g. Eisenstadt in Israel[49], Padilla of Puerto Ricans in New York[50], Anderson and Anderson of Ukrainians in France[51], Norbeck of a multi-ethnic plantation in Hawaii[52], Lee of Chinese in the United States[53], Willmot of Chinese in Indonesia[54], Klass of East Indians in Trinidad[55], Wirth of Jews in Chicago[56], and Kutak of Czechs in the American midwest.[57]

Associations are seen as having certain social

resultants, in these studies, for (a) the individual immigrant, (b) for the immigrant group, and (c) for relations between individual immigrants, the immigrant group, and the "host" society. They are not merely a phenomenon of "cultural lag".

Some of the resultants which have been mentioned in connection with immigrant associations are: giving the immigrant a well-defined status and role to play in a changing social situation, giving the immigrant social status and prestige in the new social situation, giving the immigrant friendship and social support on a day-to-day basis and during crises, acting as an emotional outlet for the frustrations and disappointments of the immigrants, promoting social mobility within the immigrant group and within the "host" society, economic aid in the form of finding housing, finding work, sickness and burial benefits, furthering the retention of migrant culture and links with the homeland, and developing structural and cultural linkages with the "host" society.

B. <u>Associations and Social Divisions</u>

Warner in discussing, from the point of view of the larger society, associations which are restricted to members of a particular ethnic group, refers to them as "closed-ethnic" associations. I shall use Warner's term. This type of association is not formally affiliated with

associations or institutions of the larger society.[58] As Warner points out, these associations are concerned primarily with the maintenance of the solidarity of the ethnic group. They keep alive the members' interest in their homeland, and help adjust their relations to the new social situation. The closed-ethnic association gives the migrants a focal point for organization and feelings of strength and security.[59] Warner goes on to say that ethnics also tend to join associations which are not closed to all but one ethnic group, and that this is an effective method for moving into the social life of the total community by bringing immigrants into contact with members of the "host" society.[60]

I shall use the term "mixed-membership" association to refer to associations which are not restricted to members of one ethnic or racial group. It would be expected that these associations play a more important role in furthering the social mobility of immigrants than do closed-ethnic associations because the mixed-membership association brings the immigrant into interpersonal contact with members of the "host" society.

I will use the typology of associations mentioned above mainly in a discussion of social mobility in this study. In my analysis of associations I will also characterize associations empirically in terms of their dominant

ideology and goals, and these characterizations will be introduced and discussed at length in chapters 3 and 4 of this study.

But the West Indian population which makes up the membership of the associations discussed is also split into a number of social divisions which overlap each other. Thus, West Indians in Montreal distinguish socially between (a) "oldtimer" and "newcomer" immigrants, (b) West Indians coming from different islands in the West Indies, (c) West Indian immigrants and Canadian Negroes, and between (d) middle class and lower class West Indian immigrants. Of these four social divisions the literature deals generally only with the social class factor; the first three social divisions are empirically derived and will be introduced and discussed in chapters 3 and 4 along with the discussion of social class and the ideologies and goals of associations.

With regard to social class, Warner has demonstrated how the concept of class can be used to classify the social composition of a community and the formal associations of a community.[61] In delineating the boundaries of social classes Warner moved across ethnic and racial boundaries, but he did not ignore ethnic variations within the community. Part of the purpose of this study is to examine an ethnic group, first generation West Indian

immigrants in Montreal and their associations, in terms of the class levels within the ethnic group. When we use the term social stratification or social class, we are really referring to some sort of differential ranking or status which can be ordered hierarchically. Thus, while it is legitimate to speak in terms of discrete classes with clearly delineated boundaries, as Warner does, it should be recognized that this approach is an empirical short-cut in attempting to express the realities of differential ranking within a given group. A more accurate representation of this reality is to see the individual as part of a "social field" consisting of ties of friendship and acquaintance. As Barnes points out, most of these ties are between people who accord approximately equal status to one another, and Barnes feels that these ties, or "social networks" constitute the class system of the Norwegian parish of Bremnes.[62] In this sense, a social network has no external boundary, nor any clear-cut internal divisions because the point of view for discerning class, or ego's superiors, equals, and inferiors, is the individual at the centre of a group of friends. If social class is viewed as a network of interpersonal relations, the problem of how many social classes there are falls away, and as Barnes says, social class is really a category of thought, and not of actual tangible reality. Frankenberg

in his study of a Welsh village adopts much of this same view of social class.[63]

While recognizing the appropriateness of the Barnes-Frankenberg approach to social stratification within small geographic and social units, I am concerned with the place of the immigrant group in the large and complex social unit of Montreal. It is therefore simpler to start by analyzing the data on associations in terms of discrete social classes, as conceptualized by Warner. Only later, in chapter 8, shall I recognize that these classes are networks of interpersonal relations between persons who regard each other as status equals, and that these networks mesh with one another and overlap the concept of discrete social classes in a given social situation.

Having treated some of the concepts which I shall use in analyzing my data let us now consider the methods used to gather the data.

C. Methodology

Since data on West Indians in Canada were meager, and because the British data on West Indian associations were meager, it was decided to use an approach which would be receptive to many different kinds of data and which would result in obtaining data not only about West Indian associations, but also about the background and attitudes of West Indians in Montreal. To this end, unstructured,

but focussed interviewing was employed; in other words, people were interviewed as both respondents and informants, rather than by utilizing a structured questionnaire which would have limited the scope of the inquiry when the basic facts were still unknown. Using the person as respondent meant finding out about their background, reasons for migrating, housing and job situations, social class attitudes, attitudes to West Indians coming from different islands, and information about friends, acquaintances, recreation patterns, and experienced discrimination. Using the person as informant meant obtaining data on the associations of which these people are a part.

In all, some 40 formal interviews were carried out, taking place in private homes, apartments, the associational setting, parks, and so on. In addition, many other conversations were held with West Indians in more informal settings like dances, on the street, and in homes. Almost all of the interviews were with West Indians, although a few were held with Canadian Negroes. Of the West Indians interviewed, the majority were from Jamaica, with others from Trinidad, Barbados, and Dominica. Notes were usually written during a formal interview, except in situations where it was not considered feasible, for example, as when faced with a hostile respondent who wanted to see what the interviewer was writing on his notepad.

Where notes were not taken during the interview, they were recorded as soon as possible after the interview was ended. Interviews usually lasted from 2 to 4 hours. To supplement formal interviewing, participant-observation was used in social situations like association meetings, dances, and athletic events.

It is interesting to note that both Banton[64] and Patterson[65] say that they experienced difficulty in making contact with West Indian respondents and informants, and that it took them several months to make sustained, informative, and useful contacts. I feel that I had no such difficulty and found the great majority of my respondents and informants to be willing to talk and express themselves, and on the whole very friendly. This was true for all types of immigrants interviewed, i.e. professionals, students, white collar workers, and domestics. I can offer a number of reasons for this difference in reception. One is the British immigrant situation laden with hostility which is fed through intermittent outbreaks of overt hostility and violence, job competitiveness, overcrowded living conditions in slum and "ghetto-like" areas, and the very large number of West Indian immigrants, as well as the very limited contact between Englishmen and West Indians. This was the situation when both Banton and Patterson carried out their fieldwork, and this situation is the

opposite of the Montreal situation, as we shall see. Another factor is the kind of data in which the respective writers were interested. I concentrated on obtaining information on associations supplemented with personal history and attitudes, but I did not touch on potentially explosive topics in the interview situation, like sex life, premarital intercourse, and marriage, topics among others in which both the above-mentioned writers were interested. Another possible reason is that I tried to make contact through friends of people I had interviewed, in some cases getting an informal introduction wherever possible. This lessened the tension of the interview situation and also gave friends a chance to talk over among themselves, if they so wished, the kinds of questions I asked.

Banton makes one point which seems to this writer to be crucial to investigations of this kind.

> As my confidence in playing the role of the "sympathetic stranger" rather than that of "participant observer" increased, I found it easier to approach people with a simple demand for information about their experiences, people whom I never would have met had I waited to meet them through my initial contacts.[66]

This is the method which seems to work best so long as it is not turned into an insistent approach demanding facts and opinions.

In all, I examined some 13 associations in Montreal, some of which had a completely West Indian membership, others having West Indians and Canadian Negro and/or white membership. These associations are representative of the kinds of formal associations West Indians have in Montreal. They include a community centre, social clubs, an association organized on the basis of members coming from a particular island, action-oriented civil-rights groups, an athletic club, student associations and a church.

The reliability of the data obtained through the techniques used, depends most of all on the interviewer's ability to separate fact from fiction, and truth from half truth and on whether he is able to evoke a responsive chord in the person he is interviewing and thereby obtain meaningful data. Certain cross-checks on data obtained are possible. By interviewing a number of persons from the same association and questioning them on the same topics, data can be more reliably assessed. Another method to insure reliability of data is to intimate to the informant that you already know about certain events that have happened and in most cases the informant will then speak quite freely about these events or areas of information. If the interviewer does not cue in his informant in this way, but instead asks a direct question seeking information,

the informant may often say that he has no opinion or knows nothing about the event in question.

Validity and generalizability of data is another matter. The data obtained is meaningful for the associations in question, but because the total number of interviews carried out was small relative to the size of the ethnic group under consideration, generalizations about the attitudes and behavior of the entire West Indian group in Montreal are open to question. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, representatives of all the major groups in Montreal were interviewed and certain general attitudes were expressed in a very consistent manner by all respondents. This consistency, where it is present, bolsters the validity of the data. I also heard many opinions expressed outside of the formal interview situation which were consistent with those expressed in the interview situation, on matters like social class and island origin, and this lends further evidence that the data presented is valid.

Footnotes to Chapter One

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15. Little, op. cit., p.108.
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17. Griffith, op. cit., p.37.
18. Glass, op. cit.

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Chapter Two: The West Indian Background and Arrival in Montreal

What kind of society does the West Indian immigrant come from? Any generalizations about the West Indies as a whole would be vapid and vague. Yet two areas of West Indian society must be stressed here if the role of associations in West Indian life in Montreal is to be understood. One is the West Indian pattern of social stratification, and the other, the role of associations in West Indian life.

A. Social Class in the West Indies

The most important indices of social class in the West Indies are occupation, income, education, and skin color.[1] Over and above the factors used in class judgements in Canada, like occupation, education and income, which have perhaps even greater importance in the West Indies, there is the additional criterion of color. The physical characteristics of a West Indian, skin color, hair formation, nose formation, formation of lips, and skin texture, are really a series of social cues which other West Indians use to classify him. While these criteria of physical appearance may be important in intimate social situations, the indices of occupation, education, and income are today probably much more important in

distinguishing social class. In other words, if a dark-skinned man has a well-paying occupation he is regarded as middle class. This is an open-class system, in that social mobility is an accepted fact, and probably even more so today when Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados have gained independence and British Guiana is on the verge of attaining it. Nevertheless, social class divisions based on occupation, education, income, and color run deep and are certainly effective in curtailing interaction between persons of different classes except perhaps in the work situation. This is a vital point which must be understood if the immigrant situation in Montreal is to be understood. The class system which is operative in the West Indies is operative in Montreal as well, with social class having much the same social and emotional connotations as it does in the West Indies.

The social situation has greatly changed since Eric Williams worte in 1942 that the middle class looks upon the lower class with something akin to contempt. But he was expressing a basic social and cultural fact about West Indian social structure, and this system is still very much with the middle class West Indian who has never done a menial job in his life, is waited upon by servants and boasts about this, goes to a private school, and when he arrives in Montreal would never consider at all stepping

out with a girl who works here as a domestic servant. According to Williams:

> The attitude of the colored middle class to black workers is one of open contempt. The Jamaican bourgeoisie knows even less about the people than the english bourgeoisie about its proletariat. They are adamant in their refusal to countenance any extension of franchise to the "barefooted man". No one in the British West Indies talks so glibly of the "lazy" black as does his colored brother.[2]

While the political facts have changed, the social facts influencing interpersonal contact and behavior still exist.

Hadley[3] describes the West Indian lower class, which is mainly darkskinned, as consisting primarily of agricultural workers and fishermen. They are non-aggressive, dependent and accommodating. In other words, the negro who knows his place. The "emergent" or lower middle class are primarily in occupations like school teaching, junior business posts, clerks, the civil service, secretaries and stenographers, or they are small landed proprietors. They are highly class-conscious, self-assertive and striving for higher social status. They are aggressive, touchy, and sensitive. These are the socially mobile people and also comprise the largest group of West Indian immigrants to Montreal. Hadley points out that it

is very difficult for individuals of this class to act together as a group and to accept leadership or direction; they are highly individualistic. The established middle class, mainly fairskinned, are in the professions, senior civil service posts and business. There is little difference culturally or psychologically between the middle class West Indian and the middle class white.

B. Associations in the West Indies

Warner's findings of the social class basis for associational affiliation are replicated in the West Indian literature. That is, middle class West Indians belong to middle class associations, and lower class West Indians to lower class associations. The urban middle class West Indian living in a city like Kingston or Port-of-Spain has a wide variety of formal associations to choose from. There are church-affiliated associations, associations affiliated with the YMCA and the YWCA, social clubs, athletic clubs, school clubs, welfare and charity associations, 4-H clubs and so on. The conditions for membership are based on occupation, income and education. Just how important the color factor is today has not been described in the recent literature. But Williams, writing in 1942, put it the following way:

> Between the brownskinned middle class and the black (lower class) there is a continual rivalry, distrust

> and ill-feeling which poisons the life of the community.... Associations are formed of brown people who will not admit those too much darker than themselves, and there have been heated arguments as to whether a person could be admitted without lowering the tone of the institution. Clubs have accepted mother and daughter who were fair, but refused father, who was black. The people most affected by this are the middle class...who are more than all types of people given to...divisions and subdivisions of social rank and precedence.[4]

The lower class urban or rural population lean towards less formally organized and more charismatic types of associations. Mutual-aid societies are important in Trinidad, according to Herskovits.[5] Smith[6] mentions cooperative work groups, religious sects, and athletic clubs. Herskovits[7] mentions secret societies and religious cults, as does Simpson[8] and Mischel[9]. Savings clubs are mentioned by R.T. Smith[10] and Daniel Crowley[11]. More formal associations, counterparts of urban associations, exist in the rural areas, but their leadership is often composed of urban middle class West Indians who are strangers in the community and who have taken over local informal organizations based on neighborhood or community. This often stifles thriving groups because control of the

association is removed from the people themselves. This often involves reduction and redefinition of group functions and group values and results in a lapse of interest and membership. The most effective associations in the rural areas are informal associations which arise when there is a need for them and then disappear.[12]

On a smaller island like Dominica, choice of formal association may be much more limited, as a Dominican informant suggests:

> Take Dominica; there are two clubs on the island, the White club and the Union club; all the whites on the island belong to the White club plus a handful of negroes who are light enough to pass and want to pass; all the other negroes, meaning everybody else, belongs to the Union club. So you play netball day after day and see the same people; you stagnate, so you leave and come to a place like Montreal.

This quotation illustrates an important point, the importance of which we shall see later in the study of lower class West Indian associations in Montreal--the lack of any tradition of formal associations among both lower class urban or rural dwellers. This lack exists despite the fact that in urban areas and for the middle class there exists a system of associations not unlike the Canadian urban system.

C. Immigration to Canada

I mentioned earlier that most of the West Indian immigration to Canada is middle class in West Indian terms. This is a direct resultant of Canadian government policy on this matter. The Canadian government recognizes certain categories of immigration from the West Indies to Canada. First, sponsorship by landed immigrants of their immediate family or close relatives if the Department of Immigration is satisfied that the sponsoring party can take financial responsibility if the sponsored party cannot find work. Second, West Indian students are permitted to enter the country for study purposes. If they do not complete their studies or do not attend a school, from university to business college, they are asked to leave the country. When they complete their studies they can apply for landed immigrant status. For example, in 1959 a student from Trinidad was deported on the grounds that he had dropped out of school and was not gainfully employed. He was also recognized to be an undesirable alien on the moral grounds that his actions had caused a girl to become pregnant and he had then attempted to abort the foetus, an attempt which failed. Third, is the domestic category of entry into Canada. Between 1955, when the Domestic Plan was implemented, and 1963 well over 1500 West Indian women have emigrated to

Canada under its auspices. Almost one-half of the total number of these immigrants have stayed in Montreal. The majority of domestics have come from Jamaica, with Barbados, Trinidad, British Guiana, and the smaller islands following in that order. The Domestic Plan requires women to work as domestic servants for one year after their arrival; after this time they are free to find any other occupation of their choice, or they can continue to work as domestics. From the time they arrive in Canada the domestics are considered landed immigrants and after the appropriate residence period they can take out Canadian citizenship; or if they wish, they can return to the West Indies at any time. During their first year, the girls are placed in homes by the National Employment Service, but if they are not satisfied with their placement they notify the National Employment Service and are switched to another home. Usually if a woman quits the Domestic Plan before her year is up, she is forced to leave Canada; but in some cases, if a woman shows that she can obtain a gainfully employed job outside of the domestic service, she may be allowed to remain in Canada. A new category of immigration introduced in 1963 allows for a certain number of West Indian men having skilled occupations to emigrate to Canada.

At present, the West Indian associations in Montreal play no role in the arrival of immigrants from the

West Indies. But before the disintegration of the West Indies Federation, one association with an active interest in immigration and civil rights used to meet the incoming domestics at their ship, show them the city, and in general let them know that they had people in Montreal they could turn to in times of difficulty. This association also told domestics what they could expect in the way of facilities and treatment in the homes they were to be placed in. This was sometimes construed as an attempt to stir up trouble. For example, in 1959, an official of the National Employment Service complained about what she termed "the interference of other groups", particularly the association mentioned above. She suggested that the influence of this association made the domestics extremely apprehensive of the reception which awaited them in the homes they were to be placed in. After the breakup of the West Indies Federation, there no longer existed in Canada a central West Indian organization which could give the association information on arrival dates and numbers of women coming and the service of meeting domestic immigrants was discontinued. However, at the present time, at least two West Indian associations in Montreal are attempting to establish contact with the representatives, in Montreal, of the various West Indian islands, with a view to renewing the service mentioned above.

In general the attitude of the Canadian government and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has been one of discouraging immigration from the West Indies, and most definitely in the case of West Indian semi-skilled and unskilled labor. The attitude may have become more liberal in recent years, but the following letter from the then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration illustrates the attitude in 1951.

Mr. J.W. Noseworthy, M.P.
House of Commons
Ottawa, Ontario.

Ottawa,
May 10, 1951.

Dear Mr. Noseworthy,

I have your letter of April 30, concerning the desire of Mr. John A. Braithwaite of Toronto to secure the entry to Canada from the Barbados of his grandaughter, Miss Una Jessamy Braithwaite.

I have had the case reviewed by the Immigration Branch to ascertain whether some grounds could not be found for extending favorable consideration. It is quite evident, however, that Miss Braithwaite does not qualify for admission under present regulations and in the circumstances no encouragement can be offered.

In reply to your last paragraph one of the conditions for admission to Canada is that the immigrants

should be able readily to become adapted and integrated into the life of the community within a reasonable time after their entry. In the light of experience it would be unrealistic to say that immigrants who have spent the greater part of their life in tropical or subtropical countries become readily adapted to the Canadian mode of life which, to no small extent is determined by climatic conditions. It is a matter of record that natives of such countries are more apt to break down in health than immigrants from countries where the climate is more akin to that of Canada. It is equally true that, generally speaking, persons from tropical or subtropical countries find it more difficult to succeed in the highly competitive Canadian economy. It would be contrary to fact, however, to infer from this that colored immigrants are debarred from Canada. As in the past, favorable consideration is given in cases where the exceptional qualifications of the applicant offer reasonable assurance that he will find a satisfactory level in the Canadian community or where refusal would constitute extreme hardship on humanitarian grounds. This policy is inspired by a very sincere concern for the welfare of those who wish to share our way of life as well by a justifiable sense of self interest.

It would have given me much pleasure to have been able to give favorable consideration to Mr. Braithwaite's

application but the circumstances of the case viewed in relation to the principles referred to above prevent me regretfully from doing so.

Yours sincerely,

W.E. Harris

(Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)[13]

D. Population and Residency Patterns of West Indian Immigrants

The 1961 Canadian Census contains some information on the Negro and West Indian population of Canada, Quebec, and Montreal. During the period 1901-1961, the Negro population of Canada increased from 17,437 to 32,127.[14] Between 1911-1961 the West Indian population of Canada increased from 1878 to 12,363, with the bulk of this immigration occuring during the period 1951-1961, when the Canadian West Indian population increased from 3888 to 12,363.[15] The Negro population of Quebec in 1961 was 4287, consisting of 2036 males and 2251 females; of this total 4218 resided in urban areas, while 69 resided in rural areas of the province.[16] The Negro population of Montreal island was 3841, consisting of 1777 males and 2064 females.[17] The West Indian population of Quebec (by birthplace) in 1961 was 3695, consisting 1707 males and 1988 females.[18]

These figures do not enable one to say accurately how many Negro West Indians there were in Montreal in 1961 as no such breakdown is made in the Montreal census figures.

The figures for West Indian born includes whites. The figures for Negroes include Canadian and United States born, and make no allowances for the imprecisions of such racial classifications. The rough figures are clear however; there were about 600 Canadian and United States born Negroes in Quebec, about 500 of whom resided in Montreal. Of the Negro Montrealers then, probably some 3400 were West Indian. This figure has increased markedly since 1961 and an estimate of 4500 West Indian Negroes in 1963 seems reasonable.

It is interesting to have some idea of where West Indian immigrants live in Montreal. It was possible to build a sample of non-student immigrants from the mailing lists of a number of West Indian associations in Montreal. These were essentially lower class associations. The sample of names and addresses numbered 453. This sample shows quite conclusively that there is no single geographical area of Montreal in which West Indians are congregated. There is no West Indian "ghetto" in Montreal, and partly because of this, no West Indian community in Montreal in the sense of a close, well-knit group of people living with little spatial distance between them, and centering around certain organizations and associations important to the maintenance of the community. At one time, during the period between the two Great Wars, such a community

probably existed, consisting of Canadian and American Negroes and West Indians, and held together by the greater job and accommodation discrimination which existed at that time. The picture is very different today, and this speaks much for the spatial and social mobility of more recent West Indian immigrants, and for the lessened discrimination which exists. Of the sample of 453, some 15% still live in the area of the city south of Dorchester Boulevard, bounded by Park Avenue on the east and St. Remi Street on the west. This has been the traditional living area for the "Negro community" in Montreal; it is a lower class living area and includes the railroad yards around which many of the early West Indian immigrants congregated because most of them worked on the railroad, and because of discrimination which forced them into this area of the city. Of my sample of 453 West Indians, only 15% live in this area today. Another 8% of the sample live immediately north of the area mentioned above; this is between Atwater Avenue and Park Avenue, and between Dorchester Boulevard and Pine Avenue. Eleven percent of the sample live in the general area east of Park Avenue, consisting mainly of French-speaking working class living areas. Eighteen percent of the sample live in Notre Dame de Grace, a middle class residential living area; and 20% of the sample live in the Snowden-Barclay area of the city, another middle class

residential area. Other West Indians live in Verdun, Ville la Salle, Lachine, Montreal West, Cote St. Luc, St. Laurent, Park Extension, Montreal North, and Ville d'Anjou.* Others live on the Lakeshore. Therefore the majority of the sample have moved into middle class residential areas of the city, concentrating in Notre Dame de Grace and Snowden-Barclay; the important point here is that they have spread out on social class lines, not color lines.

The living places of West Indian students are somewhat different. Of 180 West Indian students attending McGill University during the school year 1962-1963, 42% lived in the rooming house and apartment district adjacent to the University between University Street, St. Famille Street, Pine Avenue, and Burnside Street. Another 44% lived in the University men's and women's residences. Some 13% live in the uptown residential areas like Notre Dame de Grace, Snowden-Barclay.

The West Indians I spoke to usually live either in apartments or in rooming houses, with a few owning their own homes in residential communities like Ville d'Anjou and Cote St. Luc. The apartments usually consist of from 1½ to 4½ rooms and in the main were quite well-furnished. The rooming houses are in the downtown semi-

* West Indian residents of Westmount, Cote St. Luc, St. Laurent include domestics who are employed in these areas.

slum areas and around the universities. This is probably the standard manner of cheap living in large cities. Very few of the West Indians live alone. This may be due to the necessity of sharing rental and living costs, but it also reflects the need for socializing informally which many West Indian respondents spoke of. This does not mean that apartments and rooms are overcrowded, but that apartments and rooms are shared by two or three people, and further serve as social centres for informal get-togethers and parties. Respondents often said that their apartments or rooms were open to their friends at almost all times and that people drop by often to visit and socialize. Nothing is thought of putting up a friend for a night and feeding him.

West Indian associations play little or no part in finding accommodation for West Indian immigrants. The domestics are placed in homes for their first year by the National Employment Service, and the other immigrants rely on their own abilities or friends and relatives to find accommodation for them. These informal ways of finding accommodation are quite important. It is necessary for the immigrant to know what areas of the city are suitable for his needs, what a fair rental price is, and especially in the downtown area, where good reasonable apartments or rooms are scarce, to know which apartments these are.

West Indian friendship patterns operate here to smooth the path of recently arrived immigrants. For example:

I shared an apartment with a girlfriend on Decarie near Sherbrooke; this was X; she is from Jamaica (as is the respondent). I knew some people she knew, and they asked me if I wouldn't mind sharing an apartment with her. It was her first year in Montreal. The people that asked me are a Jamaican family who have been in Montreal for years; they are good friends of X's mother and they knew my family from Jamaica. I roomed with her for two years, and now I am taking over her apartment because she is going to New York to be married.

When I arrived in New York on my way to Montreal I met a cousin of mine who knew three Jamaican girls in Montreal very well. (The respondent is Jamaican.) He called up the girls from New York and told them to take care of me. One of the girls' brother met me at the Montreal airport when I arrived and I moved in with the girls and I have been here since then.

When I arrived in Montreal I knew X and Y; I had gone to school with them in Tobago. They met my train when it arrived. X and Y took me looking for rooms in the

downtown area. We heard from a friend of X's that there was another girl from Jamaica who had just arrived in Montreal and was in the same fix. We took a room together on Bishop Street. X and Y had a room in the same building.

When I arrived I had a student friend from Trinidad (the respondent is from Trinidad) living in Toronto. She came to Montreal and made rooming accommodations for me. She got me a bed-sittingroom on Mountain Street.

From the above statements it can be seen that friendship patterns from the home island are operative in Montreal also, and they can be further extended for purposes like finding accommodation. Certainly the immigrant's transition is made that much easier with the kind of help outlined above and also serves to socialize the new immigrant into the new environment by supplying him with friends who already know the "ropes" and can teach these new ways of operating to the newcomer. It is interesting to note that in most cases the newcomer will stay with someone from the same island as himself and this accretion process may result in whole buildings becoming predominantly Jamaican or Trinidadian, and so on. This is understandable if we realize that the newcomer will be more likely to know

people here who are from the same island as himself; there is also hesitancy in the case of women, especially at the beginning about sharing intimate situations, like accommodation, with West Indians from other Islands.

Footnotes to Chapter Two

1. Fernando Henriques, "Color Values in Jamaican Society," British Journal of Sociology, 2(1951), 115-121.

2. Eric Williams, The Negro in the Caribbean (Washington: The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1942), p.61.

3. C.V.D. Hadley, "Personality Patterns, Social Class and Aggression in the British West Indies," Human Relations, 2(1949), 349-362.

4. Williams, op. cit., p.64.

5. Melville Herskovits and Frances Herskovits, Trinidad Village (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p.257.

6. M.G. Smith, "Community Organization in Rural Jamaica," Social and Economic Studies, 5(1956), 304.

7. Herskovits and Herskovits, op. cit., p.257.

8. George E. Simpson, "Jamaican Revivalist Cults," Social and Economic Studies, 5(1956), 321-442.

9. Frances Mischel, "African 'Powers' in Trinidad: The Shango Cult," Anthropological Quarterly, 30(1957), 45-59.

10. Raymond T. Smith, "Letter to the Editor," Man, 53(1953), 32.

11. Daniel Crowley, "Letter to the Editor," Man, 53(1953), 80.

12. Smith, Social and Economic Studies, p.305.

13. The Black Worker, Official Organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 2(March 1952).

14. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada. Series 1-2, Population, Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 34.

15. Ibid., Bulletin 1.2-7, Table 48.

16. Ibid., Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 36.

17. Ibid., Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 37.

18. Ibid., Bulletin 1.2-7, Table 49.

Chapter Three: Social Divisions and Related Ideologies and Goals

In this chapter I will set the stage for the description of West Indian associations by describing aspects of the larger social context in which they occur. These aspects are social distinctions which the immigrants themselves make among themselves and with reference to Canadian Negroes. These distinctions are (a) middle class and lower class, (b) islands of origin in the West Indies, (c) "newcomer" immigrants and "oldtimer" immigrants, (d) West Indian and Canadian Negro. These are overlapping ascribed characteristics in that an individual immigrant may be a middle class Jamaican newcomer who is from the West Indies, or any other logical combination of the four social dimensions. The data on social dimensions presented in this chapter is phrased primarily in attitudinal terms; how informants said they would behave towards particular categories of people rather than how they actually do behave in a given social situation, although the consistency of responses in this area of inquiry lead me to believe that action is predicated on this attitudinal basis.

The second part of this chapter will describe certain general views that the immigrants have about their social world, Montreal, and what they see as good or bad about this social world in other words, the dominant

ideologies they hold with regard to this social world. The immigrants also hold certain views about the forms of expression through which the ideology should be implemented; in other words, the dominant goals the immigrants hold. The goals are related to and congruent with the dominant ideologies expressed. It will also be seen that certain ideologies and goals are related to certain social divisions in the West Indian population and not to others.

A. Social Divisions in the West Indian Population

1. Lower class and middle class:

Attitudes towards three major occupational groups at opposite ends of the social class continuum will be described. They are domestics, students, and professionals and businessmen. Using occupation as an index of social class domestics are lower class immigrants, while students, professionals and businessmen are middle class. Domestics and students form probably the two largest immigrant occupational groupings in the Montreal West Indian immigrant group.

(a) Domestics:

Generally, no matter what their previous occupations were in the West Indies, domestics are considered to be lower class by other West Indian immigrants, and as such are avoided by middle class immigrants. As a middle class informant stated: "Thursdays are the days when all the

maids get their day off and congregate on St. Catherine Street, and they block the doors to all the stores, and make no provisions for other people coming in. This is objectionable." At times this desire for avoidance is stated bluntly, as by a middle class white collar worker:

> This influx of domestics is a bad representation of Jamaicans. They come from the lower classes and they have lost us face in Jamaica and over here. A domestic could not be a friend of mine. Suppose I was walking down St. Catherine Street with her shopping, and I meet some of my friends. They right away ask me, "Who is that girl? Where she from? What she do?" They would find out she was a domestic and they would out me out. They would not be my friends any more. These people (domestics) are the lower bracket in terms of education and social graces. These people are taken as Jamaicans; well, they are not typical; they are not the best we have to offer.

Middle class immigrants, like the one quoted above, are fearful that Canadians will clump all West Indians, lower class and middle class, into one category on the basis of color, and treat them accordingly. As a West Indian nurse said:

> Canadians don't understand that not all West Indians or Jamaicans are the same. I had a patient not long ago; a very nice woman. She said she had a cleaning woman from Jamaica, and she wanted me to come over and meet her. She thought we would be great friends and that she was doing me a favor. She didn't realize that this domestic could not be a friend of mine, so I kept refusing her invitations.

These fears can result in social confrontations which accent social class, as in the case of a West Indian professional:

> When I came here the social class differences really affected me. Anyone who was Negro here was affixed with a lower class label. In Barbados I was middle class, and I never thought of myself as Negro distinct from White. I was really shocked when I was first identified and singled out as Negro, and then relegated to the lower class of society. I had a cousin who became Prime Minister of Barbados. There was no stigma in being Negro. I remember taking out a girl here and asking her what she did. She said she was a domestic servant. I was shocked and humiliated. In Barbados one did not take out one's servants or anyone else's. One only mixed with servant girls for clandestine relationships and certainly never in public. This was something I could not get accustomed to in Montreal.

In most cases, the anger of domestics, over the issue of whether they are or are not socially compatible with middle class immigrants, is directed at the students who represent the major source of males available in Montreal. Being rebuffed by this source, the domestics at one time turned to another. A major problem which one association, composed completely of domestics, faced was finding men for these women.

> The girls often complained that there were no eligible men in the city. At parties we put on, married men came down to pick up domestics; the domestics complied because no other men were available. Irate wives began calling up to find out if their husbands were there. This led to bad feelings in the Negro community towards the domestics, who were often called "homewreckers".

The cumulation of other incidents like the above, in addition to middle class complaints about the domestics' dress, manners, and speech, resulted in one of the university West Indian Student Societies almost barring domestics from their social affairs.

> About three years ago there was a motion at the West Indian Society which would have restricted the people who came to Society parties. This was directly aimed at the domestics. They were supposed to be the cause of fights at parties. The domestics were supposed to have egged on the men to fight over them, or flirt with other men. There was a lot of discussion over this, but the motion didn't pass. Many students think the domestics should keep their place, and don't want any contact with them at all.

At present the social situation remains much the same at dances and at private parties, with regard to domestics and others classified as lower class. For example, while domestics attend university dances and other public dances, the following situation is likely to occur. The respondent here is a girl college student speaking about a dance sponsored by a lower class group.

> This summer I went to one of the dances sponsored by the X at X Hall. I thought there would be mainly college students there because the band was college. I didn't know one person there. I sat down at a table by myself. At these dances you don't go table-hopping when you don't know anybody, so I sat there. After a while four boys from the University came in and sat down at my table. They took turns dancing with me all night. I was the only girl college student there. They didn't dance with anybody else, just me. Later three more college students came in and stood at the bar and drank all night. That was all the college students that were there all night. I didn't go to the second dance the X gave.

With regard to private parties, the domestics are again segregated socially, as the following example, related by a college student, indicates:

> A friend of mine, X (a college student), tried last year to get some students to go to a party put on by some domestics; they had phoned him; he didn't know any of them; they were about twenty girls with drinks and a lot of food, and no men. He called up a lot of

> students and was able to get only four other fellows to go with him; the five of them went. If it was a bunch of nurses putting on the party, fifty guys would have shown up; there would have been no hesitation on their part. But, because these were domestics, they wouldn't go even though they love women, drink, and food. Students say that domestics are domestics, even if they are something else. Some domestics are really nurses, teachers, and stenos, and some go to school here; but, to some students this doesn't make any difference.

Two factors do modify the existing situation with regard to immigrants who work as domestics. One is the fact that many women who emigrated on the Domestic Plan were previously trained as nurses, secretaries, stenographers, and teachers, and that after their contract year is completed they move into these occupations. Some students will then socialize with these women because of their change in status. The other modifying factor is that with time, and exposure to the fact that many Canadians do not care who they socialize with, the attitudes of some students change and they become willing to interact with the large domestic or ex-domestic group.

(b) Students:

The domestics regard the students as snobs who turn their backs on their fellow countrymen and snub them. In the words of a domestic from Jamaica:

> The students are uppity and snobbish. Once they know you work in the house they become strangers to you; they don't want to know you. They play up to you to take your money and then they leave you flat. Our way is very lonely with no men. All this really leaves me nowhere.

Domestics often say that the male students who are friendly are only trying to take advantage of them, and this view is sometimes supported by leaders of lower class associations who point out to domestics the pitfalls of becoming too friendly with students. Actually, there are sufficient cases of students taking advantage of domestics to lend a basis of fact to these stories.

> For us girls almost the only men available are students and they just leave us stranded. They know you are alone in the city and they try to take advantage of you. And then they call us "house mechanics". The girls who work in the house told us when we arrived to "beware of the students". Always remember to beware of the students. They try to get what they can out of you and then they leave you flat after taking your money.

In actuality there is little interaction between domestics and students. The social class situation operative in the West Indies is operative in Montreal as well.

(c) Professionals and Businessmen:

The West Indian and Canadian Negro professionals and businessmen are considered by lower class immigrants as individuals who have not kept faith with their colored brothers. The lower class immigrants say that the professionals and businessmen are the people who have the necessary skills, abilities and contacts to make any concentrated effort in the field of civil rights and education successful. Lower class West Indians may have professional friends, but this friendship is seldom

consummated in public. As a porter who belongs to a lower class association stated:

> I have a friend, West Indian, who is a successful accountant. I have been to his home many times. Whenever I ask him for a donation of $10 or $15 for the association he always gives it without any question. We have invited him to our association but he has never come. These people may be good friends in private, but they will not do anything for you or identify themselves with you in public because their prestige is at stake.

Many businessmen and professionals, probably because they are mobile and successful, often deny the existence of discrimination and that it is a problem. This infuriates lower class immigrants and their spokesmen.

> These people who say there is no discrimination here really irritate me. Dr. X always used to say there was no prejudice in Canada and no one could convince him differently. The other week he went to Y for his vacation and was refused hotel accommodation because he was a Negro. He wouldn't admit prejudice because he was a doctor and had a position to uphold. These people tell you if you work hard there are no problems. That is what they say, but we know better.

Lower class immigrants say that the middle class immigrants try to set themselves up as basically better than lower class immigrants. The lower class immigrant, who is faced with discrimination from the larger society, is also forced to deal with what appears to him to be discriminatory practices emanating from within his own ethnic group.

> Those people are a bunch of snobs. They take the attitude that they have arrived because they live in Cote St. Luc. They set themselves up as paragons of virtue and are very selective. They say they are throwing a dance to raise money for scholarships for needy Negro students, and then they become very selective as to whom they invite. All of them have a

> history and it is a snobbish one. I have heard through the grapevine that their men aren't so pure and do plenty of running around; so who are they to take this holier than thou attitude, a bunch of gossips and snobs. They can't be much.

The professionals and businessamen, however, do not view their behaviour patterns as discriminatory, but as the expression of like interests.

> The middle class Negro in this city has nothing to do with the lower class Negro. It is unreasonable for a porter, redcap, or domestic to expect to associate with a doctor or teacher just because they have the same skin color. We don't have anything in common. Is a doctor supposed to stay in the St. Henry district? He has nothing in common with these people. His friends live elsewhere. When he leaves he is criticized for his action. Is he still supposed to hang around Rockhead's and wait for his old buddies to show up?

From the above examples it is evident that the dimension of social class effectively splits the West Indian immigrant group in Montreal.

2. Island of Origin in the West Indies.

The second major social division discernible in the West Indian immigrant group is between immigrants coming from different islands in the West Indies. There appears to be a friendly rivalry between immigrants from different islands. West Indians in Montreal apply stereotypes quite readily to classify other immigrants from islands other than their own. Generally, Jamaicans are conceived of as the "organization men", the planners, and are considered to be somewhat overbearing by immigrants

from other islands. Trinidadians are conceived of as happy-go-lucky people who love music and dance and avoid organization, planning and work. Barbadians are seen as "black englishmen" who are staid, reserved, sensitive about the smallness of their home island, and proud of their long association with England and of the long tradition of higher education and low illiteracy rate of their home island. It is not my task here to investigate the truth or falsity of these stereotypes, but to examine how these are the expression of attitudes which split the West Indian immigrant group. Stories of interisland rivalry are legion. Here are sentiments expressed by respondents on interisland differences:

> All my friends are from Jamaica. Of course, I meet girls from other islands, but we are not really sociable. With Jamaican girls I have more in common; we can talk about things back home, mutual friends, and so on. Jamaicans always like to stick together. We are too advanced and don't care for their way of thinking (other islands). We come from the biggest island and we like to rack those other people about it. (The respondent is a Jamaican nurse).

> Most of my friends are Badjian. We have more in common. We think alike, act alike, and have the same friends back home on the island. I remember going to a Jamaican party, all girls. I couldn't understand a word they were saying. I felt so foolish. I just stood there, smiled, and nodded my head. (The respondent is a Barbadian secretary).

> Jamaicans are very proud that they have a university on their shores. We Barbadians are often teased about our smallness, but our educational system is much better, the best in the West Indies. Jamaicans are narrow proud. One Jamaican girl told me about the smallness of Barbados. I told her the illiteracy

> rate was higher in Jamaica than anywhere else in the West Indies. That put her in her place. She was really furious. (The respondent is a Barbadian stenographer).
>
> I am not very fond of Barbadians; I don't know very much about them. People say that they are not truthful, that they are liars. All my friends are Jamaicans. (The respondent is a Jamaican domestic).
>
> I had a phone call from a police station. A West Indian student had been to a nightclub and gotten into a fight. Maybe he boxed up a girl or something. I went there, and he wasn't even a Jamaican at all; he was a bloody Barbadian. We Jamaicans are always taking the initiative in what there is to be done. We always get things better done than the other islands. (The respondent is a Jamaican clerk).

As the above examples indicate, West Indian immigrants are quite aware of these interisland differences, and the dimension of island of origin also splits the immigrant group into a number of segments.

3. "Oldtimer" and "Newcomer":

The Oldtimers are West Indians who emigrated to Canada in the 1930's and 1940's, and because of discrimination and occupational opportunities available, lived in the downtown area of Montreal where they came into close contact with Canadian Negroes. The Newcomers are West Indians who emigrated to Canada during the 1950's and now in the 1960's. The Newcomers say that the Oldtimers have succumbed to the discriminatory policies of Montreal Whites, and that they are staid, conservative, and content with their lot. The Oldtimers say that the Newcomers are upsetting a situation in equilibrium, a social situation

in which progress in civil rights and immigration is being made. The Newcomers see themselves as being more progressive, and active in the battle to gain for the Negro his rightful position in Canadian Society. The Newcomers also direct much of their attack at the leaders of the traditional Negro "community" in Montreal. For example:

> I think that X is past his peak. He is content with his lot and satisfied with his position. He is too conservative and he isn't doing anything new. He is out off from us socially. Oh, you might see him at some functions, but not many, and he no longer has close connections. Y is also comfortable. There is always that temptation to relax and take it easy. Y has done that. That Z bunch is full of old men with old ideas. They stopped progressing a long time ago. They don't want new blood or new ideas there.

Or the following comment:

> I think that X is a nice old man, but I don't think he can be considered in any other capacity any longer. I think that Y has good intentions, but I do think he has turned into a "yes man" for the white man. He is also oldfashioned. I remember him saying, "The Negro won't shine shoes or make beds anymore; I I don't know what has happened to the Negro anymore." Z is worse than that; Z is trying to forget his past. I have to give him credit for the way he worked himself up, but now he is afraid to look back.

The Oldtimer immigrants and Canadian Negroes who were in positions of power when a Negro community existed in the St. Antoine Street area of the city are beginning to lose their authority. As one Newcomer respondent said:

> I think the leadership of the Negroes in Montreal is shifting to younger more dynamic and more radical men, but I don't know who they are yet. I don't think the older men like X and Y could be considered

> leaders any longer; they are the old school Negroes. They are out of style today just the way they are out of style in the U.S. today.

4. West Indian and Canadian Negro:

In the 1930's and 1940's West Indian immigrants and Canadian Negroes lived side by side in the downtown area of the city. The Canadian Negroes were second generation West Indians, and Negroes from the United States and Nova Scotia. The two groups were limited to the same kind of occupations because of their skin color, jobs like porters, bellhops, trainmen, maids and domestics. Both groups interacted frequently on and off the job, joined the same associations and were quite friendly, except for the occasional West Indian who tried to verbalize his felt superiority. But there was not a great status difference between the two groups. A West Indian student who arrived in Montreal in the early 1940's describes the situation as follows:

> The group of West Indians I hung around with tended to associate with Canadian Negroes. We were quite friendly. There were not many West Indian students in the city at that time. Another thing which helped to cement relations between our two groups was that in 1949 we helped elect the first Negro Carnival Queen in McGill's history. I was her campaign manager and got her the votes she needed. Actually, our group of West Indians sponsored her. This really helped relations between us. At that time we hung around with the Montreal Negro elite. My girlfriend at the time was X's daughter, and he owned or controlled most of Negro Montreal.

Today, the social situation is quite different.

Very many recent immigrants have never met a Canadian Negro, and few of these recent immigrants have Canadian Negro acquaintances or friends. The recent immigrants are mobile; they live all over Montreal. The number of immigrants has increased greatly in the past ten years, and many more job opportunities are now open to Negroes.

The recent immigrants say that the Canadian Negro has done little to improve his status and that he does not utilize the facilities available to him for purposes of advancement. They say the years of discrimination have taken their toll, and that the Canadian Negro now embraces the idea of accommodation. In this sense, the recent immigrant views the Canadian Negro in much the same way as he views the Oldtimer West Indian immigrant. For example:

> We don't have much in common with the Canadian Negro. Unless a person is really race conscious they couldn't identify with the Canadian Negro. When you find a Canadian Negro with education he immediately sets himself up as an authority on everything under the sun.

Or the following comment:

> They don't fight. They have been conditioned to sit and take it. They just try to get by. They are unambitious; they live in slums and they don't try to move out. They don't take advantage of the opportunities that people have for education in this country. They don't know how to dress, which we at least can do properly. They don't try to get ahead. They are content with what they are doing. How many Canadian Negroes do you know going to college? There are not many of them. The West Indian places importance on education and tries to better himself

> in a country where this is possible, but not the Canadian Negro.

Certainly, at the present time, there is little contact, social or otherwise, between Newcomer West Indian immigrants and Canadian Negroes in Montreal.

B. Ideology and Goals of the West Indian Population.

The West Indian population of Montreal divides along the social dimensions presented above. The resulting social categories also hold to and are characterized by certain ideologies and goals. Three major "themes of living" or ideologies are present in the West Indian group. They are (a) the ideology of accommodation, (b) the Activist ideology or the ideology of improving Negro rights, and (c) the ideology of recreation. These three major themes are related to the social divisions presented above in that each theme is held to a greater extent in one of the social categories and not as strongly by the other social categories. These major themes or ideologies are also related to membership in associations in that associations are to a large extent characterized by the ideology which the majority of their members hold, and new members join associations because they are characterized by certain ideologies, and goals, and offer a range of activities which attempt to implement these goals and reinforce the ideologies members hold.

1. The Ideology of Accommodation:

The ideology of accommodation says: we want to adjust to Canadian life. We want to learn to be good Canadians and to take part in the activities that Canadians do. We have made progress and are making progress now; but true progress is a slow process, and we have to use regular channels to accomplish things and trust the framework of democracy within which we live. To become good Canadian citizens we must not stress our West Indian background. Above all, we must move slowly; progress is as much an individual as a group process.

This dominant ideology characterizes middle class and lower class Oldtimer West Indian immigrants. It also characterizes middle class Newcomer West Indian immigrants. The Oldtimer immigrants were influenced greatly by the Canadian Negro group and the discriminatory social situation existing at that time. The middle class Newcomers stress individual achievement and progress more than the Oldtimers do. For example, here is a middle class Oldtimer speaking:

> We don't stress the West Indian end of it as much as the Negro community part. These newcomers try to break away from racial association. They want to identify with a superior element; they think they are now entering the promised land and getting a raise in status..... There are many recent immigrants who don't want to assimilate with the Canadian Negro. The one thing I don't like about the X association is that it accentuates everything West Indian instead of thinking about assimilation which is what they should be doing.

> They are putting forth an effort to preserve West Indianism and not to change. I have maintained that the future of the Negro requires peaceful assimilation and this should be the aim of immigrants. Negroes should also think in terms of the larger Negro community and not about themselves as individuals. This emphasis on West Indianism robs men of certain privileges; it denies them the right of assimilation... We want to integrate.... The West Indian domestics have modern equipment, fine salary, good working conditions; but they don't appreciate this. There is nothing anti-West Indian or anti-Negro here to stop a man from becoming a good citizen. The battle has been fought and won, but they are not satisfied.

The ideology of accommodation among the middle class Newcomers stresses "getting along" with everyone on a more individualistic basis, as for example, the comment of a West Indian professional:

> Most people here tend to disparage the diversity of interest shown as reflected in the various Negro organizations in the community. If anything, it tends to show the various interests and talents of the Negro and stops this stereotyping of the Negro. The various bodies reflect skills and talent and differences in the way he does things. One must not get away from the fact that although a man may be a doctor he may have very little talent or skill in organizing, and does best in his particular field.... I don't think we should try to integrate the Negro community; I think we should maintain our interest groups.

2. The Ideology of Activism:

The ideology of activism says: We are entitled to certain rights immediately. Discrimination in jobs and housing should not exist. It is we who should act and make the necessary moves to effect change and progress; no one will give it to us without a fight. We must force progress, and progress is a group process and act.

This ideology characterizes the lower class West Indian Newcomer immigrants and a few of the middle class West Indian Newcomer immigrants. Take, for example, the comment of a West Indian domestic:

> When I first arrived I used to go to the X to talk and play cards. But I didn't identify with them. I wanted a group which was concerned with West Indian problems, and this wasn't the X (a lower class Canadian Negro and Oldtimer West Indian association). I wanted people who took action, not just talked and explained; a group that would help the situation domestics find themselves in. So I joined the Y association (a lower class Newcomer West Indian association). I know we can only advise and argue with employers, and this is a great weakness; but the group is better than nothing.... Employers who take advantage of ignorant girls have to be educated.... We have to be determined and stand up for our rights. Look at the Z association; I have no use for them; they don't have any policy regarding discrimination. They are just a social group.

Newcomer lower class immigrants like the woman above are certain that the Negro must act to achieve his rights, and that action can be mobilized through associations which exist or should exist for that purpose. Again, take the following statement by a leader of a lower class Newcomer association:

> I am thinking of starting a campaign against X Taxi for their discrimination practices in not hiring Negro drivers. We could try a Negro boycott or we could use publicity. We are too small a group to try an effective boycott. We could try what we used against X Bakery; we could tie up their telephone lines so they couldn't send out drivers to pick up passengers. I am sure I could get a hundred people to participate in this way and just keep calling up X Taxi and tying them up; but first I would have to consult a lawyer and see if they could press charges against me. Even so, they wouldn't give me a long sentence and the

resulting publicity would really hurt them.

3. The Ideology of Recreation:

But West Indians, of all social categories, do not keep their ideologies to themselves. They lead active social lives and seek out other people to talk to and to "let down their hair" to. Associations provide an opportunity for doing this, and we tend to find people with similar ideologies gravitating to the same association. People with an ideology of accommodation gravitate to associations stressing accommodation; people who believe in actively improving Negro rights gravitate to activist associations. People with an ideology of recreation join sports or social clubs, but also join activist or accommodative associations regardless of their ideologies. For an immigrant concerned only with recreation it does not matter whether his group is sponsoring a dance to raise money for a civil rights campaign or just for recreation. He goes to enjoy himself, and this is why he joined the group.

4. Dominant Goals and Associations:

In this study, one way in which the ideologies, West Indian immigrants hold, are implemented is through the immigrant associations which form the basis of this study. These associations, as social groups, are characterized by certain dominant goals which are, manifestly,

the reasons for which the associations exist. Gordon and Babchuck have distinguished associations, in terms of their objectives or goals, as Instrumental or Expressive. This dichotomy will be adopted here because the distinction between Instrumental and Expressive goals, on the group level, is analogous in many ways to the distinction between Activist and Accommodative ideologies distinguished in the West Indian population as a whole.

This means that the ideologies of associations can be implemented either through Instrumental goals or Expressive goals. Associations can focus on activities directed outside the group itself which tend directly to implement the ideology dominant in the group. The objective here is to change society in some way in the present or in the future for the benefit of the immigrant population as a whole. The goals of such associations are Instrumental goals. Or the group forming the association can concentrate on the organized flow of gratification to group members in the present, while leaving the implementation of the ideology to take care of itself in the future. Here the emphasis is on ingroup activities and face-to-face interaction. Such groups have Expressive goals.[1] This is not to say that a group with Instrumental goals meets no expressive needs of its members, but its main focus is on instrumental activities like battling discrimination or devising ways to permit the Negro to be economically

independent of Whites. Groups with Expressive goals may also be subdivided into those which will give active help to individuals though taking no action as a group, and those which do not stress any instrumental activities. I shall term the first active-expressive groups and the latter inactive-expressive groups.

In Montreal, West Indian lower class Newcomer associations and their members have instrumental goals; lower class Oldtimer associations and their members, and middle class associations, both Oldtimer and Newcomer, hold expressive goals.

In the following chapters we will see how different social categories, each with its characteristic dominant ideology, and on the group level its characteristic dominant goal, distribute themselves in the West Indian associations in Montreal, and how the resulting distribution makes for stability or strain within and between associations.

Footnotes to Chapter Three

1. C. W. Gordon and N. Babchuck, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, 24(1959), 25.

Chapter Four: Formal Associations in Montreal.

In this chapter the major associations investigated in the study will be described. There are some twenty-four Negro associations in Montreal. For intensive study I chose those associations whose membership was completely West Indian or which had a high proportion of West Indians. I tried to limit the study to associations composed mainly of Newcomer immigrants.* Ten associations were chosen for detailed study. These include associations characterized by both accommodative and activist ideologies, and expressive and instrumental goals. The associations also contain, in terms of membership, different combinations of the social dimensions I elicited earlier.** In terms of their activities, the associations are representative of Negro associations in Montreal, ranging from social clubs, athletic clubs, to civil rights groups.

* While the associations chosen for detailed study do not constitute a random sample of West Indian and Negro associations in Montreal, a number of other associations, consisting mainly of Oldtimer West Indians and Canadian Negroes, were examined briefly at the outset of the study. Information on the social class composition of these associations was obtained and is used in a discussion of social mobility in chapter 5 (See Tables 5,6,8).

** Where most rank-and-file members are employed in lower class occupations, I term the association a lower class association; where rank-and-file members have middle class occupations, I term the association a middle class one.

Each association is presented separately; and each description gives the background of the association, organisational structure, activities. Each association is characterized in terms of the social categories presented earlier, and in terms of ideology and goals; and the areas of strain in each association are presented and related to the divisions in the West Indian population and their respective ideologies and goals.

A. Descriptions of Associations.

1. The "Civil Rights" Association:

This association was founded about 1953 by a group of West Indian immigrants to Canada who had difficulty in sponsoring their relatives as landed immigrants to Canada. Its stated goals at this time were to help West Indian immigrants or their relatives to come to Canada or to help them in sponsoring their relatives or friends into Canada. Their object was to intercede with the Department of Citizenship and Immigration on behalf of West Indian immigrants, and to help these immigrants in dealing with immigration officials by filling out the necessary forms and by telling them who to go to in the Department of Immigration. In other words, they explained the bureaucratic channels to the immigrants. The members of the association felt there was a very definite need for such an association in Montreal. Since 1960 it has attempted

to expand its sphere of interest to include the civil rights field by acting as a pressure group in cases of job and occupation discrimination, and it has as a major objective the passage of legislation in Quebec dealing with fair employment practices and accommodation. It has also maintained its interest in immigration problems; this problem was magnified with the influx of domestics from 1955 on. The association has interceded with employers of domestics where the latter were illtreated in terms of poor food, accommodation, and non-payment of wages.

Officially, the association welcomes all persons who are interested in immigrant problems and in furthering the cause of civil rights in Quebec. In actuality, membership is restricted to Negroes, West Indians and Canadian Negroes. The association has never had a white member, although theoretically this is a possibility. Potential members are screened for possible subversive, really communist, affiliations. Acceptance of a new member must be ratified by the Board of Directors of the association.

In terms of occupation, the membership of the association is lower class, consisting mainly of domestics, porters, and railroad men. The association is quoted as having fifty to seventy-five members, no one is certain. Of these, about five are middle class individuals. Association leaders feel that about five or six of their

members are Canadian Negroes; the rest are West Indian. The great majority of the West Indians are from Jamaica. About two-thirds of the membership is female; this is a result of the large number of domestics in the association. The association has both Oldtimer and Newcomer immigrants; but today most members are Newcomers. Until recently, control of the association was vested in the Oldtimer immigrants, but in the past year or so, the Newcomer immigrants are beginning to wrest control of the association.

The association has four executive positions: president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, and one important appointive position, that of the liaison officer. The liaison officer, an unsalaried position, is appointed by the president and is responsible for maintaining contact with the Department of Immigration, immigrants in need of aid, and other civil rights organizations. There is a Board of Directors which consists of the elected executive plus three members elected from the rank-and-file of the association. The liaison officer and the past president are also members of the Board of Directors. While the president has general supervisory powers in the association, the Board of Directors has full power and authority to administer and manage the business and affairs of the association, and to appoint all committees. In practice, this means that the president must receive permission from the Board for any

plans he wishes to implement, and the Board can veto any of these. Legitimation of the president's authority is not derived solely from his position, but is dependent on the Board and partly on the rank-and-file of the association.

Sanctions can be applied to individual members through the Board which can expel members for conduct detrimental to the association. This is not amplified any further in the constitution of the association, but is left to the discretion of the Board. In practice, deviance is handled in informal ways through gossip and long talks. Regular meetings, involving discussion and events like speakers and movies are held once monthly on the premises of the "Negro" church. Deviant behaviour, like non-attendance, is not really punished in any way; in fact, non-attendance is one of the major problems in the association.* At one time only ten or fifteen people used to come to meetings; now forty or fifty show up. Meetings are open to all who wish to attend, members and non-members alike; and all are free to voice their opinions during a meeting.

The membership of this association consists mainly of lower class Newcomer immigrants from Jamaica.

* Probably the hard core of activist and instrumental-oriented "believers" come to meetings, while those members whose interests lie in the latent expressive goals of the association remain absent from meetings and attend parties and dances given by the association.

The association has some Oldtimer lower class immigrants and a few Newcomer middle class immigrants. The association is characterized by an activist ideology and instrumental goals.

Two major areas of strain are evident in the association, and both exhibit conflict along our social dimensions. The first of these is conflict over goals between middle class leaders and lower class leaders, and between middle class leaders and lower class rank-and-file members. The effect of this conflict on the association will be examined in chapter six. The other area of strain is between Newcomer leaders and Oldtimer leaders, also in terms of goals and how they should be implemented and in terms of who will control the association. A third area of strain which finds some expression is conflict between members coming from different islands. But this is usually masked by the social class and Newcomer-Oldtimer splits in the association. These areas of strain can also be interpreted as conflict between activist instrumental oriented members and accommodative expressive oriented members.

2. The "Ethnic" Association:

This association was founded in 1962. It developed from the break-up of the West Indies Federation. Before the Federation was dissolved a study group existed in Montreal with the aim of forming a West Indian association

in Montreal to aid immigrants when they arrived. When the Federation dissolved, one of the members of this study group decided to form his own association. The association is concerned with maintaining social and emotional ties with one particular West Indian island, and with getting immigrants from this island to accommodate to Canadian life. In other words to get members to participate in activities like blood drives, raising money for charity, participating in a choir which would go round to various hospitals and sing to patients, and so on. These activities, the association believes, will help people to integrate into the Canadian way of life, and "if Canadians see us doing good works, they will accept us more readily."

Membership in the association is limited to landed immigrants from one of the larger West Indian islands of the now defunct West Indies Federation. Students from this island are limited to second-class membership in the association, which means that they cannot be elected to any executive posts. Whites are not eligible for membership in the association.

In terms of occupation, the membership of the association is lower class; about one-half or more of the total membership of 50 are domestics, or have been in the immediate past. Other members include nursing assistants, skilled workers, and a few middle class members. Again,

about two-thirds of the membership is female, again due to the large number of domestics. The great majority of members are Newcomer immigrants.

The association has four elected positions: president, first vice-president, second vice-president, and secretary-treasurer; these, together with two members elected from the rank-and-file of the association, constitute the Managing Board which is responsible for the running of the association. The Board has the authority to expel members because of detrimental behavior, subject to ratification by the general membership. To my knowledge this has been done twice within the past year.

Meetings of the association are held once monthly in the Negro Centre in the heart of the "traditional Negro" living area in downtown Montreal. Most meetings discuss motions from the floor, events that have occurred in the home island, and sometimes special speakers are brought in to talk about good citizenship and immigration problems. Again, a major problem is non-attendance. Executive members can be suspended from the association for missing three meetings in a row, but no sanctions can be brought to bear on rank-and-file members for similar actions. Attendance seems to hover around twenty or thirty, not all members, since anyone can come to a meeting and speak his piece. On one rainy night, only seven people came to a regular

meeting which had to be cancelled because of the small turn-out. Some members come for the whole meeting, while others arrive towards the end of a meeting to put in an appearance, adn still others leave early.

The membership of this association consists mainly of lower class Newcomer immigrants, all from one West Indian island, and a few middle class Newcomer immigrants from this island. The association is characterized by an ideology of accommodation and by active-expressive goals.

There are no major areas of social strain in this association. Possibilities of incipient class conflict between middle class leaders and lower class members has been effectively masked by the kind of leadership exhibited. This will be further discussed in chapter six.

3. The "Negro" Church:

The Negro Church commonly called the "Colored Church" is an affiliated of the United Church of Canada, and is located in the heart of the traditional Negro living area in Montreal. It has an average attendance of about 300 people, 60% female and 40% male. Of these, some 20% are West Indian. These are Oldtimer immigrants. Very few of the Newcomer immigrants attend this church. This is because of the different denominations that Newcomers belong to, Anglican, Baptist, and Catholic. Also, the church, and its members have fostered a stance of accommodation

towards Montreal white society which Newcomer immigrants take as a sign of "the weakness of Oldtimer immigrants and Canadian Negroes." Many lower class Newcomer immigrants also resent a "colored" church which emphasizes their negritude and lack of geographical and social mobility. Since this study is primarily an examination of associations of Newcomers, this association is peripheral to the study; but it is of interest because it is a "colored church", the only one of its kind in the city, and it caters to Canadian Negroes from Montreal and Nova Scotia and Oldtimer West Indian immigrants. By contrast the more recent immigrants are scattered throughout many of the city's churches depending on their denominational affiliation. The Minister of the church is a West Indian from Antigua, but he has been in Canada for fifty years. The church has two women's auxiliaries, both headed by Canadian Negroes, which organize activities to raise funds for the church. The church also has a youth group affiliated with it which currently has twelve active members, ten of whom are Nova Scotian Negroes, one is Barbadian, and one is Jamaican. The Barbadian is the president of the group, and he has been in Canada for many years; he is an Oldtimer. At one time the group had more West Indian members, but they dropped out because of the dominance of the Nova Scotians in the group. This Nova Scotian dominance has also hindered

attempts to recruit Newcomer West Indians. What is true for this group is also true for the church as a whole, as outlined above.

The membership of this church consists of lower class Oldtimer immigrants and Canadian Negroes. It is characterized by an ideology of accommodation and by inactive-expressive goals. It is also a good example of the kind of association which Canadian Negroes and Oldtimer West Indians supported in great numbers when the ideology of accommodation was the norm for all Negro groups, and when discrimination made social and geographical mobility impossible. The church was an expressive haven then; today many West Indians regard church-going as just another activity to attend, and many Newcomer immigrants attend church infrequently.

No major areas of strain are discernable in this association at present.

4. The Negro Centre:

The Negro Centre was founded in 1927 as an association to alleviate social and economic conditions among Negroes of Montreal and to promote the advancement of the "race". Among the founding members was the present Minister of the Negro Church and members of his congregation. Today the association is affiliated with the Red Feather Agencies and has Canadian Negro, West Indian, and

White members. Membership in the association is open to all Negroes in Montreal and to Whites living in the downtown area of the city where the Centre is located. The aims of the Centre, as a social agency, are to educate and advance its members in the principles of good citizenship, to provide other activities involving child welfare, casework, groupwork, and to sponsor many and diverse clubs and activities for young and old, having both social and educational purposes.

The class level of the Centre is difficult to analyze. The White members who use the Centre are lower class persons. The Canadian Negroes and West Indians who live in the downtown area of the city are also lower class people in the main. But the Centre is utilized by Canadian Negroes and West Indians who reside outside the downtown area and are middle class persons. While the total membership of the Centre has decreased in the past five years, and in 1962 stood at 904, the number of Whites using the Centre has increased, and in 1962 formed some 35% of the membership of the Centre. In addition the number of Negroes using the Centre has decreased, and the Negroes who do use the Centre reside mainly in the downtown area of the city. Those Negroes, who reside outside the downtown area and use the Centre, are mainly youngsters and teenagers whose parents moved uptown and to the suburbs.

Adult Negro participation, of those living uptown has decreased. As I demonstrated in chapter 2, West Indians live mainly outside the downtown area of the city. In terms of adult members this leaves the Centre catering mainly to lower class Whites, Canadian Negroes, and mainly Oldtimer West Indian immigrants who reside in the downtown area. On this basis I classify the Centre as a lower class association even though it does have middle class West Indian members. About one-third of its Board of Directors is West Indian, and it sponsors a club, composed mainly of middle class West Indian women. The Director of the Centre is a Canadian Negro.

The Negro Centre has many important expressive components, like social clubs, an urban day camp, athletic teams, and it sees itself as an agency which provides, "facilities and leadership whereby educational and social opportunities are made available to the community it serves and to encourage a better understanding between races." As the Director of the Centre states:

> Our role is one of broad training; we use available resources for educational purposes; we create learning experiences in which the people we serve act maturely and responsibly in the exercise of becoming good citizens. If we have to use social activities to achieve these goals, then we use them.

This association consists mainly, in adult terms, of lower class Oldtimer immigrants, lower class Canadian Negroes, and lower class Whites. It is characterized by

an ideology of accommodation and active-expressive goals. No major areas of strain are evident.

5. The Pioneer Girls:

This group of women, now defunct, was sponsored by the Negro Centre, and at one time supported by a two year grant from the Federal Government. It began informally with the beginning of the Domestic Plan in 1955. At this time the Negro Centre served as one of the recreational centres for domestics on their days off from work. They would congregate at the Centre to talk, write letters or cook West Indian meals. The Centre felt that it should try to accomplish something more substantial and more in keeping with the philosophy of the Centre. In 1957-1958 the Centre received federal aid to set up an education program for the domestics. A special group worker was hired to formalize the group and carry out the education program. The group continued to exist until 1960 when it disintegrated because of the lack of interest the domestics displayed towards the group and its program. Many of the women began attending the YWCA. At the Centre, the women were exposed to a program of adult education designed to "help the domestics adjust to Canada." A well-adjusted domestic, in the words of the group worker, "is a girl who does her job as a domestic well, and who has good relations with her employer, and doesn't get into trouble." The

women were taught the geography and history of Canada; they were told what kind of clothes to wear against the frigid climate; they were shown organizations like Eaton's, Steinberg's, and the Airport where they might find jobs after their year of domestic service was completed. Talks on sex, morals, and personal sanitation were also held. These were of the roundtable discussion variety. It seems that the group worker expected women with problems like pregnancy to discuss their predicament in front of a group of their peers and the group worker. Personal discussions with the group worker on these problems were not encouraged.

All the women were domestics (in Montreal) and they came primarily from Jamaica, with Trinidad, St. Vincent and Barbados in that order.

Meetings were held once weekly at the Centre; the first hour would consist of a business session, followed by a film, speaker or social. There were three elected positions: president, secretary, and treasurer; but it was the group worker who organized the programs, appointed committees, chaired the meetings, and handled problems of deviance. This was by design; the group worker affected a very authoritarian stance regarding the women; she saw this as the only way to convey knowledge to the women without becoming bogged down in bickering and wasting time. This, she felt, would have happened if a more democratic approach had been

taken on her part. As a consequence of this authoritarianism and centralization of authority little in the way of internal organization developed in the association. Deviant behavior like arriving late at meetings, or talking out of turn at meetings, was punished with a system of fines, but offenders rarely paid; and rather than antagonize the membership the system was dropped. At the beginning of the association, meetings had an average attendance of some 50 women; before the association had dissolved attendance had dropped to six or seven women on a meeting night.

This was an association of lower class Newcomer immigrants from a number of different islands in the West Indies. It was characterized by an ideology of accommodation and active-expressive goals. A number of major strains were evident. Island of origin differences split the association into a number of small groups. For example:

> In the Pioneer Girls we would have girls from all islands on a committee, and not too many members from one island. In this way no one island could dominate the committee. One of our few committees that worked well came down to four girls who did all the work. They were all from St. Vincent. They sort of pushed the other members of the committee off by just planning without them and not consulting them.

Another area of strain was the development of incipient class conflict between those women who had been domestics in the West Indies and women who had been trained in middle

class, usually white collar occupations. This also limited interaction and cooperation between the women. Possibly the most serious area of strain in the association was the incongruity between ideology and goals held by the leader (and the Centre in back of her) and those held by members. Women holding to an activist ideology did not agree with the Centre's definition of the "well-adjusted domestic" and joined associations like the "civil rights" group where they could express their resentments to an instrumentally-oriented audience. Other women holding to an ideology of recreation and inactive expressive goals joined associations like the YWCA where they could participate in programs of swimming, badminton, gymnastics, and pottery-making, and a more comprehensive program of socials and dances. These women did not want lectures on their one day off a week, but recreation. The three major strains outlined above resulted in the disintegration of the association.

6. The "College Graduate" Association:

This association consists of male and female Negro university graduates who are now resident in Montreal, or who were born here. Membership is limited to university graduates, and is by invitation only. Prospective members are sponsored and a majority vote wins. The association has provisions for White members in an associate capacity. There are at present fifteen members in the association,

two of whom are West Indian; the rest are Canadian Negroes. The association was founded in 1953. The association is essentially a "friendship and social group", but it also raises money for two or three scholarships which are given yearly to Negro college students. It has also attempted to give some vocational guidance to aspiring Negro high school students.

The association meets once monthly. Meetings are held in members' homes using the rotation system. The member who is host supplies the food and drink. Meetings consist of a business session followed by a discussion on topics of common interest. The elected positions are president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. The current president is a West Indian Oldtimer.

The association consists of middle class Oldtimer West Indian immigrants and middle class Canadian Negroes. It is characterized by an ideology of accommodation and active-expressive goals. No major areas of strain are evident.

7. The Club 20:

This association was founded in 1953. It has 20 members, all women. One of the members is a first generation West Indian. This association is a social club. It also raises and contributes money to worthy charities. Speakers are invited to meetings which are held once monthly

in rotation at members' homes. New members are sponsored and voted on. The membership limit of the association is 20. As one member stated: "The most important criterion we look for in members is congeniality; after all, we are a social club and congeniality is necessary. Our meetings are gabfests, with some cardplaying." The association has an executive of four: president, secretary, treasurer, and program chairman. The husbands of members are professionals, businessmen, and a labor leader. The association has two white members.

The association consists of middle class Canadian Negroes, whites, and a West Indian. It is characterized by an ideology of accommodation and inactive-expressive goals. No major areas of strain are evident.

8. The "Cricket Club":

The Cricket Club has been in existence for over fifty years. It is open to any men, Negro or White, who wish to join. At present it has twenty-five members, all of whom are West Indian. Of these twenty-five, seventeen are from Barbados. The members are full-time students, part-time students, and working men. The association emphasizes that it is a sports club, nothing more. As one member commented:

> This is a sports club, nothing more. There is no other reason for its existence. We West Indians are individualists; after the season is over next week I might not

> see any of the other players until next May when we start playing again.

Meetings are held once monthly in a Canadian Legion Hall. The team also practices once weekly during the season. Executive positions are president, secretary, treasurer, and a skipper and vice-skipper for the A division team and for the B division team; there is also a "Minister without portfolio". Of the West Indians in the above eight positions, seven are from Barbados and one from Jamaica. There are also three players from Antigua and one from Montserrat in the Association. Two dances are held yearly, but for fund-raising purposes; in this case to buy expensive equipment for the club.

This association consists of Middle class West Indians who are mainly Newcomers and mainly from Barbados. It is characterized by an ideology of accommodation and inactive-expressive goals. No major areas of strain are evident.

9. The "Ebony Girls":

This association is under the sponsorship of the Negro Centre and it uses the facilities of the Centre for meetings. The association has been in existence since about 1949, and has a maximum membership of twenty girls. It was originally organized by Canadian Negro girls of West Indian descent to provide friends and activities for girls from the West Indies. Whenever a vacancy occurred a special

effort was made to fill it with a West Indian girl. Today there are sixteen girls in the club, twelve of whom are from the West Indies. The other four are Canadian Negroes. Of the West Indians, nine are from Barbados, with others from Jamaica, Haiti, and Dominica. Most of the West Indians originally came to Canada on the Domestic Plan, but today none of them are domestics; they are secretaries, stenographers, a dress designer, students, and clerks.

There are two elected positions, president and secretary-treasurer; a group worker, appointed by the Centre, has general supervisory and advisory powers and sits in on Club meetings. There is one business and one social meeting per month. The social meeting might consist of a social, a discussion, or a film and fashion show to which other womens clubs are invited. The association is essentially a friendship club which goes bowling, has dances, picnics, dinners and bus trips to the Laurentians. It also raises money for charity through dances, and rummage sales. The club also has adopted a little girl from Jamaica and pays for her clothes, food, shelter and education.

Prospective members are sponsored into the club, and a majority vote decides. In the past year, of three applicants, one was rejected on "moral grounds". One of the biggest complaints of the girls is, they say, the

"general lack of eligible men." One girl has suggested that the club become coeducational. Another girl said she was "fed up with going out just with a bunch of women." The group worker feels the situation is acute and that the girls are losing interest in their clubwork and educational activities. The situation seems to be reflected in attendance at business meetings of the club. In the past year an average of seven girls have turned out once a month, less than half of the total membership.

This association consists of middle class West Indian Newcomer immigrants mainly from Barbados and middle class Canadian Negroes. It is characterized by an ideology of accommodation and active-expressive goals. In terms of our social dimensions, no major areas of strain are evident.

10. The "Student Society":

This association is composed of West Indian students currently attending a Montreal university. Minutes of the association go back to 1952, but one informant remembers the association in 1946. At that time it was composed of white West Indian students, but today it is a negro West Indian student association.

The association sponsors dances, socials, discussions, debates, and study groups with topics concerning political, economic, and social situations in the West Indies.

In 1962-1963 the association had a paid membership of fifty-five, and attendance at meetings averaged about thirty people. In that year there were approximately 180 West Indian students at the university with some 40% of them coming from Jamaica and 34% from Trinidad. Also, some 75% of the West Indian students at the university were male, and some 25% female.

General meetings of the association are infrequent, being held two to four times during the school year. Attempts to interest students in activities other than social ones, have been generally unsuccessful. The executive positions are as follows: president, vice-president, treasurer, internal secretary, external secretary, publicity chairman, coordinator of activities, and editor or the associations's magazine. In 1962-1963 70% of these positions were filled by Jamaican students, and in 1963-1964 the percentage was the same. While Jamaicans are the largest West Indian group at the university, 34% of the students are from Trinidad, and they are underrepresented in the association and on the executive.

This association consists of middle class West Indian, mainly Jamaican, Newcomers. It is characterized by an ideology of accommodation and by inactive-expressive goals. The major area of strain in the association occurs along the island of origin social dimension, between

Jamaicans and Trinidadians, the two largest groups. For example:

> There was a lot of conflict between the Jamaicans and the Trinidadians, especially over who would be elected to offices with the Trinidadians worrying about the society turning into a Jamaican group. They complained that the society was a "Jamaican club" and run "for Jamaicans by Jamaicans." But we are the best organized island (the respondent is a Jamaican student). I will give you an illustration. The Rotarians annually put on a tea to entertain all the foreign students at the university, and they asked the society to be in charge of entertainment. X was the social convenor at the time. She is Jamaican. Very few of the West Indian students wanted to help her with the program. X brought in some of her Jamaican friends from outside the university to help her with the program. When it looked like the program was going to be a success, everybody else came crowding around wanting to take part. They complained that it was a Jamaican dance and that the Jamaicans were taking over and crowding everyone else out. The Jamaicans organize and the Trinidadians come to dance.

11. The "Education Committee":

Although in formal terms this group is not properly an association, it is included here because of the role it is attempting to define for itself with regard to Negro associations in Montreal. The Committee is affiliated with the Negro Centre, and it has West Indian, Canadian Negro and White members, consisting of professionals and businessmen. It has organized a number of educational programs for Negroes in Montreal like panel discussions, study groups, and lectures. Events like Citizenship Day, Brotherhood Week, and the West Indies Federation have also been celebrated. At present the Committee is tackling the problem of school dropouts in the traditional Negro section

of the city. The chairman of the Committee is presently a West Indian; and there is one other West Indian on the Committee.

Of special interest though, is the attempt of the Committee to coordinate the different Negro associations in Montreal on subjects like discrimination. The Committee called a meeting in May 1963 to discuss this and other matters. Twenty-four Negro associations were invited to attend, and representatives of thirteen associations did make an appearance. The results of this conference will be presented later in the study.

B. Conclusions

A number of facts become evident from the above description of associations:

(1) West Indian immigrants tend to join associations which are congruent with the ascribed characteristics of the immigrants, namely social class, Newcomer-Oldtimer, island of origin, West Indian-Canadian Negro. Each of these social dimensions implies a dominant ideology and dominant goals, and immigrants join associations congruent with their dominant held ideology and goals.

(2) As Table 1 indicates, all the associations tend towards homogeneity in terms of the four social dimensions presented.

(3) If complete homogeneity does not exist in terms of any one social dimension or all social dimensions within an

association, areas of strain appear within the association, and these are expressed in terms of the existing social split within the association. The consequences of a split between leaders and followers in terms of a given social dimension will be discussed in chapter six.

(4) There are no middle class Newcomer or Oldtimer Activist instrumental associations, only lower class ones composed of Newcomer immigrants. It is the lower class Newcomer who is unsatisfied with discrimination in jobs, housing, and immigration. This dissatisfaction is expressed through their associations. Lower class accommodative expressive associations cater to lower class immigrants with an ideology of recreation and to lower class Oldtimers who are accommodative and expressive in their orientation. The middle class associations have an ideology of accommodation and expressive goals. Their members are the immigrants who "made good", are socially mobile, minimize discrimination and see no reason for group action when the intelligent educated Negro can "make good" by himself.

Table 1: Degree of Homogeneity in Negro Associations*

Association	Social Dimension			
	Middle Class Lower Class	Oldtimer Newcomer	West Indian Canadian Negro	Island of** origin
Civil Rights	High	High	High	Medium
Ethnic	High	High	High	High
Negro Church	High	High	Medium	Not Applicable
Negro Centre	Medium	Medium	Medium	Not Applicable
Pioneer Girls	High	High	High	Medium
College Graduate	High	High	High	Not Applicable
Club 20	High	High	High	Not Applicable
Cricket Club	High	High	High	High
Ebony Girls	High	High	High	Not Applicable
Student Society	High	High	High	Medium

* If 75% and over of the membership of an association belonged to one or another category of a social dimension (i.e., middle class-lower class) the association was said to have high homogeneity on that social dimension. If 0 - 75% of the membership of an association belonged to one or another category of a social dimension the association was said to have medium homogeneity.

** This social dimension applies only to those associations consisting completely or almost completely of West Indians. The other associations are classified as Not Applicable on this dimension.

Chapter Five: The Activities of Associations

Up to this point in the study we have discussed immigrants speaking about themselves, about other immigrants, and about the values and goals that they hold. In this chapter I want to examine what the associations of these immigrants actually do, in other words, the activities the associations perform. Two kinds of activities are distinguished here; firstly there are the activities which express the goals that characterize associations, or which are strongly influenced by the ideology and goals of associations. Other "activities", referred to here as "organizational activities" are expressions of the formal structure of associations.

A. Activities as Expressions of Goals of Associations.

All the activities discussed here are performed by lower class associations with either instrumental goals or active-expressive goals.

1. Material Benefits:

Lower class instrumental or active-expressive associations play an important role in finding jobs for immigrants. When the Pioneer Girls still existed, the Negro Centre was successful in placing girls in various organizations in the city. As the Director of the Centre stated:

> We had an agreement with X. They were to take on a number of ex-domestics. We recommended the girls and carefully screened the applicants in terms of character, morals, ability, and perseverance. We wanted to send them good examples, not social problems. During their year and afterwards these girls wanted to know what other forms of work were open to them. The Department of Labor didn't tell them. The Department of Labor wanted to keep them in the domestic service. So, these girls came and told me the problem. I had to make a little trip to Ottawa to see these people in Labor and explain to them that these girls could do anything they wanted to after their year was up; and that there was no natural law that said a girl should stay a domestic because her skin was darker. Well, they changed their tune and cooperated with us on this matter.

The Ethnic association has also been able to obtain jobs for some of its members through the Negro Centre. For example:

> X will come to us and ask us if we have anyone who can fill certain jobs, from secretarial work to chauffeurs. Members will come to Y (the president) and ask him if he can find them jobs. Job-filling isn't our prime function, but the association is a communications centre, a pool from which labor can be drawn. Someone needs a job; they tell their friends, and the association is mentioned to them.

Lower class instrumental or active-expressive associations have also helped immigrants in their dealings with the Department of Immigration. These associations include the Civil Rights association and the Negro Centre. The following are a number of cases which illustrate immigration problems and the role of these associations:

> This case involves illegal immigration. A West Indian entered Canada by stowing away on a freighter 30 years ago. For the last 20 years he has been

> employed by the same company. This man wanted to return home to see his old mother before she died, but he could not fill out the proper exit papers. He came to see the association. They went to see the Department of Immigration. Immigration said they were sympathetic but that they could not guarantee that the man would be allowed back into Canada because of his illegal entry. The man was allowed to return as a landed immigrant.

A somewhat different case involved a West Indian woman who was born in Canada:

> This woman went to live in the West Indies, and was married there. She later decided to return and live in Canada. She then wanted to bring her husband and children into the country. The Department of Immigration said this was not possible and that if she wanted to remain with her family she would have to return to the West Indies. She came to see a representative of the association, who spoke with the Immigration and obtained permission for the woman to bring her family to Canada.

These same associations also aid immigrants in problems arising from the work situation. The Negro Centre handled a case where a domestic was not paid by her employer who threw her out. The Centre called the employer and threatened legal action. The domestic was paid the salary owing her. The Centre also helps individuals who are discriminated against in seeking jobs. One West Indian called up "X Plumbing and Heating" for a job and was refused because he was Negro. The Centre together with an executive of Neighbourhood House called up this company to inquire into the circumstances. They were told, "We don't want any darkies here". A tape was made of the conversation, and the case will go to court

soon. Cases of this sort are also handled by the Civil Rights association, as the following example illustrates:*

> A domestic was burned when hot water spilled on her. Her employer claimed she was negligent and at fault and he refused to pay her wages while she was unable to work. He also did not want to give her room and board for her recuperative period. The girl did not feel she had been negligent, it was simply an accident. She took her problem to the association and they spoke to her employer and asked him to care for the girl. He refused. The association said they were prepared to hire lawyers for the girl and press her claims in court. The employer relented, and an amicable settlement was reached which included the cost of medical care for the injured girl.

These associations also emphasize that they operate strictly within the law, and that they screen people who come to them for aid. For example:

> This man seemed to have a legitimate case, but what he told us was false. He turned out to be just one of those smart guys. He was originally from Barbados, and he signed a contract as a farm worker in the U.S. But he jumped his contract and came to Montreal. Immigration caught up with him and he was deported home. He again came to Canada, but they were not going to let him stay. He brought his problem to us. We could not and would not do anything for him. We do not do anything contrary to the law. We now have status and respect in Immigration.

One of the greatest concerns of lower class instrumental associations is what is called "the economic emancipation of the Negro". What they want is some sort

* It is interesting to note that these associations do not formally advertise their services in any way. Their general attitude is, "If the girls want to find us they can come to us; we don't have to look for them." Word of mouth and occasional press and radio publicity seem to be the important media of advertisement and communication.

of organization which will make money for the lower class Negro and West Indian. This organization has plans to make these people self-sufficient; a plan which would not force them to rely on Whites (whom they mistrust) for their jobs; a plan which would train them in skilled occupations without bias; a plan which would allow them to invest money and to have these investments in their later years when their earning powers had diminished. Many West Indian and Canadian Negroes regard plans like these as pipe-dreams; they have been "taken" so many times that they no longer believe such emancipation is possible. They place the blame for this, not on the Whites, but on the avarice and cupidity of their fellow Negroes. As an Oldtimer informant stated:

> I have seen many associations sprout and die in the Negro community. These were usually savings associations of a type. People would invest in something through a middleman who would abscond with the funds; or a club would be formed and the treasurer would abscond with the funds. The real losers were the people of the Negro community. Most of these societies were formed around one or two strong individuals; and when these people died, moved, or absconded, the society would collapse.

Nevertheless, the lower class instrumental associations keep trying to implement various schemes with economic emancipation in mind because this is one of the dreams of lower class West Indians and Canadian Negroes in Montreal. At present, an Oldtimer association is thinking of opening a cooperative store in the downtown area of the city.

This possibility has been disparaged by other West Indians, Newcomers; for example:

> I don't think they will get anywhere; they think small, in terms of St. Antoine Street and Negro patronage. Negroes are spread all over Montreal and if Steinberg's gives them a better deal they will buy there. I don't think Negro patronage will work any more in this city.

A more comprehensive program was presented in 1963 by the Civil Rights association and a non-member, a White, the Secretary to the Assistant Vice-president of Finance of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The following objectives were to be achieved if the plan was implemented:

"(1) To show others that we have the desire and will to help ourselves.

(2) Show others that we have the means to help ourselves.

(3) Provide high quality on-the-job training for semi-skilled and unskilled members of the community.

(4) Assist in the dispersal of individual members throughout society as a whole.

(5) Provide an atmosphere in which those members who are least equipped to face the problems of day-to-day living can acquire confidence and self-respect.

(6) Provide a savings medium for many who would not otherwise put money aside."

These objectives were to be achieved with the following plan:

"(1) A company should be incorporated called "Consolidated Resources Inc".

(2) As many members of the community as possible will buy stock in it. In addition, some will buy bonds which the corporation would issue.

(3) The Board of Directors will consist of leaders in the community.

(4) Once the endeavour has achieved a bank balance, a dry cleaning establishment will be purchased, and following this, an automobile repair garage. The community will be asked to support these endeavours so there should be no question of profitability, they will make money.

(5) Once the enterprise is shown to be profitable, and the management has gained sufficient experience, the assistance of benevolent trusts, foundations, philanthropists and trust funds at large will be asked to subscribe for bonds providing the bulk of cash requirements for future expansion."

According to the man who originated the above plan, Mr. X, the Board of Directors must be composed of prominent members of the Negro group in Montreal in order to give the proposed corporation an aura of respectability and so attract trust and philanthropic money. This was a necessity if the corporation was to be founded. Accordingly, the Civil Rights association sent invitations to twenty-seven prominent middle class West Indian and

Canadian Negroes in Montreal to attend a meeting at which time Mr. X would present his proposal. Only three of the invited people turned out for the meeting. One of these was the pastor of the Negro Church, and another was a prominent local union leader. Both these people, because of their occupations, have close working ties with members of the lower class Negro grouping. Both men are Oldtimer West Indians.

In view of the above, Mr. X was forced to revise his goals and now speaks in terms of operating a laundry truck rather than owning a laundry, which brought the following remark from an association member:

> This isn't good; we don't have to pick up other people's dirty laundry any more. There are also too many other people in the laundry business who have all the districts sewn up tight. If we could get a gas station, that would be fine, but what location would they give a Negro gas station? If all we did was operate a laundry truck for white laundries we would be at their mercy. Whenever they decided they didn't want us they could put the squeeze on us and we would be through. We need something where we could have some control over our own affairs and over the future.

Now that the certainty of success was diminished, the recriminations grew; and people spoke in the following terms: "Now they (the association) are going to get involved in that X thing. I wouldn't trust that guy X very far; he should be investigated. If I was running the association I would stay clear of X; I have seen too many wonderful deals fall through." The Civil Rights

association has apparently given up attempts for the moment to interest middle class Negroes to sit on the Board of Directors, and they have approached a retired white businessman for advice on financial matters. When this man asked them why they didn't consult their own Negro professionals and businessmen, they replied: "We can't deal with our own because they are snobs and they always say they are too busy." As of now, the whole plan, after some eight months of planning and discussion, is up in the air.

From the above description it is obvious that though economic schemes are suggested, a lack of middle class leadership, which is available but does not participate, and the general suspicion among lower class Negroes of savings schemes, makes mobilization for action quite difficult.

2. Acting as Pressure Groups:

Ethnic associations can act as pressure groups in trying to right specific wrongs, and in trying to effect changes in the larger society.[1] In Montreal this is true of the West Indian lower class Newcomer associations with instrumental goals. The major concern here is with discrimination in jobs and housing. It certainly exists, especially in housing. Here is one of the many cases of discrimination in housing which I collected. The respondent is a middle class West Indian Newcomer.

> I was looking in the Plamondon area, and I saw an apartment that seemed to be what I needed. I looked at the apartment and then I called the landlord. He knew I was Negro and he said the apartment was rented. Someone else called him up and he said the apartment was still open, and it was still advertised in the Montreal Star after that. I never went back. Another time was on Bloomfield. Myself and two friends went to look at an apartment which my wife had called about earlier to make certain it was empty. The janitor said there was no apartment for rent there. I checked phone numbers with him and my wife had called the right place. Then the janitor said, "You didn't tell me what you were." I really gave him hell. Then there was an apartment on Decelles Place; the landlady told us she didn't rent to "jeunes de couleur". She said the landlord had told her to say this. Then there was another apartment on Plamondon; the janitor was german; he was quite hostile to me. The landlord was jewish. It is quite ironic that a jewish landlord should employ a german janitor to perpetuate discrimination.

Despite discrimination, West Indians live all over Montreal in lower and middle class residential districts. If a Negro perseveres, despite rebuffs, he will find decent living space. The man whose case is presented above did find an apartment in the general area he wanted. Nevertheless, discrimination exists and it is an enemy that can be grappled with. As a leader of a West Indian lower class Newcomer association stated: "There is no doubt that discrimination is practised.... To me, discrimination here in Montreal is even more vicious than that which is practised in the U.S. In the U.S. there are signs; in Montreal there is always the smile with the hypocrisy behind it."

What do the lower class instrumental associations do about discrimination in housing? Actually, they cannot

do very much. While middle class Negroes see discrimination as something they can master individually, lower class Negroes see discrimination as a phenomenon which all Negroes as a group must master, the successful ones helping the unsuccessful ones. While the Civil Rights association does get cases of discrimination in housing, these are passed to the "Montreal Human Rights Committee", an affiliate of the Canadian Labor Congress. Lower class associations do not have the funds or the legal talent to investigate and prosecute such cases. But they do have some contacts with the right people. The Civil Rights association has also helped the Human Rights Committee conduct a telephone and interview survey of apartments in Montreal showing the incidence of discriminatory practices. The Committee obtained the signatures of some twenty other Montreal associations and the survey was sent to the Provincial Government. As an official of the Civil Rights association stated: "This kind of cooperation was necessary for us because we alone could not have financed the survey or rounded up the signatures. The Human Rights boys are affiliated with the Unions; the Unions finance it and they have plenty of money." Also during the past year, the submission of a brief to the Premier of Quebec on Fair Employment Practices and Fair Accommodations organized by the Committee on Human Rights, was supported by the various Negro associations who also sent representatives to Quebec

City for the meeting.

Much the same situation exists in cases of job discrimination. These cases also are too involved and expensive for individual associations to become involved with. These cases are also turned over to the Committee on Human Rights which investigates and prosecutes.

3. Socialization:

Immigrant associations can teach immigrants proper ways of acting and the etiquette of behaviour, and the norms of the ethnic group in its new social setting and those of the larger society.[2] In other words, associations can act as foci for the socialization of members in the new environment. But middle class West Indians with urban experience are not moving from a social environment in the West Indies very different from the one they encounter here. This is reflected in middle class associations in Montreal. They lay no emphasis on this educative factor. However, some of the lower class Newcomer instrumental and active-expressive associations do. The Pioneer Girls had an explicit educative program which attempted to set desirable standards of behavior, and dress. Emphasis was placed on wearing proper clothes, and how to dress when being interviewed for a job. Stress was placed on personal appearance. "Those domestics had to be taught how to take care of their hair; today it is possible to

make the hair look proper." Stress was also placed on correcting lack of punctuality on the part of members:

> The girls used to come in late; a discussion would be in progress, and they would saunter in, talking and clanking their handbags. They would sit down still laughing and talking. I would stop the proceedings and embarrass them by saying, "Girls, be courteous and keep quiet, you are late." I always take lateness to represent rudeness. We used to take the girls on little trips and tours, and again punctuality was a problem. Once, we rented a bus, and I told the girls to be on time or we would leave without them. They didn't believe me. Well, we left right on time. I saw some of the girls arrive there a few moments late, but I purposely let the bus continue without stopping for them; I could see them running after the bus. Next week they were right on time.

The existence of informal sanctions were also in evidence in the Pioneer Girls:

> After a few months, girls who drank, swore, and chased men, didn't do this in the Centre. The Centre became in their minds a place which would not tolerate such behaviour. Then too, the girls who had been in Montreal longer, would apply their own methods. When a girl was rude, vulgar, or boisterous, an older girl would tell her off; tell her not to behave like that in public and in the Centre.

Some of the domestics were genuinely confused about Canadian standards:

> One employer told her maid that she could have a party while the employer was away. When the employer came back she found the maid and her friends (all women) drunk. The employer was shocked and bawled out the maid. The maid said later, "I don't understand these people. When they come as tourists to the West Indies they are either drunk or half-naked all the time; and up here they pretend they don't know nothing."

The Centre tried to get the girls to see both sides of the picture. "We were able to suggest that employers were not

always to blame in employer-employee relations."

The Civil Rights association also tried to hold French classes for immigrants, but this program collapsed because of membership apathy.*

4. Acting as Forums for the Dissemination of Information:

Both Hausknecht[3] and Eisenstadt[4] have suggested that immigrant and other associations act as a forum for the dissemination of information to the ethnic group and of exposure to the views of non-ethnics. Lower class Negro associations characterized by instrumental or active-expressive goals see that one of their major roles is that

*An important point should be made here regarding formal activities designed to socialize members into the new environment. Leaders of associations conform more closely to the goals and ideology of the association than do followers. The associations which formally promoted "socialization" of members either were characterized by an ideology of accommodation or an activist ideology. The membership of these associations usually held an ideology of recreation. This results in conflict of aims between leaders of associations and the general membership; and this conflict is expressed through non-attendance, leaving the association, and a general apathy regarding those formal activities designed to promote socialization. The leaders must give their followers the activities they want, namely recreational ones, in order to keep the membership reasonably intact. Membership is needed if the association wishes to implement its goals. If the association wishes to change its members in some way, it must have members; if it wishes to change the "host" society in some way, it must give evidence to demonstrate that it speaks for someone, and it must have the manpower to organize its activities and to mobilize for action. Sometimes the leaders win out, and sometimes the followers, as for example, the failure of french classes sponsored by the Civil Rights association, and the collapse of the Pioneer Girls.

of disseminating information; in the Closed-ethnic association, information about the homeland and Canadian society; and in the Mixed-membership association, information about Canadian society. All these associations have invited guest speakers and held forums and panel discussions on Brotherhood Week, The Fair Employment Practices Act, the emerging nations of Africa, Citizenship Day, and the West Indies Federation. Speakers at these associations have included prominent government officials and educators.

The Closed-ethnic association, exemplified by the Ethnic association in this study, concentrates on informing members of events occurring on the home island, as the following excerpt from an association circular suggests:

> I am sure you will be saddened by the news that _____ has been hit, and hit very badly, by Hurricane "X". First hand information is:
> 10 persons are dead
> 60 homes in _____ and _____, have been washed away.
> $1,500,000 damage has been done to roads, buildings, crops etc.
>
> There may be even worse news in the future, when the final damages are assessed.
>
> Now, more than ever, is the time when we should show our solidarity and so help our unfortunate countrymen. We here in Canada must thank God for having spared us this horrible experience.
>
> Immediate relief (financial) for our suffering _____ will be among the chief matters discussed at our next meeting..... I urge all of you to attend. Do your part.

B. Organizational Activities.

1. Recreation and Making Friends:

Hausknecht[5], Warner[6], and Seeley, Sim and Loosely[7]

have all suggested that associations provide a milieu for recreation through interaction with people regarded as "like us", and through meeting new people of different ethnicity.

Recreation implies enjoyment through face-to-face interaction in associations. The middle class associations, in the study, because they are more exclusive and smaller groups, offer more in the way of interaction than do the lower class associations. In some middle class associations, members are sponsored, which probably means they have a friend or more in the association. Because these associations have expressive goals, compatibility of members is stressed providing a more intimate milieu for recreation. The respondents who said that their associations gave them comradeship and friendship were members of middle class associations with expressive goals. Most of the members of lower class associations hold to an ideology of recreation and this need is not satisfied, especially in the case of female members who lament the lack of available males. While the dances held by these lower class associations offer opportunities for interaction, the girls attend in cliques met outside the association, and at a dance, "You can see rows and rows of tables, all filled with girls with little to do. There are too many girls and not enough men. When I go to a dance some of the girls are married and their husbands dance with us; we take turns; It is not a good

arrangement." An ex-domestic put this very succinctly:

> The association should have more young people as members. They should have more men also. It is the same on the trips they sponsor, all girls and few men. The boys are always kept busy and the girls have nothing to do. I become very bored.

How important is the "associational social setting" for meeting new people? When I had established my role, towards the end of the investigation, I asked a sample of twenty West Indian immigrants, whose names were on membership lists of associations, for the names of their friends and acquaintances. I then asked them where and how they had met these friends and acquaintances.* Table 2 lists the percentage of acquaintances met through each social setting, for each occupational group in Montreal.

* The respondents are clearly a selected sample in that all have joined associations, but they are, perhaps, indicative of the importance of this situation for the making of friends in general, as even for them, the associations are clearly secondary.

Table 2: Situations in Which West Indians, by Occupation, First met Acquaintances.

Percentage of Acquaintances met in Social Situation by Respondents	Respondents by Occupation				
	Professional N=5	Student N=4	White Collar N=8	Domestic N=3	Total N=20
Home	45.3	40.8	38.5	28.3	39.6 (198)
Association	20.3	19.2	29.6	35	25 (125)
School	8.5	15.4	5.6	6.7	9 (45)
Dance	10	10	4.4	5	7.4 (37)
Party	10	10.8	10.6	11.7	10.6 (53)
Work	5.4	2.3	6.1	-	4.2 (21)
Street	0.8	1.5	2.8	1.7	0.8 (9)
Trip to Canada	-	-	2.2	11.7	2.2 (11)
All Acquaintances = 100%	100% (130)	100% (130)	100% (179)	100% (60)	100% (500)

The association ranks only behind the "home social situation" as a place where individuals can meet people. For the domestics concerned the association social situation was more important than any other, though for the professionals and students it ranked far behind the home social situation. The domestics found the home social situation to be least important in meeting new people. This reflects the domestic

working conditions; she is a stranger in someone else's home and is not usually free to invite friends over. Nevertheless, the association is important to these 20 immigrants in terms of widening one's circle of acquaintances.

When, however, we consider the social situations in which these 20 immigrants met the people who are their friends in Montreal, the association situation fades in importance.

Table 3: Situations in Which West Indians, by Occupation, First Met Friends.

Percentage of Friends met in Social Situation by Respondents	Respondents by Occupation				
	Professional N=5	Student N=4	White Collar N=8	Domestic N=3	Total N=20
Home	43.7	46.2	49	47.1	46.8 (58)
Association	6.3	11.5	2	-	4.8 (6)
School	18.7	34.6	14.3	17.6	20 (25)
Dance	9.4	3.8	2	-	4 (5)
Party	9.4	3.8	6.1	-	5.6 (7)
Work	9.4	-	16.3	-	8.9 (11)
Street	3.1	-	8.2	-	4 (5)
Trip to Canada	-	-	2	35.3	5.6 (7)
All Friends = 100%	100% (32)	100% (26)	100% (49)	100% (17)	100% (124)

In Table 2, the domestics met 35% of their acquaintances through associations. In Table 3, these domestics made no friends through associations, and this lack of friends made through associations is true for all the other occupational categories considered.* The relatively high percentage (11.5%) of friends that students first met in associations can be explained by the fact that students belong to a somewhat closed community, and that interaction initiated at associations can be reinforced at many on-campus and off-campus activities because of the strong likelihood of students meeting each other at university and outside the associations.

If we examine the association social situation, as a place where friends are met for the first time, we find one of our divisive factors, the social class social dimension in operation.

* It is very interesting to note, in Table 3, that the domestics considered made 35% of their friends on the trip to Canada and while they were waiting to be placed in homes. This period was the one time they could engage in intensive interaction for any lengthy period of time until they completed their year of service.

* Table 4: Friends Met in the Association Social Situation, by Occupation

Occupation of Friends met in Associations by Respondents	Occupation of Respondents				
	Professional N=5	Student N=4	White Collar N=8	Domestic N=3	Total N=20
Professional	100	-	-	-	16.6 (2)
Student	-	100	-	-	33.4 (4)
White Collar	-	-	100	-	33.4 (4)
Domestic	-	-	-	100	16.6 (2)
All Friends = 100%	100% (2)	100% (4)	100% (4)	100% (2)	100% (12)

* This and other tables in the study can be criticized on grounds of reliability because of the smallness of the sample. While this is a valid criticism, the tables exhibit a high degree of internal consistency and are used here as a numerical device to further exemplify points made using qualitative evidence. They are a good indication in numerical terms of the existing social situation.

As Table 4 indicates, if in somewhat an extreme fashion, the attitudes expressed towards social class in chapter three do affect behavior. Within associations individuals may widen their sphere of acquaintances across class boundaries, but friends are made within class boundaries even though an association may have both lower class and middle class members.

2. Social Mobility:

Warner[8] has pointed out that lower class Newcomer immigrants tend to join Closed-ethnic associations, and as a corollary to this I maintain that middle class Newcomers tend to join Mixed-membership associations which are a means of entry into the larger society. In other words, middle class immigrants are more mobile than lower class immigrants.

Table 5: Class and Composition of West Indian Immigrant Associations.

	Social Class of Association	
Composition of Association	Lower Class	Middle Class
Closed-ethnic	60	38
Mixed-membership	40	62
Total	100% (5)	100% (8)

As Table 5 indicates, there is a larger number of middle class Mixed-membership associations than lower class Mixed-membership associations which suggests that Middle class immigrants are more apt to move across ethnic lines in their social life.

This trend is more evident in Table 6 where only associations with "landed immigrant" members are considered. Two university student societies are omitted from this Table. The remaining middle class Closed-ethnic association is the Cricket Club, catering to a sport most Canadians do not play.

Table 6: Class and Composition of Associations of Permanent West Indian Population.

Composition of Association	Social Class of Association: Lower Class	Social Class of Association: Middle Class
Closed-ethnic	60	17
Mixed-membership	40	83
Total	100% (5)	100% (6)

If we consider only those associations joined by permanent Newcomer immigrants, as in Table 7, it becomes quite clear that Newcomer lower class immigrants tend to join Closed-ethnic associations, and Newcomer middle class immigrants join Mixed-membership associations.

Table 7: Class and Composition of Associations of Newcomer Permanent Immigrants.

Composition of Association	Social Class of Association: Lower Class	Social Class of Association: Middle Class
Closed-ethnic	100	25
Mixed-membership	-	75
Total	100% (3)	100% (4)

The social mobility of members of middle class associations is further exemplified in Table 8. Although Negroes are in a large majority in all associations in the sample, there is a larger number of middle class Negro associations with some White members than lower class associations with White members. Whites are the majority

group in this society and therefore of a higher class level on the whole than Negroes in the city.

* Table 8: White and Negro Membership in Permanent Negro Associations.

	Social Class of Association	
Composition of Association	Lower Class	Middle Class
All Negro Membership	80	50
Negro and White Membership	20	50
Total	100% (5)	100% (6)

* All these Negro Associations have West Indian Members.

The data suggest that Closed-ethnic West Indian associations are more likely to be lower class associations, and that Mixed-membership associations to which West Indians belong tend to be middle class associations. The data also suggest that this is more correct for permanent Newcomer West Indian immigrants. The data also suggest the greater social mobility of middle class West Indian immigrants in that they are just as apt to join Mixed-membership associations which have White members and which are channels of contact with the larger society as they are to join Closed-ethnic associations while lower class West Indian immigrants tend to join Closed-ethnic associations which reinforce ethnic in-group ties and operate as a buffer against the

larger society. Middle class West Indians seem to join across ethnic lines more frequently than do lower class West Indians.

In lower class associations the positions which promote social mobility are leadership roles. All the lower class associations considered in this study have some form of middle class leadership. Sometimes a middle class individual will accept a leadership position in a lower class association because of the opportunities this affords to him in meeting people of higher status than his own. For example:

"The type of work I do in the association is good experience for me. It can also be a good steppingstone for me, even with the small amount of public limelight I get from the association. On Monday there is a big do at the High Commissioner's office in Ottawa to celebrate independence. I am certain that I would never have received an invitation to this if I had not been in the public eye."

The activities of even Closed-ethnic associations can contribute to individual social mobility.

C. Summary

Middle class associations, in the main, sponsor activities which involve face-to-face interaction within relatively small groups. Lower class associations sponsor activities which are concerned with meeting the needs of

lower class immigrants; these activities include economic aid, fighting discrimination in jobs and housing, and teaching lower class immigrants about the new social situation in which they find themselves.

Associations are relatively important to immigrants in widening their circles of acquaintances, but not important to immigrants in making new friends.

Mixed-membership associations are more important than Closed-ethnic associations in furthering the social mobility of members. Also, Mixed-membership associations are more often middle class associations, while Closed-ethnic associations are more often lower class associations.

Footnotes to Chapter Five

1. Philip Drucker, The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1958).

2. S.N. Eisenstadt, "The Place of Elites and Primary Groups in the Absorption of New Immigrants in Israel," American Journal of Sociology, 57(1951-1952), 222-232.

3. Murray Hauskneoht, The Joiners (New York: Bedminster Press, 1962), p.116.

4. S.N. Eisenstadt, "Communication Processes Among Immigrants in Israel," Public Opinion Quarterly, 16(1952), 42-57.

5. Hauskneoht, op. cit., p.118.

6. W. Lloyd Warner, Yankee City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p.118.

7. J.R. Seeley, R.A. Sim and E.W. Loosley, Crestwood Heights (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).

8. Warner, op. cit., p.110.

Chapter Six: Leadership in Associations

As we saw in Chapter Four, if an association is not homogeneous in terms of the different social groupings existing within the West Indian population of Montreal, there is a good chance that areas of strain will develop within the association, and this strain will be expressed in terms of the existing social split in the association. Lack of homogeneity is most evident in lower class Newcomer associations. Within these associations leadership roles are most sensitive to existing strain because these roles are crucial to the decision-making processes which involve the implementation of goals in the form of activities. Leadership roles reflect and embody the dominant ideology and goals of an association. What happens when the leaders of an association are socially different from the membership of the association or from other leaders in the association? The thesis here is that a conflict situation will exist.

This chapter will examine the leadership of two Newcomer lower class associations, the Civil Rights association and the Ethnic association. A conflict situation exists in the Civil Rights association and not in the Ethnic association. The reasons for the presence or absence of conflict will be explored in these two cases. Each case will be presented separately with a concluding analysis.

A. The Civil Rights Association

The association was founded in 1953 by a group of West Indian immigrants to Canada who had difficulty in sponsoring their relatives as landed immigrants in Canada. The members at this time were porters, workmen, and their wives. In terms of occupation the membership of the association was lower class. From 1956 on, the membership was further augmented by domestic servants who had emigrated to Montreal on the Domestic Plan. The association also became interested in civil rights schemes in order to improve the Negro situation with regard to housing and employment. One of the founding members describes the association in the early days in the following way:

> We were not really organized at that time; we relied on the friendships of people in the association to get cooperation, rather than any set way of doing things. We didn't go out and look for people who had troubles but let them come to us. We helped people fill out their application forms to apply for landed immigrant status; we told them which office to go to in the Department of Immigration; and we used to talk for them with Immigration officials.

When West Indian immigration to Canada increased because of the Domestic Plan and slight changes in Canadian Government immigration policies, immigration problems multiplied; and the association was unable to handle these as efficiently as before. The association still did little to advertise its services and activities. There was no organized procedure for processing immigrants with difficulties and most formal contacts with the Department of

Immigration were limited to the Department supplying forms to the association, and other technical procedures of this type. Another event of importance during this period was the arrest and conviction of the president of the association for supplying would-be immigrants with fake passports, enabling them to be smuggled into Canada in this way. According to one of the founding members, "This removed the spark from the association, because he was our leader, and a very dynamic and energetic man."

The association, then, had limited success with West Indian immigration problems, and with its civil rights program, which consisted in the main of mailing letters of protest to the Provincial and Federal Governments. This resulted in increasing apathy among the membership of the association, and a decreasing membership as people dropped out of the association. The instrumental goals of the association, immigration and civil rights, were blunted; and the association "developed a reputation for making girls pregnant. There were guys who used to come to meetings just to pick up girls." The top executive positions in the association began to rotate among a few lower class members. A clique of friends and associates controlled the association, and expressive goals of socializing among a small group of people became important along with the instrumental goals of the association. Ten or fifteen people, instead

of fifty turned out for meetings. As one member said:

> In the past, all our Board members have been the same; only the positions they held shifted around. The same group of people have dominated the association for years. These people are old-fashioned and are used to running the affairs. One unfortunate fact about the association is the entrenchment of people in certain positions. They are really too entrenched.

The association failed to a large extent in its primary instrumental goals because it was a lower class association with goals which required effective change in the environment. It lacked basic knowledge of channels of communication, who to speak to, who to pressure; and it lacked the social skills, money, and the weight of middle class power and influential protectors to make it effective in implementing its instrumental goals. It could only remonstrate feebly with Immigration authorities and hope for concessions; and it did not have the organizational skills, and a large cohesive membership to wage an effective civil rights campaign. In this state it was steadily disintegrating and disappearing; and it needed help if it was to survive. The association had no middle class Negro members and no White members.

In 1962 a West Indian university graduate, John White (a pseudonym), joined the association. He had had wide practical experience in campus organizations, and was a good organizer with a wide range of contacts. This was

the type of individual the association wanted and needed to revive interest in the primary goals of the association, and provide the association with leadership.

Mr. White was the first university student to join the association. The Board of Directors recognized his talents and created the position of liason officer for him. He, as liason officer, was to coordinate all activities dealing with immigrants and the Department of Immigration. During this time the association was incorporated with a formal charter and constitution. The goals of the association were defined as:

> To organize, promote, encourage, and provide facilities for the education, recreation, health, social, civic and economic advancement and general welfare of the colored population of the Province of Quebec, and to encourage, facilitate and assist colored immigrants to establish themselves in the Province of Quebec.

In 1963, Mr. White was elected president of the association. Ten people attended the election meeting (a quorum is nine). He was faced with the following Board of Directors:* the vice-president is a chauffeur; the secretary is a porter; the treasurer is a porter; the three elected rank-and-file members are respectively a porter, a stoker , and a domestic. The ex-president is a hardware clerk. The president appointed a West Indian woman, a university graduate and social worker, to the position of liaison officer. All, except for the social worker, were longtime members

* For an outline of the organization of the Civil Rights association, see Chapter 4.

of the association.

The president decided on the following program:
(1) A stepped-up membership drive with the emphasis on attracting middle class college graduates with skills useful to the association, and other people with ability.
(2) An increased civil rights campaign focussed on the provincial "Hotel Act" then under consideration in the provincial legislature, and a possible boycott of a taxi company for discriminatory practices in not hiring Negro drivers.
(3) The economic scheme, mentioned in Chapter Five, which involved setting up a corporation, of Negroes, which would buy a dry-cleaning establishment and a gasoline and service station which would serve as a training ground for Negro mechanics.
(4) Formalize the position of liaison officer, and make this position the sole communication channel from the association to the Department of Immigration; and make the liaison officer the only person responsible for dealing with immigrants; also to advertise that such services existed.
(5) Form an Advisory Board, consisting of Negro and White professionals and businessmen, and others with necessary skills, who could advise lower class immigrants how they could advance themselves, giving them information on schools, courses, business opportunities, who to see and what to do.

This Board would operate as an information centre and exist separate from the association, but would be formed through the association.

(6) Raise the yearly fees from $1.50 to $5 to give the association more operating capital and stop the holding of collections after every meeting. In other words, formalize collection procedures and make feasible the drawing up of an annual operable budget.

(7) Allow White members into the association. That is, White members who would make useful contacts with the White population of the city and would raise the status and prestige of the association.

(8) Sponsor more public dances to raise funds and operating capital for the association for pressure group activities. One dance per year is held at present and the profits equal about one-third of the association's income.

(9) Investigate the possibility of the association becoming a middle-man in the importation of artifacts, like straw goods, from the West Indies to raise money for the association and its program.

(10) Give the president more power to make speedy decisions and to delegate authority. To streamline the operating procedures of the association.

In summary, the president tried to: revive and amplify the instrumental goals of the association; widen

its sphere of operations and quality of contacts; provide the financial means and occupational skills to accomplish this; formalize the organizational structure of the association, channels of communication, to make the association more efficient.

The Board of Directors vetoed and blocked six of the ten goals of middle class leadership, and this delayed implementation of the other four goals. At present, only two of the measures are progressing, and these slowly. The effectiveness of the association was constrained and a conflict situation existed and exists at present. The president could theoretically have persuaded someone to bring some of these measures up at a general meeting, but according to a Board member:

> The Board often brings in recommendations to the body so as to omit much unnecessary argument in the general meeting. The recommendations are worked out in executive meetings. Although it could happen, the membership has never yet gone against the recommendation of the Board.

In return, the president began to retaliate by not appointing committees for the present year, thereby breaking an association tradition. On this point the president said:

> I have not formed any committees this year; this has angered some members of the association. I have been criticized for this, but my policy is that I will only form a committee when I have the good people to fill it with. Every year it was a tradition in this association that committees would be formed and kept

> no matter what kind of job they did; I don't subscribe to that policy.

The president also removed a committee head without Board approval because the man was not doing his job. The president stated:

> I appointed a chairman of the entertainment committee to plan a dance, and all he did was talk. So I removed him from his position and took over the chairmanship myself. He said I was being undemocratic. I said what do you mean undemocratic. I am the president of the association, and if you don't do your job I will remove you.

The president's present attitude now is:

> The Board can't run the association on a day-to-day basis because it is too cumbersome. It can only direct the association. But it wants to run the association on a day-to-day basis. I, myself, can foresee problems and I will take decisions without consulting them, and let them raise cain afterwards.

The question is: why does this conflict and blockage exist when it limits efficiency, effectiveness, expansion, and the attainment of valued goals.

Three factors explain this conflict situation. One is the dimension of social class, another is the development of a powerful ingroup in the association, and the third is the quality of leadership which a middle class leader should exhibit if he is to succeed in a lower class association.

The lower class West Indians who migrate to Canada are geographically and socially mobile and are not representative of the semi-skilled and unskilled lower class in

the West Indies. While social mobility is a value which is important to these people, who migrate, they are still defined as lower class by the middle class Negro population of Montreal. Related to this value of social mobility is the belief in equalitarianism, which states quite clearly: "We are as good as anyone else." In the Civil Rights association this equalitarianism is further amplified by the nature of the association's instrumental goals.

The values of social mobility and equalitarianism among a lower class grouping makes for an "ambiguous" social class situation. In a clearly defined social class situation, both middle class and lower class "know their place", so to speak, and abide by this. But here we have lower class members trying to advance, and one way of doing this is by making contact with middle class people and getting them to redefine the class situation. The middle class is called upon to help in individual terms by speaking to lower class immigrants and inviting them to social affairs, and so on; and in group terms by supplying lower class associations with leadership. On both counts the lower class West Indian and Negro is rebuffed, and a situation laden with animosity and recriminations exists.

The association was unable to attain its instrumental goals with lower class leadership and it lost members,

while the lower class leaders became an ingroup bound by affective ties. But when they did turn to middle class leadership and received it, their suspicions and fears of middle class prevented any concrete action by the association. This blockage was made possible, in structural terms, by lower class control of the Board of Directors. For example, the president, speaking of a domestic and member of the Board, stated: "She really doesn't trust me; this is partly because I am a student and partly because of the way I want to run things. I don't mean that she is actively suspicious of me, but in a crisis or heated discussion her feelings come to the surface."

This climate of suspicion in the association was further aggravated by two factors. One was the fact that middle class leaders discouraged contact with lower class leaders outside the framework of the association, which was probably considered by lower class leaders as a continuation of the rebuffs they had experienced at middle class hands. For example:

> After I got on the Board she (Board member and domestic) became nice to me. She wrote down her phone number and told me to call her; I didn't. At the next meeting she said, "Are you going to call me?". I said I wouldn't. She said "Give me your phone number and I will call you." But she isn't the type of person I would associate with outside of association meetings, so I never see her. She is stupid. I don't listen to half she says.

The other aggravating factor is that lower class leaders

fear that the changes middle class leaders advocate would result in lower class leaders losing control of the association because of increasing middle class Negro and White membership with greater skills and abilities in achieving association goals. They feel that they built the association and it should remain in their hands while they utilize middle class leaders as tools when needed for specific purposes. For example:

> We should not let whites in. We must remain in control of the association if it is to mean anything to us. White membership means white domination because they... could be elected to office and with enough white members and credulous negroes this could happen. No white could understand the way we suffered.

As the president stated:

> They would not let me hold more dances to raise more money because they said we would be going to the public more often and this would make us dependent on the public, too dependent. Our Board members are also not enthusiastic about any plan which would expose them to the suggestions of outsiders; but I don't want our association to be a fraternal or social organization.

This quotation leads us into the second major factor (the first being the class situation) which contributed to the blockage of goals outlined earlier. This is the evolution, within the association, of a lower class clique of friends rotating in Board positions when the association was relatively ineffective and had a small membership. This group is now fearful of losing its control to middle class Negro and White members of the association.

For the same reason they are afraid of relying on the public for support, and afraid of widening the scope of operations of the association. And again, this clique of friends coincides, in the main, with the Board of Directors. For example, the president stated:

> The people in the association think of it as a family; we are having trouble collecting our fees; some members haven't paid in two years. I suggested that when we send out our monthly circulars we also send out a notice asking members to pay their fees. The Board turned this down because they said it wasn't nice to treat their own kind this way; there is too much fumbling in the association.

Speaking on his plans to form an Advisory Board, the president said:

> They turned it down. They said the association itself should do this work. I pointed out to them that we didn't have the skills necessary for such an undertaking to make it useful. They said we should wait until we have the skills and that they did not want any outsiders doing this. If we wait until we have the skills we may wait forever. An Advisory Board would be useful; a real change from the haphazard system we have now.

The third major factor which contributed to the conflict situation which existed was what I shall term the "quality of leadership". In the formative years of the association, when friendship was relied on for cooperation, group consensus and group solidarity were important. This was especially true for members of the Board of Directors. This tendency was reinforced when membership in the association dropped and a clique of friends began to rotate

in the positions which constituted the Board of Directors. Group decisions were important and no one man openly set himself off as different from or better than his fellows. When Mr. White was elected president he set himself up as the leader and placed emphasis on efficiency of operations and achievement. This contravened norms of group solidarity which he felt blocked the progress of the association. The leader was middle class and showed it; he had no patience with unanimous group decisions which were slow and inefficient, and he made his feelings known. In effect, he set himself up as an "outsider" or "stranger" upon whose head blame for difficulties could fall; and this allowed the Board of Directors to maintain an appearance of solidarity and consensus by acting as a group against the "stranger" who was disrupting the traditional ways of doing things in the association. The Board acted more or less as a group in blocking the measures the president presented. The Board could rationalize its blocking tactics by agreeing that they were only protecting the association against rapid change brought on by a "stranger" who did not understand the situation; in actuality the Board was reaffirming its own solidarity and consensus, values which had become very important. As the middle class liaison officer said:

> In this association you have to do some lobbying before meetings, otherwise members will oppose you out of sheer stupidity. You have to concentrate on personal

> relationships and convince the other Board members before you come to a meeting. This is the way you work with these people if you want to get something done. White's trouble is that he doesn't have the time for this kind of lobbying and he doesn't take the time to try and understand these people.

The president however, still maintained his stand:

> We need new blood in the association. Some people have to realize that the positions they hold are not sinecures. They have been sitting in the same positions so long that they think they own those positions and don't have to do anything more. Well, if we get some bright young people in the association they will force those others to sit up and take notice.

The president is determined to circumvent the Board, ruling by fiat where he can, while he tries to attract middle class members of his own type who through regular election procedures will replace the lower class ingroup now in control; and then Mr. White or his successor would be able to implement his broad program of organizational change, fund-raising activities, and the instrumental goals of the association.* But, the Board must approve all applications for membership in the association, and they could block his plans at this point. Mr. White is also faced with another dilemma. In order to attract middle class members, he must demonstrate that he has an ongoing, efficient, viable association worth joining. To do this he needs tangible results of some kind. To achieve these results he needs more financial capital for organizational

* In January 1964 Mr. White was re-elected to the presidency along with virtually the same Board of Directors, indicating no immediate change in the problems of the association. The taxi company agreed to employ Negroes in February 1964.

and publicity purposes; to obtain this capital he must implement his fund-raising measures; but the Board blocks all of these measures. The result, for the moment, is an impasse.

B. The Ethnic Association

The association was founded in 1962 and uses the facilities of the Negro Centre for meetings. Membership is restricted to landed immigrants from one of the larger islands in the West Indies. Students from this island can become affiliate members, but are not entitled to hold any of the elected offices of the association. At present the association has some 50 members, two-thirds of whom are women. Most of the latter are or were domestics. The general membership of the association is lower class.

The president of the association is a clerk; the first vice-presidency is vacant; the second vice-president is a biochemist; the secretary-treasurer is an auditor. The executive of the association is middle class.

The goals of the association are active-expressive congruent with an ideology of accommodation which characterizes the association. The ultimate aim is integration into Canadian society, with the retention of the social and cultural base which brought its members together, namely coming from the same island. The president of the association states this in the following manner:

> We formed the association to encourage national feeling and better understanding among nationals in Montreal; and to maintain interest in the activities of the community in which we live and in our island home. This last point is very important. We try to do good works in the community and sell ourselves to the public. I mean sell our image to the public and show them we are good citizens. We know that discriminatory practices exist; but if we do good work and sell ourselves to the public we can assimilate better.

These sentiments are echoed in the words of a member who is a domestic, "The association is a good way of getting to know other nationals in Montreal; but if Canadians see us doing worthwhile things, this will boost the nationality of all of us in Montreal."

The activities of the association reflect an ideology of accommodation and active-expressive goals. The activities include a choir, blood donor clinic, boy scout troop, clothing drive for the poor, and raising money for a national whose home burned down. When forty men were drowned in a fishing boat accident off the home island, the association helped raise money for their families. The president of the association has complained to the Federal Government that the influx of Cuban refugees into Canada would result in the spread of Communism in this country. Clearly, the association is trying to fade into the Canadian background as another immigrant association doing charitable and aid work.

The president has stated that the association

does not want any fulltime White members, although he would consider them in the capacity of honorary members. As he said, "They (Whites) won't be allowed to hold any positions at all; after all, if we have an english president and a greek treasurer, we won't be running the association at all; we will lose our identity."

The president has partially solved the problem of class confliot in the association by limiting students to second class membership. He sees student membership as the greatest threat to the association's survival as a "working peoples" organization.

> The students wanted to have the executive positions. Because they go to university they feel the domestics should not have an association without their help. Yet this same student will see a domestic on the street and cut her dead. They think they are too good for the domestics. This is the feeling in the association. The domestics don't like this and are hurt by this. If the students could get the executive posts they would take over and the whole association would go down to nothing.

The president has also removed from the association two night students who were landed immigrants. One of these was the first vice-president, and he would leak confidential information discussed at executive meetings to his friend, who would then embarrass the executive during general meetings by making reference to this confidential information. There was then, good reason to expel these two members. But, when the president proposed to expel

them, he also expressed this situation in social class terms.

> Ladies and Gentlemen: You will remember the conduct of a certain member. Well, there is no need to keep his name secret. We are speaking of Mr. X. You will remember that he made certain disparaging remarks. Now we know that Mr. X is better educated than us but that doesn't give him the right to call us "social climbers". Many people were very insulted and said they were not coming back to meetings.

Although class conflict has been kept to a minimum, the mood of suspicion and awareness of social differences still exists; as a member of the executive said:

> I won't go to their homes every Sunday and talk their language. I just don't feel comfortable doing that. I could talk to them in broken English at meetings, but I won't do it. The class barriers exist whether we like it or not. If after a meeting I went down into the audience and put my arm around a girl and invite the guys out for a drink, they will look at me and say, "Look out for that fellow, man, he just looking for something." They look at me with suspicion, so I leave them alone and they say I am snobbing them. The association will never be able to cater to both students and domestics, but to one or the other.

The students feel that control of the association is basically a power struggle based on social class differences. In the words of a past president of the Student Society:

> The association consists mainly of domestic help, and he (the president) wants to keep it that way; he wants to stay in power. He is sour on people he considers look down on working class people. If I went to one of their meetings, he would say I was trying to stir up trouble. He has said this about me in small groups at parties; he doesn't trust me, and I think the basis

> of our conflict is class. He doesn't trust the motives of middle class people. Of course, if I went into an association like that I would probably run for president. I wouldn't just sit around, so maybe he would have something to worry about. This would cause a split in the association and wreck it; so this way is better.

Although essentially a democratically organized association, it has not been able to avoid a pitfall common to lower class ethnic associations. This is the increasing centralization of authority and power in the hands of a leader and associated with this, diffuse and unclear channels of communication between other members of the association, apart from the leader. This is partly due to a lack of organizational knowledge and procedure on the part of lower class members and partly due to their apathy towards working within an organized framework. Also, as the leader strengthens his authority and decision-making powers, there is an increasing alienation of the membership from the centre of activities and decision-making. This also results in the membership's inability to present any organized opposition to current leadership.

The president of this association spends almost every Sunday afternoon soliciting for new members, and he brings the most new members into the association. The president finds jobs for members through the Negro Centre; the president mimeographs monthly meeting circulars, quiets troublemakers at meetings, sets time limits on speakers at

meetings, runs the committees, is called upon to give advice to people in difficulty, and assigns menial jobs like addressing letters. In the words of another executive member, "The president is the general handyman." In addition, all communication channels seem to pass through the president. For example, one of the association committees is the entertainment committee; a subcommittee of this is the "house" committee, concerned with preparing refreshments for meetings and planning summer trips to places like Ottawa and Quebec City. The head of this subcommittee, a domestic, describes the subcommittee in the following way:

> I am the chairman of the committee, but meetings are informal. The president usually calls the meetings and we meet in his apartment. He sits in on meetings. I am supposed to report to the entertainment committee and I do this through the president. I tell him and he tells the entertainment committee. I don't know any of the members of the entertainment committee. I think there are two other committees in the association (actually there are five), but I don't know what they are or who is on them.

This is re-emphasized in the words of another member, "I am on the house committee; I don't know any other committees or who is on them. I think X is the chairman of our committee." The only person who really stands out in the minds of the membership is the president.

The members lack procedural knowledge and there is a lack of communication between members and executive, other than the president. As an executive member stated:

> You saw these people, man; they just don't cook with gas. When you ask for suggestions from the floor you get silence. When I talk to them I am sure they don't understand me, and I don't understand them on occasion. Maybe we are guilty of spoonfeeding or ramming it down their throats; but it has to be done this way, or we would not accomplish anything. They are mainly like a rubber-stamp body; we tell them what to do and they vote for it after some discussion.

But, motions are discussed at meetings, and the president gives the membership the impression that the decision is really theirs, and small changes are accepted. The president may side with the membership against another executive member on a given motion. The president, though middle class, identifies with his lower class members, and speaks their language. He is one of them, not obtrusive, and only his charisma sets him apart. Committee meetings are held in his apartment. Decisions made give the appearance of having been arrived at through more or less unanimous group decision, with the president as just another speaker. Members propose motions. Consensus and solidarity in the association is maintained. The president realizes the importance of this, and realizes that any overt conflict, especially along social class lines, could very well ruin the association.

C. Conclusion

At the start of this chapter I suggested that if an association was not homogeneous in terms of the social divisions in the West Indian population a conflict situation

would exist. This would probably be most explicit in lower class associations with middle class leaders. Both the Civil Rights association and the Ethnic association are essentially Newcomer lower class associations, and both have middle class leaders of some sort. The Civil Rights association exhibits strain and conflict along social class lines, and the Ethnic association does not. The differentiating factor, I maintain, is the quality of middle class leadership exhibited in each association. In the Civil Rights association, the middle class leader threatened the traditional methods of maintaining important values of unanimity, solidarity and group consensus. This exacerbated the incipient strain due to social class differences, and made these differences the focal point for the ensuing conflict and blockage of valued goals. The middle class leader of the ethnic association masked the incipient strains due to social class differences by stressing unanimity, solidarity, and group consensus, and by identifying and sympathizing with lower class members. These findings are closely related to those discussed by Barnes[1] and by Frankenberg[2]. Barnes demonstrated that leaders of committees and associations in the Norwegian parish of Bremnes are middle class but stress the achievement of consensus and group solidarity which helps maintain the existing social relations within the community. The group must appear

united even if divergent opinions exist. Frankenberg describes a Welsh village where differences of opinion are never settled directly through confrontations in associations, but where "strangers" or "outsiders" assume positions of responsibility and argue for or against existing public opinions. If an association collapses, then the "strangers" take the blame, and covert disagreements between villagers are not made public, thereby maintaining village solidarity.

The success or failure of these lower class associations may well rest on the manner in which they handle the leadership and social class problems. In the two cases described, the implementation of leadership roles had an important bearing on the emergence of social class conflicts; in other associations it may have important bearing on the emergence or masking of Newcomer-Oldtimer conflicts, West Indian-Canadian Negro conflicts, or conflicts due to different islands of origin.

Footnotes to Chapter Six

1. J.A. Barnes, "Class and Community in a Norwegian Parish," Human Relations, 7(1954), 39-58.

2. Ronald Frankenberg, Village on the Border (London: Cohen and West, 1957).

Chapter Seven: Relations Between Associations

In this chapter I will examine the relations between the different West Indian and Negro Associations in Montreal. We are asking two questions here. What bonds are there between these associations; and what forces limit cooperation between these associations.

A. Bonds Between Associations

There are two kinds of structural bonds between these associations, sponsorship and common membership.

Formally, sponsorship involves a parent association and one or more satellite associations. For example, the Negro Centre sponsors the Ebony Girls and sponsored the Pioneer Girls; the Negro Church sponsors a number of clubs; the Porter's Union sponsors a Ladies Auxiliary. These three parent associations are the largest Negro associations in Montreal. The satellite associations usually consist of members of the parent association, or wives of members. Sponsorship implies that the satellite association is dependent on its parent association for members and for approval of its activities. The ideology and goals of the parent association are also the ideology and goals of the satellite association. There are thus close ties between parent and satellite associations and the survival of one is closely linked to the survival of

the other. In Montreal, sponsorship occurs mainly among lower class Negro associations because they are large enough to have satellites. They are also part of the traditional "Negro community" consisting of Oldtimer lower class immigrants and lower class Canadian Negroes, and their satellites express the close ties to this community.

A more tenuous kind of sponsorship involves the use of facilities of one association by another association. For example, the Civil Rights association uses the Negro Church for meetings; the Ethnic association uses the Negro Centre for meetings; the College Graduate association has used the Negro Centre for certain educational programs, and so on. This kind of bond does not imply the commitment implied by formal sponsorship. One association is not dependent on another for its survival; and the ideology and goals of associations can differ without imperiling their relationship. In most cases, this is a lower class phenomenon; these cooperative activities involve the same lower class associations which perform services for the "Negro community". They allow their facilities to be used to demonstrate their close relationships with the "Negro community".

The other bond which ties associations together is common membership. Here, members with a certain social class position tend to join associations congruent with that position, for membership in an association implies a

commitment to that association. The West Indian members of lower class associations usually hold positions of leadership in these associations. For the regular follower in an association there is little cross-membership across social class lines, and across Oldtimer-Newcomer lines. There is also a greater incidence of cross-membership among lower class associations than among middle class associations. This is especially true for those associations formed in the traditional "Negro community". Cross-membership binds associations like the Negro Centre, the Negro Church, the Porter's Union, and the various Negro Fraternal organizations (these are not covered in the present study). These bonds strengthen the close relationships between Oldtimer lower class West Indians and lower class Canadian Negroes. Associations of Newcomer immigrants have virtually no cross-membership ties with associations of Oldtimer immigrants. There is virtually no cross-membership between associations composed mainly of Newcomer immigrants, because of more selective criteria of admission and more specialized interests and activities which appeal only to certain segments of the Newcomer population. Here, few individuals meet the necessary criteria, physical, social, and ideological, for membership in more than one association.

B. <u>Divisive Factors</u>

What are the forces which inhibit stronger bonds

and closer cooperation between associations? Lower class associations, in particular, desire autonomy. This has been reinforced in recent years by the attempts of one association to convince other associations to affiliate with it, and accept its sponsorship. For example:

> We (the Negro Centre) are thinking of putting pressure on the association (the Ethnic association) to make up its mind; either affiliate with the Centre, obey its regulations, and allow a Centre worker to act as advisor or supervisor, or move out of the Centre and not use it for meetings. If they choose to affiliate with the Centre it is quite certain that their exclusion policies would have to go.

In accepting sponsorship the Ethnic association would lose the purpose which brought it into being; it would become a West Indian association rather than a Closed-ethnic association, and it would lose its autonomy.

A few years ago, the Centre also attempted to convince the Civil Rights association to affiliate with it on the grounds that the two groups could accomplish more working together than they could apart. But implicit in this offer was the Centre's attempt to exert a modifying influence on the Activist ideology and instrumental goals of the Civil Rights association. The Civil Rights association rejected the offer. The Centre has also suggested sponsorship to the Cricket Club, as the following statement by a cricketer indicates:

> We used to have close contacts with the Centre. Actually, all the colored clubs used to have an

> affiliation of sorts with the Centre. We used to go through them in deciding dances; when we would hold dances and so on. They would act as a clearing-house making sure there was no conflict in dance dates, and so on, between the different Negro clubs. But, we drew apart from the Centre; they tried to control us to a much greater extent than we were willing to accept their control. They wanted us to affiliate with them in some formal capacity and we would decide policy together. But we are only a sports club, not a welfare agency. We used to use their facilities for meetings and sometimes for dances, but we don't have contact with them any more.

Sponsorship would also mean a lessening of the powers of leaders, who are now final authorities on policy. On personal grounds they oppose sponsorship.

There is also rivalry among leaders of lower class associations. Each leader concentrates on expanding the membership of his association, sometimes at the expense of other associations. Consequently, membership lists are well-guarded, and usually only executive members have access to these lists. Leaders also accuse one another of attempting to pirate members of other associations, and at times this is attempted. For example:

> X association is quite successful in raising cash and members. This is because they have an excellent social and recreational organizer in A.B. I have been trying to get her to join our association and work for us, so far without success; but I think I can convince her.

Rivalries exist between associations because they have different ideologies and goals or because they have the same ones. There are two Negro associations in Montreal who consider themselves Civil Rights groups. Each strives

for recognition among Negroes as the sole representative of the "Negro community" in the area of civil rights. At a meeting of leaders of Negro associations in 1963 it was decided that the Civil Rights association would speak for the "Negro community". The president, Mr. White, viewed the situation this way:

> There is competition between our association and theirs. At the meeting of Negro leaders it was decided that our association would act as spokesman on civil rights. I would like to see how long this semblance of unity lasts. At that meeting we also tried to get support for the X Plan, which our association brought to the attention of the public. The delegate of X association (the other civil rights group) pledged me his support. Now X association is trying to compete with us. They want to start a cooperative store. They took our idea and are using it.

In addition, another lower class association, previously dormant on the subject of civil rights, is discussing the idea of sending a delegation to present a brief on civil rights to the Premier of Quebec. In the case of associations with differing ideologies and goals, rivalries centre around these differences. So, members of the Civil Rights association berate the Ethnic association because it has no comprehensive civil rights program and is a "useless social club."

C. Conclusion

All of the above factors, then, desire for autonomy, rivalry between leaders, conflicts based on ideology and goals, tend to weaken the bonds between the different

associations concerned. As one leader phrased this: "I don't think the Negro community in Montreal has any leaders at all; there are too many small groups with different opinions and jealousies, and they can't get together." This conclusion is borne out by the meeting of so-called Negro leaders held in May 1963 under the auspices of the Education Committee of the Negro Centre. The purpose was to discuss the possibility of forming a third type of structural bond between associations, an organization which would act as spokesman for all Negroes in Quebec, and which would include representatives of all the Negro associations in Montreal. Twenty-four Negro associations in Montreal were invited to attend; and delegates of thirteen of these put in an appearance.

The most prominent complaints of delegates representing lower class Newcomer and Oldtimer associations involved the failure of middle class associations to cooperate with them. One of these delegates expressed these sentiments in the following manner:

> We have come to the point where we are asking who will bell the cat. If we examine ourselves we will find that we are the greatest offenders because we discriminate against ourselves. Those who have the wherewithal should assist in bridging this gap. If we were to think of the needs of our people, those who have the college education should help. But those who have the college education feel they are above the rest and feel no sense of responsibility or otherwise because all is well with them.... Unless we get together we will drift like a ship without a rudder.... We do

> not need any further investigation of discrimination. We need action; when they were going to stone Mary Magdalene, Christ said, he who is without sin, let him cast the first stone. They stopped. Let us stop the discrimination amongst ourselves.

Another delegate of a lower class association echoed these words:

> Are the Negroes ready to drop discrimination among themselves? Are the Negroes ready to follow a leader? Will those who have the ability to lead us be willing to come among us and lead us? Are we ready to throw off this discrimination among ourselves? If we are not, we are wasting our time here.

When discussion at the meeting turned to the subject of forming a Negro organization to act as spokesman for the Negroes of Quebec, delegates representing middle class Netro associations expressed their views and some of their fears. For example:

> All that I have heard tonight is nothing new; and the results are non-existent. I rise on the motion because the battle-cry seems to be a machinery to fight discrimination. I am opposed to any such machinery; there is machinery in the community and the Human Rights Committee to which we can attach ourselves. Diversity is perfectly natural and that has nothing to do with an overall organization to represent the community and not to fight discrimination specifically. What we need is education. We have to be careful that we do not find ourselves in a social revolution.

It is obvious from the above that the social divisions and related ideology and goals present in the Negro group play an important role in limiting bonds of cooperation between associations; and that all the single factors, limiting stronger bonds, can be interpreted especially in terms of social class antagonisms and

related ideology and goals. The resultant is an atmosphere unconducive to cooperation, and commitments made in public, perhaps under pressure, are not necessarily honored once some form of action is required. For example:

> It was agreed at that meeting that our association should be the civil rights leader. A delegate from the College Graduate association suggested that all other associations should support us and join our association. But he has not come to one of our meetings, not one. Before every meeting I call him up and ask him to come to meetings and join the association like he said he would do and like he suggested all the other leaders do. But he has not joined and he has not come to meetings.

Negro associations in Montreal are very independent; only broad issues and a neutral ground like the Negro Centre give any basis for meeting. There, in a welfare agency, "The snobs didn't have to compromise their status", and the lower class associations were on their best behavior.

Chapter Eight: Informal Associations of West Indian Immigrants

Up to this point, in the study, we have considered formal associations and associational behavior. But associational behavior is only a small part of interpersonal behavior and non-work social relations of West Indian immigrants. In this chapter I will consider some of the bases for the development of informal friendship groupings, or informal associations, and the expression of these groupings through activities. Informal social groupings exhibit the same kind of social class divisions and island of origin divisions as the formal associations do.

A. Places Where West Indians Met Friends

Do these informal friendship groupings have their basis in contacts made in the West Indies, or in Montreal?

Table 9: Places Where West Indians Met Friends

	Occupation of West Indian Respondents				
	Professional N=5	Student N=4	White Collar N=8	Domestic N=3	Total N=20
Montreal	85%	80%	64%	25%	66% (109)
Home Island	15%	20%	36%	75%	34% (54)
All Friends = 100%	100% (39)	100% (28)	100% (76)	100% (20)	100% (163)

As Table 9 indicates, the majority of friends that these West Indians have in Montreal were made in Montreal, but that there is variation depending on the class level of the immigrant. Middle class immigrants say they met more friends in Montreal than did lower class immigrants. The domestics, however, met the great majority of their Montreal friends in the West Indies, presumably because their opportunities are limited by their working conditions. Although the sample is small, the consistency of this finding with material already presented suggests it may be generally true of Montreal West Indians.

This would mean that immigrants usually have a core of friends in Montreal, friends that were made at home. The immigrant, then, has a social base of operations when he arrives in Montreal; he has friends who have friends; friends who participate in social activities and take him along and introduce him to other members of the social grouping of which they are a part. The great majority of immigrants that I spoke to entered just such a social situation on arrival. Their social networks were expanded in this way and so were the informal social groupings of which they became members.

B. Friendship and Social Class

Table 10: The Occupations of Friends of West Indians

Occupation of Friends in Percentages	Occupation of West Indian Respondents				
	Professional N=5	Student N=4	White Collar N=8	Domestic N=3	Total N=20
Business and Professional	47.4	10	13	-	18.4 (30)
Student	23.7	73.3	21.7	3.8	28.8 (47)
White Collar	18.4	6.7	50.9	34.6	33.2 (54)
Service	10.5	10	8.7	15.4	9.8 (16)
Domestic	-	-	5.7	46.2	9.8 (16)
All Friends = 100%	100% (38)	100% (30)	100% (69)	100% (26)	100% (163)

Friendship is predicated to a great extent on social class for these West Indian immigrants. The persons in each occupational category have more friends in that category than in any other. Taking the two extremes of the occupational division, the professionals and the domestics, we see that contact between them, in terms of friendship, is nil. Note that the domestics have a high proportion of "white collar" friends (34.6%); these friends are usually ex-domestics who have moved into secretarial occupations. The data indicate that West Indian immigrants tend to make

friends of the same class level as their own and to some extent within the same occupational groupings. (19 of the 20 immigrants in the sample are Newcomers.)

C. Friendship and Island of Origin

Table 11: Place of Origin of Friends of Jamaicans

Place of Origin of Friends	Occupation of Jamaican Respondents				
	Professional N=2	Student N=2	White Collar N=5	Domestic N=3	Total N=12
Jamaica	50	78.5	80	95.7	78.6 (81)
Other Islands	35.7	21.5	12.7	-	14.5 (15)
Canadian Negro	-	-	-	-	- (0)
Canadian Whites	14.3	-	7.3	4.3	6.7 (7)
All Friends = 100%	100% (14)	100% (14)	100% (51)	100% (24)	100% (103)

For the 12 Jamaican respondents in Table 11, friendship is also predicated on island of origin. Each occupational category has more friends from Jamaica than from any of the other West Indian islands. This relationship varies with the social class level of the respondents. Jamaican professionals in Montreal have more West Indian friends from other islands than does any other occupational category of Jamaicans. Jamaican domestics have fewer West Indian friends from other islands than any other occupational category. All 12 respondents are Newcomer immigrants, and

none of them have Canadian Negro friends.

There is, then, good evidence to suggest that social cliques and friendship groups are formed on the basis of occupation, and island of origin, and that members recruited into these groupings will be of uniform social class backgrounds. (Although I have little evidence on this, from data presented previously it seems likely that friendship is also predicated on a Newcomer-Oldtimer basis.) There is also evidence to suggest that many immigrants have friendship groupings to which they belong when they arrive here; and that friendship with members of these groupings dates back to social situations in the West Indies.

D. Friendship and Activities

Patterns of friendship are expressed through visiting, and visiting patterns are quite informal. As I mentioned earlier, the "home" is the major locus of informal interaction and the place to meet other West Indians; the following example, taken from my field notes is a good example:

> Mr. X and I were sitting in his apartment when Mrs. X came in with a friend of hers, Y. There was a third woman in the apartment, A, who was also a friend of Mrs. X. A and Y did not know each other, but both were friends of Mrs. X. Y asked A what part of Jamaica she was from. Y replied that she was from Lucy. A said that she also was from Lucy. Y asked A if she knew Mrs. B in Lucy. A replied that she did, and both women began a long conversation about events, activities and personalities in Lucy.

Another expression of friendship cliques is the private party, or houseparty, most common during the summer months when few formal dances are held. There are several different types of private parties. One type involves the host preparing food and entertainment, and refreshments. Another type, the "day" party, usually lasts all day. The host supplies the food and the guests bring beer and liquor. The food can vary from Canadian-style sandwiches to curried chicken, and rice and peas. The "dutch" party involves the host supplying the hall, room, or basement. The men buy the beer and the women buy or cook the food. The "sub" party involves the host collecting a sum of money from each invited guest and ordering the food and drinks. Certain friendship cliques build a reputation for throwing parties, and West Indians who are not invited often turn up at these parties. If they are known to the host or any of his guests they are usually allowed in; if no one at the party knows or has heard of the "crasher", he is usually turned away. During the summer of 1963, I knew of two very active friendship cliques who gave parties almost every week; one consisted of four Trinidadians living in the same building, and the other of six Jamaicans, who also lived in one building. The Trinidadian sponsored parties consisted mainly of Trinidadians, and the Jamaican sponsored parties consisted mainly of Jamaicans.

Private parties, as expressions of friendship patterns, also mirror the social class and island of origin social divisions present in the West Indian immigrant grouping and its formal associations.

Table 12: Composition by Place of Origin of Attendance at Parties Sponsored by West Indians

Place of Origin of Persons Attending	Place of Origin of Sponsors of Parties		
	Jamaica N=18	Trinidad N=7	Total N=25
Same Place of Origin as Sponsor	74.3	68.2	72.2 (506)
Different West Indian Origin From Sponsor	22	23.8	22.6 (159)
Canadian Whites	3.5	8	5.1 (36)
Canadian Negroes	0.2	-	0.1 (1)
Total number of persons attending = 100%	100% (451)	100% (251)	100% (702)

Table 12, based on information collected on 25 parties, demonstrates how the composition of these parties is affected by the island of origin of the party host. He activates his social networks for a party and these consist mainly of immigrants from the same island as himself. It should be noted that these are parties given by Newcomer immigrants and that the proportion of Canadian Negroes attending these parties is small.

Table 13, based on information collected on 28 parties, indicates the importance of social class in affecting the composition of private parties.

Table 13: Composition by Class Level of Attendance at Parties Sponsored by West Indians

Class Level of Persons Attending	Social Class of Sponsors of Parties		
	Middle Class N=26	Lower Class N=2	Total N=28
Same Social Class as Sponsor	96%	90%	96% (778)
Different Social Class from Sponsor	4%	10%	4% (32)
Total number of persons attending = 100%	100% (770)	100% (40)	100% (810)

Informal dyadic relationships are also expressed in patterns of "helping" among West Indian immigrants. Situations in which a woman cooks for her man, washes his clothes, and helps financially to put him through school, are called "arrangements" by the women and "scholarships" by the men. In return, the man, often a student, may promise to marry the woman. After he graduates he may marry her, or he may "skip", thinking he has outsmarted the woman. These "arrangements" often involve middle class men (students)and lower class women (domestics). These are among the few cases of informal dyadic relationships of some intensity which cut across social class lines. These

arrangements are also found between male and female students. If the man "skips" the reciprocity implicit in the relationship is broken, and this often results in recriminations, by the women involved, directed towards the male students; the women are left with the feeling that they have been "used" for the conveniences their relationship has brought the males involved.

Immigrants also give each other advice on immigration problems, and explain the various dodges which can be used to enter Canada and remain here. Immigrants also help each other to find jobs, and as I noted in Chapter Two, to find accommodation.

E. Social Class and Social Networks

In Chapter One I stated that Warner's conception of social class and social class boundaries was biased in that it distorted the actual pattern of social relationships or social networks which compose a given social class category. A social class consists of people who interact in formal and informal social situations on a basis of "like interest", and the social networks so formed interconnect with other social networks and so tie people of like interest or similar occupations together. But the social network of an individual passes through the conceptual boundary of class, and connects this individual with others who are members of different social classes, and in this

manner integrates various segments of the immigrant group. Certainly, middle class leaders in lower class associations should be seen this way. But, no matter how many social classes Warner postulates, he is still presenting a series of all-inclusive social categories which are useful for gross descriptions, like this study, but which fail to recognize the nuances involved in the real social situation. To bring out these nuances I will examine three social networks, a student's, a domestic's, and a stenographer's.

The student, Miss A, is from Jamaica, and has lived in Montreal for five years. 66% of all her friends and acquaintances are students. All of her close friends are students. 5% of her acquaintances are lower class. 70% of the persons making up her social network are from Jamaica; only 4% of her acquaintances are not from the West Indies. What is important is the manner in which she met people. Her social network indicates the existence of "key" persons who introduced her to series of individuals. In her network, there are six clearly discernable chains of interaction begun by six different individuals which resulted in her meeting other people in Montreal. Through these six "key" persons she was introduced to thirty-five other people. Other contacts consisted in meeting single individuals, or in shorter chains of interaction where she met one or two people through another person. The majority

of Miss A's contacts were made in the "home" social situation. In her case, interaction has been limited almost completely to other middle class West Indians and mainly from her home island. But the people who are part of Miss A's social network also have social networks of their own of which she is not a part; so that while a student may not know another student, he or she may very well know a friend or acquaintance of this other student. This form of loose integration through interpersonal contacts joins together large segments of the West Indian student body, and especially students coming from the same island.

The domestic, Miss B, is also from Jamaica and has been in Montreal for two years. Her social network is about half the size of Miss A's. The majority of her friends and acquaintances are in lower class occupations, but 25% of her acquaintances are white collar and she does know some students, but not very well. Her social network exhibits three distinct chains of introduction and interaction. Her three "key" persons introduced her to fourteen people, some in lower class occupations and some in middle class occupations. 80% of the West Indians she has met in Montreal are from Jamaica. Her social network consists mainly of people in lower class occupations but she does have contact with persons employed in white collar occupations; she interacts with them, sometimes in the formal

setting of an association, and sometimes informally at various social activities. She is part of a social network; the lower class persons who are part of her social network also belong to other social networks consisting mainly of lower class individuals; the middle class individuals who are part of her social network belong to other middle class networks.

The secretary, Miss C, is also from Jamaica, and has been in Montreal two years. She arrived as a domestic, and during her first year in Montreal her social network was small and consisted mainly of other domestics, except for one secretary, Miss D, whom she met at a night school. During this year Miss C studied secretarial work and after her year of domestic work was over she obtained a job as a secretary; she also moved in with Miss D. The nature of her social network changed drastically. She began to meet other secretaries and stenographers, and students. She was invited to student parties, and went out frequently with a student to whom her roommate introduced her. At the last party she gave, a majority of the males present were students, and the people present combined three social networks; her own network which consisted mainly of students, white collar workers, and some domestics; Miss D's social network which was much the same as her own; and her boyfriend's which consisted mainly of students.

We can see, now, that social class is dynamic, consisting of individuals whose social networks are largely restricted to members of one class, but which do overlap into other social classes. Individuals interact with one another, usually on the basis of some common interest. These patterns of interaction can change as the individual makes new friends who may or may not belong to his or her social class. If her contacts change the composition of the social network of which she is a part of, her social class position and status may change. This may be conditioned by certain structural features of her environment; she might change her job, which will bring her into contact with different people. These series of interconnected social networks reinforce the integration of social class and also reinforce a loose integration of the whole immigrant social grouping. Considerations like these are also very important in examining the dynamics of the changing social status of a socially mobile individual, like the secretary, Miss C.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

A. Summary

In this study I have delineated four social divisions in the West Indian population of Montreal, middle class-lower class, newcomer-oldtimer, island of origin, and West Indian-Canadian Negro. These social divisions result in social groupings which are characterized, for our purposes, by three dominant ideologies and two dominant goals; the dominant ideologies being, activist, accommodative, and recreation; and the goals being instrumental and expressive.

Associations, formal and informal, are characterized by the social groupings that join the associations, and the members of these groups tend to join associations which are characterized by an ideology and goals congruent with their own, and which have activities which express these ideologies and goals. Relations and interaction within and between associations are governed to a great extent by the social divisions in the West Indian population and related ideologies and goals.

Associations tend towards a high degree of homogeneity in terms of the social groupings existing in the West Indian population. This also suggests that associations are homogeneous with respect to dominant

ideologies and goals held by their members. When an association is not homogeneous, areas of strain appear in interpersonal relations which can coelesce into conflict over specific issues where ideology and goals conflict, and where members of the different social groupings interact.

Leadership roles are particularily sensitive to these forms of incipient strain because of their importance in the decision-making process regarding the implementation of the goals of the association in the form of activities. Leadership roles often become the predominant locus of strain and conflict in an association, mirroring the relations between the different social groupings in the association. But, the manner in which leaders play their roles can either mask this strain and conflict, or aggravate it.

B. Homogeneity, Strain, and Stability in Associations

This study has wider implications for the existence and stability of West Indian associations. The implication in the above summary is that associations exist because they are in congruence with the ideology, goals, and expressions of these, of those segments of the population which compose the membership of the association. This also implies that the stability of associations is related to the degree of homogeneity of these associations. Stability is defined here as existence over time without changes in

the dominant ideology and goals of an association. (If ideology and goals change, the social composition of the membership, in terms of our social divisions, also changes.) If an association is completely homogeneous, there will be a greater possibility that the ideology and goals of the association will be in congruence with those of its membership. In other words, there is a correlation between degree of homogeneity in an association and the existence of areas of strain in that association which could coelesce into confliot and threaten the stability of the association; the association might disintegrate, as in the case of the Pioneer Girls, or redefine its ideology and goals so that it attracts members of one of the two conflicting groupings in greater numbers and moves towards homogeneity and equilibrium. In either case, in accordance with our definition, the association is unstable.*

All associations which are not homogeneous contain the elements of instability. In this sense, middle class associations have a greater chance for stability and existence over time because of their greater selectivity and smaller membership; while, for example, all lower class associations in this study have some form of middle class leadership.

*This analysis does not take into account certain organizational factors like overcentralization and unclear channels of communication, clarity of normatively-defined roles, which may have an important bearing on the stability of associations.

All the associations in this study, but one, the Pioneer Girls, are stable in that they have existed over time in much the same form and show no overt signs of collapse. This appears to contradict my hypothesis that homogeneity and stability are interrelated. But stating that an association which is not homogeneous contains the elements of instability is not stating that the association is unstable. There are a number of integrative factors which lessen the possibility of strain and conflict in an unhomogeneous association.

(1) The great majority of members in the association may be homogeneous in terms of our social divisions, and if members of the minority group do not hold leadership roles, the possibility of strain and conflict may be lessened.

(2) The quality of leadership exhibited can minimize strain and conflict, as in the Ethnic association.

(3) The degree to which leaders can accommodate the ideology of recreation and expressive goals of members can go a long way towards minimizing strain and conflict. As we saw, this was one reason for the collapse of the Pioneer Girls.

(4) While leaders and followers may be socially different, they may both hold strongly to the same ideology and set of goals which will minimize their social differences, as

in the Ethnic association.

(5) Associations require only a few members for the day-to-day running of the associations. This can minimize the number of occasions in which socially different groups interact with each other in the association.

(6) In accommodative expressive associations, leaders have greater opportunities to satisfy the ideology of recreation of members, than do the leaders of activist instrumental associations; the incongruence between accommodation and recreation is not as great as that between activism and recreation.

But there is one type of association which, paradoxically, is inherently unstable when its membership is completely homogeneous. This is the lower class activist instrumental association, the Civil Rights association in this study. The Civil Rights association required changes in society. These were changes in the larger society which is largely a middle class society and which is relatively resistant to change, especially change initiated by the lower class. The skills and abilities needed to effect these changes, immigration and civil rights, are also possessed by only the middle class. The Civil Rights association failed to implement its goals as a homogeneous lower class association. It showed a definite trend towards becoming a lower class accommodative expressive association.

When it received middle class leadership necessary for the attainment of its instrumental goals, the association showed a trend towards becoming a middle class activist instrumental association, a trend encouraged by middle class leadership in the association. In this case, the very homogeneity of this type of lower class association blocks the attainment of valued and dominant goals, and results in either a redefinition of ideology and goals or a change in membership composition; in my terms it is unstable and only attains equilibrium as a homogeneous lower class accommodative expressive association or as a middle class activist instrumental association.

C. Collins and Stability of Associations

At least one other researcher, Collins, has taken a different position from mine regarding the stability of West Indian associations. Collins differentiates two types of immigrant associations, Traditional and Emergent. Traditional associations are similar to those found in the immigrants' country of origin, while Emergent associations are non-traditional and are organized by immigrants to meet needs arising from the adjustment or transition situation. Collins hypothesizes that traditional associations tend to be stable (exist over time) and persist with duration of the immigrant community, while Emergent associations are usually unstable and short-lived.[1] Now, all

the associations, but one, are stable in Montreal whether they are Traditional or Emergent. Let us examine his argument more closely. Collins traces the instability of Emergent associations to the heterogeneity of the national and cultural character of the immigrant group. In Montreal this is a factor in instability of associations, but these Emergent associations tend to emphasize homogeneity, as I have indicated. Collins also stresses a lack of trained leadership in Emergent associations. In Montreal, all associations have some form of middle class leadership which, by definition, is more trained than lower class leadership. Collins also traces instability of Emergent associations to their negative aims, often of remedying specific wrongs, and to the marginality of the immigrant group; Emergent associations, he says, are pressure groups which reflect lack of acceptance and lack of adjustment. This is a one-sided estimate. The goals of an association that attempts to change the status quo are not necessarily negative, but in the view of the association may well be positive, and act to integrate the association. Nor does being a pressure group necessarily reflect lack of adjustment or acceptance. It reflects a disagreement over some topic, and a positive effort to win over the wider public to the viewpoint of the pressure group. The obstacles to which the pressure group is opposed act as positive and

integrative mechanisms for the association concerned.

Collins' greatest error is in assuming that in a new or changing social situation, that which is in focus with cultural tradition is more stable than that which is a new response to the social situation the immigrants find themselves in. In this study I have stressed the present social situation in Montreal as providing a means of understanding the immigrant associations. The social distinctions that West Indian immigrants make in Montreal, and the ideologies and goals they hold, are largely responses to the new social situation, while still based in cultural tradition. But, if these new responses are not taken into account, no understanding of the present social situation is possible, because these new responses are as much guidelines to behavior as are those responses rooted in cultural tradition.

Footnotes to Chapter Nine

1. Sydney Collins, Colored Minorities in Britain (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), p.20.

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