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Defining successful integration: An examination into the life of Grenadian transmigrants in Toronto (Ontario).

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DEFINING SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION: AN EXAMINATION INTO
THE LIFE OF GRENADIAN TRANSMIGRANTS IN
TORONTO

by
Paula Patricia Green

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts in Sociology at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1998

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Abstract

The successful integration of immigrants has always been assessed in terms of the material possessions they accumulate in the host country. Researchers such as Henry (1994), Richmond and Kalbach (1980), Richmond (1969; 1989), have measured the success of migrants using objective markers, such as ownership of residence, occupational status/mobility, income attainments and the educational accomplishments made in the receiving country. However, given that most migrants intend to return home, see themselves as residents of both home and host societies, maintain contact with their natal communities, have vested interest in the welfare of friends and family members, such as children, parents, and siblings who remain on the island, as well as the current events of their homeland (Tobias 1980), this definition of success provides a paucity of evidence that fails to adequately evaluate the achievements of these migrants. For given their transnational existence, it will be argued that the success and integration of these migrants should also be examined in terms of the economic, social and political ties that they maintain with their home societies (Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. & Szanton Blanc 1995a; 1995b). Furthermore, these transmigrants may even define their success in different terms. Therefore, although their assessment may include some of the above mentioned indicators, other criteria may be used as well. Alternatively, many may define their success in terms of a broadened world vision, the ability to establish a family or household, the knowledge, competence, improved social skills and experience gained from travel. Consequently, this thesis will challenge these conventional definitions of success by considering success outside the host country and the definitions of success from

the perspective of the immigrants themselves. This study was based on interviews conducted with 50 Grenadian transmigrants in the city of Toronto, during the Summer of 1996.

Dedication

This Thesis is dedicated to my mother Angella and my youngest brother Simon,
for their continued love and support.

To My Mom The epitome of strength and courage

To My Bro Dad was right.
We will.....
To your complete and speedy recovery
Get well soon!

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In Grenada, as in the Caribbean, emigration has become a deeply institutionalised strategy for economic subsistence and betterment (Pool 1989:246; Chaney 1987:10). Since the turn of the century Grenadians and other Caribbean persons have emigrated to Cuba as cane cutters, to the Panama Canal as unskilled labourers, to Trinidad and Tobago during the 1960's to work in the oil fields, to Great Britain and later on to North America, as seasonal workers and domestic labourers in the early stages of their migration (Macklin 1992, Calliste 1991, Bolaria and Li 1988), as well as to Venezuela, the Dutch Islands, US Virgin Islands and Guyana (Pool 1989:244-247; Tobias 1980:43). This has led some social scientists to characterise the Caribbean as a 'migration oriented society' (Pool 1989; Tobias 1980, Chaney 1987, Basch 1987, Wiltshire 1992)

Similar to other immigrant groups in North America, the first Caribbean migrants preserved familial and cultural links to their homelands, but unlike these pioneer settler groups (who were primarily European), they have not severed them over time (Chaney 1987:3). Caribbean life in North America for example, can be viewed as a product of the continuous circular movements of people, cash, material goods, culture, lifestyles and ideas, to and from North America and the islands and mainland territories of the English, Spanish and Dutch speaking Caribbean.¹ Accordingly, like most Caribbean immigrants who intend to return home eventually, they maintain contact with their natal communities

¹ The Caribbean would be defined here as all the islands stretching in an arch nearly 2,000 miles from Trinidad to Cuba, including islands such as the Bahamas, the US Virgin Islands, Providencia, San Andres, the Caymans, Turks, Caicos islands, the Netherland Antilles, the French islands of Martinique and Guadelope and the territories of Guyana, Surinam, French Guiana and Belize. The latter territories are considered part of the Caribbean region because of their historical identification with the region as well as the similar histories shared under British, French and Dutch colonisation (Chaney 1987:5; Blouet & Blouet 1997:272- 275).

and remain interested in friends and relatives as well as current events on the island (Tobias 1980:51).

This strong migrant ideology held by Caribbean people, who view foreign travel as a necessity to better oneself, has further implications. A study conducted by Tobias (1980), on the island of Grenada, between 1973 and 1976 found that a subjective system of peer evaluation developed by lower class males, was used to circumvent the economic system and define an individual's success in the society. This system of assessment was a constellation of non-economic factors related to this migratory way of life, and included such things as one's travel experience, self confidence, knowledge and communication skills gained through migration, as well as the networking and material achievements made, just to name a few. However, although this system spurred emigration, it also limited the quality and quantity of information received by emigrant hopefuls, as those who emigrate and return to the island, often provide elaborated versions about life overseas. As a result, many leave the island largely unprepared for what they will encounter abroad (Tobias 1980:40).² It is this access to information and its importance to the adaptation of migrants in the host society that will be one of the focuses of this study

Traditional studies on migration tend to concentrate on the economic aspects and less on the non-economic, social and cultural dimensions of it (Pool 1989:238). Accordingly, they have failed to apprehend the importance of the cultural idiosyncrasies of the Caribbean, as well as the migration process itself. Furthermore, the majority of traditional studies evaluating the success of immigrant adaptation have concentrated on western social scientific concerns of educational, income and occupational attainments, to the exclusion of Caribbean persons' more subjective determinants of success. Moreover, success should not be viewed as only what can be or is achieved in host societies but also

². This study will be discussed in more detail in the Theory chapter.

in relation to what is achieved outside of the host country, especially in the home societies. Thus, the current study is an examination of these criteria of success. That is, the study explores the importance of the transnational connections of Grenadian migrants in the City of Toronto and how these connections, coupled with subjective criteria of success, or are instrumental in determining a migrant's achievements.

Originally, the aim of this thesis was to explore the importance of information received about life in the host country in the determination of an immigrant's success, that is, his or her ability to adapt in the new society. This was something often ignored by studies of immigrant adaptation in host societies. However, I realised in the course of my research that this view of the migratory experience was a consideration of what occurred only in receiving countries, such as Canada. It failed to consider migrant adaptation from a more global or holistic perspective. This global approach to the migration experience is what social scientists currently refer to as transnationalism.

Increasingly, anthropologists have noted that immigrants live their lives across borders and maintain ties to home, even when their countries of origin and settlement are geographically distant. In recent times it has become the perception of social scientists and Grenadians alike, that more Grenadian migrants live outside Grenada than within its borders (Wiltshire 1992:176). The same is true of Caribbean people in general. "The myth of North America as the promised land is one which becomes embedded in the regional psyche... as there are few Caribbean families today who have no experience of migration" (Wiltshire 1992:183).

During the course of this study it was found that a growing number of Grenadian migrants, in addition to living, working and making contributions to Canadian society, still maintained assets; homes, bank accounts, businesses, support family members and are still very much involved in the social and political aspects of Grenadian society. Furthermore, there is a high rate of return by these migrants to their former country, whether

permanently or for vacation. Henry (1994:233), has noted for example, that air travel services take up most of the advertising space on the *Share*, one of the local West Indian newspapers in the Toronto area, suggesting frequent travel between the two locales, something which was also common of, and mentioned by most of the respondents interviewed for this study. Accordingly, Chaney (1987:3) has noted that cheap airfares facilitate the comings and goings of island peoples to the extent that was never dreamed of by immigrants of earlier times. In addition, Henry (1994) also found that within the community there was a relatively large number of freight and cargo services (containers) transporting goods to and from the Caribbean, most of which service retail outlets in the Kensington Market and those along the Eglinton and St. Clair strips, in Toronto's West end, which specialise in West Indian goods. Added to that, many of the respondents interviewed in this study noted that they were also in the habit of sending food, money, other goods and services to family members and friends back in the Caribbean.

In addition, island associations in the receiving country also facilitate the transnational living experience, as they keep migrants in touch with events in their home countries. "Since the Caribbean is a very politicised area of the world, migrants, even after years of residency abroad, still maintain a keen interest in the political events of their countries of origin. Furthermore, island associations also prove to be useful in mobilising their communities to respond to disasters at home" (Henry 1994:235). They also often assist in infrastructural development, such as the building of hospitals and community centres as well as funding school repairs, just to name a few. Organisations with these transnational ties will be referred to here on, as transnational associations, in this thesis.

To describe this way of life some social scientists have used the term transnationalism. According to Basch (1992:), "immigrants are understood to be transmigrants when they develop and maintain multiple relations-familial, economic, social, organisational, religious and political-that span borders...(Thus), the multiplicity of

migrants' involvement in both home and host societies is a central element of transnationalism" (p. ix). Consequently, in light of these recent developments in theoretical perspectives on migration, as well as its consistency with the research findings from the 50 Grenadian migrants interviewed in the Summer of 1996, the transnational approach will be used in this analysis.

The central argument will be that previous migration perspectives failed to adequately consider transnational connections, individual subjective definitions, and cultural value systems of the migrant home society, in determining the successful integration of migrants in host societies. Thus successful adaptation/ integration will be defined here using three criteria. They are: 1) **Objective**- the ability of migrants to achieve high levels of socio-economic status in the host country. This will be assessed using measures of income, occupation, ownership of residence and education; 2) **Subjective**- whether or not respondents perceived themselves as successful and or perceived themselves as being evaluated by peers, as being successful, as well as, respondents' personal satisfaction with their lives and achievements made, in the host and home societies and; 3) **Transnational**- includes objective indicators such as ownership of a home, bank account or having investments in Grenada, as well as subjective criteria, such as supporting family members on the island, or membership in transnational associations. The latter is tied to the second component of success, since many respondents defined subjective success in terms of the relationships that they retained with their home country, and contributions made to the infrastructural and political development of Grenada, through their organisational involvement in Canada. Thus in actuality, there are two types of definitions of success to be discussed here, subjective and objective, but for the purposes of analysis, the transnational aspects of respondents success will be dealt with as a separate issue.

The rationale for using such assessment criterion are as follows. A transmigrant in many ways can be compared to that of a transnational company, with obligations and ties to subsidiaries in different locales or nation-states. Using profit and loss, expenditure and production output as the criteria for assessing the success or failure of this company, it may be found that by US or Canadian standards this company may be relatively small and not as successful, when compared with others within that particular geographical location. However, in other nation-states, often those nations less economically developed than North America, it might be that this particular company is one of the largest grossing companies in that locale. So too it is with an immigrant's success. Not only can the same or similar criterion of assessment for success be useful to either locale, but to a certain extent success must also include achievements made outside the host country. Hence the indicators mentioned above characterise successful adaptation in the host country, although they do not cover in entirety, the transmigrant experience.

The thesis will attempt to evaluate the success of immigrant adaptation whether measured by objective or subjective criteria, relating it to a number of variables including gender, educational background, age, time of arrival, occupational background, racism, access to information, use of settlement agencies, participation in organisations as well as problems encountered upon arrival in the host society (see model in chapter 3). These variables are also among those used by conventional theories of migration, to measure success (see Henry 1994, Richmond and Kalbach 1980). This is not to say however, that transnational theorists would object to using such criteria. Furthermore, due to the lack of concrete modes of assessment by the latter, these variable will be employed here.

As discussed earlier, peer review was an important criterion in the evaluation of success for a majority of Grenadian emigrants, in the study conducted by Tobias (1980). In this study, the significance of peer review will be looked at in terms of the importance it holds in shaping emigrants' own definition of their success. That is, within the context of

Grenadian society and its value system, how one is viewed by others in the Grenadian communities in home and host societies, will affect one's view of success, as well as impact how this success is defined. As mentioned previously, these criteria of success often involve non-economic factors such as, prestige, knowledge, communication, networking abilities, just to name a few, something which traditional studies have failed to apprehend. Furthermore, it will be argued that from a Grenadian and Caribbean perspective, these are the most important significations of an immigrant's success overseas.

Most of the interviews were conducted in the homes of participants. The sample population came from the Grenadian community in the Central Metropolitan Toronto area, bordering the Mississauga, to Scarborough and North York to the Queensway regions. A total of 50 interviews were conducted. Snowball sampling technique was used to select the sample. As a Grenadian migrant myself residing in the Toronto area, I knew many Grenadian migrants. With the assistance of friends, family members, heads of various Grenadian organisations and the Staff at the Grenada Consulate, participants for the study were selected. The Staff at the Grenada Consulate proved to be most valuable as they allowed me to advertise by posting up sign up sheets in that office so that persons entering, who were interested, were asked to either contact me personally or leave their name and phone number to be contacted (see Appendix F).

There were a total of fifty-seven questions dealing with issues of socio-demographic characteristics, problems encountered in Canada, experiences and satisfaction with life in Canada, access to information, involvement in the community and participation in community organisations, views about personal success and transnational ties to Grenada (see Appendix C). The interviews were unstructured and lasted between one and four hours.

I had originally proposed to interview 30 respondents, but because of growing interests in the study on the part of persons in the Grenadian community, I increased the sample size to 50. Where possible the characteristics of the interviewees were made to match those of Grenadian migrants arriving in Canada between 1980 and 1992. Where such information was unavailable, characteristics of Caribbean migrants as a group, were substituted (see Appendix B).

Since data were unavailable for the educational attainments of Grenadians as a group, the sample was made to reflect the educational attainments of Caribbean migrants. According to the 1991 Census, 8.9% of Caribbean migrants had less than a grade 9 education, 36.1% had secondary level education (grades 9-13) while 55% had some kind of post secondary education (see Appendix B). In addition, the census also revealed that approximately 15.5% of Caribbean migrants occupied managerial/ administrative and professional related positions, 36.9% were employed in the clerical, service and sales related positions, while 47.8% occupied other positions (see Appendix B). All of the participants were of working age.

The taped interviews were then transcribed. The transcripts were then analysed using a combination of textual analysis and statistical crosstabulations. Here themes were derived from the transcripts as they were read, and from the model described for this study. In addition, statistical analyses using frequency distributions and crosstabulations were done to explore relationships between variables as outlined in the model (see Diagram 1 in Chapter 3).

This thesis will be divided into seven chapters. In addition to the introduction (Chapter 1), this thesis includes six other chapters. Chapter 2 will discuss Canadian immigration policies and their impact on migration to Canada from the Caribbean region. I believe that this chapter is an important tool to aid in an understanding of the migration process, as there is often an assumption by social scientists in presenting their research

findings, that readers have a background knowledge of the conditions of the sending and receiving societies. This is a dangerous assumption, as members of the audience will embed the data in their own idea of what is relevant, as each rewrite the work in his/ her mind, because not enough historical information has been provided (Tobias 1980:41). It is for this reason too that I have chosen to place the study within the context of a Grenadian perspective on migration, by emphasising more transnational and cultural-subjective criteria of success, in an attempt to overcome these shortfalls. Chapter 3 will be the theory section and will be an examination of the conventional theories on the adaptation of migrants in the host country, to be challenged by subjective and transnational approaches. The concluding portion of the theory section will outline the theoretical model used in the study, which includes the transnational, subjective and some aspects of the more conventional perspectives on immigrant adaptation. The data analysis will be a discussion of the three type of variables used in this study: the dependent, intervening and independent variables. This section will be divided into three chapters: 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 will discuss success achieved by Grenadian migrants interviewed in the study, using objective and subjective definitions of success. Chapter 5 will be a discussion of the intervening variables: the adaptation problems experienced by Grenadians in Canada. The final part of the data analysis, will be Chapter 6. This section will relate the success of adaptation among Grenadian migrants, to the variables outlined in the model. Finally, Chapter 7 will comprise concluding remarks on the findings of the study. Enclosed also will be appendices, including the interview schedule used in this study, some immigration data, a compilation of tables, charts and graphs, the flyer posted at the office of the Consulate General of Grenada and references.

Chapter 2

History of Caribbean Immigration to Canada

Caribbean immigration into Canada has varied in size and composition throughout the last four decades (See Table 1.1 in Appendix A for more details). These changes have been reflective of variation in Canadian policy, those in other parts of the world, as well as certain developments in the Caribbean. To begin with, this section will deal with first arrival of Caribbean immigrants into Canada under the domestic schemes. Following that, there will be a discussion of the changes that occurred in Canada and the rest of the world from the 1960's up to the present, their impact on Caribbean emigration, and the ability of these immigrants to adjust in Canada.

Caribbean migrants began entering Canada at the turn of the twentieth century. They came primarily to work in the steel mills and coal mines of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and around 1911 to the Province of Quebec as domestic labourers. It was the shortage of domestic labourers in this province that prompted the emergence of the first Caribbean domestic scheme with Canada (Calliste 1991). About 100 women were brought from the island of Guadeloupe under the scheme (Calliste 1991:100, Macklin 1992:688). Thus between 1922 and 1931, three quarters of the Caribbean blacks who came to Canada were domestic servants. However, many were soon deported because it was rumoured that they were single parents and there was an imminent fear that they would become a public burden. Nevertheless, Macklin (1992:688) notes that the deportation coincided with periods of recession, where blacks could be fired to make room for white servants.

In 1955 a second Caribbean domestic scheme emerged. This Scheme resulted from the lobbying efforts of Caribbean governments and Canadian employers. The former accused the Canadian government of having racist immigration policies which deterred the entry of Caribbean immigrants into Canada. Canadian employers, on the other hand, lobbied for the scheme because Caribbean domestics proved to be cheaper to acquire than

other groups. Consequently, in 1955 an agreement was reached between Canadian employers, and the governments of Jamaica, Barbados and Canada (Macklin 1992:689; Calliste 1991:105). "Under the Scheme, single women between the ages of 18-40 with no dependants and at least an eighth grade education were admitted to Canada as landed immigrants, on condition that they remain in live-in domestic service for at least one year" (Macklin 1992:689)

Both Macklin (1992) and Calliste (1991) commented that the decision to admit Caribbean domestics as landed immigrants came about primarily because of two factors. They note that the first reason was in response to the criticisms that Canada received concerning its exclusionary and racist immigration policy, which many likened to an indentured labour protocol. The second reason was the belief held by both Canadian employers and Canadian governments, that unlike European immigrants, Caribbean immigrants were less likely to leave domestic service at the end of the one year period. As well, Macklin (1992) and Calliste (1991) further noted that the decision by the Canadian Government to establish the 1955 Scheme also came about because the former retained the right to deport a woman at the expense of Caribbean governments, in the first year, if she became pregnant or terminated her contract with her employer (Calliste, 1991:106; Macklin 1992:689). Despite this however, Macklin (1992:693) observed that under this domestic workers program, 70 percent of the Caribbean immigrants who applied for landed status were successful.

Increasingly, the Domestic Workers Scheme came under attack. It was criticised as being unnecessary in lieu of the proposed changes to Canada's immigration policy. These changes, which placed an emphasis on skills as the main selection criterion for immigrants, occurred in 1962 (See discussion on the next page). In addition, the Caribbean Association in Ottawa noted that the Scheme condemned Caribbean women to second class status in Canada and should therefore be cancelled. Alternatively, the

Association suggested that they should be treated as skilled immigrants under Canada's 'preferred'³ immigration policy. Furthermore, Caribbean domestics were reportedly being paid less than their white counterparts. Some critics of the Scheme estimated this wage difference to be about \$150 per month. In addition, others complained that the small number of Caribbean immigrants admitted under the Scheme did little to curb the increasing unemployment rate in the Caribbean (Calliste 1991:106-113).

Caribbean governments were also criticised for their involvement in the Scheme. It was argued that they fostered the 'brain drain' from the Caribbean, since under the Scheme, in order to maintain favourable relations with the Canadian Government, they selected people on the basis of skills and education rather than past employment in the domestic service. This practice was further aided by the changes to Canadian Immigration Policy in 1961, which required that the educational requirements for domestic workers from the Caribbean be changed from grade eight to grade nine (Calliste 1991:106-113). As a result, "many women were qualified as teachers and secretaries, but came as domestics because other avenues of immigration were closed" (Bolaria and Li 1988: 201).

Until 1955, Employment and Immigration Canada estimated a total of 5,169 Caribbean immigrants residing in Canada (Immigration Statistics, 1946-1970:23). From the 1960's onwards however, with the introduction of new immigration policies, as well as a series of other world events, there was an overall increase in the number of Caribbean immigrants entering Canada (see Graph 1.1, Appendix A). This increase in the 1960's was due to a number of factors.

First the new policies were aimed at removing racial discrimination and instead established skills as the main criterion in the selection of unsponsored immigrants.

³Note. The Preferred Immigration Policy was established in 1923. It allowed Canada to select immigrants from preferred countries to fill certain occupational positions in Canada. These countries included Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium and France (Hawkins 1991:27).

Consequently, Caribbean immigrants were able to apply for permanent status in Canada other than through the domestic workers scheme. Second, in 1962 Britain ended its 'open door' policy between itself and its Commonwealth dependencies. As a result Canada and the US became the principal countries of choice for Caribbean emigrants (Anderson 1993:38). Thirdly, countries such as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago got their independence in 1962. Hence these newly independent Caribbean islands could now conduct diplomatic relations with other countries, as well as negotiate mutually agreed upon immigration policies. Fourthly, Caribbean migration during this era was further encouraged by Canada's need to rebuild itself after World War II. As a result, in both Canadian and American societies, there was a need for middle and upper level skilled workers. "The Caribbean was over-supplied with skilled workers, who because of the underdeveloped state of their own economies were forced to leave their own homeland" (Anderson 1993:37).

As illustrated in Graph 1.1 (Appendix A) the number of landed immigrants from the Caribbean arriving between 1962 and 1967 was still under 5000 per year. Many critics maintained that the new regulations were still racist, as they retained policy which favoured the sponsorship of a wide variety of relatives for European immigrants. This was a privilege not extended to non-European immigrants (Hawkins 1991:38-39). Although the new Immigration Regulations of 1962 sought to eliminate all discrimination based on race, in practice, the Immigration Regulation still favoured Europeans. Accordingly, Canadian officials "rightly saw that Canada could not operate effectively within the United Nations, or in the multiracial Commonwealth, with a millstone of racially discriminatory immigration policy around her neck" (Hawkins 1991:39).

Thus in 1967 a new selection system called the 'point system'⁴ was incorporated into the immigration regulations. This system comprised nine factors from which applicants must accumulate at least seventy points to gain permanent resident status in Canada. The nine factors of assessment were age, educational qualification, occupational demand, vocational preparation, arranged employment, location/ demographic factors, experience, knowledge of English or French and personal suitability (Hawkins 1991:77, Anderson 1993:41, Macklin 1992:696, Employment and Immigration March 1988:15). These changes to Canada's immigration policies led to a sharp increase in the number of immigrants from that region between 1967 and 1970, with minor fluctuations in 1968 (See Graph 1.1, Appendix A)

In 1970 the United Nations designated 1974 as World Population Year. This made population growth policy a high priority on Canada's national agenda. The aim of this UN declaration was to encourage countries to link population growth with economic and social development. One way Canada had traditionally sought to do this was by allowing more immigrants to enter into Canada, and 1974 was no exception. Thus one of the consequences of this announcement was an increase in the number of Caribbean immigrants entering Canada in that year (Hawkins 1991:44). As illustrated in Graph 1.1, this increase was the highest ever in the four decade period.

In 1972 the Federal Government revoked section 34 of the 1967 Immigration Regulations. Section 34 had permitted persons entering Canada as visitors to apply for permanent residency status from within Canada and also gave them permission to secure a job once there. Many argued that the 1967 legislation had caused considerable backlog to Canada's immigration system. Hawkins (1991:47) argued that by 1972, the Immigration Appeal Board was averaging about 1,000 cases of visitors seeking immigrant status per

⁴Note. See Appendix 1, Table A, for further discussion on the points system.

month, but could only handle about 100. Yet Caribbean immigrants were still emigrating in significant numbers to Canada. This may have been due to the fact that although revoked under an Adjustment Status Program, persons affected by these changes were given sixty days to rectify their status in Canada. The Adjustment Program lasted from August 15th to October 15th 1973. Accordingly, many Caribbean immigrants in Canada seized on the opportunity to legalise their status in Canada. The result of this was the continued increase in the number of landed immigrants from the region during that year (Hawkins 1991 46-47)

During the 1970's there were some farm labour shortages in Canada. As a result, the Caribbean Seasonal Workers Program, which was introduced in 1966 in Ontario, was expanded. The 1966 Program in Ontario had resulted from an agreement negotiated by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (then known as the Department of Manpower and Immigration), grower groups in South-western Ontario and the island governments of Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago (Manpower and Immigration 1973:15). Under the Caribbean Seasonal Workers Program, workers were admitted to Canada to work on Canadian farms, for a specific time, on a temporary basis (Bolaria and Li 1988:196). However, these seasonal workers, together with domestic servants were now required to obtain temporary work visas. These new changes arose from the Green Paper Discussions which were tabled in the House of Commons in 1975. In addition the Green Paper also called for a review of the Point System.

In 1976 the legislation regarding the revision of the points system was tabled. It became part of the Immigration Act of 1978. However, these changes did not appear in the Immigration Statistics manuals until 1981. The 1978 Act formally recognised three classes of immigrants. They were the family class, refugee and independent classes. The family class "included immediate family and dependent children as well as grandparents over sixty (or under sixty if widowed or incapable of gainful employment or parents of any

age if sponsored by a Canadian citizen)" (Hawkins 1991:72). The independent class and what are now referred to as the assisted relatives class (more distant relatives sponsored by a family member), would now be assessed under the points system (Hawkins 1991:72). Thus for the assisted relatives category a tenth factor was added under the point system (see Table 1, Appendix A). Here persons falling under this class were given bonus points for having relatives in Canada. On the other hand, for those entering under the family class category, the sponsoring relative had to agree to guarantee lodging and care for up to ten years (Anderson 1993:44). The 1978 Act also required all visitors and students who wanted to work or study in Canada to do so from outside of Canada. As well, once in Canada, these individuals could not readily change their status (Hawkins 1991:72).

Thus the 1978 Act allowed for earlier cohorts to sponsor family members. Consequently, this encouraged a particular kind of immigration pattern among Caribbean immigrants. As illustrated in Graph 1.2 Appendix A, the Family Class became the category into which these immigrants primarily emigrated. This trend still continues up to today.

In 1981, after the highly publicised case of the seven Jamaican women working as domestics who were ordered deported because they failed to report that they had children on their immigration documents, the Federal Government made changes to the Immigration Act. The women had applied for Landed Immigrant Status and now wanted to sponsor their children. These women were holdovers from the 1955 Scheme which had permitted them to apply for landed status after one year in the domestic service. Thus in 1981 the Federal Government permitted domestic workers to apply for landed status under a new scheme called the Foreign Domestic Movement -FDM (Macklin 1992: 692).

In 1985 new immigration policies emerged. In a report by the Minister of Employment and Immigration to Parliament, the Minister stressed the need for an assessment of the linkages between the rate of immigration, the future size of Canada's population, the natural rate of growth and composition of the population. As a result "on

November 1, 1985, the Federal Government announced a two year program (1986 and 1987) to increase immigration to reach a level of between 115,000 and 125,000 landings in 1987" (Taylor 1987:13) This had a tremendous effect on the number of Caribbean immigrants entering Canada. As Graphs 1.1 and 1.2 in Appendix A illustrate, there were sharp increases in the total number of immigrants from the Caribbean during this period, especially in the under the family class category, and most noticeably in 1987. As well, in 1988 Canada relaxed its family class rules and permitted the sponsorship of unmarried children of any age (Adelman, Borowski, Burstein & Foster 1994:191) Such legislation again led to significant increases in the number of Caribbean immigrants admitted into Canada. However the effects of this latter legislation on Caribbean emigration was not seen until 1989 (see Appendix A for more details)

In 1991, the census of Canada noted that 74 per cent of immigrants from the Caribbean lived in Ontario, 9.1 per cent in Quebec and 15.95 per cent lived in other provinces (Henry 1994:29; Anderson 1993:63). Of the total number of Caribbean immigrants residing in Canada, 309,585 according to the 1991 Census, the majority came from the island of Jamaica (see Table B in Appendix A) In addition, these immigrants tend to be concentrated in the metropolitan areas of Canada (Anderson 1993:68).

In 1992, the then Minister for Citizenship and Immigration, Bernard Valcourt announced changes to Canada's Immigration Regulations with respect to dependency. Under the new regulations, dependants eligible for sponsorship under the family class regulations were to include wife/husband, fiancé(e)'s, dependent sons and daughters under the age of 19 or over, if in school, taking professional or vocational training and were supported by parents throughout the duration. Also included, were adult children with mental or physical disabilities, who depended on substantial support from parents, children under the age of 13, whom a sponsor planned to adopt, grandparents, grandchildren, brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, who were orphans, unmarried and under the age of 19.

Sponsors could also include any other relative, if one did not have any of the above mentioned family members in Canada. These new regulations replaced the existing rules which stated that children of any age could be sponsored or included in the family class application, as long as they had never been married (Citizenship and Immigration Canada March 20th 1992: 1-2, March 27th 1992: 1)

Also in 1992, the Federal Government announced the implementation of the Live-in Caregiver Program to replace the existing FDM. Under this new domestic workers program, prospective applicants have to complete at least a grade 12 education, must have the ability to speak, read and understand either English or French, as well as complete six months of full-time training in the field or occupation, related to the job they were seeking as live-in caregivers. This training could be completed as part of a formal education or in a non-classroom setting (Citizenship and Immigration Canada April 27th 1992: 1-2). However, the requirement for the six months of training was revoked in 1993. Thus as long as applicants could prove that they had at least twelve months experience as caregivers, they were no longer required to have six months of full-time training. As well, following the completion of at least two years in live-in caregiving work, caregivers were now eligible to apply for permanent resident status in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada June 9th 1993: 1-2).

"Canada deliberately selected immigrants to meet the needs of those industries that were expanding most rapidly and to fill the vacancies in those occupations where demand was the greatest" (Richmond and Kalbach 1980: 29). In recent times, with decreasing occupational demands, noted by the recessionary periods of the early 90's, coupled with inflation and high rates of unemployment, especially among persons in the under 25 age group, the Canadian Federal Government has reacted by more openly adjusting its immigration policies to meet these fiscal demands. Accordingly, in November 1995 the government announced that under the 'points system,' maximum points will now only be

awarded to applicants between the ages of 25-35, seeking permanent resident status in Canada (see Appendix A, Table A). Added to that, the government concentrated most of its efforts in attracting and recruiting primarily economic class immigrants. Accordingly, in November 1995, the then Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi was quoted as saying that the November 1995, immigration changes were "aimed at generating wealth" (Delacourt 1995: A1 and A14). Thus family reunification for family class migrants which supposedly has always been a priority of the Canadian government has been superseded, in order to accommodate economic class migrants. This was demonstrated by not only reducing the number of persons admitted under the family class, but also redefining dependency to include only members of the immediate family. These overtly aggressive approaches to synchronise immigration and economic policies began in 1994.

The Federal Government announced in April 1994 that a fee would now be paid by all visitors applying for visas from abroad, upon the submission of their applications. In the past, the fee was only paid when the application was assessed and the visa issued. In addition to increases in the existing fees, all persons applying for permanent resident status, including successful refugee claimants, must also now pay a fee, upon the submission of their applications. These are non-refundable and do not guarantee the successful admission of the applicant into Canada (Statement April 15th 1994: 2). Added to that, on November 1st 1994, Sergio Marchi announced plans to increase the number of economic class immigrants over the family class. The number of economic class immigrants increased from 43% of all immigrants to 55% in 1995, while the family class component was shifted from 51% to 44% of all immigrants (House of Commons Debates November 1 1994:7470). The new regulations also legislated four new classes: 1) economic class immigrants; which comprised skilled workers, formerly known as

independents, business immigrants (investors)⁵ and provincial/ territorial nominees: 2) the family class: spouses, fiancé(e)'s, children, parents and grandparents: 3) refugees: government assisted and privately sponsored refugees landed in Canada with dependants abroad and: 4) another category: comprised of live-in caregivers and persons of the deferred removal order class-DROC.⁶

As well, in February 1995 Federal budget, the Minister of Finance, Paul Martin, announced the introduction of a new fee called The Right Of Landing Fee (ROLF)⁷ The Right of Landing is \$975 and must be paid by all persons 19 years or older, applying for immigrant status in Canada. At the same time the Processing Fee was increased to \$500 (Citizenship and Immigration-The Right of Landing Fee and Immigrant Loans Program 1994 1-4)

On June 1st 1995, Sergio Marchi, confirmed speculation of this country's growing trend of keeping its immigration regulations in alignment with its economic policies. He stated that Canada has introduced citizenship and immigration policies which promote national unity and contribute to the country's social fabric and economic growth, noting that such policies have become essential in order to reflect the fiscal and operation demands facing Canada. He also mentioned that Canada was committed to the settlement and integration of newcomers, as settlement services help people to become participants

⁵ The family members of persons from this group are not classified as members of the family class, they are instead admitted as economic immigrants and counted as such, in the employment and immigration statistics manuals (News Release, March 14th 1997: 1).

⁶ DROC are persons not recognised as conventional refugees, who will now have an opportunity for individual review by the IRB (Immigration and Refugee Board) based on humanitarian and compassionate grounds (News Release, April 25th 1997: 30).

⁷ Note, Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (1995). The Right of Landing Fee and Immigrant loans Program. 1-4. The Right of Landing Fee is a fee paid to obtain permanent resident status in Canada. It must be paid at the time of the application. It is refundable if application is rejected. The processing fee, on the other hand, must also be paid to process the application. This fee is not refundable.

of the Canadian society more quickly, making it easier for them to become more productive citizens. As a result of this, the Minister announced that the government will allot \$250 million, to settlement services (Citizenship and Immigration Canada June 1 1995:1).

The settlement program includes LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada), ISAP (Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program), which was established in 1974 (discussed in more detail in chapter 6) and the HOSTS programs which matches volunteer hosts from the community with new immigrants, which was developed in 1990. Included here also is the AAP (Adjustment Assistance Program) which provides direct financial aid to support government assisted refugees in their first year in Canada or until they become self supporting, whichever comes first. APP was established in 1948 and provides allowances for clothing, housing, food and furniture, the beneficiaries of whom were primarily indigent independent immigrants and all refugees (Citizenship and Immigration Canada April 20 1995:1-7). As of April 1994 however, APP benefits were made available only to the government sponsored refugees from abroad (Statement April 15 1994:3). The new settlement program further advocates that the provision of settlement services be allocated to services provider organisations- SPO's at the local community levels instead of being spearheaded by federal agencies (Citizenship and Immigration Canada April 20 1995:1-7). Previously, both Federal and Provincial governments administered these settlement services, which include language training for adult newcomers, orientation services, interpretation and translation services and job counselling. Under the realignment the provinces and territories would administer all settlement services on behalf of the federal government, thereby eliminating duplication and administrative overlap (Citizenship and Immigration Canada March 7 1997:1).

In November of 1995, Mr. Marchi announced plans for the revision of the point system and stressed that more emphasis would be placed on the recruitment of economic

class immigrants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1995 Nov. 17: Backgrounder). Thus on December 14th 1995, further changes were made to Canada's immigration regulations, that would have a profound effect on the number of family class immigrants admitted to Canada. Under the new regulations, the only relatives eligible for sponsorship under the family class include sponsor's wife or husband, fiancé(e), dependent sons, daughters, parents or grandparents. In addition, the sponsor must meet LICO- low income cut off points. That is, "prospective sponsors of parents, grandparents, or fiancé(e)'s would be subjected to a detailed financial assessment based on Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-Offs, to ensure that their disposable income is sufficient to meet both their needs and the needs of the sponsored family member(s) and any other relative sponsored previously. For example, a family of four in Toronto who wished to sponsor the husband's mother would be required to have \$41,527 in available income" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada December 14th 1995 2). Accordingly, these new policies will make it next to impossible for Caribbean families, which are headed primarily by single parents, whose average incomes (see Appendix A Graph 1.5) are nowhere near LICO, to be able to sponsor family members.

Furthermore, in keeping with its commitment to economic growth, in 1996 the total number of economic class immigrants admitted into Canada was 120,233, family class 68,165, while refugees numbered 8,600 persons, a sharp contrast to pre-1994, where the overall number of family class and independent workers admitted into Canada were roughly the same. Yet the minister stated that "although the numbers are the highest among economic immigrants, this does not mean that we have lessened our commitment to the family class" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada March 14 1997: 30-31). However as shall be illustrated below, the family class no longer continues to be a priority of the Canadian government.

In keeping its immigration regulations consistent with its economic policies, visa restrictions for citizens of the top twelve visiting countries to Canada were lifted. These same countries to date are also among the leading source-nations of business class immigrants to Canada. As of September 1997 the leading providers of migrants from all classes, to Canada were Hong Kong, 18,200, the People's Republic of China 14,000, India, 13,800, Taiwan, 10,375, Pakistan- 8,200 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada September 16 1997 30). However, India was not listed among the top five source countries of business class migrants to Canada. The fifth leading business class provider for Canada was South Korea. Canada lifted visa restrictions on the latter in April 1994 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada March 8 1997 5, News Release April 21 1994 1)

Another blatant illustration of collaborating economics with immigration policies was the unveiling of the new immigrant investor program which coincided with the announcement for renewed funding for the settlement program. It is interesting to note that these announcements were made in the province of British Columbia, which boasts not only of having the largest amount of investor class immigrants,⁸ but it was also the first province to sign on to the new settlement program (Citizenship and Immigration Canada March 7 1997 1). The current Minister for Citizenship and Immigration, Lucienne Robillard, stated that an additional \$63 million would be made available to immigrant settlement activities in 1996/1997 and each of the following three years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada March 7 1997 2). Thus it is practices such as these that have caused social scientists such as Elliot and Fleras (1995:111) to comment that it has been a predominant policy of governments to offer settlement services only to those immigrants destined for paid labour. With economic class migrants now a high priority of governments, who upon arrival to Canada, are registered as being destined for paid

⁸ British Columbia had the most number of investor class migrants (7,4310) followed by Ontario with 3,030 during the period 1986-1996 (News Release, March 14th 1997: 4).

labour, it can be insinuated that indeed, the most likely benefactors of these settlement services would primarily be members of the economic class. Further confirmation of this was seen in this present study, conducted in the Summer of 1996 among Grenadian migrants in the Toronto area, where most of the respondents interviewed had never heard of settlement agencies

Added to that, given that many Caribbean immigrants (with the exception of Dutch and Spanish-speaking Caribbean migrants), are proficient in English or French most are often never directed to immigrant settlement programs, in the first place. However, although immigrant settlement emphasises language training they also provide family and other support services. An example a Service Provider Organisation, SPO, operating in the Caribbean community in Toronto is the J.C.A. Jamaican Canadian Association. This association is open to all Caribbean persons and provides such services as employment and immigration counselling, family orientation and adjustment (discussed in more detail in chapter 6). As a consequence of this, Caribbean immigrants may often be excluded from certain information domains and services from the onset of their arrival in Canada. Accordingly, these trends in policies will have a detrimental affect on Caribbean migrants ability to seek permanent resident status in Canada, as well as affect their ability to adapt and become successful in the host society.

Thus there are a number of reasons why this new emphasis on economic migrants would affect the inflow of Caribbean immigrants into Canada. The first of which has to do with the overall decrease in the number of immigrants admitted under the family class. As previously mentioned and illustrated in Graph 1.2, Appendix A, this is the class under which most immigrants from that region emigrate. Thus a decrease in this category would ultimately lead to a decrease in the overall number of Caribbean immigrants admitted into Canada. Secondly, there is the issue of affordability. Caribbean immigrants tend to migrate primarily because of economic reasons. The limited prospects for employment and poor

economic conditions on the island of Grenada, for example, are claimed to be responsible for the high rate of out-migration from the island. Figures released in 1989 in a government paper, Grenada National Policy, claimed that an average of 2,000 Grenadians were emigrating to Canada and the US annually (Ferguson 1990:78). Furthermore, as previously mentioned, one of the criticisms of the 1955 Domestic Scheme was that it did little to curb the increasing unemployment in the Caribbean. Yet many Caribbean people, especially women have chosen and still continue to choose migrate as family class migrants, because it is the most accessible and affordable way of gaining admittance into Canada. For instance, in addition to airfare, as an economic class migrant (e.g. skilled worker, since very few Caribbean migrants, if any, come to Canada as investors), one must pay approximately \$1,500 (Processing fee - ROLF). As a member of the family class however, they must pay the \$500 processing fee and can secure a work permit for \$150 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada November 25 1996 Fee Schedule effective January 2 1997). Accordingly, reductions in the number of persons admitted under the family class, combined with the poor economic conditions in the Caribbean and the increasing immigration fees, will make it difficult for Caribbean people to immigrate to Canada.

In addition, as family class reunification becomes less of a priority for governments, there will continue to be a high propensity for family break-down in this group because of the long periods of separation between family members. This in turn will continue to affect the adjustment of these migrants in Canada. Yet like many other groups, Caribbean migrants have resorted to their own coping mechanisms. They have become transmigrants, living their lives across boundaries that span beyond that of the receiving country. Thus "to negotiate the insecurities of this global economy transnational migrants attempt to keep open multiple options which include continued participation in their home societies" (Georges 1992:81).

Chapter 3

Theoretical Model

In this chapter, I will discuss two theoretical perspectives in analysing the integration of immigrants in a host society: macro and micro. While macro-theories examine either structural obstacles (such as racism and discrimination), or cultural differences between immigrants and the host society, or availability of information, or communal services, micro theories draw attention to how the individual characteristics of immigrants affect their success of integration. In this thesis I will focus on explaining differences within the Grenadian community from a micro perspective

Both micro and macro-perspective theories measure success of integration by 1) occupational mobility or status, 2) attainment of education, 3) income levels, and 4) acquisition of property. I will argue in this chapter that these criteria of success are insufficient for two reasons. First these criteria measure achievements objectively while leaving out the subjective definitions and perceptions of success. Secondly, both perspectives discuss the success of immigrants in the host country, leaving out an often important aspect of their lives, namely their transnational connections to their countries of origin. It has become progressively more evident that many migrants do not sever ties with their home communities. In other words they are 'transmigrants,' not 'immigrants.' It can be argued that the performance of these migrants in the host countries should be evaluated along with other aspects of their transmigrant experiences. Therefore, it is reductionist to measure their success in the host communities without discussing their migration-related achievements in the society of origin. The model of integration that I will present in the last section of the chapter will include elements of macro and micro-models of integration. In addition, it will take into consideration the subjective definitions of success. Furthermore, it will assess experiences of transmigrants in both locations. However, before I begin this discussion, it will be important to define success. Accordingly, this

chapter will commence with an evaluation of the indicators of success. the variables used by various social scientists to measure success

Measures of Success

To measure the success of immigrant groups in Canadian society Henry (1994), Richmond and Kalbach (1980) and Richmond (1988) used the following indices occupation, income, ownership of residence and education

Figures for the 1986 census revealed that 78.6 percent of Caribbean women and 86.1 percent Caribbean males worked full time compared to 70.7 percent and 85.3 percent for Canadian females and males respectively (Henry 1994:103). Despite this high rate of employment among persons from the Caribbean, they tend to be concentrated in semi-skilled and manual labour and very little in upper middle and managerial positions (see Graphs 1.6a & 1.6b and Charts 1-3, Appendix A)

Another index used to measure the adaptation of immigrants was income. Compared to other groups Caribbean families tend to earn less. According to the 1986 Census, for couples without children, immigrants from the Caribbean earned approximately \$32,824 yearly, while other foreign groups and Canadians earned \$39,599 and \$47,515 respectively, per annum. For all family types, on average, Caribbean families earned \$30,195, other foreign groups, \$38,008 and Canadians, \$42,836. The census further revealed that female single parent families from the Caribbean were one of the poorest groups in Canada. They earned on an annual basis approximately \$17,604. By comparison, female single parent families from other foreign groups earned \$26,054, while Canadian female single parent families earned approximately \$24,117, annually (see Graph 1.5, Appendix A).

Another indicator used by Henry (1994) and Richmond et al (1980) to measure the differential incorporation and adjustment of Caribbean immigrants was ownership of

residence. When compared with other foreign groups and Canadians, 49.0 percent of Caribbean immigrants, 75.2 per cent of other foreign groups and 66.1 per cent Canadians own their own home according to the 1986 Census (Henry 1994:69).

Richmond (1989) used four categories to measure educational attainment. They were less than Grade Nine (elementary), Grades 9-13 (secondary), Non-University (some post-secondary, such as trades certificates and college diplomas) and University level education (Richmond 1989:33). These categories are also consistent with those published by Statistics Canada. However, among Caribbean born males with a university education, who arrived in Quebec during the period 1970-1974, it was found that members of this group received only 58 percent of the income obtained by Canadian-born and foreign-born immigrant males who were similarly situated. In Toronto, for the same period and for the same cohort, Caribbean born males received 67 percent of the income received by Canadian born males. Foreign-born males of the same situation received 86 percent of the income received by their Canadian-born counterparts. Between the period 1975-1979, for the same cohort, it was 42 percent for Caribbean males and 66 percent for all other immigrant males (Richmond 1989:29-33).

In addition, figures from the 1986 census also revealed that Caribbean born persons had higher levels of secondary and non-university post secondary education than either their Canadian and other foreign-born persons for all age categories (Richmond, 1993:272). Moreover, according to the 1991 Census, Caribbean immigrants had higher levels of post secondary non-university and secondary school education than other foreign born groups. Despite this however, Caribbean persons earned much less than the former (Badets and Chui 1994:45) (See Table 1.5 in Appendix A for income distribution among the groups). Consequently, although level of education may be correlated to the objective dimensions of immigrant adaptation, in the case of Caribbean immigrants, the correlation is not positive (Richmond 1993:264). Accordingly, both Henry and Richmond have

commented that despite having higher levels of education, Caribbean-born persons are not as successful and hence not as well integrated into Canadian society, as Canadian and foreign-born persons of the same cohort. To use Henry's term, Caribbean-born persons are differentially incorporated when compared to other groups. "Whenever such anomalies occur, neo-classical economists lapse into notions such as market imperfections, employer preferences or discrimination. These vague explanations, invoked invariably *post factum*, signal primarily the inability of this perspective to explain why markets fail to operate as they are expected to" (Portes and Min Zhou 1992: 495)

Macro Theories

The macro level factors explaining the successful integration⁹ of migrants in host countries, include, 1) the structural differences between the occupational system of the sending and receiving countries, 2) cultural explanations, 3) racism and, 4) access to information

The structural differences of the occupational system of the sending and receiving countries are important because, the greater the similarity between the occupational and economic structures of the two societies, the greater the probability that the skills and credentials demanded for a specific job in the country of origin will match those demanded in the receiving country (Raijman and Moshe 1995: 377). As well, an evaluation procedure or accreditation process to assess the skills obtained in the country of origin or other destination countries, with that of the occupational and or educational requirements needed in the current receiving country, is also important. Where there is high similarity, the original occupation can become a resource that accelerates labour market, and overall incorporation into the host society (Raijman and Moshe 1995: 377).

⁹ The words adaptation, integration and incorporation would be used interchangeably here.

Henry (1994), cites the cultural factors that Caribbean migrants bring with them to the host society as one of the factors affecting their differential incorporation in Canadian society (Henry 1994). The latter concept refers to the unequal treatment and differential access that immigrants have to the economic, social, political and cultural reward offered in a society (Henry 1994 17). She commented, that in the case of Caribbean immigrants the maintenance of certain cultural patterns such as some family patterns, social and leisure patterns, relations with education, help impede the socio-economic mobility of persons in this group (Henry 1994 15). Henry notes for example, that in the Caribbean, as in other parts of the world, men and women especially of working class backgrounds maintain intimate relationships that often produce children, but do not often lead to marriage. Accordingly, there is a comparatively high number of female single parent families among this group. Even with migration this pattern still remains. Added to that, more females than males from the Caribbean tend to migrate to Canada (Deere et al. 1990:76) (See Graph 1.4, Appendix A). Accordingly, Henry (1994:64-65) notes that there is twice the number of female single parents from the Caribbean compared to other groups in Canada (see Graph 1.3, Appendix A).

Furthermore, changes in Canada's immigration policies discussed in chapter 2, aimed at reducing the number of family class persons admitted, along with the new LICO provisions, further increase the likelihood of more Caribbean families headed by single women. This type of family pattern according to Henry impedes mobility, since female single parent families account for one of the lowest paid, among income earners in Canada (see Graph 1.5, Appendix A).

Henry further notes that certain social and leisure patterns, such as clubbing (going to night clubs), house parties and other events, are of particular importance to the social life of Caribbean people. They have been transplanted from that locale into Canadian society, and they work to impede their social mobility. "These parties (and other events)

were important meeting grounds for young black people ... (and) was an essential part of identity formation for young people of Caribbean heritage, living in Toronto. Young people would congregate and hang out, check out guys, check out what other girls were wearing and dance... Older men and women would also attend these events" (Henry 1994 173-174). However in recent years, such events have also become venues for an illegal subculture. This includes various forms of illegality from selling alcohol after hours, distributing drugs, robbery, assault and in some cases, murder (Henry 1994 182). She notes that this type of behaviour is found primarily among immigrant males in their late twenties to early forties, among persons from low income single parent families, who have had little education. The development of such a subculture, of which the primary determining factor is that of economics, is exacerbated by a variety of conditions enhanced by a lack of employment, especially in areas where Caribbean people have settled (Henry 1994 182-200). Accordingly, such behaviours and events often lead to clashes with the police as it affects the social and moral fabric of the Canadian value system.

With respect to education, Henry (1994: 15-16) further commented that Caribbean immigrants tend to leave the education of their children primarily up to the school system. As a result, there tends to be a high drop out rate among these students. Given all this, Caribbean families and persons are less likely than other groups to improve their socio-economic positions.

Although culturalistic explanations¹⁰ may play a role in explaining why Caribbean migrants have failed to adapt in Canadian society, they are only invoked *post factum*, or after the particular group demonstrated such abilities and therefore have little predictive capabilities for integration theory (Portes and Min Zhou 1992: 513).

¹⁰ See Henry (1994).

Another explanation provided by Henry (1994) as to why Caribbean immigrants fail to adjust to Canadian society is racism. She claimed that racial discrimination in the form of limited access to certain job positions, opportunities for promotion, led to long delays in immigration processing for Caribbean immigrants, all of which contributed to them being differentially incorporated when compared to other groups in Canadian society. To measure racial discrimination she documented instances of racism both individual and systematic, as experienced by Caribbean persons (Henry 1994: 15)

However, a study conducted by Portes and Bach (1980) among Mexican and Cuban immigrants in the U.S. found that the structural features of the companies that these migrants were employed in, and not the worker's ethnic background, affected their income attainment. Thus among Mexican immigrants for example, it was found that being employed in an Anglo owned firm as opposed to one owned by Chicanos or other minorities, yield a net gain of \$142 monthly for these migrants. In addition, respondents with identical educational background, skills and aspirations who were employed in firms where the labour force was primarily Anglo-Saxon received superior wages, by an average of \$155 per month. Thus it was the manner in which these migrants became incorporated into the labour force that was of significance. Those who gained entrance into Anglo-firms or firms with primarily Anglo labour force did much better income wise than their counterparts in ethnic-owned firms (Portes and Bach 1980: 329-331). On the other hand, in another study done on Cubans in Miami it was found that this group fared better economically, than their other Hispanic counterparts when employed in Cuban owned firms. That is, unlike other Hispanic groups, the Cuban ethnic enclave in Miami worked to advance the socio-economic mobility of Cubans in that area (Portes and Jensen 1992).

An alternative interpretation of these findings advanced by orthodox theorists on the relationship between ethnicity and income, is that the differences in income are the result of employer discrimination, in short, racism. That is, wage differentials between

White and non-white workers, will be affected by the racial characteristics of the individual, as evaluated by employers, rather than the structural requirements of their place of employment- the production requirements of the workplace. Portes and Bach (1980) tested this hypothesis and found no evidence to support it. Again it was the ethnicity of co-workers, that continues to be the single most important predictor of income. These results thus indicate that it was the occupational structure of the firms which these immigrants become employed in, that had a decisive effect on earnings (Portes and Bach, 1980:330). Thus to state that racism is the primary factor affecting income inequalities among Hispanics or as a matter of fact, any minority group is purely reductionist, as racism is not the only factor that may affect income inequalities.

The study by Henry (1994), discussed above, who stated that one of the two factors affecting the differential incorporation of Caribbean people in Canada is racism, is one case in point. Here while racism maybe an important factor affecting Caribbean migrants, it may not be the only one of two factors affecting their differential incorporation. There may be numerous other factors at work, facilitating this differential incorporation. Perhaps as Portes and Bach (1980) suggest, it may be the structural organisation of the workplaces in which these migrants find themselves employed, (the ethnic composition or ownership of their places of employment), that may be one the most important factors. Added to that, to base a study, where 64 of the 134 respondents¹¹ came from one island, and to generalise extensively to Caribbean people in Toronto, and failing to adequately consider the uniqueness of each island situation, is also problematic. Richmond (1993:269) pointed, out for example, that Jamaicans and Guyanese in the Metropolitan Toronto area were less well educated than their Barbadian and Trinidadian

¹¹ 64 of the respondents in Henry's study came from the island of Jamaica, which provides the largest amount of immigrants coming to North America from the English-speaking Caribbean.

counterparts. Moreover, as pointed out earlier, among Grenadians, migration has become somewhat of a cultural phenomenon. The extent to which this is true of other island situations however, must be carefully examined. Since while there may be many similarities, one must caution against extensive generalisations.

Another factor affecting immigrant adaptation is access to information. "From the moment of arrival, immigrants and refugees need help to cope with resulting adjustment and changes. (As a result), immigrants need to absorb large amounts of information to restore their balance and to learn how to function in a new culture" (Yelaja and O'Neill 1988 203 & 209). Some of this information is often provided through what are often referred to as settlement agencies in the receiving country, and/ or through the assistance of relatives and friends who live there, or through other informal networks. In recent times, settlement services have expanded to include language skills training and accreditation services, the aim of which is to accelerate the labour market participation of newcomers (Yelaja and O'Neill 1988 203).

In a study conducted by Head (1980) access to information was found to be an important factor affecting immigrant adjustment. The work was a comparative analysis of three groups, namely, West Indian, South Asian and European immigrants. However, Head looked only at information provided upon arrival to immigrants through thirty-two community agencies funded by the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program-ISAP. His study revealed that two-thirds of the West Indian respondents expressed the feeling that no help or inadequate help was available from the thirty-two settlement service agencies that he studied. Consequently, Head (1980) found that the provision of adequate community services was most crucial to the overall satisfaction and subsequent adaptation of these immigrants in Canada. The program's emphasis on the provision of services primarily to refugees and on language training, neither of which may be of pertinence to the majority of West Indians arriving in Canada, may be one explanation as to why it fails

to attract members of this group. In addition, it also may be that many of these migrants are probably never directed to such services in the first place, and so may never have heard of the existence of such agencies (see discussion of settlement agencies in chapters 2 & 6). Head found that Caribbean migrants tended to rely more on relatives and friends to provide such information. Thus Head (1980) concluded that the inadequacy of settlement services within the West Indian group affected their ability to adapt in Canada

In another study conducted by Tobias (1980) on the island of Grenada, access to information was also found to be a factor affecting immigrant adaptation. He found that information received from emigrants often contained exaggerations about the material benefits of life overseas. However, to try and change this belief system, or alter the kind of positive information received about life overseas, the emigrant runs the risk of appearing to be a failure, thus jeopardising the peer group evaluation of their success.

The study which was conducted among lower class males, found that since information about the difficulties and daily aspects of life overseas provided no opportunity for the reputation building of the 'successful emigrant,' and since no one wants to appear a failure to peers, emigrants maintained a conspiracy of silence with regard to these aspects of the migration process. Instead, emphasis is placed on how they were able to overcome these obstacles. In light of this, having access to accurate information became problematic. As well, these questions may not be asked because to do so, one may appear to be lacking in confidence, which is a very important criteria for the peer group's determination of one's success. Yet it is precisely this kind of information that potential emigrants need, to make an informed decision about how immigration may fulfil their needs. But they are helpless because their actions are constrained by this value system. "As a result of this cultural system, men leave the island in a state of ignorance about what they will encounter...When these emigrants arrive they confront a foreign, usually hostile culture, without adequate information about how to proceed. Their adjustments (will

therefore) depend upon their skills and personalities" (Tobias 1980:54). Accordingly, access to information plays an important role in the immigrant adaptation process.

Traditional theories with their focus strictly on what occurs in the receiving country, provides a limited picture. As Smart (1995:325-326) and Hannerz (1996:17, 19) note, in an age of transnational networks, media and transport technologies, where strong linkages are easily maintained with more than one country, and sending and receiving countries become linked by incorporation into the global economy, a focus exclusively on adaptation in the host country is a little dated. Another failure is their focus primarily on economic factors, where it is assumed that political and social incorporation is epiphenomenal with labour market incorporation. The assumption here is that, once labour market incorporation is achieved, overall integration, which includes political and social incorporation, will follow. As pointed out earlier, economic interests are no longer the primary motivating force propelling migration among Grenadians, for whom migration has become a way of life, a truly social and cultural occurrence. Finally, these theories do not explain differences between individuals within the same ethnic group. It is therefore important to examine micro-level theories which do

Micro Theories

Micro theories suggest that several variables affect adaptation. Not all of these will be discussed here, because some are not relevant to this study. Factors such as language proficiency (Rajman and Moshe 1995:377), birthplace of parents, generation of the group and ethnicity (Richmond and Kalbach 1980:30) for example, are not relevant because the present study only dealt with first generation (born in outside of Canada) English speaking Caribbean persons of Grenadian origin. To assess the Grenadian transmigrant's adaptation, the following variables will be used: 1) gender, 2) age, 3) occupational background 4)

education 5) time of arrival. 6) the type of social networks entered into in the receiving country.

As mentioned earlier, more females than males from the Caribbean tend to migrate to Canada (Deere et al 1990: 76) (See Graph 1.4). Ng (1988a and 1988b) notes that a mode of documentation, the records and files used by job placement facilities for non-English speaking and black women help to construct a category called "immigrant women." As a result, some of the funding priorities of Canada's settlement programs include initiatives designed to meet the specific settlement needs of immigrant women (Citizenship and Immigration Canada April 20th 1995: 6). Furthermore, a pamphlet printed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1988) stated that "immigrant women have special concerns. Many must learn the language, adjust to the new culture and at the same time, balance the often conflicting demands of home and the work place. (Thus) the Canadian Job Strategy will give priority to groups of people who have difficulty getting jobs because of reasons other than ability. Immigrant women are among these groups"(p. 2). However Ng (1988a and 1988b) comments that it is through counselling and placement by such agencies, that minority women get organised into particular locations in the labour market.

As discussed in chapter 1, traditionally Caribbean women have migrated to Canada using various domestic schemes. In recent times, emphasis has been placed on the recruitment of Philippino women, who proved cheaper to acquire than Caribbean women. Thus with limited access under the domestic scheme from the Caribbean, alternatively, many arrive usually as visitors, and then seek work as domestics in Canada. Although this method of migration places Caribbean women at a disadvantage (see discussion on immigration problems in chapter 4), it is still one of the most affordable and accessible ways for them to legalise their status in Canada.

As a result, Caribbean born females are more heavily concentrated in the service occupations than Canadian born females. (See Graphs 1.6a and 1.6b). But as Bolaria and

Li (1988:201) suggest, and as my own research will demonstrate, many of the women recruited into the domestic work force were often qualified professionals such as teachers and secretaries in their home countries. Accordingly, Fleras and Elliot (1995:109) note that immigrant and minority women are often relegated to menial jobs for which they are overqualified. Sometimes they are even exploited by unscrupulous lawyers and employers who take advantage of their unfamiliarity with Canadian Law. Cases of this abuse are well documented in the literature, by such social scientists as Lazarus (1980) and Silvera (1983). It is also something which the findings of this study will confirm. Consequently, immigrant and minority women are thus highly disadvantaged groups, something which in turn, inadvertently affected their ability to succeed in the host society. As such, gender becomes an important factor in any assessment of adaptation among immigrants.

Age at migration was also important because "persons born outside of Canada who migrated as young children, will differ in important respects from those who immigrated as adults. The former will probably be more like the children of immigrants and others born in this country" (Richmond and Kalbach 1980:33). Age is also important here with respect to labour market integration. "For example, young immigrants tend to change occupational positions because they are at the early stages of their career. Older immigrants by contrast, who are usually at the peak of their careers, face greater difficulties in their adjustment to the new labour market" (Rajzman and Moshe 1995:377-378). Further significance of age is its importance as a proxy for previous experience in the labour market (Portes and Bach 1980:317).

The occupational background of the immigrants may affect the intended occupation of the immigrant group or person in the receiving country. Thus, occupational background becomes not only a criterion for assessing an immigrant's ability to seek resident status in the receiving country, but as previously mentioned, is also a determinant

of their labour force incorporation. And as previously mentioned, this in turn affects their integration into other aspects of life in the receiving country:

Educational background is also another important factor affecting adaptation.

According to Raijman and Moshe (1995):

education has been singled out as a key determinant of labour-force activity and of the attainment of occupational status and earnings. That is, education is the most important asset for promoting labour-force participation as well as earnings and occupational status. We would expect thus that immigrants with higher levels of education would be more likely to find employment and less likely to sacrifice their original type of employment status. (However), recent immigrants often lack the knowledge, information and the social and cultural resources to function efficiently in the host country. (P 376-377)

Thus upon arrival, immigrants tend to be channelled into menial low paying jobs, that often restrict their mobility (Raijman and Moshe 1995: 376). In other words, they suffer an occupational cost, which is downward mobility in the first jobs they acquire in the host society (Basch 1987: 167). As well as this practical and instrumental value to the labour market, education has an expressive and symbolic significance. It promotes social acceptance and contributes to self-esteem. Finally, immigrants with higher education tend to arrive with higher expectations concerning their potential achievements than their less educated counterparts (Richmond 1993: 264, Forner 1987: 16).

Period of immigration becomes important in tracing the adaptation process of immigrants through time. Period of immigration refers to "the period when persons born outside of Canada first came to live in Canada" (Richmond and Kalbach 1980: 34). This variable is also useful as a control variable in the comparative analyses of different immigrant groups. As a result, changes in the characteristics of immigrants by period of immigration can reflect two types of changes. The first change that can be traced is that which occurs as a result of the passing of time and the accumulation of education, work and other experiences. The second change that may occur is that which results as the immigrant becomes more integrated into the host society. Frequency in the use of English,

in everyday conversation, since arriving to Canada, though not relevant to this study, is one such example (Richmond and Kalbach 1980:34).

Richmond (1988:51) further outlined that other important determinants of the migrant's ability to adapt and adjust in Canada were the types of social networks they entered into the receiving country. These social networks include participation in ethnic versus Canadian associations. Membership in ethnic association was often seen by Richmond (1993 & 1970) and Henry (1994) as negatively correlated with integration, especially, social integration. Furthermore, Richmond (1993:264) suggested that less educated immigrants tend to limit their social relationships to close knit family and ethnic networks. Accordingly, these immigrants tend to experience more problems of adjustment in the host society. I will argue here instead that such membership or participation in ethnic associations, as well as the family and friendship networks entered into by persons from the Caribbean group, facilitates their incorporation. Head (1980) and Basch (1992), for example, have found that Caribbean migrants tend to use the process of networking through friends and relatives within their own community quite extensively, as one means of facilitating their adaptation process in the host society. This method was actually preferred by persons of Caribbean origin, over other sources, such as settlement agencies.

In her study among Vincentian and Grenadian migrants in the city of New York, Basch (1987) found that for a majority in these groups, their migration and adjustment were facilitated by previous chain migration from these islands and the family reunification provisions of the receiving country. Furthermore, through these family networks migrants were given financial, moral support, were assisted with finding employment, sponsorship and immigration papers (Basch 1987:167). Accordingly, these networks worked to improve and perhaps accelerate the adjustment of these migrants.

As discussed previously, for Grenadians, emigration has become a way of life, a well entrenched necessity to better oneself (Pool 1989:246). Accordingly, as this social

and cultural phenomenon unfolds, factors which originally spurred migration become less relevant. For as migration occurs, contacts are formed, family chains develop, new information and interests are promoted and calculations of economic gains become the least important. Of greater importance are the networks formed. These social networks serve as financial safety nets, sources of cultural and political information, as well as permit the survival and adaptation of newcomers to the host society. It is the importance of these cultural and social dimensions of migration, that orthodox studies on the subject tend to negate (Portes and Borocz 1989:613)

Henry (1994:226) suggests that "community solidarity through which networking can be accomplished is also facilitated by island associations." These associations are an important components of adaptation, especially to first generation migrants, since they often fill the gap in providing services that are not readily available to newcomers (Henry 1994:229 & 226). They often assist in finding employment, housing and the general dispensing of information on social services and government assistance programs. In addition, these association also bring immigrants together, in a variety of cultural, social and athletic events, that provide opportunities for people to re-establish their ethnic origins and enjoy aspects of their culture. Consequently, such organisations play the role of brokerage and mediation between the ethnic group and the mainstream society, as they help the newcomer to adjust and adapt by making them feel more comfortable and secure in their new environment (Henry 1994:235, Richmond 1993:266).

Basch's (1987) study also found this to be true of Grenadians and Vincentians in New York, among whom there was an extensive network of voluntary associations. Beyond the level of individual and family networks, another means of keeping connections to the home country alive and viable has been through voluntary associations. These voluntary associations, in addition to their performance of the above mentioned functions also unite the immigrant community around a common ideology and set of cultural

symbols. Knowledge of the group's heritage and tradition, emphasise the immigrant's worth and basic integrity. This is critical to Caribbean people, who, by virtue of their racial characteristics and immigrant status, are ascribed to a subordinate position in North America (Basch 1987 174-175).

The development of voluntary associations were also a response to the innumerable daily discriminatory encounters faced by Caribbean migrants. Their actions, similar to other ethnic groups have been to form enclaves and organisations to shield them from the assault of the wider society. Here they can develop their own pattern of interaction, based largely on the norms and values brought from home and reinforced by constant interaction with members of their home societies, and through their transnational living experiences. Accordingly, this enables these migrants to turn inwards and embrace other Grenadians or West Indians, to compensate for an inferior status and the stigma attached to blackness (Basch 1987 184-186)

In conclusion then, immigrant organisations facilitate adaptation to the host country by addressing a set of instrumental needs such as employment, housing and community services, they reaffirm or even rework the group's traditional beliefs and weld the immigrants into a cohesive unit by creating a set of common symbols, they perpetuate an immigrant's relationship to their home society and provide the immigrant in a racially demeaning host society context, with an alternate arena-the home society-of prestige and action. That they perceive respect from those at home for their achievements overseas, bolsters an immigrants self esteem and imbues the migrant experience with positive meaning. In addition, these ties to the homeland lay the foundation for that immigrant's possible return home one day, as well as contributing to the development of a transnational world view (Basch 1987 186-187). All in all, these social networks work to advance the socio-economic mobility and adaptation of newcomers in the host society, and far outweigh any negativity which may emerge as a result of its formation.

Criticisms of the conventional definitions of success

Measures of success based on these objective criteria fail to consider the subjective dimensions of success. A study conducted by Tobias (1980) on the island of Grenada, found that a subjective system of peer evaluation was the most important determinant of success among lower class males. This system stresses attributes such as sexuality, dependability, self confidence, knowledge and communication skills. Thus having numerous sexual experiences (at home and abroad), being dependable, trustworthiness in word and action, being able to hold down a job, or upon migration sending remittances back home to assist relatives, having the self confidence to overcome problems associated with moving to a foreign country, acquisition of knowledge beyond the scope of the local scene, being well versed in current world events and demonstrating the abilities to communicate with a wide variety of people, characterise the successful migrant.

This system of non-economic ratings was developed and used by lower class males who held the general perception that they could not be as financially successful as their middle and upper class counterparts. The few who 'made it,' never rose very far above the lower class because the few opportunities for upward mobility existed for these descendants of slave ancestors (Tobias 1980:45). Just over 90% of the Grenadian population consider themselves to be lower class or little people¹². Accordingly, many persons, males and females alike, chose to emigrate in search of these opportunities. Yet no matter why he decided to emigrate, familiarity with the Grenadian social context informs the lower class male emigrant, that his success will be affected and his actions evaluated in cultural terms (Tobias 1980:49-50).

¹² There must be a clarification here, 'lower social' class, as in Grenada, well over 85% of the population are literate and most migrants have had secondary education prior to migrating (Basch, 1987). This was also true of most the respondents interviewed for this study. Therefore most migrants do not necessarily come from the lowest socio-economic sectors of Grenadian society. Accordingly, the term 'little people' is just a cultural ascription.

Yet there is no immediate way for Grenadians in the home society to evaluate an immigrant's success overseas. Accordingly, Grenadians have resorted to an assessment of an emigrants economic advancement, that is, using objective markers of success, something which they hardly considered at home. Their argument here is, that life overseas is based on a money economy and that one cannot survive without cash over there, as one can in Grenada. This is true to an extent, as nobody starves in Grenada today. Whether or not that migrant is successful overseas is taken at face value, especially if that individual is able to demonstrate success. Thus, having the necessary cash flow to circumvent and substantiate one's claims, helps in this reputation building of the most successful. As a result, Grenadian emigrants shape their behaviour and communication to fit islander's expectations, and this role playing has a profound effect on the island's belief system and the emigration process (Tobias 1980: 50-51). Thus taken within the context of the Grenadian value system, it is this subjective peer evaluation, that act as the most important determinant of success for Grenadian emigrants.

Consequently, from a Caribbean perspective migration is seen as a means of circumventing low wages and limited opportunities, as well as a culturally specific pattern or behaviour or a combination of economic, cultural and political factors. In other words, in the Caribbean migration is viewed as necessary for economic reasons, but at the same time the desire to migrate is expressed in cultural terms. Of greatest importance to members of the lower class, is acquiring the reputation of being successful among members of their peer group. But in order to purchase property and set up an independent household, to 'make it,' one must migrate (Tobias 1980, Pool 1989: 251). Moreover, the information received about the opportunities that exist in foreign societies, may be elaborated versions of what actually occurs in host societies, and may present adaptation problems for these newcomers. Yet it is this interconnection between culture, information and economics that traditional studies have failed to capture.

An individual's definition of his or her success, may differ from the success described by objective economic criteria. Instead, he/ she may include such experiences as prominence in one's community, participation in community organisations, as well as being able to assist the less fortunate of their community, or providing legal representation at immigration hearing, for example. A person who has accumulated such social wealth, may see himself/ herself as having achieved success.

Studies of success which use socio-economic mobility as a criteria are problematic, since mobility often implies vertical movements of achievements. Consequently, the horizontal accumulation of a variety of skills and occupations are not seen as part of the trend in upward mobility. A person with a Master's degree may opt not for a Ph.D., but for other types of qualifications, such as accounting, finance or even computers. These accumulated experiences allow for more versatility as they open up to the individual a wider range of occupational choices. If for example, a person moves from being a teacher to a nurse, he/ she would stay at the same prestige and status level and consequently no upward mobility will occur. Yet for an migrant, these career changes are indicators of success.

Moreover, the human capital theories which view success as a reflection of an individual worker's skills, only measure accomplishments within the host country. As such, this provides a very restricted picture of an individual's success. For example, while migrants may not own homes in Canada, or have any significant investments in that particular host country, these same migrants may own a home and have investments, such as shares and stocks in industries, in their country of origin. Thus, there is a need to not only recognise these transnational connections, but also include them as aspects of successful adaptation.

Traditional studies also present a view of migration as a process occurring between compartmentalised national units. "Nation-states play an important, but not exclusive role

within this system, which includes the activities of a multiplicity of private actors from large corporations to working class households" (Portes and Borocz 1989:626). Thus migration should be viewed as global or transnational phenomenon, not solely as a contract between two nation states and should, therefore not be evaluated exclusively in terms of its domestic impact.

Orthodox studies also tend to view the immigrant as the individual who leaves home and country and faces the painful process of incorporation into a different society or culture. In actuality, the contemporary immigrants should actually be called transmigrants. Once in the host society, they still continue to retain ties with their homeland. Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1995:135) reported that Grenadian and Vincentian transmigrants in the New York area were major sources of revenue, not only for remittances that were crucial to the balance of payments and GNP's of these countries, but were also sources of tourist dollars, from frequent travel to and from their home countries, and thus were indirect sources of tax revenues. They also provided scholarships for higher education, just to name a few. As such, the process of immigrant adaptation spans beyond more than one nation state, from countries of settlement to society of origin.

Furthermore, being able to invest and retain other ties to more than one society becomes not only a strategy for coping with the problems of migration, but also assists in providing some measure of security, by offering an opportunity for success in one or more locations, given that neither society is fully able to adhere to the needs of the migrant individual. Accordingly "by maintaining many different racial, national and ethnic identities (because of ones' affiliation with more than one nation-state), transmigrants are able to express their resistance to the global political and economic situations that engulf them, even as they accommodate themselves to living conditions marked by vulnerability and insecurity" (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 1992:11). It is this emphasis on

transnationalism that this study has undertaken, given its greater advantages over the conventional studies on migration.

The model for this study

Thus the factors looked at in this study were as follows. The dependent variable, success of integration among immigrants, was measured using three criteria in the study. First, the **Objective** definition of success which used income, ownership of residence, occupational status and educational achievement as the indicators of success. Second, the **subjective** definition of success, used the criteria mentioned by respondents. Third, the **transnational** definition of success reflected ownership of homes, maintenance of bank account (s) and or shares in Grenada, as well as support provided to family members. The independent variables were age, time/ period of arrival in Canada, gender, educational qualifications, occupational background, experiences of racism, access to information, settlement services, participation or membership in Grenadian transnational associations or other Caribbean organisations and social networks formed in Canada (see Diagram 1). It was also assumed here that intervening variables such as health, rent, immigration, job-related, accreditation, family, financial and other problems also affected the ability of immigrants to adjust in Canada.

Educational qualifications were measured using four indices. They were primary level (under grade nine), secondary level (grades 9-13), post secondary (non university level, that is persons with college diplomas and trade certificates) and university level education (Richmond 1989:41-42, Immigration Statistics manuals, Statistics Canada 1994b). On the other hand, occupational status was measured using the occupational classifications in the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations 1993, while income was measured using the categories outlined by the Canada's census statistics. These are the same categories outlined in the graphs and charts in Appendix A. As already

discussed. all these variables played an important role in the ability of immigrants to adjust in Canadian society.

To assess whether access to adequate and accurate information had an impact on the ability of immigrants to adjust in Canada I assessed the following. They were: **A.** Knowledge and accuracy of information obtained through the Canadian High Commission offices in the Caribbean, **B.** Knowledge and accuracy of information obtained through settlement agencies in Canada, and **C.** Knowledge and accuracy of information obtained informally through friends, relatives and other informal sources (see interview schedule in Appendix C for more details & diagram 1) Finally, questions concerning problems experienced in Canada, such as health, financial, family, accreditation, job related, rent, immigration, other issues and their possible effects on adaptation to life in Canada were also addressed (see Appendix C)

Diagram 1 The model for this study

Dependent	(Intervening Variables)	Independent
<hr/>		
Success at Integration (objective success)		
Income	Problems experienced in Canada	Educational Background
Ownership of Residence	(e.g. health, family, job related problems, accreditation financial, immigration, rent, other)	Age, Gender
Education (in Canada)		Time of arrival
Occupational Status		
(Subjective success)		
Satisfaction		Occupational Background
Success (Their definition)		
(Transnational Success)		Access to Information
Ownership of land or Home (in Grenada)		Social Networks
		Racism
Accounts, Shares,		Membership in
Remittances		Transnational Associations
<hr/>		

Chapter 4

Success among Grenadian migrants

The characteristics of the sample were made to match those of Grenadian migrants arriving between 1980 and 1992. Where this was not possible,¹³ the sample was made to match the characteristics of Caribbean migrants, according to the 1991 Census. There was a total of 50 respondents in the study: 42% (21) males and 58% (29) females. Thus the sample was composed of persons who arrived during this time period, with the exception of 12 persons, 20% of the sample, 10 of whom arrived between 1967 and 1979 and 2, during the years 1993 and 1994, respectively. This was done to compensate for the age and gender distributions. Accordingly, 6 females and 3 males in the over 40 age category arrived during the 1967-1979 time period. In addition, most participants, 64%, arrived in Canada during 1985-1990. All of the interviewees were of working age, ranging from age 22 to 64. In terms of age distribution, 12% of the sample fell in the 20-29 age category, 46% in the 30-39, 24% in the 40-49 and 2% and 4% respectively in the 50-59 and 60 & over age categories. The overall mean and median age for the participants, at the time of the interview, was 36.60 years.

Objective Success

To determine the objective success of the group, four variables were assessed. These include, the educational, occupational and income achievements of the group, as well as their ownership of residence. With respect to education, 8% of the sample attended no school in Canada, 14% attended high school, 62% acquired a college education, while 16% attended to university in Canada. Of the four persons not attending

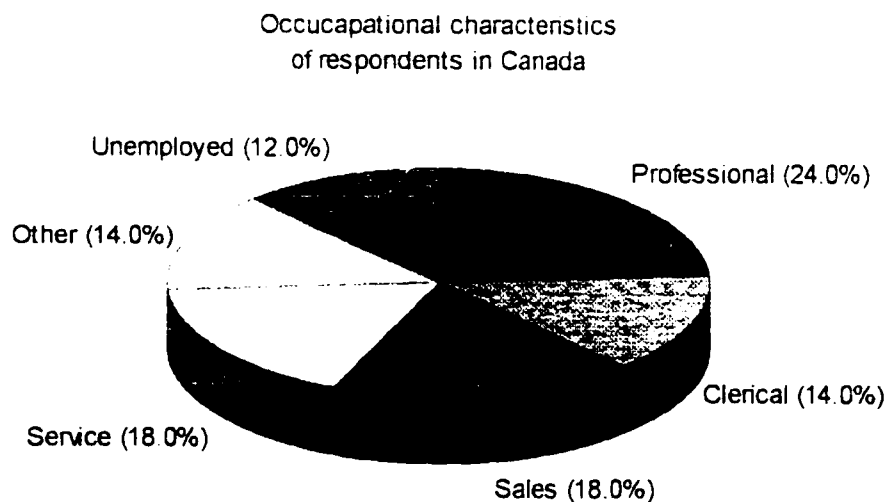
¹³ From the census data, the 20% sample tapes and from other sources, such as the Statistics Canada manuals, educational data for example is often recorded under the sub-heading Blacks or Caribbean-born persons, hence data specific to island nations, in that regard, are often unavailable.

any school in Canada. 1 was university educated and another had a college education, prior to their arrival in Canada, while the remaining two respondents were primary school educated (see Table 1.1 below).

Table 1.1 Frequency distribution of educational achievements for Grenadian males and females in Canada.

Level of Education	Males	Females	Total	Total (%)
No School	2	2	4	8%
Under Grade 9	0	0	0	0%
Grades 9-13	2	5	5	14%
College	14	17	31	62%
University	3	5	8	16%

Chart 1.1 Occupational characteristics of respondents, in Canada.



Using the occupational classifications as outlined in the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations 1993, it was found that, 18% of respondents worked in service occupations, 18% worked in sales, 14% in clerical and related, 24% worked in managerial, professional, teaching, health, administrative and related positions, 14%

worked in other¹⁴ occupations and as previously mentioned, 12% of the sample were unemployed in Canada (see Chart 1.1).

With regard to income levels obtained in Canada, 12% of the sample were unemployed at the time of the interview, 34% earned under \$20,000 annually, 26% earned \$20-\$30,000, 18% earned \$30-\$40,000 and 10% earned over \$40,000 yearly (see Table 1.3). The average income earned by respondents was \$20,700, while the median income was \$25,000 yearly. As well, 28% of respondents owned homes in Canada.

Table 1.3 Frequency distribution in annual income for Grenadian males and females residing in Canada

Income	Males	Females	Total
Under \$20,000	6	11	17
\$20,000- \$29,999	6	7	13
\$30,000-\$39,999	4	5	9
\$40,000 & over	3	2	5
Unemployed	2	4	6
Total	21	29	50

As Richmond and Kalbach (1980:53) indicate "the evidence suggests that immigrants who had been established in Canada five years or more were earning above average incomes largely because of their location in the larger metropolitan areas and in the economically prosperous regions of the country. However within these locations they were not always earning as much as might have been expected given their high level of education and qualification. This was particularly true for most recently arrived immigrants." In the study conducted on Grenadian migrants residing in Toronto during the summer of 1996, similar trends were found. That is, while 78%¹⁵ of the sample had a post

¹⁴ Occupations which did not fall into any of the other categories were placed here.

¹⁵ 78%, 16% university educated and 62% college educated; Or 8 respondents had a university education

secondary education (see Table 1.1 in this section) but most, 34% were receiving annual incomes of under \$20,000 (see Table 1.3 in this section) In addition, the majority of these low income earners were females. The latter were also more likely to be unemployed than their male counterparts. Accordingly, some respondents viewed limited finances, especially if unemployed, as preventing their return to Grenada, forestalling improvements in their educational status, overall quality of life and socio-economic status in Canada. Doreen, a 41 year old unemployed female single parent, who migrated from Grenada in 1988, describes her current situation in Canada this way,

I mean the worse stage of my life, the worse stage, honestly' is in Canada. Because like right now I want to go home and can't, because I can't go to the bank and take money out but I could have bought a ticket when I wanted to come here (from Grenada) I would never be in Grenada and don't have food, but I would be inside here and I don't have food. You know anything I wanted, I could just go out and get it (in Grenada) but here, if you don't have the money, you don't get it

The 1986 census revealed that the average incomes for other foreign and Canadian-born families were \$38,008 and \$42,863 annually (Appendix A Graph 1.5). According to the 1991 Census, the average income for all family types was \$51,342, while for female lone parent families their average income in 1990 was \$26,550 (Statistics Canada 1994b 81). (See Graph D in this chapter). However, the average income of persons in the Canadian population according to the 1991 Census, was \$24,001 (Statistics Canada 1994b 80). The overall average income for full-time workers in the lowest paid occupations, in 1990 was \$15,092. As well, the lowest average employment income (\$13,518) in 1990, was for childcare occupations (Statistics Canada 1994b 84-85).

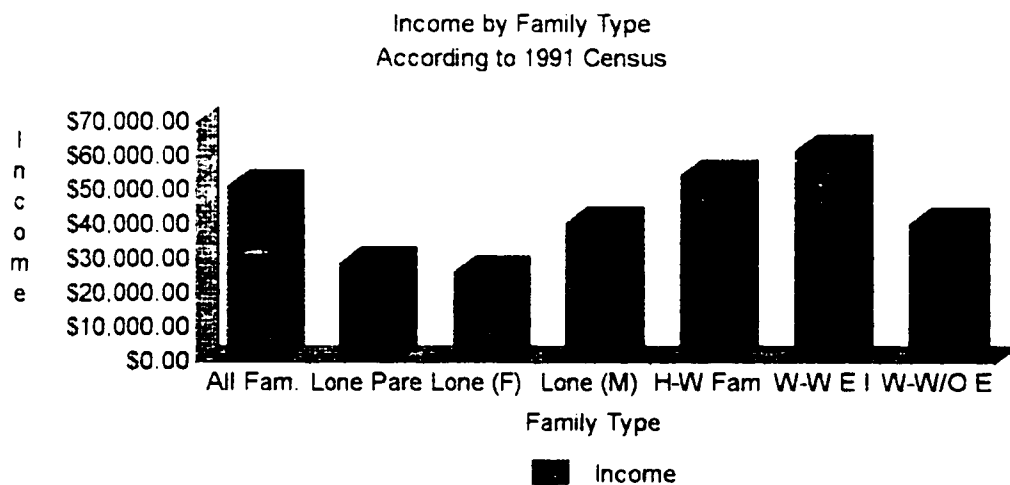
By comparison, the average and median incomes for the Grenadian respondents interviewed in this study, were \$20,700 and \$25,000 respectively. Unfortunately, no information on family types or on the specific contributions by other household members

and 31 had acquired a college education in Canada.

is available in this study. Therefore, the Canadian census data with respect to income levels by family type cannot be compared to Grenadians in the study.

Thus when respondents' average personal incomes were compared with average personal incomes of persons in the 1991 Census, the former earned slightly less. However, according to Henry (1994) there is a significantly high proportion of female single parent families of Caribbean origin in Canada, therefore if data for income with respect to family type were available on the respondents interviewed, they may not have fared as well, when compared with other groups in Canada

Graph D Income by Family Type for members of the Canadian population according to the 1991 Census.



All Fam- All Family Types, Lone Pare- Lone Parent Families, Lone (M)- Male Single Parent Families, Lone (F)- Female Single Parent Families, H-W- Husband-Wife Families, W-W E I- Wife with Employment Income Families, W-W/O E I- Wife without Employment Income Families

Note: Graph illustrates only average income levels for each group.

Source: Statistics Canada 1994b:80-81.

As previously pointed out, at the time of the interview, 12% of all persons in the study were unemployed, while the remaining 88% had jobs in Canada. Thus given that all of the respondents were of working age, it can be concluded that there was an overall labour force participation rate of 88% among respondents. On the other hand, figures for

the 1991 Census revealed that overall, persons in the Canadian population 15 years or older (excluding persons in institutions), had an overall labour force participation rate¹⁶ of 68% (Statistics Canada 1994b 62). Thus, Grenadians seemed to have exhibited a higher labour force participation rate than other persons in the Canadian population.

Income was selected as the primary determinant of objective success, because of precedence set by other social scientists, as well as its fundamental importance as an indicator of the situation of immigrants in North American society, and its direct relevance to the process of their economic adaptation (Portes and Bach, 1980 316). Consequently, from the sample of Grenadian migrants interviewed for this study, it can be concluded that 46% appeared to be unsuccessful, because at the time of the study, they were either unemployed or earned incomes of under \$20,000, while 44% can be described as moderately successful, having personal incomes between \$20,000-\$40,000 annually, while 10% were very successful, since they earned incomes of over \$40,000 yearly.

In addition, the 1991 Census revealed that clerical, managerial/ administrative and service occupations accounted for 43% of the experienced labour force in Canada (Statistics Canada 1994b 66), while 72% of Canada's workers were found in service industries (Statistics Canada 1994b 54). Of the Grenadians interviewed for this study, 56% were found to be concentrated in managerial/ administrative, clerical and service occupations. That is, 24%, 14% and 18% worked in managerial/administrative, clerical and service occupations, respectively. Thus it appears that more Grenadian migrants were in high concentrations in higher occupational status positions than was the case for persons in the Canadian population.

¹⁶ According to the 1991 Census, the **labour force participation rate** is the percentage of the population 15 years of age or older (excluding institutional residents) who were in the labour force (employed or unemployed) during the week prior to the Census Day (the reference week). On the other hand, **labour force**, according to the Census refers to people age 15 years or older who were employed or unemployed during the reference week (statistics Canada 1994b.62).

Furthermore, according to the 1991 Census data, 43% of all persons in Canada, 15 years or older had a university degree or some post secondary education and 2.9 million of the 27,296,859 persons in the population, according to the 1991 Census, had a university degree or were certificate holders. That is, approximately 11% of the population in Canada had degrees or certificates as of June 4th 1991. As well, 33% of all those age 15 years or older were not in high school, were not attending school and had not received any further training at the time of the Census (Statistics Canada 1994b: 3, 93, 95-96,100). Among the Grenadian respondents interviewed, 16% had a university education, while 62% received college level education in Canada. Thus overall, Grenadians had higher levels of post secondary education than persons in the Canadian population.

A traditional assessment reveals that on the whole, Grenadians were comparatively successful. That is, when compared with members of the Canadian population, Grenadians in the study had higher levels of post secondary education and seemed to be found in higher concentrations in high occupational status positions, while on average, Grenadians had slightly lower levels of personal incomes, and were less likely to own homes in Canada. According to 1991 Census data 58% of all households in Canada were renter households and the remaining 42% of households were home owner households, while only 28% of Grenadians in the study owned homes and the remaining 72% rented.

However, given that most of these migrants intend to return home, see themselves as residents of both home and host countries, maintain contact with their natal communities, remain interested in friends, relatives and the current events of their homeland (Tobias, 1980:51), this definition of success fails to adequately evaluate the achievements of these migrants. Thus given their transnational existence, it will be argued that the success of these migrants should also be examined in terms of the economic, social and political ties that they maintain with their home country (Glick Schiller et. al. 1995a; 1995b). Furthermore, these migrants may even define their success in different

terms. Therefore, although their assessment of personal success may include some of the above mentioned indices, other criteria may be used as well. Alternatively, many may define their success in terms of a broadened world vision, that has enhanced their intellectual ability and improved their social skills, neither of which can be assessed using the notions of success as outlined by past research.

Janet is a 44 year old Grenadian transmigrant who from a transnational perspective can be considered successful, although she currently lives in a rental apartment, with her daughter, in the Toronto area. She remarked, "one could never own a home in Canada. I mean paying mortgage is like paying rent. I choose not to own a home in Canada when I could build my house in Grenada and only have land taxes to pay at the end of the year." Furthermore, she remarked, owning a home put limitations on her ability to move about freely. Thus Janet has built her house in True Blue, one of the more expensive housing development sites on the island of Grenada. In addition, Janet who left her job in Grenada as a sales assistant in a department store, works as a typist/ receptionist at a Toronto bookstore, and has therefore experienced, little occupational mobility, since migrating. Thus using the criteria's outlined by the above mentioned theorists, Janet would not be considered to be socio-economically successful, since she doesn't own a home in Canada and her occupational status is quite low. But Janet is successful on the island of Grenada where she owns a home and continues to support family members.

Subjective Success

To determine subjective success respondents were asked a variety of questions. They were asked four questions with regard to their satisfaction with life in Canada. They were: how will you describe your current situation in Canada? Are you better off or worse off than when you were in Grenada? Have you been able to achieve at a level comparable to what you had in Grenada? and, Have you been able to achieve at a level comparable to

what you had expected, prior to immigrating? To obtain respondents' own definition of success, participants were then asked, would you describe yourself as a successful Grenadian living in Canada? and, would other Grenadians see you as a successful Grenadian living in Canada? (See interview schedule, Appendix C) Accordingly, there are two different scales used here, 1) a comparison of respondents with other Canadians and the 2) a comparison of the lives of respondents in Canada to their lives in Grenada. As was pointed out earlier, although transnationalism, satisfaction, and respondents' personal definitions of success are all components of the subjective definitions of success, for analytical purposes, they will be dealt with separately

Satisfaction with life in Canada

Overall, when asked whether or not they were satisfied with their lives in Canada the majority, 82% of the persons interviewed said that they were very satisfied with their lives in Canada, 6% reported being somewhat satisfied and 12% stated that they were not satisfied (see Appendix E) Many respondents relate their satisfaction to the fact that Canada provided them with more opportunities for educational and career advancements than they would have had, had they remained in Grenada.

However, it is interesting to note that many males associated satisfaction with the fact that they had established families in Canada. Thus the satisfaction felt had to do more with being able to provide more opportunities for family members than for themselves. It is important to note that 15 of the 21 males interviewed were married in Canada and most had children. Accordingly, in terms of their own personal satisfaction, many revealed that while they had more stable employment in Canada than in Grenada, having to juggle these new family responsibilities has made it difficult, and in most cases impossible, to advance their education and other career aspirations. Those with children commented that they did not regret having the kids, but that without them they would have been able to accomplish

more on a personal level. At the same time however, being more financially stable, as they earned relatively higher incomes in Canada than in Grenada, and being able to provide an opportunity for tertiary education to their children, made them feel very satisfied with their lives in Canada. Thus here again we see the importance of migration as a way to provide opportunities for family members

On the other hand, for the female respondents in the study, the satisfaction expressed by most had more to do with the accomplishment of personal goals. Although marital status was not a question directly asked of any of the respondents, through conversation such information was revealed by all respondents. Accordingly, it was found that for female respondents, their family dynamics differed somewhat from that of their male counterparts. Thus unlike the males, 11 were married and/ or had children in Canada, 10 had their children in Grenada, while 8 remained single. Thus, the reasons for the satisfaction expressed by females were not restricted to explanations such as being able to start and financially afford a family, as well as the potential success of their children, as was provided by males. Females were most likely to express that the satisfaction felt had more to do with their own personal accomplishments, in terms of career and educational achievements. Furthermore, 7 of the 29 females in the sample were unemployed in Grenada. As well, their average age at migration was 25 years. As a result, approximately one quarter of females in the sample were likely to state that all their achievements were made in Canada and not Grenada. Susana, a female respondent, puts it this way: "I didn't really achieve anything in Grenada. Everything I achieve I achieved in Canada." Those who were married or had children in Grenada, were most likely to state that they felt satisfied because they were eventually able to afford to send for these children from Grenada. As well, women also felt satisfied with being able to continually assist other relatives, such as siblings and parents who remained on the island. Pauline, a 39 year old unemployed housewife from Grenada who arrived in Canada in 1988, recently retrenched

from a her job as an assembly line worker in a hosiery factory in Toronto's west end, was eventually able to bring her three children up from Grenada during the summer of 1996. She sums up her satisfaction this way.

the thing I wanted to do most when I came to Canada was to get my family out here and that I have achieved. That was my main goal. As well, being able to help my family, like my parents back home, and that I have also achieved.

In addition, many others expressed satisfaction because they were able to return to school as well as acquire jobs in Canada. As well, being independent of parents, having to now provide economically for oneself were also reasons given for this satisfaction. However, when probed conversationally, the same respondents were most likely to state that they were just as satisfied as when they were in Grenada. Thus they were no more, or no less satisfied with living in Canada. That is, there were lots of sacrifices made by coming to Canada, there were numerous things that they had missed about Grenada that they now longed for, such as job security and stability, relaxation, peace and contentment, because they were always on the go, always working here in Canada.

One may then ask the question, why do they migrate in the first place and why do they not return to their country of origin? As already alluded to in chapter 2, migration, which also provided an opportunity to acquire travel experience, is imbued in the region's cultural psyche as a well entrenched necessity to better oneself. This travel experience is very important to the peer groups evaluation of one's success. Although one may not have been able to accomplish some of the personal goals that they had set out for themselves at the time of migration, having established families here in Canada and having continued obligations to support relatives who remained on the island, most have chosen to remain in Canada where they are able to earn more financially, in order to fulfil these obligations. Accordingly, we see objective criteria (increased income level), having important implications for respondents level of satisfaction.

In conclusion then, the primary motives for migration include career advancements and improvement in educational prospects. This led many to suggest that on the whole they are much better off than they were in Grenada. Those who left Grenada, while in school, upon the immediate completion of school (thus unemployed), were most likely to suggest that most of their accomplishments and achievements thus far, were made in Canada, since these opportunities for school, tertiary education and jobs were more available in Canada. Furthermore, many lived with parents prior to migrating, therefore they did not have the experience of paying room and board or other types of commitments, children, family, bills, taxes, little or no work experience or for those with work experience. So having that independence, that sense of responsibility and maturity were also reasons given by respondents for the satisfaction they felt. Still others also stated that they had reached the peaks of their career and therefore wanted to migrate in order to try a different field of employment, and for the travel experience. Having accomplished this, as well as their ability to earn relatively higher incomes in Canada, they expressed being satisfied with life in Canada. For male respondents, the satisfaction felt had more to do with being able to provide opportunities for family members, than for themselves. So despite the numerous problems faced, most were still likely to comment that they were satisfied with their lives in Canada.

Personal definitions

When asked if they would describe themselves as successful or not, 86% of the respondents described themselves as successful, 12% stated that they would not describe themselves as such and for 2% of the sample, there was no response.¹⁷ However this

¹⁷ No responses were received because the question on subjective definition of success was not asked of the first two respondents interviewed, since initially, these questions were not part of the interview schedule.

definition of success varied from individual to individual. Matthew, a 27 year old former high school teacher from Grenada, who now works as a public relations officer in Canada, commented that success was an accomplishment of goals and aspirations set out at the time of migration. On the other hand, Aaron, a 31 year old male respondent, who works as a security guard in Canada, a former distribution clerk in Grenada describes his success this way.

One of the things that I always wanted to do, in Grenada, was, and I had the ambition and the know-it-all to go, to say, to attend university. It was one of the things I wanted to do after completing high school in Grenada. Canada has given me an opportunity to go to school. Because if I wanted to go to university in Grenada, I had to go out of the island and it costs a lot of money to do that. Just to get accepted you had to meet certain requirements to get accepted. Here the level to enter, well its a little bit low, well not really lower, but easier. So now I consider myself well adjusted. I am very well read and I am not scared at sitting down to any conversation. I keep abreast all round. I have gained the knowledge and experience and I have gotten the exposure and I figure that going back to my country, I can be a much wiser person and I can help my country a lot better.

Some of the other participants reported being successful because of their status within the community. Three of the males for example stated having acted as 'lawyers at large' at immigration hearings and wrote reference letters to Immigration Canada for Grenadian persons seeking to legalise their status in Canada, and describe this as success. Frederick, a former high school teacher from Grenada, now a refrigeration technician in Canada describes it this way.

to date I have signed financial bonds, I have represented as a counsellor over 10 people. I know four of them who have gotten their landed as a result. As a matter of fact, I used to go to immigration pretty often, well about four years ago, I'd go to immigration several times a month as an expert witness and as a kind of 'lawyer at large' and that kind of thing. You know, concocting letters and you know whatever, a phone call, a letter whatever! So there is always something that people can come to me with, for immigration. So there must be some recognition, that I could be useful in some sense there.

Others maintained that they were constantly being referred to as sources of information, help and expertise by other members of the community. Thus achieving such status and

recognition by the community was regarded as success. Marcel who was previously unemployed in Grenada and by objective criterion can now be described as a moderately successful technician in Canada. notes.

I know there are people in the community, when they want information, they want certain things, they well, they would call me. Not only that, I have advised folks to get involved with their community so that Immigration Canada could see that they've made a worthwhile contribution. And furthermore, I have some prominence, I mean, people know who I am, whether they like me or not. I was involved a bit in Grenada's politics and was part of the PRG (People's Revolutionary Government) and everybody heard of the PRG. Everybody! I mean for four years we were the mouse that roared. So people know who I am, even if they don't know me by face, they would recognise, by name, who I am. As well, I am very much involved in Grenadian organisations here in Canada. So yes I am successful. As I am doing OK in Canada and I definitely will not knock Canada because it has opened doors for me, it has given me opportunities

Still others defined their success through their ability to sponsor relatives and friends, send barrels or money ever so often, to whom some described as needier relatives, their ability to travel freely and frequently, to and from Grenada or elsewhere, was also regarded as a measure of success by respondents. As Eric who left Grenada at the tender age of 15 points out.

I've never had an opportunity to travel in Grenada. By comparison, to be exact, four years after I came to this country I had an opportunity to travel to Europe, such that I spent one week in Holland, two weeks in England, the Northern part of England, Huddersfield, Sheffield and there are lots of Grenadians living there. I have seen different lifestyles, see how people interact differently ...seen things on a broader scale. So I feel if I had to go back to Grenada, which I intend to, I feel I have the confidence in dealing with people. As well, I have owned my own business in Canada for 8 or 10 years. I have even hired a few Grenadians to work for me. I have even sponsored a couple of them like through the business act, that you know, through which you can get your landed papers. So yes, I am a successful Grenadian!

In addition, many others also defined their success through their ability to achieve in Grenada, through their acquisition of house, property, shares and supporting family members.

As mentioned previously, in the study conducted by Tobias (1980) and discussed in the introduction, peer review is an important component, in the definition of a

Grenadian transmigrant's success overseas. Thus, respondents were asked the question, "would others, that is Grenadians living in Canada or Grenada see them as successful?" Sixty-two percent said yes, 22% said no and there was a 16% no answer.¹⁸ Furthermore, those responding yes to this latter question claimed that others saw them as successful primarily because of the aforementioned reasons.

Despite the fact that many Grenadian transmigrants have chosen not, or have not been able, to own a home Canada, the majority still see themselves a successful Grenadians living in Canada. Although some may have incurred some occupational cost since migrating, they still see themselves as successful. For instance, John a 33 year old who worked as a legal secretary back in Grenada, who is now employed in Walmart as a layaway associate notes,

I am a successful Grenadian living in Canada. I have had more opportunities than I would have had in Grenada, especially in terms of advancing my education. I am currently in school on a part time basis taking some computer courses and working towards a diploma in electronics at George Brown College, here in Toronto

Moreover, he comments that his involvement with the Grenada Association, an organisation which hosts the annual Grenada Independence Day celebrations and the occasional visits by travelling Grenadian officials, such as the current Prime Minister, the Honourable Dr Keith Mitchell, have placed him in a somewhat resourceful situation where he is able to assist numerous other Grenadians. Thus he continues, "I am successful, even though I don't own a car or own my own home." Along with that, John claims that his proudest accomplishment yet is his investment in, that is his acquisition of shares in, the Grenada Electricity Company, GRENLEC, back in Grenada.

¹⁸ The "no answer" category for the other success question, was comprised of persons in the first two interviews who were not asked this question, because it was not originally part of the interview schedule, and persons who refused to answer because they stated that they were unsure as to whether others would perceived them as successful.

Again by conventional definitions of success, John, along with many of the migrants discussed previously in this chapter is not a successful migrant. John's occupational status has diminished since migrating, moving from a position as a legal secretary to working in Walmart. As well, he has investments in Grenada and not in Canada. But John feels he is successful, citing his resourcefulness, his investments in GRENLEC and involvement in the Grenadian community both in Canada and Grenada as the signature of his success.

Success was also defined in comparison with the achievements of others as well as having obtained more knowledge, since migrating. Thus some respondents were likely to define themselves as successful, if they saw themselves as having achieved more than others who migrated during the same time period or earlier. Alexis, a 27 year old male respondent, who was self employed in Grenada, now an electronics technician, sums up his success this way,

yes I think I am successful, yes. I think just being a better person, just being more knowledgeable and so just enhancing my general knowledge itself. I think I am successful yes, economically, no! Furthermore, I know certain people who leave their good homes in Grenada and come here to live in dumpsters...and busting their b' up here, trying to make ends meet. So compared with them, I am doing much better, so yes I am successful.

Transnationalism

As mentioned previously, a transnational approach to success and adaptation was not something envisioned prior to the commencement of this study. It emerged through conversations with the first two respondents interviewed for this study, and was then added to the interview schedule. When questioned, many described their success and satisfaction by including the investments made and their involvement in their country of origin, Grenada. However, due to the nature of the responses provided by respondents, it was not possible to quantify all the transnational experiences of these informants. Thus the exact number of times respondents travelled to and from Grenada, since migrating to

Canada for example, and the transnational activities of all Grenadian organisations in Toronto, were never part of the interview questions asked. (See Appendix C for the interview schedule)

Yet it became clear from the answers provided by the informants about their transnational activities, that a majority still maintained assets, such as homes, bank accounts, businesses, supported family members and are still very much involved in the social and political aspects of Grenadian society, even after their migration to Canada. Racheal, a former book-keeper while in Grenada, now a house-keeping assistant manager at a downtown Toronto hotel, puts it this way,

you are a born Grenadian and you love your country. But you always wanted more than just what the Grenadian society would provide you with *so you emigrate*. I mean, when I went home in 1995 there were so many of these new houses all put up by people who went to England, because you can't go home and live in the same house that you left 25 years ago. You have to go home and prove that those 25 years abroad were worth it and sometimes people go overboard, so you know! But immigrants have a particular energy that is peculiarly that of immigrants, you don't have that world view, you don't have that maybe entrepreneurial energy, until and unless you are in the status of an immigrant, oh yea! I have to, I have to do better than the locals, because I am different and it is expected of someone like me.

There was also a high rate of return by Grenadian transmigrants, to Grenada for vacation. Very few of the persons interviewed had not returned to Grenada since migrating to Canada. Thus it was not uncommon to hear remarks such as the one made by Jacquelyn, a 29 year old respondent, who migrated to Canada in 1987. "I went home last year (1995), 1989 and 1991. And I mean I could take a plane and could go anywhere I want to go now." Moreover, among the sample of Grenadian respondents interviewed for this study, it was also found that 34% owned homes or land in Grenada, 22% owned bank accounts and 10% had shares in industries (see Appendix E).

Another aspect of this transnational existence is the continuance of support to family members who remained on the island. Sixty percent of respondents stated that they were in the habit of sending remittances to support family members in Grenada (see

Appendix E). Furthermore, many of those who were sponsored by relatives or friends here, had plans to sponsor other relatives or had already done so. Many of the informants in the study who had children in Grenada or Trinidad for example, were successful in bringing those children to Canada or the US, where they currently reside. Debra, a 35 year old female respondent, working here as an estate transfer clerk, has succeeded in bringing up her 16 year old daughter from Grenada to the US, where she currently resides with the respondent's mother. Yet like many other migrants interviewed, she still continues to support relatives who remained in Grenada. She remarked,

I am the oldest one in my family. I have lots of brothers and sisters back home. So how could you have family back home and pretend, you know well I'm up here, so to hell with you down there. I would send something back home for my brothers and them ever so often. Like the time when my brother got into trouble with the law back home. My Mother and I had to send money back home to pay the bail and the lawyers!

During the month of June, for example, Claire, another respondent who works currently as a kindergarten teacher, stated that she had already acquired enough food stuff and other essentials for her barrel to send to Grenada that Christmas. She commented,

I make barrel twice a year. I done start to collect for Christmas already. Look here! I have... I have all these little things... if you open my closet... All these things, all this toothpaste watch how much, all this soap, all this is soap underneath here, all little things you get, foil paper, all this is things to send home, to throw in the barrel. I go and I get it on special, I buy it... for when I ready. I say I think I have everything for the barrel now... How could I forget my people, I swear not, how could I. Because you know where I come from I cannot! I cannot do that...!

Furthermore, already this year she has sent money down to her sister for a wedding dress. She continues, "I send my sister \$100 every month so she could sit and depend on that every month..." Besides she states, "sometimes you do it in order to make them feel comfortable and most times I do that. I do without it and I send for them."

In conclusion, most of the interviewees saw themselves as successful migrants in Canada. They defined themselves as such, and were viewed by others in their communities in both Grenada and Canada, as being successful persons. Furthermore, the transnational

living experiences of these respondents played a vital role in allowing the latter to make investments in their country of origin, something which many have not been able to accomplish in the host society. Accordingly, success should never be measured only by achievements made in the host society, nor strictly by objective criteria

Chapter 5

Problems Encountered by Grenadians in Canada

Upon their initial arrival into the host society, migrants are often faced with a variety of problems related to adaptation in the country of settlement (see Table 1.4). Some sociologists consider a time period of at least five years or more for migrants to adapt to life in Canada (Richmond, 1980: 53). The problems that these newcomers were most likely to have experienced include the following: health, family, financial, immigration, rent, job-related, accreditation and other (see Table 1.4).

Table 1.4 Frequency distribution of the problems experienced by the Grenadian migrants interviewed during the summer of 1996

Type of Problem	Total No. of respondents experiencing problems	% of respondents experiencing problems
Health	3	6
Family	8	16
Financial	6	12
Immigration	20	40*
Rent	13	26*
Job Related	22	44*
Accreditation	18	36*
other	13	26*

*** -Problems encountered by at least 25% of respondents**

Only three persons reported having health problems. These led to short absences from work for 2 of the respondents, while for the other, it prevented further employment in Canada. Then there were others who mentioned family problems in the form of divorce or separation, or in some cases and receipt of little or no assistance with regard to settling-down, from family members who were already established in Canada. These often restricted economic mobility, as respondents complained about making little or no money and having to pay expenses. In some instances, these experiences led to complete

breakdown in family relationships and friendships. Dianne, a 47 year old respondent, a police officer while in Grenada, notes for example,

people here, after they have travelled from the Caribbean what I notice is that they get very selfish. Yes they don't want you, a week or two weeks and they'd start frowning. I had that experience when I just came here you know... (I had a friend) she was very supportive, she was nice. But then she tried to stick me in those cleaning jobs that paid next to nothing. So then I found a first job that paid me \$95 a week, but then I had to find another, because you know, it's me alone and I have to support my two kids back home and support myself here. However, when I did, that sort of drew a rift between our relationship, because she's here 20 odd years and is still stuck in the same cleaning job that's paying her \$200 per week. So yes, when you're up they're up with you but when you're down, they're out of your life. I've been there, I've gone through it and I can tell you, it's tough! it's not easy!

But this rather minor problem did not affect Dianne's success. Although her annual income here in Canada is under \$20,000, over a number of years she was able to save enough money to send for her children from Grenada. As such, Dianne describes herself as a successful and satisfied with her life in Canada. Although she rents subsidised housing, she credits her ability to sponsor her children as the most important measure of her success.

Many respondents also stated that they experienced financial problems, getting into business with friends who then disappear, leaving behind a huge debt, the cost of which had to be incurred by the respondent. As a result of this, one respondent lost his home and assets to the bank. Others mentioned experiencing financial problems associated with their immigration status in Canada. Kenneth for example, who migrated to Canada as a visa student in 1981, commented,

the immigration side is tough, it's tough...it's really really scary too. For instance, I came to Canada with school authorisation for two years. I enrolled in the program as I had paid the school \$2800 from Grenada and I was not aware that I had to pay a whole lot of additional fees. So I started school, and a couple of months down the line they started billing me for school, so you must imagine not having the funds and barely making the bus fare for school. I had to figure out what to do, because it would look like I had to find some kind of employment and the person who I was staying with at the time, said that he couldn't put me up anymore if I sought employment because he doesn't want to be charged with aiding and abetting an illegal immigrant, because if I worked I would nullify my student visa. I had nowhere to go but I had to live! Fortunately I heard about a relative I had in Toronto and went over there to live with them.

Formerly a teacher while in Grenada, Kenneth currently works as a dental technician and earns a moderate salary of \$25,000. Yet he too defines himself as a successful migrant, although not satisfied with his life in Canada because he has not been able to accomplish some of the personal educational goals that he had set out for himself, due to the problems mentioned above.

Also mentioned were immigration related problems. These ranged from processing delays and immigration consultants, lawyers and or paralegals charging exorbitant fees for their services. As Joseph, a male respondent who came to Toronto via Montreal because employment prospects in the latter proved futile, notes,

I came to Canada, as a visitor, then decided to remain. So I started to work and then I fell into the hands of an immigration consultant, that's the worse people in the world! The worse! I accumulated, and at the time I made \$150 per week working in a machinist shop and off course I had my share of the bills also. This immigration consultant, it was a friend of mine who told me about him and I went to him and he charged me \$600. So I had to delay the process until I had saved enough money. So I paid him half the money. But then every two weeks he wants you to pay \$100 and every-time you go to his office unnecessarily he wants you to pay a sum of money. It puts a strain on you, because there are times when you're not expecting to go to his office and you don't have money to pay him and he calls you up to his office without a cause and you have to pay \$100. Then you, you live with friends and family and you have your share of the bills, you have to help out! So it's a strain, its a strain, you get a lot of strain, that's why most people they're better off working and not go in to immigration. Anyway, what the lawyer did was he wrote a letter telling immigration that I was illegal in the country and working and that he wanted to represent me to seek status. Anyway, so the lawyer he just put refugee on the paper. Yes even though I was not a refugee because as you know, Grenada doesn't have refugees. But at the time I didn't know much about the immigration system. So the day of the hearing, I showed up dressed in my Sunday morning best to be as impressive as I can. He (the consultant) told me to show up at the office on 438 University Avenue and bring the rest of the money with me. So I showed up there the time he told me, and took a seat in the lobby, but he wasn't there. So I took the elevator up to the 8th floor and while I was going up, the elevator stopped and I saw him in an elevator coming down and I didn't see him again. When I reached immigration I was at the mercies of Canadian immigration. The case was thrown out, I got arrested and was held in detention for two weeks,....in fact, the thought of being placed in handcuffs (that was an even worse situation).... but then after two weeks they let me go and they give me an option to leave the country voluntarily.....because it was obvious that there are no refugees in Grenada. But eventually things worked out and I got a minister's permit to be allowed to remain in Canada.

Eventually, Joseph was able to recover from this initial set back. Today he feels satisfied with his life in Canada earning a modest annual salary of \$20-30,000 yearly, working as a security guard here in Canada. He also cited his community involvement with Grenadian youth organisations as a measure of his success, as well as the opportunities for education that being in Canada has provided for members of his family.

Furthermore, visa restrictions and requirements for students, costly student visa student fees compounded by immigration processing delays, held one student up and prevented two other students from completing their university and college education in Canada. Ann-Marie for example notes,

I got accepted when I applied to York University three times' but rejected it because of immigration, because of the cost of fees, you don't want to pay foreign fees so you keep holding back to get in. You see immigration doesn't allow you to do things at the speed which you could have done it. (Then I said enough is enough as I was bored and wanted something to do), as I had spent a year here as a visitor. So I applied to Humber college and got accepted. So then because I was on a visitor I had to apply for a student visa. Immigration here, they told me of all the things I needed, to get the visa, a letter from the bank, to say I have support to go to school and all this stuff, a letter my mom had to sign, and then the medicals because you had to do your medicals to get your visa. So then we did all this in Canada, but because of my status all the processing had to occur outside of Canada. So then I decide to go to Barbados for three days to drop off the papers, go to Grenada for seven days, and then return to Canada in time for orientation for school. When I got to Barbados the first thing they told me is that I was not allowed to carry my medicals as it has to come directly from the doctor to immigration. So although I paid money to do all these medicals in Canada, the blood work, the x-rays, everything! I had to get the medicals done again in Barbados, which cost another set of money. To make matters worse I was told that the immigration doctor for the region lives in Trinidad, not in Barbados. So then I had to do the paper work and courier the results to the doctor in Trinidad because I was told if I did otherwise, that it would take 7 days to reach Trinidad from Barbados. Meanwhile I had only a few days left in the Caribbean. Eventually I lost about \$500 to the airlines because I wasn't able to leave for Canada on the other half of my return ticket. As well, I also found out that I couldn't return to Canada on a one way ticket as a student, you must have a return ticket. Nobody warned me about that until the last minute. Eventually, I had to miss school because by the time all that red tape went through it was too late for me to get into school! So yes, there is a lot of stuff that the average person would not find out unless they have migrated before.

Yet Ann-marie was eventually able to complete her undergraduate degree at university. At the time of the interview, she had just graduated and was working part-time as a sign-

maker for a small Toronto print shop. She too, describes herself as successful and satisfied, given her educational achievements made thus far in Canada.

Other respondents complained of what they perceived as unnecessary harassment by immigration officials, knocking on doors in the middle of the night to see if a couple was really married, having relatives detained by immigration for what many assumed to be minor discrepancies in official documents, problems with sponsorship of family members and changes to immigration status. Forty percent of persons interviewed in the study reported such problems

Immigration problems also seems to be compounded by, as well as compound other problems. Debra who currently works as a baby-sitter and lives with her 3 year old son in a down-town Toronto apartment, describes her ordeal with Immigration Canada as follows

My husband he was basically sponsoring me, we lived together for 8 years and have a child but we separated and that set me back. We started the process, he's the one that I really wanted to do it for me because I had put in my papers and I had sent it in since 1989. But when I moved the woman at immigration wrote to me but the papers, it was sent back, because I no longer lived there. So then I didn't hear from them. I got married in 1993 and my husband (assumed the role of sponsorship) and then I had to go through the whole process again. It was not a marriage of convenience or anything, because prior to our marriage we had lived together for 8 years and had a kid. But then while I am doing that, the marriage started to be...emotionally abuse, physically... I don't know how to say it...the police got involved...at first I was afraid to go to them because I was afraid immigration would send me back...But then I took it to court and I said basically it was the abuse and fighting, but what I am saying is that when you're dealing with that process you're also dealing with immigration at the same time, because these things affect your chances as they are usually linked together, if you know what I mean...and that's why I decided to end it, the marriage and I feel that's why he didn't show up at immigration. So like it set me back, it set me back! and I can't seem to move on without the papers (because) like the immigration people would tell you yes, you could go back to school but the furthest place you could go is secondary school or go to night school and take part time, whatever. OK for example I want to do a dental assistant course and like I can't get a loan, I can't go to school full-time, because I don't have the papers...so it's always a set back in your life. So yes the immigration thing that really weighs me down, it's what keeps me back. It's this huddle I can't seem to get over.

The immigration huddle also affected the employment conditions faced by these new arrivals in Canada. John who currently works as a server at a popular fast food chain notes for example,

I was working with guy recently. it was mostly weekends. Now he told me when I started that he was going to pay me \$7.00 an hour to work in that restaurant. The first month I worked, because he was paying once a month, I worked 64hrs. He paid me for 44hrs, he took away at least 20hrs, which is outrageous! When I confronted him about it, he told me that the hours were set meaning that there were four of us working there, and that the hours had to be divided equally among the four of us. But I didn't know that because he didn't say that in the beginning and so I was expecting pay for all the hours I worked. So I left. I couldn't stay with him. However, the day I left I had already worked some hours and so I asked him if he would pay me for it, he said yes. But it's over two months now and I haven't received that pay cheque! It's robbery you know and when you don't have your full status, these sort of things present great problems as you don't have any real legal recourse.

Although not satisfied with his current economic situation in Canada, because he earns under \$20,000 yearly and therefore has difficulty supporting his relatives and children in Grenada, he too describes himself as successful, because of his involvement in the Grenadian community in Canada. In addition, John also has a house and some land on the island of Grenada.

Many other respondents also reported having rent related problems. They commented on having to bribe superintendents in order to secure residence in apartments. As well, many others complained about having to attend court sessions because of landlord tenant disputes, while others mentioned having to evacuate apartments because of poor upkeep and maintenance of buildings. Ezra a female respondent who earns an annual income of over \$40,000 and currently owns her home, tells of her previous rental experiences.

I used to rent an apartment up on Eglinton. The apartment was leaking I had experiences with roaches, rats, all types of bugs you could think about. One night it was raining so hard that my kids when they woke up they were walking in water, when I looked the whole floor was covered with water and then he took me to court saying that I didn't pay the rent. So poor little me I went to court with my receipts in hand to show the judge that I paid my rent. He (the judge) just looked at him (the landlord) and shook his head. I lose my whole day work and everything just to come to court. Because most

people don't show up to court and they get evicted for nothing. You know well they're thinking court, they're scared so they get this eviction notice put on their door and the sheriff come and evict you. But some of the sheriffs have heart. When they come and they see the state of the apartment, they tell the occupants to call rent control and they never evict them. Then the landlord used to accuse my kids of things that they didn't do, saying for example, that they were throwing things at other people's car. I am not saying that they're perfect, they are obedient and I know they are pretty good in relation to other kids because they just come from home and they have West Indian upbringing. I used to cry because my poor kids they didn't do nothing. So yes I went through my share of rent problems

Of the sample, 44% reported having job related problems, they include an inability to find employment of any sort. Others pointed to the lack of accreditation for work related experience acquired in Grenada, not having opportunities for promotion or for broadening one's career knowledge and being unable to break into the mainstream circles of their professions. Leon who worked in Grenada as a journalist, currently employed for one of the leading Black newspapers in Toronto, notes,

being able to break into the mainstream circles of my profession is my biggest barrier. I think I have got the skills, the talent to do the job. But it is not just for myself, but as a black person it is hard to break into that mainstream, where you can earn a higher salary and you know take care of yourself better economically.

As well, many of the female respondents also complained of job-related problems, associated with their initial employment situation as domestic workers. Almost half, or 14 of the 29 women interviewed for this study mentioned having worked in the domestic field in some capacity upon their initial arrival in Canada. However only one such person came under the Live-in Caregiver Program from Grenada. As well, 5 of the 14 used this method to legalise their status in Canada (see Chapter 1). There were also numerous complaints of employer abuse, contract violations and the lack of enforcement on the part of Immigration Canada. Rhonda, who left her job in the health profession in Grenada, tells of her experiences as a domestic worker in Canada.

I came here as a visitor and then decided to stay. Yet I wasn't illegal or anything, because I would go into immigration to get extensions. Yet every time you go in for an extension you have to pay about \$50- \$100. I did that for awhile. So I started working as a domestic with these people who also owned a night club. I remember I used to leave

work at 5 in the evening and they would come to my house at 7pm with buckets of roses, because they had people selling roses in the club and they would leave me with like 300-400 roses which I had to cut and stick in a bottle. I would sit there doing this all night and they still expected me to start work at 7am. I am telling you, so like now when I look at a rose it bring back ugly memories. They were wicked, I moved from her house because I thought that I had enough. When she realised that I was going to leave she said such bad things about me. She said that I was lazy and that I didn't do anything in the house. She even threatened me, she and her husband. Yes one day, she came to our apartment in the evening, with her roses and I decided that enough is enough, I don't care if I have to starve I am not doing it. That evening, the people I was living with, my girlfriend and her boyfriend, they weren't in. So when I refused to do the work they took my jacket, with my pocketbook and passport in it and she thought well I can't call the police because I was illegal and that I'll have no alternative but to continue to work for them and put up with all the abuse. I was scared. So when my friend came we called the police. But what my employer at the time didn't know, was that I wasn't illegal either, I had a work permit. So when the police came, we went over to retrieve my stuff. And the police told me that a passport is the property of the country from which it was issued and that the person carrying it is only the bearer. So they asked me if I wanted to press charges, you know, because people feel that once you're baby-sitting and you're black, you're somehow illegal

So although Rhonda currently works as a Toronto Dominion Bank Recruiter and earns an annual salary of \$35,000, she continues "so yes, when I meet somebody today and they tell me that they are baby-sitting, my heart goes out to them, because for me, I had ugly memories! Really ugly memories!"

With respect to accreditation, 18 persons (36%) of respondents reported having accreditation problems which were often related to education and work experiences accumulated in Grenada. Many of the respondents commented on the inconsistencies with regard to job and educational accreditation procedures. With respect to job accreditation Racheal, a recent university graduate comments,

the experience with my job back home, that didn't do much credit here! I worked as a secretary back home for two years, plus one year elsewhere. As well, I had my certificates in typing, shorthand and stenography. In the job that I had for the two years in Grenada, I was basically the office manager, of a staff of about 18-20 people plus other people, who I took care of all day and did the administrative work. Now to translate that for a Canadian employer to understand, the extent of your experience that is... they never really take it seriously, because at the time I was like 19/20 years old. So you know this was a major barrier. That is, they don't seem to give you credit for the experience that you obtained from the Caribbean, even though I had references from my former employer and from school. Here the only things that seem to give employers any interest is the 'Canadian experience,' the fact that one summer, I worked with an accountant and helped him put the books together. They seemed more impressed by this

book-keeping position, which consisted mainly of filling out forms, which was pretty straight forward, than anything else, that I had done in Grenada.

Others also mentioned that depending on the institution, school board or agency, the grade equivalency for the completion of a high school in Grenada varied. According to most school boards in the Toronto area, a high school diploma from Grenada or the English-speaking Caribbean is considered equivalent to grade 12 in Canada. Yet some respondents reported receiving credits only for grade 9 or 11. Marine, who at the time of the interview was unemployed, notes for example,

I mean, I always felt that I was placed further back than I was supposed to. I wasted almost one year of my life... when I first came here and then I went to grade 11. I was like bored like for the entire year in high school, because like you have to repeat, things that I already did in like forms 1, 2, and 3, I had to keep repeating it in like grades 11, 12 and 13 so you're like just going through the motions of school because that is what's expected of you and I mean I guess if you want to achieve anything that's the only way, that's the only way to social mobility. I mean they gave me grade 9 math and I was doing trigonometry and calculus when I left Grenada! So when one teacher, he was from the Caribbean I think, he came in and he looked at my math paper, because every test I keep scoring 20 out of 20 he said something is wrong. So he came he called me and he took me out of the class and he told the teacher that I don't belong to that class. The first time I went to his class and did a test I got the eleventh highest out of a class of 30 students. The next time we did a test I got the second highest, after that, nobody beat me!

Added to that, 26%¹⁹ of respondents also mentioned that lack of what is often referred to as 'Canadian experience' also posed a problem for them, especially upon their initial arrival in Canada. One respondent stated "this is a ridiculous thing to ask, especially when you've been somewhere else all your life." Furthermore some others also perceived this as a subtle way of discrediting the so called experiences that they had gained, in what has been perceived by many North Americans as the 'third world.' This was seen by some respondents as systematic racism (the issue of racism will be dealt with subsequently, in

¹⁹ To separate, these encounters (lack of Canadian experience) from the other racial experiences mentioned by participants (discussed under racism), this 26% was placed in the other category mentioned in table 1.4, which lists the problems encountered by respondents.

the discussion of the independent variables). As Owen, a former teacher in Grenada, who currently works as a community health worker, earning an annual salary of over \$40,000, comments,

the fact that we come from the Caribbean, the so called third world. People have what I call touristy notions of our part of the world. They go down to the Caribbean they play guitars, they drink rum and so forth and this lapse in somebody's brain, they find it difficult, its a cultural problem, to move from the guitar playing drunkard, does he really have brains! You know! These islanders they have different accents. so that I am certain that I did not get a job or a promotion because the people who had to make the decision couldn't countenance some fellow from the island, he ain't good enough and maybe he's good enough for calypso, reggae or you know drunk this is too much for an island boy. people act this way in different parts of the world and certainly I have been affected. I'd say I think I have been. So somebody is interviewing you, there is a panel, somebody says 'you've been living here for four years and you don't know Canada very well' Do you sir? Of course, they don't know that I know a lot more about Canada than many Canadians because I come from a country where British style colonial education that taught me more about the Laurentian Shield than about the mountains of Grenada. regional and physical geography for ordinary levels. and you had to know more about the Laurentian Shield and the Maritimes. but Canadian experience, I have heard that a few times and I suspect that this is more of a fig leaf covering than anything else!

Table 1.7 A comparison of respondents experiencing problems in relation to their objective success.

Problems Encountered	Not successful (Under \$20,000) ²⁰	Moderately successful (\$20,000-30,000)	Very Successful (Over \$ 40,000)	Total # with Problems
Health	1	1	1	3
Family	8 (100%)	0	0	8
Financial	3	3	0	6
Immigration	12	7	1	20
Rent	6	4	3	13
Job-Related	13	7	2	22
Accreditation	10	6	2	18
Other	7	5	1	13

²⁰ persons who were unemployed at the time of the interview are also included here

Although Owen earns a high annual income he mentioned that he was not satisfied with his life in Canada. Yet he describes himself as successful, citing his community involvement, ownership of property and banking investments on the island of Grenada as the measure of his success.

In summary then, respondents who earned annual incomes of under \$20,000 were most likely than others to experience problems. All of the persons experiencing family problems earned this income. Among them 50% experienced financial problems, 60% experienced immigration problems, 46% had rental problems, 59% had job related problems and 56% and 54% of persons mentioned having accreditation and other problems, respectively (Table 1.7)

With respect to subjective success, 5 of the 6 respondents who mentioned not having any problems in Canada, stated they were satisfied with their lives in Canada. The remaining respondent, mentioned being somewhat satisfied with life in Canada. In addition, all of the 6 respondents not experiencing any problems in Canada defined themselves as successful migrants. Thus most respondents, despite the numerous problems faced initially, upon their arrival, were able to recover, as most mentioned being satisfied and described themselves as successful migrants in Canada.

Chapter 6

Factors affecting Success and Adaptation among Grenadian Transmigrants in Canada

There were a variety of factors affecting the adaptation of Grenadian transmigrants. These included gender, educational and occupational background, age, time of arrival, racism, access to information, use of settlement agencies and support and participation in voluntary associations. However, as shall be discussed subsequently, not all of these variables had any significant effect on the success of the respondents interviewed for this study.

1. Gender²¹

Gender affected the occupational status and income levels of Grenadian transmigrants, although it had an insignificant effect on their educational achievements made in Canada. It was found that among the respondents, more females than males were unemployed, 13.79% and 9.52% respectively. Accordingly, Grenadian males in the sample had a slightly higher labour force participation rate²² (90.48%), than their female counterparts, for which the figures were 86.21%. On the other hand, figures from the 1991 Census illustrate that women in the Canadian population had labour force participation rates of 69.8%, while for men the figure was 77% (Statistics Canada 1994b:62). Thus, discrepancies in employment rates among Grenadian men and women mirrored those existing in the Canadian society as a whole.

²¹ Comparative data for foreign-born and Canadian-born persons can be found in Appendix A. The comparisons are brief synopses and are done only to give some idea of the situation of Grenadians when compared with others in the Canadian population. However, because this is not a comparative study of the various immigrant or Canadian groups, only comparisons between Grenadian males and females will be elaborated upon.

²² Total Number of male or (females) employed/ Total number of males or (females) in the sample x 100. For male respondents for example $19/21 \times 100 = 90.48\%$. Total number of males or females were used because all of the respondents in the study were of working age.

According to the 1991 Census, the average personal wage of men in 1990 was \$29,847, while the average personal earnings of females for the same period was \$17,751. The average earnings of women (\$13,673) in the 10 lowest paid occupations amounted to 72.8% of the average of men (\$18,794) and nearly three-quarters of the full-time, full-year workers in the 10 lowest paying occupations in Canada were women. (Statistics Canada 1994b:84-85).

Similarly, gender affected the income levels of Grenadian migrants. The average income of Grenadian females in the 1996 study was \$18,965, while for males the figure was \$23,095. Thus women in the Grenadian sample earned approximately 82% of the average pay of their Grenadian male counterparts. Furthermore, more females (35.7%) earned under \$20,000 yearly than males, (28.6%). As well, males were twice more likely than females (14.3% of males and 6.9% of females), to earn an annual income of over \$40,000. It is interesting to note that the average income for Grenadian females was slightly higher than that of females in the Canadian population, while the average income of Grenadian males in the sample was slightly lower than that of males in Canada.

The 1991 Census revealed that the largest occupational categories for women in Canada were clerical, service, managerial and administrative. Together these occupational categories accounted for 58% of the experienced labour force.²³ That is, 16%, 10% and 32% of women over the age of 15 worked in service, managerial/ administrative and clerical and related occupations in Canada. The same was true of female respondents in this study. Women in the sample comprised 65.5% of those occupational categories. That is, 24.1%, 20.7% and 20.7% of Grenadian females worked in service, clerical and

²³ "The experienced labour force excludes unemployed people who had never worked or who had last worked prior to January 1, 1990" (Statistics Canada 1994b:66).

managerial positions in Canada. Thus Grenadian females exhibited a slightly higher occupational status, than females in the Canadian population.

On the other hand, for the male population in Canada, at the time of the Census, managerial/administrative, construction and service occupations accounted for 35% of the experienced male labour force (Statistics Canada 1994b:67-68). For male respondents in the study, managerial/administrative, service and other occupations accounted for 57.1% of males in the labour force. That is, 28.6%, 9.5% and 19.0% of males in the sample worked in managerial, service and other occupations, respectively. Accordingly, males in the 1996 study had a higher occupational status than males in Canada.

Of the participants in the study, males were almost three times more likely to be employed in sales related occupations, 28.6%, compared with 10.3% of females. Females were more likely to be employed in service and clerical related occupations, 24.1% and 20.7% respectively, compared with that of males for which the figures were 9.5% and 4.8% respectively (see Table 1.2). In addition, males were also twice more likely than females to be employed in managerial/ professional- related occupations, 42.9% and 20.7%, respectively. Women's low occupational status is related to the fact that, due to the restrictions placed on immigrants seeking permanent resident status in Canada, many were forced to circumvent legal entry.²⁴ Thus initially because of the lack of proper documentation many were forced to become employed in low status positions. Accordingly, Grenadian males had higher levels of occupational status than females in the sample, as more Grenadian males were occupied in managerial type positions than their female counterparts.

²⁴ Direct questions regarding respondents immigration status were not asked. However, through discussions about their immigration-related problems, females were more likely to point out-ways in which they circumvented legal entry into Canada.

With respect to education, according to the 1991 Census, almost half (45%) of the people with university degrees were women (Statistics Canada 1994b:93). On the other hand, among respondents more females than males had a university education (17.2% and 14.2% respectively), but more males than females were college educated, (66.7% and 58.6%, respectively).²⁵ Thus gender did not have any significant effect on respondents' educational status. Interestingly enough, in spite of income differences, Grenadian males and females were equally likely to own homes in Canada, 7 males and 7 females respectively.

In summary, gender had some effect on respondents' objective success. Females had lower occupational status and earned lower incomes than males. However gender did not have any significant effect on respondents' educational status or ability to own homes in Canada. Accordingly, using these objective criteria, females were less successful than their male counterparts.

However, when compared with data for females in the Canadian population according to the 1991 Census, Grenadian females were slightly more successful, as they earned slightly higher average personal incomes than the former. However males in the 1991 Census were more successful than Grenadian males in the sample, as the former earned higher average personal incomes than the latter.

With respect to subjective perceptions, males were three times more likely than females to state that they were not satisfied with their lives in Canada. For females, the satisfaction felt had more to do with the accomplishment of personal goals, such as improvements in educational and occupational status and ability to support family members who remained island bound. In turn, this not only paved the way for transnational ties to the home society, through the support of family by the remittances

²⁵ The collective percent was used as the comparative data for males and females.

sent, but also secured a means for positive peer group evaluation, which was viewed as one of the criteria of subjective success. For males, the satisfaction felt had more to do with the provision of opportunities for family members in Canada.

Males were three times more likely than females not to define themselves as successful migrants. Thus the former were more likely to state that this was due to their inability to achieve some of the personal goals that they had set out for themselves at the time of migration. In both instances the figures were 19.0% for males and 6.9% for females, respectively. However both males and females were equally likely to state that others in the community would define them as successful: 61.9% and 62.1%, respectively (see Appendix E). Furthermore, both were equally likely to own homes, have shares and send remittances. When compared with males however, females were three times more likely to have bank accounts in Grenada, 31.0% and 9.5% respectively (see Appendix E).

Furthermore, female respondents were more likely than males to encounter health, immigration related, financial and rental problems. Although immigration status was not a question directly asked of respondents, through conversations about their immigration related problems, the latter was found to be one of the most important intervening variables affecting success.

Women's tenuous immigration status placed them at a disadvantage from the onset of their arrival. Many of the female respondents interviewed for this study came as visitors and then decided to remain. Thus lack of proper immigration documentation impeded not only the kinds of employment that they had access to, but also chances for improvement in their educational status. Without legal status, the highest level of education that one was most likely to achieve was a high school education. In turn, this affected women's chances for overall success in the host society. Since not having the proper immigration documentation upon their initial arrival meant that these respondents had to start at the lowest occupational status positions, therefore, it took longer for respondents to be able

to establish themselves in Canada. Immigration related problems resulted in women having to pay exorbitant fees to lawyers and paralegals as they sought to legalise their status in Canada. This in turn affected their success. On the other hand, males were more likely to experience family and other problems, and they were two times more likely than females to encounter job-related and accreditation problems (see Appendix E)

2. Age

Age was one of the criteria used to assess the overall labour market integration of the participants of the study, since age at the time of arrival was an important proxy for respondents' previous labour market experience. As previously pointed out, all of the respondents interviewed were of working age, 22-64

Table 1.6 Age of respondents at the time of their arrival in Canada, at the time of the interview

Age Groups	Age at the time of Interview		Age at the time of Arrival	
	(Male)	(Female)	(Male)	(Female)
Under 20	-	-	5	9
21-25	-	2	5	7
26-30	5	7	10	6
31-35	6	3	1	4
36-40	5	10	-	2
41-45	5	3	-	-
46-50	-	1	-	-
51-55	-	1	-	1
56-60	-	-	-	-
60-65	-	2	-	-

Of the sample, 70% of respondents fell into two age categories: 46% in the 20-29, and 24% in the 30-39 age groups. Accordingly, because there is not much variation in the age distribution of respondents, an analysis of the affects of age on the sample is of negligible significance. The only effects that age seemed to have had is that persons arriving in Canada, who were of school age (high school), were most likely to complain of

problems associated with getting accreditation for their educational experiences achieved in Grenada (see discussion of problems in Chapter 4).

Fifty-two percent ²⁶of respondents were under the age 25 at the time of their arrival in Canada. Only 4% were under the age of 25 at the time of the interview (see Table 1.6). Of the 26 respondents who were under the age of 25 at the time of their arrival in Canada, only 5 (10%) were unemployed or were students, prior to their arrival in Canada. The remaining 21 (44%), were employed prior to their arrival. Despite the fact that they may have been employed in Grenada, where the average age for leaving high school is 16 or 17, and the completion of college by age 18 or 19, many participants felt that they were discriminated against because of their young age by Canadian employers. Respondents stated that Canadian employers had a hard time believing the magnitude of the educational and work experiences that Grenadian immigrants had acquired by age 20 or 25. Participants also commented that there was a tendency to view Caribbean work and educational experiences as not quite en par with Canadian experience, especially if they were younger migrants.

3. Time of Arrival

Time of arrival reflected one type of change in the respondents interviewed for this study. Thus the type of change experienced by respondents came about as a result of the passage of time and the accumulation of work, educational and other experiences encountered in the host country. Grenadian immigrants under study arrived between 1967 and 1994, with the mean and mode years of arrival being 1987 and 1989, respectively. That is, 50% of respondents arrived before 1987 and 50% arrived after that year, while most respondents (18%) arrived in 1989.

²⁶ 10 males + 16 females = 26 respondents (52% of the sample)

In order to test the proposition that it takes five years for newcomers to settle-down (Richmond and Kalbach 1980:53), the sample was divided into two groups: those who arrived between 1991 and 1996 and those who arrived earlier. The analysis of the groups demonstrated no significant differences in performances of the two groups, given that only 6% of respondents arrived between 1991 and 1996, while 44% arrived between 1985 and 1990. Those who have been in Canada 11 years or less turned out different from earlier cohorts, leading one to conclude that it takes longer than five years for immigrants to adapt in Canada.

Table 1.4 Frequency distribution of problems experienced by Grenadian migrants by time of arrival.

Type of problems	Total # of respondents with problems	Total # of respondents who arrived after 1985 and experienced problems
Health	3	2
Family	8	6
Financial	6	5
Immigration	20	15
Rent	13	10
Job-Related	22	14
Accreditation	18	10
Racism	36	23
Other	13	10

First those who arrived in Canada within the past 11 years experienced more problems (see Table 1.8). Second, using income as the primary criterion for determining objective success, it was found that 19 of the 23 respondents who were classified as unsuccessful arrived after 1985. Third, most of the respondents in service, sales and clerical occupations, most of the respondents who, at the time of the interview were unemployed, and 15 of the 17 who earned under \$20,000 annually, have been in Canada less than 11 years. Finally, respondents who arrived after 1985 were also least likely to

own homes, although 25 of the 39, who had post secondary education also arrived during or after this time period. Thus persons who had been in Canada less than 11 years, are classified as the least successful, according to objective criteria.

Furthermore, 4 of the 6 respondent who claimed that they were not satisfied with their lives in Canada also arrived after 1985. Yet the subjective perception of success did not seem to reflect differences in time of arrival. Twenty-eight of the 41 respondents who stated that they were very successful and all of those who stated that they were somewhat satisfied, arrived in Canada after 1985, while 19 of the 31 who said that others would describe them as successful also arrived during the latter time period.

Four of the five individuals who had shares in Grenada arrived after 1985, 10 of the 11 respondents who had bank accounts on the island and 11 of the 17 who had homes or property in Grenada, arrived after 1985. Accordingly, respondents who have been in Canada less than 11 years, at the time of the interview were the most transnationally successful of the respondents interviewed.

4. Educational Background

Table 1.4 The educational background of the 50 respondents interviewed

Level of Education	Males	Females	Total (%)
No School	0	0	0%
Under Grade 9	5	11	32%
Grades 9-13	9	14	46%
College	5	2	14%
University	2	2	8%
Total	21	29	100%

Another key determinant of labour force participation and the overall incorporation of newcomers in host societies is their educational background. As well as

its practical and instrumental value to the labour market, it also has symbolic significance since it promotes social acceptance and contributes to self esteem.

Thirty-two percent of respondents had an elementary school education prior to migrating, 46% attended secondary school, 14% went to college and 8% attended university prior to migrating to Canada (see Table 1.4). All of the persons interviewed, except four, went back to school upon their arrival in Canada to improve their educational status. Those with primary level education (below grade 9) were most likely to attend college (8 persons) or high school (5 respondents), while 1 female respondent with primary school background from Grenada, went to university in Canada. Of the 23 respondents with high school backgrounds, 4 went to university, 15 attended college and three went back to high school in Canada. As well, of the 8 respondents who had college level educational backgrounds, 4 went back to college and 3 attended university in Canada. On the whole, upon their arrival in Canada, respondents with high educational backgrounds obtained high levels of education in Canada. Respondents who had a primary school education received a high school education or better, those with high school education obtained college or university level education, and those with college degrees acquired university education. Thus the level of education one had from Grenada affected the likelihood of achieving a higher level of education in Canada. This further substantiates respondents' claims that one of the motivations for migrating is the improvement of their educational status. As a result, their personal satisfaction and subjective definitions of success, were based on having achieved that. However, as previously pointed out, many complained of the lack of proper accreditation procedures for the educational and work experiences that they had acquired in Grenada.

Almost half (11 of 23) of the respondents with secondary school education from Grenada were unsuccessful in Canada. That is, at the time of the interview, they were either unemployed or earned under \$20,000 annually. Accordingly, respondents'

educational background was not positively correlated with the level of income they received in Canada. However, educational background did not seem to affect respondents' occupational status, nor their ability to own homes in Canada.

Educational background did not seem to have any effect on respondents' level of satisfaction, whether or not they defined themselves as successful or stated that other Grenadians would view them as successful. That is, despite the level of education received in Grenada, most were likely to state that they were satisfied, define themselves as successful or state that other Grenadians would also describe them as successful. Therefore, educational background had no effect on participants' perception of subjective success.

The level of education that respondents received in Grenada also did not affect their ownership of property/ homes, their abilities to send remittances, or have bank accounts on the island. However, persons who received at least a secondary level education or more in Grenada, were most likely to have shares in industries in Grenada. Thus, overall, educational background did not seem to have much effect on respondents' transnational success.

5. Occupational background

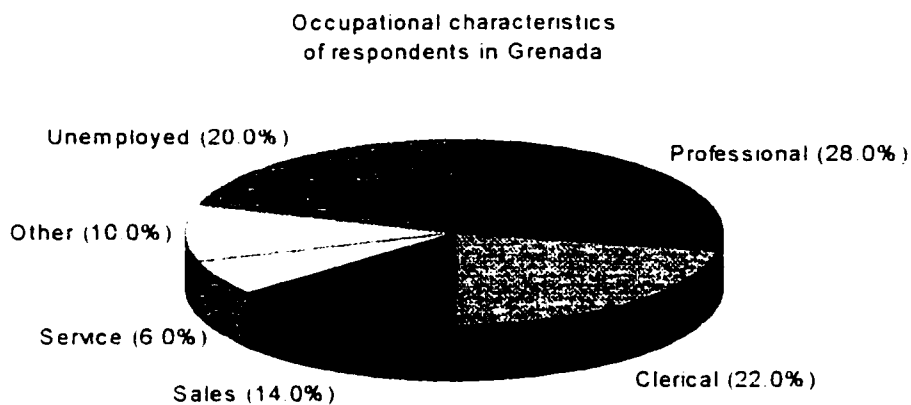
The occupational background of respondents, like educational background and age, was also a determinant for migrant's acceleration into the employment sector and their resulting labour force incorporation. As well, it may also have affected the actual occupations that respondents entered into in Canada.

With respect to occupational background, 20% of the sample were unemployed²⁷, 10% worked in other occupations, 6% in service, 14% in sales, 20% in clerical and related

²⁷ This 20%, in addition to including unemployed adults, also includes students who were still in school or had graduated the same year that they migrated to Canada.

positions and 30% in managerial, professional, teaching, health, administrative and related occupations, while residing in Grenada (see Chart 1.2 and Graph C).

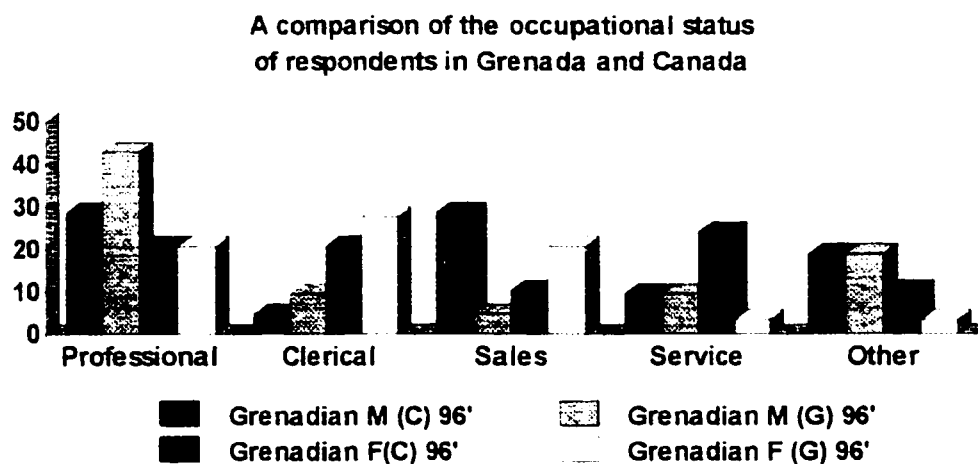
Chart 1.2 Frequency distribution of occupational background for the 50 Grenadian persons interviewed during the summer of 1996.



The occupational background of respondents also affected the likelihood of them entering the work-force. Eighty-eight percent of respondents were employed in Canada, while 12% were unemployed here. On the other hand, 80% had had jobs in Grenada, 12% were students and 8% were unemployed in Grenada. Three of the individuals who were unemployed in Grenada, at the time of the study, were also unemployed in Canada. However, 44% of respondents (12 females and 10 males) incurred an occupational status loss in Canada, 36% remained at the same occupational levels (10 females and 8 males), while 20% (7 females and 3 males) made improvements to their occupational status since migrating. As well, respondents were three times more likely to be employed in service type occupations in Canada (18%), than in Grenada, for which the figures were 6% (see Charts 1.1 & 1.2 and Graph C). The loss in the occupational status suffered by respondents, may be due to the lack of proper accreditation procedures in Canada for the work experiences they acquired outside of this host society. Thus overall, the occupational background of respondents did affect their occupational status in Canada.

Most respondents incurred an occupational status loss since migrating, moving from higher status positions, such as managerial/ professional occupations, which they had in Grenada, to lower status positions. For instance, 10 of the respondents were teachers in Grenada. None of these former teachers were teaching in Canada, and only half (5 respondents) remained at the same occupational status level since migrating. Furthermore, none of the respondents worked as domestics in Grenada, while, as previously pointed out, 14 of the 29 women interviewed, worked or were still working in the domestic field in Canada.

Graph C. A comparison of the occupational background of respondents with their current occupational status's in Canada.



Respondents with clerical, managerial, professional, health and related occupational backgrounds were most likely to earn moderate salaries of between \$20-\$40,000 yearly in Canada. As well, 8 of the 14 respondents who worked in managerial, professional, teaching, health and related occupations in Grenada owned homes in Canada. All of the respondents with clerical backgrounds as well as those with professional and managerial backgrounds obtained post secondary education in Canada. Thus overall, respondents with managerial, professional and related occupational background, were more likely than others to achieve moderate objective success in Canada.

Yet regardless of their occupational backgrounds, most respondents described themselves as successful and satisfied because of their abilities to improve their education as well as diversify their occupational experiences since migrating. As a result, respondents' occupational backgrounds did not affect any aspect of their subjective success. Occupational background also did not seem to have any effect on respondents' abilities to own home or property in Grenada, send remittances and have shares or bank accounts on the island.

6. Racism

Upon their arrival in the host society, immigrants are confronted with a variety of problems, some of which have been discussed in Chapter 4. An additional problem faced by immigrants and minorities is that of racism. As previously pointed out by Henry (1994), minorities, especially those from the Caribbean, encounter individual and systematic forms of racism, that seem to have some effect their overall incorporation in Canadian society.

Seventy-four percent of the sample reported having experienced racism in Canada (see Table 1-4). Many of these encounters occurred in schools, as was the case with Martha a former high school student in Grenada, now in her final year of college in Canada, who stated,

people tend... and like the kids in class... and even the teachers assume that once you're from the West Indies that you don't know absolutely anything! They have the assumptions that you can't basically do the work...OK... cause like... when you go to school here and you tell them that you finished high school back home...to them the standard is lower than theirs and you have to start like (almost all over) again!

Some of the other interviewees have also alluded to numerous experiences of racism in their job capacities. Leon, formerly a bartender at a popular hotel in Grenada, who now works as a civil engineering technologist for a small Toronto company, explains,

there are people who come and they give them higher positions than you, and you have the ability to do the job...and they still put them...pay them more...you've been there like (for a long time). I mean I used to be functioning with one company almost like a manager, but you don't get the

salary or the title, that sort of thing. But they realise that you have a lot of ability and they try to use that ability without giving you the proper reward, not only the credentials, but the reward. I mean when they realised what I could do they gave me more responsibilities without giving me the pay, you understand. They used to ask me to volunteer because they knew I could do it. So in the beginning I used to do it, but when I realise what they were doing I stopped. I used to work with this one company and the manager she came in one day to asked me about a formula telling me that I am the university guy and that I should know. So I said, you're the manager, you're supposed to be able to do it too. I am probably the most qualified in the whole company there but still I am the lowest paid, how do you call this racism? Yes! You know I try to improve myself. When I request higher pay or positions there is always some excuse either the budget is not there or they'd come up with something, while other people are gaining privileges. So it really makes me very frustrated! But then you've got to survive, so what are you going to do, you can't just walk out you know! Especially during these tenuous economic times.

Other participants in the study mentioned being outrightly told by patrons that they did not want to be served by a black person. Still others pointed to individual encounters, such as derogatory name calling. Petra who left her job as a secretary in Grenada and worked here as a domestic in order to obtain her landed immigrant documents, currently employed as a cashier, notes for example,

I worked with this family as a domestic. I ended up living there for 2 1/2 years. It was weird, with these people that I worked for, because I think they didn't like black people. How I know I was correct it was one time the girl, they had two daughters, the bigger one told me that, our mom don't like black people, but you work good and you could cook good. I think like I knew it, but like hearing it from her, I wasn't sure like how to respond, because I felt like poor children, what a society you're growing up in, knowing that your mom don't like black people. Like I remember she used to drop money all over the house, like she would accidentally drop \$10 and leave in the house, you know and then come back and not expect to find it. I mean they don't trust you! so they try to keep a tab on you!

There were also instances of racism mentioned by respondents which involved their search for living accommodation. These included being denied access to certain renting facilities because they were outwardly told by landlords or superintendents that they do not rent to black persons. One of the individuals went as far as to report this to the Rent Restriction Board and the Ontario Human Rights Commission and had two such landlords prevented from putting up rent signs for at least one year. Thus Suzette, formerly a book-keeper, now an operations manager working for a major shipping company in Canada, notes,

at one time I went to about three places to look for an apartment and you know sometimes when you talk to people on the phone, they make out the voice they believed to be black or maybe they're not sure so they ask you to come and look at the apartment and when you get there they notice that you're black and...(surprise expression!) on their

faces it's like they're not expecting somebody black. I had to confront one Italian woman, so I said 'you weren't expecting to see black people or a black person.' So she said black people like too much parties and black people this and black people that and they get the place dirty! Well they were expecting somebody white, because you have a white friend and you send that white friend and they'd get the place. So I go through that four or five times, but I did call the Rent Restriction Board and the Human Rights Commission and two of the three persons that I reported had to remove the apartment for rent sign for at least one year. Because for instance I had called for an apartment and I was told it was not available. The apartment stayed there, vacant for about four weeks and then I heard that the landlord was going to rent it for a Philippino couple. So then I called the Rent Restriction Board and they asked the landlord his reasons for not renting it to me and he said that black people like too much parties and that they destroy your place and he start with one amount of complaints. So he had to take off the (apartment for rent) sign for one year. I felt very very powerful when I did that. Very powerful! So I think too that it was all these problems that prompted me to get my own home

As well, 24% of the males interviewed mentioned having an encounter with the police, which they thought was in some way discriminatory, unfair, unjust and/ or racist. Lester, who owns and operates his own mechanic shop, expresses his encounter with the Metropolitan Toronto Police this way

Whatever the stereotype for a young black is there will always be that initial sort of stand off and it's based on the stereotype of being a young black male. I mean 10 o'clock one morning a cop stops me because I was walking in a relatively white neighbourhood, which was where I lived at the time, and searched me telling me I was fitting the description of a person who broke into a house in the area that morning. I mean all he saw was the fact that I was a black male walking in the wrong place at the wrong time!

Other respondents have gone as far as to boycott shopping or dining at certain places because of those experiences. In workplace situations others have sought the assistance of the Human Rights Commission and have been successful in getting perpetrators disciplined. John, a 41 year old male, who was unemployed at the time of the interview, sums it up this way.

I experience racism first hand in this country. Coming from Grenada, racism was like a foreign word to me. I learnt about racism in this country. You see, Canadians have this way of looking at minorities, they don't have a problem if we are...well when it comes to dancing and singing, they love that!...well oh boy! we are multicultural! But when it come to serious stuff like jobs...when minorities try to compete with them for jobs and stuff like that they start complaining, you know how these people come to our country and stuff like that, you know! So there is racism at the institutional level too, so apart from all their love of minorities and stuff like that, they limit our access that we have no real power in this country, like access to jobs and political power. Can you imagine a black person running for political leadership in this country?'

Furthermore, racism coupled with accreditation problems also seemed to have some negative effect on participants' occupational status. Accordingly, lack of accreditation and employers' emphasis on 'Canadian experience' were viewed by many as being racially motivated. Racism also seemed to have created rent related problems, especially for female respondents. However, while racism may have limited access to certain job opportunities or rent facilities for respondents, a majority still expressed the sentiment that they were not going to let this daunt their spirits or deter them for wanting to improve themselves. Thus 32 of the 37 respondents who experienced racism described themselves as successful migrants. Thus, most of the respondents seem to hold the view that these problems/ barriers have only encouraged them to want to accomplish more and do better for themselves in Canada. Angella who currently works as an accountant, formerly a teacher while in Grenada, puts it this way

I guess if you have you mind set on something, I don't see anyone or anything should really get... something like that should really get in your way, because you have to show them that you could get ahead and you're going to get ahead no matter what they do. So I look at that as stepping blocks, I am not going to let that keep me back. I mean I believe that all these experiences has made me stronger, by having to deal with all of these sorts of things. They only make me fight harder'

Experiences of racism did not affect participants' ownership of homes or property, their abilities to have shares, bank accounts or abilities to send remittances to Grenada. Thus, respondents transnational success was not affected by their encounters with racism. In addition, most of the respondents who stated that others would describe them as successful, or defined themselves as such, also experienced racism. As well, most of those who stated that they were very satisfied with life in Canada, also experienced racism. Therefore, respondents' subjective success was not affected by racism. Finally, experiences of racism also did not affect any of the four aspects of respondents' objective success.

7. Access to Information

As discussed in chapter 2, access to information is an important factor, facilitating the settlement and adaptation process of new arrivals to the host society. Upon their arrival to the host society new arrivals need a variety of information to help cope with the resulting adjustment changes. Some of this information is often provided through what are referred to as settlement agencies, in the destination society. Other sources of information include relatives, friends and the social networks entered into in the receiving society, such as participation in voluntary ethnic organisations. As illustrated in Table 1.5, the information that was received about Canada, by respondents, came from a variety of sources. Nigel, a 46 year old car sales person, now a materials handler, working for Kmart, points out,

the most important thing in the world today is information. The people who control the world today, they don't control it with arms and money, they control it with information. For instance...the guys in the stock exchange, it's information the guy makes his money from. Like if he knows what's happening tomorrow with a certain company, he knows where the stuff (stock) is moving ahead of time, it's either moving up or down depending on what's happening tomorrow, so he could use that information to make a profit, you know what I mean. So it's the same way, like you notice the superpowers. When they had the cold war, there again it's information that made the difference, who could spy better, you know what I mean. So yes, information is very important if we want to advance in any society.

Table 1.5 Frequency distribution of the sources of information used by respondents.

Sources of Information	Male	Female	Total
Relatives and Friends	17	24	41
High Commission	9	4	13
CUSO	6	3	9
Media	6	4	10
Agencies	1	2	3
Tourist	5	3	8

The most frequently utilised sources were relatives and friends who proved to be the most valuable, though not always the most accurate sources of information to

newcomers. Eighty-two percent of the sample reported receiving information through this particular source. 26% reported receiving information from a Canadian high commission offices in the Caribbean or elsewhere. 20% received information from the media, while 18% received information from CUSO teachers and Canadians building schools in Grenada (see Table 1 5)

Canadians have always had a great presence in Grenada building and renovating schools, teaching and police training, just to name a few. Some respondents even remember Canada donating vehicles to the police force and two boats, 'Federal Palm' and 'Federal Maple,' during the 1960's. Respondents have noted that such encounters have always given the feeling of Canada as a wonderful place and Canadians as a noble people, because the latter were viewed as being more altruistic about their gift giving than their American counterparts. The fact that Canada was also not known for being a colonial power also helped to preserve that image. As Simon, formerly a tourism consultant in Grenada, currently employed as a mechanic, stated for example,

Canadians like had a great presence in Grenada building schools and so on. That always gave me the feeling that Canadians were very noble and that Canada was a very nice country. When I saw Canadians as a little boy in Grenada, they always seem like very nice people... they gave me an opportunity to talk to them in general about Canada, in Grenada.

Physical and regional geography, taught at the high school levels, was also another source of information mentioned by respondents. Eighteen percent of informants mentioned this as a source of information, while 20% of persons interviewed mentioned the media as another source. Jude, for example, who left Grenada during his final year of high school, now a tax representative, notes,

yes, when I did Geography, I felt I knew a lot more about Canada than a lot of Canadians did and actually that was proven, when I started going to school here, because I did like social studies in high school and like, the questions that you know a lot of Canadians didn't know, yes about their own country... (I knew them). So in terms of being relevant yes. Such information was indeed relevant as it gave you a base, a foundation, but useful...not really!

In addition, 6% of persons interviewed mentioned agencies such as CIDA, while 16% received information from tourists about Canada. However, much information received from the above mentioned sources highlighted Canada's infrastructural developments but not much about real life experiences, such as what it was like to live in Canada, especially as a minority. Accordingly, most respondents pointed out that these infrastructural highlights often painted a glorified picture of what Canada was all about and overshadowed everything else. Ronald, who currently works as a carpenter, the same occupation which he did in Grenada, puts it this way,

I think that the information that would have been beneficial, helpful, was information as to what people here (in Canada) are like, are they friendly or are they not friendly, even then the racial issue comes up, what do Canadians feel about other people, you know, how do they relate to other immigrants. I guess behavioural patterns might have helped, because when you come here you have some insight as to the types of behaviour that is norm, that you have to live by ...but you have some idea as to what to expect from a societal or cultural standpoint.

To obtain the above mentioned information most respondents depended on friends and relatives still living, or who had previously resided in North America. Although, as shall be discussed subsequently, the type of information received for the latter source was often problematic, many informants were quick to point out that information received from the high commission offices in the form of pamphlets or booklets had similar shortcomings as the above mentioned sources. These pamphlets stipulated the importance of obtaining health and social insurance cards, population statistics, or gave information about the cost of living in Canada. However, respondents considered this type of information to be too generic as it did not really present a picture of what it meant to live in Canada.

Family and Friends as Networks and Sources of Information

Relatives and friends were the primary source of information for newcomers, with 82% of the sample relying on this source (see Table 1.5). However, many complained that

the information received, though better in some respects than that which was received from other sources, was often an inaccurate presentation of what life in Canada was all about. Many felt that the picture painted was too rosy and presented North America as 'streets paved with gold' Gail, a 30 year old Grenadian migrant who currently works as a domestic, puts it this way,

knowledge is power and in a sense ignorance, (not knowing) is one of the biggest stumbling blocks that we immigrants face. You see the difficulty comes in as a result of ignorance, because simply prior to coming to Canada no one ever tells you this stuff, you're never aware of it, you figure you'd come here and get (all the things you wanted to accomplish) not realising that there is constraints. You're so anxious to come and make a better life for yourself that finding out information, asking questions, these become the least of your concerns'

They further claimed that information about easy access to employment and education, as was claimed by visitors or relatives, was a distorted reality and that it failed to adequately discuss issues of race and racism and the other problems associated with settlement and other hardships, as faced by newly arriving immigrants in Canada. By the same token however, there was a general perception that if such information was given prior to arrival, its recipients would not have believed it. Most felt that the situation had to be first experienced to be believed. Justin, a civil service clerk, explains,

I don't think that having more information could have actually prepared you for what you really met. I think when you enter this country, I think that you have to sort of have to be here, the only information that could have prepared you for being here was living here. I mean like when you're home you hear about these countries, North America and Europe, you think well like the land of opportunity...they would come home and say nice things about Canada. Like for example, you may see people come back there and they look good, they dress nice and everything and you think well hey! things must look good! you know...But you have to work, just as back there you have to work to achieve what you want. People don't tell their families and West Indians, their friends at home what they have to do, how many jobs they have to do, how much little sleep they get, how early they have to get up. They don't tell them that you have to work your butt out! and that its not easy out here. They let them believe that everything is spectacular! Which is not the truth! Just to put it in context, they also said Canada was a beautiful place....I was told that coming to Canada, I could better myself., I could get a job, I could better myself I could move on, I could do this I could do that. I wasn't told that there were going to be difficult times, that you could be faced with racism, it could be this it could be that...coming to a developed country as opposed to an underdeveloped country...the impression that you get from North Americans, or from visitors coming

home is that hey! nice sneakers, nice clothes, nice cars, money to spend, its running in the streets up there and its not you know, you come here you work two three jobs, whereas home you work and more or less you're very happy. But going back home you know and telling people that its not easy in Canada, you know, people won't believe you. They will say oh well she's living the good life here and she doesn't want us to share in it. So people don't really understand unless they go through the experience. So I don't think well putting out more information...you've got to experience it yourself to really understand. So for example, unless people experience racism they never really understand what racism is...Black people talk about racism in Canada...Whites say well, what are they talking about!

However, at the same time, these same respondents when asked if there was any particular information that they wished they had received prior to migrating, were most likely to state, 'yes'. As was the case with Philip, a former teacher while in Grenada. Although he was trained as a draftsman in the U.S. being unable to obtain accreditation in Canada, he has since returned to college to become an electronics technician. In the meantime, Philip works as a customer service representative at Canadian Tire. He states,

a true picture of opportunities could have helped, the skills, the requirements for jobs, an overall picture of the true conditions. I am not talking about GDP and earnings of people on a per capita basis, income etc. ...I need information, OK, if this tell me for example, the minority population in Canada is that amount and so much is at work and their financial status is this and this is the sort of jobs they are in, give me the information to let me know where I am fitting in, into where would I fit in this society because if you give me the information and let me know who's working and where they're working and what kinds of jobs you would usually find them in. Then I will know that most blacks or minorities in Canada find themselves in low paying jobs and some statistics as to mobility and then I could have made the decision whether I want to fall into that group because what I find is that yes you come to Canada and there are few blacks who made it. But generally we are at the low end of the economic spectrum and we become stuck there. As there are few of us who get beyond...but its the majority, we're stuck in limbo. In addition, I wished I had information relating to education, the opportunities that were available here (educationally) and what you need to get here to pursue these opportunities, then it could help you advance yourself some more before or when you get here. (The accreditation procedures) What's a high school diploma in Grenada worth in Canada or an A'levels certificate etc. ...because caught in the frenzy of migration some kids may sometimes slack off in school, some don't complete some levels of school, never advance to other levels etc., and these maybe important bridges to help you in the adjustment process. For example an A'levels certificate could get you into York university which eventually may assist you in accelerating your labour market participation. So you could be successful in Canada, but its not as we see it from a Caribbean perspective, its a totally different thing. You see, in Grenada like or in the Caribbean in general, education is basically stressed, you basically have to go to school, you basically have to get an education, if you don't get an education, then you're not within the realm of society (in Grenada) and you basically don't fit in...(but) when you come here you are already a minority...However because your parents in a sense don't

have the knowledge of the education system here, which I think they should, but I guess in a sense like in the period like when they came, they didn't have the access, they didn't have the information. Your parents expect the same sort of routine that you had back in the West Indies to apply here when you go to school. Its like they don't inquire, to me I don't find that they do inquire much, into the school because back home they're always used to, you having the teachers in a sense basically to guide you, here it is not the same, they don't understand that there is a difference between... this is not Grenada. So yes we need much more information...and instead of telling people yes come to Canada, I think they should be given a choice and say OK, you guys stay here and be there or you could go to Canada and could possibly be there. You understand that word possibly is important, you may or may not make it living in Grenada but if you stay there your job is more or less guaranteed, more or less, you're set for life...Whereas you come here and times are changing rapidly that you maybe OK today and not tomorrow...Personally I would like to see every Grenadian travel to Canada so that they'd get a different perspective on life, but whether I want them to come and live, I don't think so!

Thus by the end of the interview, many of the respondents who felt that information was unimportant to their ability to settle down in Canada had many suggestions for immigrant hopefuls. These suggestions include,

be prepared to work hard. Living in Canada requires lots of perseverance. As well working 12-16hr days, or three jobs, because you're trying to make ends meet is not uncommon. For living in Canada is not the glamorous lifestyle that one had hoped or envisioned while in Grenada. Since nothing comes in Canada easy, people should know that and their relatives and friends should let them know. It is the perception of a lot of people coming from the West Indies, they're coming to North America, they think well money is flowing on the streets and to their surprise they are in dire difficulties, they cannot afford to buy bus fare, they're on the streets, cannot afford food and shelter, so yes, it is our duty to present them with the whole picture. Because all too often whenever people leave here an they go back home to the West Indies they always paint this picture to their relatives that they come from a place where money is flowing from the streets, and that they're backward down there, in the Caribbean and all those things.

Still others noted for example that certain migrants left their good homes in Grenada and are living in dumpsters in Canada. Accordingly, those hoping to migrate should be made aware of what to expect. They note that these migrant hopefuls should be told about racism, about walking the street as a black person, seeing the old white lady, clutching her purse under her arms upon your approach, despite the fact that she may not have a penny in it. Furthermore, many expressed the sentiment that, had they known that they would have gone through those problems- especially the immigration ones maybe they might not have come, because at the time of their departure from Grenada, they had good paying job

or their own businesses. Thus some of them, had they known what to expect in Canada might not have migrated. Accordingly, because most received inaccurate information about Canada, or none at all, access to information did not seem to make any difference in Grenadian transmigrants' success.

Other Social Networks as Sources of Information

In addition to providing information to newcomers, family and friends were important networks for these new migrants, as they assisted them in settling down in their new environment. Eighty-four percent of the persons interviewed maintained that they had family or close friends in Canada prior to migrating. These family members include parents, cousins, aunts and siblings. Thirteen respondents- 5 males and 8 females- were sponsored by relatives in Canada. Furthermore, most remained with these relatives and friends until they were able to settle-down, find a place to live, secure employment, get acquainted with the transportation system of the city²⁸ in which they resided, and familiarise themselves with certain aspects of the Canadian way of life. In addition, two of the males interviewed mentioned that they remained with family where they were able to save enough money to acquire a home, within 1 to 2 years after their arrival in Canada. Family and friends were also instrumental in securing employment for the newcomers. All of the women, except one,²⁹ who worked in the domestic capacity upon their arrival in Canada, obtained this type of employment through the assistance of family and friends. Also, through these networks, newcomers were able to secure legal documents, such as social insurance, health cards, work permits and loans.

²⁸. Not all of the respondents came directly to Toronto, a few came via the US or the city of Montreal, then came to Toronto.

²⁹. This respondent's employment was arranged via the Labour Department in Grenada, but upon her arrival in Canada, was met at the airport by friends.

Other individual social networks which were important to respondents include friendships formed in Canada with persons other than Grenadian nationals. Some respondents maintained, for example, that some employers were quite useful in assisting them with the acquisition of their permanent residency documents and or improving their educational status, by allowing them to attend school during the course of their employment. Patsy who had worked with a Jewish family upon her initial arrival in Canada, employment she secured through the assistance of a Grenadian friend, comments

I met this Jewish family and that's what made it for me. Its like from the time I met this lady we just connect. We just connect, she had three little girls. She and her husband they gave me an apartment in the basement and I mean I don't care what some people say about them being racist, because me I could separate them. This woman like had me, I used to work from Tuesday to Friday, with Saturday to Monday off. Monday and Wednesday evenings I would go to night school at Bathurst Heights and that's how I finished my grade 12 and she would pick me up in the evening after school. So I went to school and her husband, he was the first to introduced me to computers. My first office job was at her husband' workplace. I mean they were nice people. I worked there for three years. Then when her last daughter started school, she said well I don't need you anymore, but she went and found me a job and she suggested that I stay in her basement until I had saved up enough money to find a place of my own. I used to make calls to Grenada to my parents, she said oh I'll deduct it from your pay cheque and I'll remind her about it. But pay cheque after pay cheque she wouldn't deduct it. By the time I left her house she and her husband they were eating strictly Grenadian food! So its not all families that treat you badly.

Similar to other Caribbean immigrants (see Chapter 2), Grenadian emigrants are caught in this dialectical dilemma of whether or not to divulge certain kinds of information about life overseas to persons who remain island-bound. They feel compelled to demonstrate to their peers and in general, to the Grenadian public, that by emigrating, they have been able to obtain some measure of success and that as successful emigrants, they have overcome whatever hardships they might have faced overseas. Those who have not been successful overseas, though few in number, pretend that they are. Yet there are certain kinds of information that are imperative to newcomers which never get passed along, for fear of appearing unsuccessful to peers, fear of resentment by others, or fear that such information would not be heeded to. There was a general perception among

respondents that no one in the home society wanted to hear about the hardships associated with life overseas. The fear of appearing unsuccessful to peers as well as the comparison of ones' success in relation to members of their peer group was also voiced by respondents. Thus throughout the interviews, many of the participants commented that members of their peer group whom they had left in Grenada, had built houses, had secure jobs and were doing quite well on the island, compared to the achievements they had made in Canada. Thus, had they remained in Grenada, they might have done just as well or better than their peers. Again we see that an evaluation of one's success is always being done, in relation to one's peer group, and may be one explanation as to why these Grenadian transmigrants have chosen to maintain a conspiracy of silence on visits to their homeland. Furthermore, most respondents noted that having more information prior to migrating about the host society, would not have helped them settle-down in Canada. By the same token however, these said respondents were also likely to remark that they wished someone had warned them about the hardships of life overseas.

Family, friends and other individual social networks formed from friendships in Canada, proved to be the most important sources of information to newcomers. As well, through these networks of family and friends, these new arrivals were able to secure housing and employment. As well, family members in the host country sponsored newcomers, a process which continues to encourage further chain migration from Grenada.

Thirty-two of the forty-one respondents who received information from relatives and friends obtained a post secondary education in Canada. All of the respondents who received information from Canadian high commission offices overseas, from CUSO, the media, Caribbean geography classes, tourists and other Canadian funding agencies acquired at least a secondary education, since migrating to Canada. Accordingly, access to information did not seem to have any effect on respondents' educational status. Nor did

lack of information have any effect on participants' ability to own homes in Canada. The only sources of information that might have affected respondents' occupational status in Canada, was information received from Canadian high commission offices and Canadian funding agencies overseas. In addition, all of the participants who were unemployed and 8 of the 9 who occupied service positions, obtained information from the former, while two of the three who received information from Canadian agencies were employed in managerial, professional, health and related occupations in Canada. Respondents who received information from relatives and friends in Canada were more likely than others to earn moderate salaries of between \$20,000- \$40,000 annually. Thus overall, information received from relatives, friends and other social networks had positive effects on respondents' objective success.

More than 50% of the respondents who received information from all of the access to information sources listed in the model in Chapter 3, described themselves as successful. The same is true of respondents who stated that they were satisfied with life in Canada, or that other Grenadians would describe themselves as successful migrants. Therefore, lack of information did not affect participants' subjective success.

Access to information did not affect the likelihood of respondents' owning house or land on the island of Grenada. However, respondents who received information from the media, relatives and friends and Caribbean geography classes were more likely to send remittances. Lack of information did not have any effect on respondents' ability to have bank accounts in Grenada. However 50% of the participants who obtained information from tourists about Canada, had shares in Grenada. Yet overall, access to information had very little effect on respondents' transnational success.

8. Settlement Agencies

Another source of information often utilised by newcomers are what are referred to as settlement agencies. One is a federally funded program, ISAP- Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program, which aims to help meet the needs of new arrivals in Canada. In recent times the program has been decentralised and distributed to community and other ethnic organisations to provide the services. Some funding to community organisations is provided by ISAP. Personal communication with staff at the Settlement Directorate, Ontario region, at 438 University Avenue, in Toronto, revealed that there were several Caribbean organisations through which some funding is provided by ISAP. These SPO's (Service Provider Organisations) which are referred to as ISAP Counsellors for the Caribbean Partnership includes: **1) COSTI**, which hosts a family counselling centre, a youth employment centre- **C.Y.C.L.E** (Centre for Youth Counselling Leading to Employment) and a reception centre. **2) Harriet Tubman Community Organisation**, which offers tutoring, games heritage, crafts and drama classes. **3) the J.F.C.C.O** (Jane and Finch Concerned Citizens Organisation), which provides academic tutoring, recreation, cultural awareness training, family support services, special education programs, summer programs, youth employment training and student placement. **4) The J.C.A.** (Jamaican Canadian Association), which provides educational and vocational training, immigration and employment counselling, small business information, housing information and assistance, assistance with filling out forms, social and recreational programs for seniors, young offenders rehabilitation program, programs for abused and assaulted women, information referral services and the Pal Program: befriending and companionship for youths ages 7- 16 and. **5) Tropicana Community Services Organisation**, which provides culturally specific counselling and training, as well as tutoring services. Other organisations which have an affiliation with ISAP, but were not at the time of the interviews, classified as Counsellors for the Caribbean Partnership include: **a) Black**

Inmates and Friends Assembly which provides culturally specific services to inmates and family support including monthly visits by volunteers, readjustment employment and education counselling, representations to parole boards, immigrant offices and courts, crises intervention, consultation to government and community organisations, Reclaiming Our Youth (ROY) program, which is a preventative program for black youth at risk and :

b) Harambee Centres Canada, an organisation that provides child, youth and family counselling, family conflict, behavioural difficulties, youth issues, and assaulted women, education support programs, motivation, self esteem, literacy, career counselling and parental involvement in schools, advocacy services, service contracts available to institutions, and the provision of culturally specific services (Black Pages, SHARE newspaper, handouts from staff at the Settlement Directorate)

Respondents were asked whether they had heard of or used the services of settlement organisations. The importance of having such organisations in the community was noted by Marcus, a 27 year old male respondent, as follows.

It's like you live in a certain part of the world and coming here from the Caribbean or any place like that then you come into this country, you're blind I mean, its like a jungle out here, but then it's good to know that there is always information that can help you if you want to do this or that. I think its a good strategy trying to get people to settle you know and help them feel comfortable. It makes you feel very welcomed.

However in terms of the use of settlement agencies, only 28% had heard of settlement agencies upon their arrival to Canada and 26% had used their services. Thus most respondents had never heard of settlement agencies prior to the interview. When asked would they have used such services had they known about their existence, most were quick to point out that they would prefer to rely on family members and friends. However, where such sources fail to adequately meet their needs, they may resort to the services of a settlement agency.

Of those who encountered such agencies, 3 worked in conjunction with them through a job capacity/ work situation, 4 had heard of the welcome house / wagon (reception house) and were recipients of information from the service with regard to municipal and community services available in their area of residence. Three had used the services of Tropicana, 1 volunteered with Tropicana assisted in their tutoring program, 1 person became involved with Tropicana and Harambee through their work capacity and 1 used the services of Harambee, Tropicana and the J C A., for the completion of a school project. Also, 1 person mentioned utilising the services of the J C A with regard to the financial support of a dance group. One other individual reported having used the services of CYCLE and COSTI, for employment purposes, with 1 other individual who mentioned having used NYSAC, an employment agency, for assistance with resume and job search. These findings confirm the conclusions made by Head (1980), that Caribbean migrants tend not to use the services of such agencies

Thus the most utilised sources of information were family and friends. However these worked both to the advantage and disadvantage of respondents. Relatives and friends eased the burden of settling down in the new society, as they helped in the sponsorship of respondents, found them jobs and got them acquainted with their new society, but at the same time, the information provided from this source was often an exaggerated picture of what life was like in Canada. Yet, these individual social networks seemed to have effectively replaced the need for traditional settlement agencies among this group.

As already alluded to, 26% (13) of respondents used settlement agencies in Canada. Of the 13 persons used settlement agencies, 6 earned under \$20,000 annually. At the same time however, all of the individuals who unemployed at the time of the interview never used settlement agencies in Canada. Accordingly, use or non-use of settlement agencies did not affect respondents' level of income. Almost half (6) of the respondents

who used settlement agencies owned homes in Canada, and were most likely to be employed in professional/ managerial-related occupations (5) and sales positions (5 respondents). Accordingly, use of settlement agencies had some positive effect on respondents' objective success.

Most of the respondents (22 of 37) who did not use settlement agencies described themselves as successful migrants in Canada. Thirty of the thirty-six respondents who had not heard of settlement agencies described themselves as successful. Therefore, use of settlement agencies had no effect on respondents' subjective success. One third of the respondents who had not heard of or used settlement agencies owned house or land in Grenada. For all of the other criteria of transnational success, use of settlement agencies had negligible effects

9. Voluntary Associations

Another important social network that also assisted in the settlement process of new arrivals are voluntary associations. The aim of these voluntary island associations could be described as threefold.³⁰ The first is that voluntary associations function as mechanisms enabling immigrants to adapt to new urban contexts, where they often experience rapid change and cultural disorientation. Thus voluntary associations are seen as instrumental in the early adaptation process, assisting with housing employment and problems arising from sickness and from a range of personal and family crises (Basch 1987:161). Peter, a 28 year old male respondent, works here for an insurance company, although he has an engineering diploma from the former Soviet Union. He described his motivation for his development and involvement in a Grenadian organisation as follows.

³⁰ Here I would use Basch (1987) categorisation of voluntary organisations among Grenadians and Vincentians in New York.

The main reason *why I got involved in organisations* is because of something that I have suffered and experienced myself. That is, you're not socially, economically or in any other way, prepared to live here, to move your life and to come and live here, you're not prepared. So when you get here you're like a lost puppy and you can't find your way. For some people who have the family backing, for some people who have the financial support, its great, you will recover and get out of it. For people who don't have the family and friends and the financial backing, you could remain lost for a pretty long time here and still never recover, and that's one of the reasons why I became very much interested in Grenadian organisations. I think that organisations can create a sort of resting place or home for some who have to leave their home and that was the main reason *why I got involved*.

A second function of voluntary associations is that they stress their role as reproducing home societies cultural institutions in the new environment in order to help ease a new immigrant's adjustment (Basch 1987 162). As Peter continues about the objectives of his organisation,

our mandate was to help young Grenadians to progress in terms of education, economics, social adaptability, what ever the need was. And we were basically affiliated with lots of sports. A lot of sporting endeavours and that's where a lot of young people felt comfortable to come in because some of the sports that we promoted was sports that was played in Grenada on a very common basis, but probably not played here. We feel that you know on order for young Grenadian people in this society to feel Comfortable and feel like there is hope for them, they have to be able to associate themselves with something successful. So we formed this organisation with the hope that we could help *with this particular situation...We also felt that the more established Grenadian organisations in Canada, did not cater to the needs of youths.*

Thirdly, voluntary associations play a role in fostering immigrants' links to home community and society, through encouraging or reinforcing continued home orientation as well as involvement in the community and political life of the sending area (Basch 1987:162). The respondents who owned shares in industries in Grenada for example, revealed that this information was solicited from their involvement with the Grenada Association and their affiliation with the Grenada Consulate in Toronto. They mentioned that meetings were organised by the two mentioned organisations, where representatives from the current Grenadian government came to encourage this kind of investment in Grenada. There were some respondents who received more negative information about

the venture and chose not to invest. These individuals however, have now regretted that decision, as these companies seem to be doing quite well in Grenada. Andrea, one such respondent who heard negative information about the GRENLEC venture, remarked,

like when they were privatising GRENLEC (Grenada Electricity Company) there are so many Grenadians here that would have like to have invested in GRENLEC. But Grenadians did not get an opportunity to (invest) in GRENLEC because the information was so negative and who you think spreading he negative information, the well known people down there, that was spreading the negative information up here. Because when I went down to the Embassy they gave me a form and they told me that I could have (invested), and then somebody from the government that was very well known say that the government say that they don't think that Grenadians should invest because its a risk. Risky because everything was so shaky before the election and everybody was scared and now I regret I didn't do it. I really regret it! This is our company, how could we let someone from the outside take it over without giving us an opportunity!

Furthermore, the Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique Hospital Building fund was also established in response to urgent requests by government representatives from Grenada, who sought the assistance of Grenadian nationals in Canada to aid in the restructuring and refurbishing of the current Grenada General Hospital, located in the capital city of St. George's. At first, it was going to be relocated away from the down town area into the outskirts of the city, but pleas from Grenadian nationals, both at home and overseas, who stressed its importance as a historic and strategic location, as well as the cost of relocating, which far out-grossed that of its renovation, influenced the decision to keep it at the current site. Here again we see the importance of the Grenadian transnational connection to the home society

For the purpose of analysis, the Grenadian organisations mentioned and/ or used by participants in the study will be divided into five categories (Basch 1987:169-171). They are 1) Sports and social clubs; 2) Umbrella Groups; 3) Welfare groups; 4) Performing Cultural Clubs and ; 5) The Consulate.³¹

³¹. The Consulate office which is not a voluntary organisation was not included as organisations by Basch (1987) as part of her analysis of Grenadian and Vincentian voluntary organisations in New York. However, for the purposes of analysis I have included it here.

As the name implies, sports and social clubs focus on recreational and social activities, and organise competitive events with other clubs, often spanning beyond the scope of one Caribbean community. During the course of the study, I joined one such organisation. Its emphasis was on sporting activities, and both during the summer of 1996 and 1997, participated in netball competitions organised by the Metro Toronto Netball Association and the North York Netball Association. There were two teams from Grenada, as well as others from St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. As well, the participating Grenadian organisations in this event, organised a series of dances, concerts and other social events to off set the cost of uniforms, registration and other miscellaneous costs. Organisations that fell into this category, mentioned by respondents include Spice Island Sports Club, GREENS Cricket Club, The Grenada Patriotic Front and the Grenada Progressive Youth and Social Club. Accordingly, many of the youth oriented organisations and clubs have functioned primarily to fill a social void in the community by facilitating sporting events, dances and other social functions, fall within this category. There is however a very high turn over of members in these organisations, most of whom are recently arrived migrants.

A second type of organisation listed by Basch (1987), that was found within the Grenadian community in Toronto, was, what is known as an umbrella group. This is a conglomerate of heads or representatives from various Grenadian organisations and other individuals, who often come together to organise events that affect a wide cross section of Grenadians. The genesis of the existing umbrella group in Toronto, came about as a result of the initiative of Adrian Haynes, the past Grenada Consulate General of Toronto,³² and

³² Personal communication with heads of various Grenadian organisations, who were also participants of the study, revealed this information.

was first mobilised to plan the Grenada Independence day celebrations, held in February³³ of every year. This organisation meets on a somewhat regular basis and also acts as a co-ordinator of visits by governments representatives from Grenada, and by visiting Grenadian cultural groups such as the Grenada National Folk Group. For the latter, fund raisers were organised to help offset costs, such as the hotel accommodation for the group.

The umbrella group also provides an opportunity for various organisations to co-ordinate their activities, so that they do not coincide with each other. The umbrella group also helped to organise the visits by Grenada's Prime Minister, members of parliament and other government representatives to Canada. Furthermore, this particular group has also been instrumental in organising fund raisers to help compensate for the cost of medical bills for Grenadians with health problems. For example, during the summer of 1996 a series of concerts, dances and other fund raisers were held to help meet the medical expenses of a little Grenadian girl, named Ikeiba, who had lost her limbs to cancer and was in need of a prosthesis. Similar events were organised to assist another Grenadian individual, an innocent by-standee, who was shot and paralysed from the waist down, during the Caribana celebrations of that said year. There is only one umbrella group in existence in Toronto.³⁴

Thirdly, there are performing and cultural clubs which have been designed to preserve the cultural heritage of Grenadians, or Caribbean persons in general. Drum Theatre, as the name suggests, is a theatre group, is one organisation falling into this category. This organisation started off as being primarily a Grenadian organisation.

³³ Grenada received its independence from Britain on the 7th of February 1974.

³⁴ Membership in this group fluctuates according to the situation at stake.

However due to a drop in membership it has expanded to include persons from other islands.

A fourth type of organisation is welfare associations. These are mainly concerned with the economic well being of the communities at home and they regularly send money for particular institutions, such as schools, hospitals as well as provide academic scholarships, to persons in the home society. Grenadian organisations in Toronto falling under this category include the various school Alumni, the St. Joseph's Convent Alumnae Association of Toronto, the Grenada Boys Secondary School Past Pupil Association, the St. David's Secondary School (alumni) and the St. Andrew's Anglican Secondary School Alumni Association. These alumni associations continue to support schools by donating books and other materials, upgrade school laboratory equipment, and assist with school repairs and renovations. Also included in this organisational category is the Grenada Carriacou and Petit Martinique Hospital Building Fund, the Grenada Association and the Grenada Seventh Day Adventist Association. The latter has donated wheelchairs, urinals, beds and other hospital equipment to the Grenada General Hospital, on occasion.

The final organisational category to be dealt with is the Consulate. This is not an organisation per se, but for the purposes of analysis, will be classified as such. The Consulate General Office has played a very important role in the lives of Grenadian transmigrants in Toronto. Like other organisations it has acted as a mediator, bridging the gap between home and host societies cultures. Thus the Consulate for example has played a very active role in co-ordinating and facilitating the umbrella group association's activities, previously mentioned. The Consulate also acts as a referral for other services or agencies. As well, to a certain extent, it has provided some assistance to Grenadians, with various health or immigration problems, often in conjunction with the assistance from other Grenadian individuals and organisations in Canada.

Many of the respondents (64%) who used the Consulate, had done so primarily for the renewal of their Grenadian passports. Others had used the Consulate through their affiliation with Grenadian organisations, as a resource to obtain tourism and investment information about the island. However, many felt that there was much more that the Consulate office should and could do to further assist Grenadians in Canada. They suggested that Grenada is not well promoted here in Canada as a tourist destination, that information about current events in Grenada should be more readily available and that the office can be more helpful to persons seeking legal, immigration health or other assistance in Canada.

This office was shared by the Grenada Tourist Board in Canada, which recently closed and its staff was laid off at the beginning of 1997. Interviews conducted with some members of both offices indicated that people, often unaware of the duties and responsibilities of the Consulate, come in with problems that were often beyond the scope and authority of the office. Immigration problems is one such example. The office cannot intervene in an immigration matter. They can only act as a mediator between the Department of Immigration Canada and the individual's family by trying to find out, for example, why that person was detained, or to have verification that the particular individual is a Grenadian citizen. They do not however provide legal assistance or provide funds to pay for bails or bonds or airline tickets. They may however direct the individual or his/ her family to agencies which do provide those services. Furthermore, the staff maintains that often there is not a budget in place to meet these needs. Additionally, the staff complained of bureaucratic discrepancies within Canada's immigration department. The Immigration and Citizenship department, may send for example, to the same individual a deportation order and notification for the receipt of permanent residency documents, to be complied to within one week of each other. These create numerous problems for Grenadian nationals in Canada. Consulate staff describe this as a 'cat and

mouse game of who gets you first, removals, or the department responsible for issuing the permanent residency documents.' In these particular situations, the Consulate staff is unable to legally advise their nationals. Accordingly, there are often disagreements arising between individuals and staff members about the role and functions of the Consulate office. Yet the office plays a vital role in the lives of many Grenadians in Toronto

With regard to participation in the activities and membership in organisations, 68% of those interviewed claimed to be members and or, supporters of various Grenadian organisations. However, more males than females reported being members of Grenadian and other community organisations, 12 males and 8 females, respectively. Of the sample, the Grenada Association, one of the largest Grenadian organisations in the Toronto area had the most members and supporters, with 7 persons reporting being members of this organisation. In addition, there was the Grenada Patriotic Front, with 3 members, the Grenada Progressive and Social Club, 2, the Grenada St. David's Secondary School Alumni, 2, The Grenada Seventh Day Adventist Association, 2, the Grenada Carriacou & Petit Martinique Hospital Building Fund, GREENS Sports Club, Drum Theatre, Spice Island Sports Club, each with 1 member, respectively. Other organisations mentioned during the course of the study were the Grenada Montreal Association of which there was 1 past member, the St. Andrew's Anglican Secondary School Alumni (Toronto), the St. Joseph's Convent (Grenada) Past Pupil's Association and the Milken Community Group, (1 person) which was not a Grenadian organisation.

The above mentioned organisational categories are not mutually exclusive. That is, an organisation may exhibit more than one purpose. Conversations with numerous respondents have revealed for example, that in addition to organising activities such as dances, concerts and dinners in Canada, the Grenada Association, has also been instrumental in sending scholarships to Grenadians in Grenada, for example. As well as organising sporting activities for Grenadian youths in Canada, the Grenada Progressive

Youth and Social Club and the Grenada Patriotic Front have donated food baskets to needy Grenadians in Canada around Christmas time and provided basketballs to their home communities in Grenada. Furthermore, individuals may belong to more than one organisation at the same time.

There was a general perception among most respondents that there was much more that organisations should do to facilitate the settlement and adaptation process of Grenada transmigrants, given that most of the members and supporters of these organisations encountered numerous problems in Canada, especially immigration, rent, accreditation and job related problems

The review of Grenadian organisations in Toronto presented above, is not comprehensive. There are many other Grenadian organisations in existence in this area that were not mentioned here. Moreover, only the information provided by participants about these organisations was assessed since its importance especially to the transnational approach, was not originally envisioned. This has made it impossible to quantify all the activities of the organisations discussed in this study. However, the information provided has pointed to the importance of these local organisational networks in the settlement of Grenadians in Toronto

These organisations are very important to the Grenadian and Caribbean communities firstly, because they often assist in the provision of services, dispense information, basically filling the gap where settlement agencies have left off. Secondly, given that respondents were very much interested in the development of Grenada, they saw organisations and their involvement in them as one way to maintain these connections and make their contributions to their homeland. These organisations therefore serve a transnational function. Finally, the third function of organisations, is their ability to bring a sense of togetherness and familiarity to members of the community they represent in the host society.

Whether participants belonged to organisations or not, did not affect their success. Thus 28 of the 32 respondents who were members or supporters of Grenadian organisations and 27 of the 32 respondents who used the Grenada Consulate (Toronto), described themselves as successful. The same can be said of respondents who did not use the Consulate or those who were members/ supporters of Grenadian organisations. They were equally likely to describe themselves as successful. Membership/ support or use of the Grenada Consulate also did not seem to have any effect on respondents level of satisfaction or whether or not they perceive that others in the Grenadian community would describe them as successful

The only significance that membership and use of the Grenadian Consulate seemed to have had on the other aspects of respondents success are as follows. Almost half of the individuals (7 of the 16) who were members of organisations were in the habit of sending remittances. Of the members/ supporters just over half, 17 of the 32, also sent remittances to Grenada on a regular basis. On the other hand, of the 32 who were members/ supporters of these organisations 28 obtained college and university education in Canada. Of significance to the individuals who used the Consulate, was the fact that just almost 50% or 15 of these 32 respondents were either unemployed or earned under \$20,000 annually, at the time of the interview. However, most of these same respondents had a post secondary education (26 of the 32), while just under half (14), worked in managerial/professional and clerical related occupations.

Thus membership/ support of organisations affected respondents ability to send remittances to Grenada, but not other aspects of their transnational success. Involvement in these networks also had positive effects on participants educational status as a majority of those who were members/ supporters of organisations received a post secondary education in Canada. Use of the Grenada Consulate had a negative effect on respondents' level of income. That is, most of the persons who used the consulate, by objective criteria

would be classed as unsuccessful, because at the time of the interview they were either unemployed or earned under \$20,000 yearly. However, respondents who used the Consulate were more likely to be employed in managerial/ professional and clerical related occupations. Thus use of the Consulate had a positive effect on respondents occupational status.

Twenty-eight of the thirty-four respondents who were not members of Grenadian organisations stated that they were very satisfied and 13 of the 16 who were members, also stated that they were satisfied. As a result, membership in Grenadian organisations had insignificant effects on respondents' satisfaction with life in Canada. Furthermore, 21 of the 34 respondents who were not members of organisations and 10 of the 16 who were members also stated that other Grenadians would view them as successful migrants. Thus overall, membership in transnational organisations did not affect respondents' overall subjective success.

Membership in transnational organisations did not affect the likelihood of respondents' owning shares in Grenada. However, affiliation with the Grenada Consulate (Toronto) did affect the likelihood of respondents' owning shares in Grenada. All five respondents who had shares in Grenada used the Grenada Consulate General office in Toronto and 3 of the same 5 respondents were also members of Grenadian transnational organisations. A majority of the respondents who were not members of transnational organisation, were most likely to send remittances. Overall membership in transnational associations had no effect on respondents transnational success.

In summary, the most important factors influencing the success of Grenadian transmigrants in Toronto were gender, occupational and educational background. Males tend to earn higher incomes than females, but the latter were more inclined to describe themselves as successful and satisfied more than their male counterparts. However, females' inability to become as objectively successful as males, was related to their

immigration related problems. The occupational background of respondents influenced the likelihood of respondents' finding employment in Canada and, to a certain extent, influenced their occupational status in Canada. Thus respondents with higher occupational backgrounds from Grenada, were the most likely to become moderately successful in Canada. Respondents who came to Canada with high levels of education had the greatest propensity to receive high levels of education in Canada.

The least important factors which influenced success were age, time of arrival, access to information, use of settlement agencies, and networks formed in the receiving society, especially through participation in voluntary organisations. Most of the respondents interviewed fell between two major age categories. The same was true for time of arrival, most respondent arrived between 1985 and 1990. Given the lack of variation in the sample with respect to these two variables, analysis proved to be of little significance. The major sources of information utilised were relatives, friends and other individual friendship networks formed in Canada. Respondents who used these sources of information were more likely than others to obtain moderate levels of objective success.

Very few respondents' had heard of or used settlement agencies. Instead, there was a high participation rate among respondents, in voluntary organisations. Membership/support of voluntary associations only seemed to have influenced some aspects of respondents transnational success, namely their ability to own shares in industries in Grenada.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

This study was an evaluation of the success of adaptation among Grenadian transmigrants in Toronto. Initially, the aim of the study was to explore the importance of information in the adaptation of Grenadian immigrants in Canada. However, when I proceeded with the study, I realised that this view of the immigrant adaptation was quite limited, since it only assessed the achievements made in host societies. It became clear to me when I interviewed Grenadian migrants that they were actively involved in various aspects of life in Grenada, therefore I felt that to get a full picture, I needed to assess their success from a transnational perspective. This approach was also consistent with the recent trends in migration studies.

The findings of the study suggest that according to objective criteria (income, home ownership, education and occupation), Grenadians were relatively successful. In terms of educational and occupational achievements they have done better than persons in the Canadian population, while with respect to income attainment and home ownership in Canada, they were not successful. There were also variations in the level of success achieved by Grenadians in the sample. Using the above mentioned objective markers, some were doing better than others. Accordingly, 46% were classified as unsuccessful, 44% were moderately so and 10% were very successful.

It is interesting that despite these variations in the levels of success achieved by Grenadians according to objective criteria, a majority, well over 80% of the sample stated that they were satisfied with life in Canada. Most participants also considered themselves successful. Their subjective definition of success were based on a number of criteria. Among women, their abilities to achieve some of their educational goals set out at the time of migration, while for those with children, being able to eventually sponsor their children from Grenada, were given as reasons for feeling satisfied. On the other hand, for

males in the study, the success felt was primarily due to their abilities to establish families in Canada and to provide educational opportunities for them.

Similarly, from a transnational perspective, the majority were indeed successful since they owned homes, had financial investments in their country of origin, supported family members and were very much involved in making contributions to the infrastructural development of their country of origin, especially via their affiliation with voluntary associations and the Grenada Consulate in Toronto. Many also stated that members in the Grenadian community in both locales would describe them as successful migrants. In this case their success was measured by their ability to send remittances to and support family members in the home society, the knowledge and competence gained from migration, material accomplishments made in home and host societies, or in relation to what others in the Grenadian community had achieved, just to name a few. Accordingly, when success is measured using subjective criteria, most Grenadian migrants were successful.

It is important to recognise that even though they did not purchase property in Canada, a large majority had investments in Grenada. Furthermore, by improving their socio-economic situation they were also able to assist relatives and friends in achieving those goals in Grenada. Therefore, in defining success, Grenadians often mentioned accomplishments made in their home community as an illustration of their success.

Yet becoming successful was not without cost for many of these Grenadian transmigrants. Many initially faced numerous problems, especially immigration, rent, job-related or those having to do with accreditation. Respondents who were most affected by these were the least successful migrants, who at the time of the study, earned under \$20.00, yearly. However, they still viewed themselves as successful, citing such things as their community involvement, their ability to assist others, their educational accomplishments or abilities to provide such opportunities to family members as well as

their abilities to establish families here in Canada and/ or their ability to afford to send for their children from Grenada.

The level of objective and subjective success achieved by respondents were, related to a number of factors. These include gender, age, time of arrival, educational and occupational backgrounds, access to information, use of settlement agencies and the social networks entered into in Canada, such as their participation/ affiliation with voluntary organisations.

Gender affected the type of problems that respondents faced. Thus females were more likely than males to experience immigration, rent, financial and health problems. Gender also affected respondents' success. Females were most likely to be subjectively successful, while males were more likely, by objective criteria, to be classified as successful. On the other hand, with respect to age, respondents between the ages of 25-45 were the most likely to complain of problems. Respondents who were of school age at the time of their arrival, were the most likely to experience accreditation problems. Measured both objectively and subjectively, persons who were over the age of 35 at the time of the interview, were the most successful.

The only effect that time of arrival seemed to have had on Grenadian migrants' success is that persons who arrived since 1985 were more likely to encounter problems. As well, these respondents who have been in Canada 11 years or less were the more likely to be categorised, according to objective criteria, as being unsuccessful. Consequently, it may be concluded that contrary to what some researchers have suggested, it takes longer than five years for migrants to adapt in the host society. Yet most of the respondents who have been in Canada since 1985, were, according to subjective criteria, successful.

The educational background of respondents also affected their success. Respondents with higher levels of educational obtained high levels of education in Canada. Furthermore, many defined their subjective success in terms of their ability to improve

their educational level or provide an opportunity for family members to do so. Although most incurred an occupational status loss since migrating, an ability to diversify their occupational abilities was also given as a reason for feeling successful. Moreover, most of those who were employed in Grenada also had jobs in Canada.

Respondents encountered a variety of racial problems in Canada, especially at work. Males however, were most likely to complain of racial encounters with the police. Yet these experiences did not seem to have any effect on respondents' success, objectively, subjectively or transnationally defined.

Access to information made some difference in respondents' success. The most frequently utilised sources of information were relatives, friends and other social networks established in Canada. Respondents who received information from these sources were more likely than others to be objectively successful in Canada. Most who relied on this source had post-secondary education and were most likely to earn moderate salaries in Canada. Information received from the high commission offices also affected respondents' occupational status. However, this may be due to the fact that most who received information from this source came to Canada as landed immigrants. As previously discussed, many respondents, especially women, who came as visitors and decided to remain, worked in low status positions, such as in the domestic field, upon their initial arrival in Canada. Thus their success was affected by their immigration status and access to information.

Very few respondents had heard of or used settlement agencies in Canada, which confirms the findings of Head (1980). Use of settlement agencies also seemed to have affected two aspects of respondents' objective success, namely their level of income and their abilities to own homes in Canada. Thus persons who were unemployed or earned under \$20,000 annually were the most likely to use settlement agencies, while almost half

of the 13 who had used settlement agencies, owned homes in Canada. All other aspects of respondents' success were not affected by settlement agencies.

Membership in Grenadian associations also had an impact on the success of Grenadian transmigrants in Toronto. Many respondents were members or supporters of various Grenadian transnational associations. These organisations, together with the family and friendship networks formed, seemed to have effectively replaced the need for traditional type settlement agencies in this community. Furthermore, many defined their success in relation to their involvement with the Grenadian community as well as these associations, through which they were able to assist others, such as representing them at immigration hearings as a kind of 'lawyer at large,' or aid in the infrastructural development of projects on the island of Grenada, or other crisis intervention projects (the Ikeiba prosthesis situation), in Canada. At the same time however, participants lamented that there was much more that these organisations could do to facilitate the settlement of Grenadians in Canada.

Yet membership in Grenadian organisations seemed to have had no significant effect on aspects of respondents' subjective success. Thus whether or not respondents were members of organisations did not affect their satisfaction or perceptions of success. Furthermore, with respect to objective success, members of these organisations were more likely to be unsuccessful, as almost half were unemployed or earned under \$20,000 at the time of the study. However, involvement in Grenadian organisations did seem to have an effect on their transnational success, namely their ownership of shares in Grenadian industries as well as their ability to send remittances to those relations who remained island-bound.

Emphasis on transnationalism offers an advantage to Grenadians. Due to the difficulties faced in achieving success, most do not feel fully integrated. Accordingly, many achieve their goals by investing in their home society, Grenada, where they hope to return

one day. Thus this transnational way of life provides a coping solution for the economic, social and political global instabilities of migration. It affords migrant individuals the opportunity of succeeding in at least one nation-state. In the case of Grenadians, they have chosen to invest primarily back in their home island, Grenada, where their chances for achieving success was of greater probability.

At the same time, transnationalism also offers advantages to the host society. These include the following. First, strong ties maintained with home communities stimulate trade in ethnic goods in Canada. Caribbean and other ethnic owned businesses, for example, proliferate along Toronto's west end. These small businesses are a viable part of Canadian society, contributing both to its tax revenues as well as creating employment opportunities.

Second, by returning home, Grenadian transmigrants relieve the Canadian government of some of its financial obligation to provide for elderly people. For instance, in order to collect OAS (Old Age Security) benefits, one must reside in Canada for at least 10 years, or if that individual no longer resides in Canada, he/ she must have lived in Canada for at least 20 years. If neither of these resident requirements are met, one may still qualify if Canada has a social security agreement with the country in which the individual currently resides. To date, the only Caribbean territories that Canada has social security agreements with include Jamaica, Antigua, Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, St. Lucia, and agreements were pending with the islands of Trinidad and Tobago as of November 27th 1997, and with Grenada, as of January 1998 (Pamphlets- Old Age Security 1996; Income Security Programs 1997; Newsletter). Third, the transnational practice of raising children in the home communities discussed by Soto (1987) and by many of the respondents in the current study, relieves the host society of the need to provide early child care and education to the children of these migrants, who by the time they migrate, are usually old enough to attend high school.

A final observation that warrants discussion concerns whether transnational links can be maintained beyond first generation migrants. Many of the respondents interviewed for this study whose children grew up in Canada have stated that on their numerous visits to Grenada, these children usually accompany them. They also sent them to Grenada for vacation so that they may not lose touch with the Grenadian way of life. Soto (1987:141) also stated that parents of West Indian children worry that their children will get into "bad company" and forget their Caribbean values. As a result, many try to travel back to the Caribbean with their children in an attempt to keep these links active.

Another reason why transnational links may be maintained beyond the first generation concerns the traditional child rearing practices of Caribbean migrants. The child fostering practices of West Indians, who often leave their children in the care of relatives in the home societies, have been viewed as part of a larger system of swapping networks to distribute goods and services, a process which further encourages transnationalism (Soto 1987:135). It is well documented in the literature that West Indians in Britain for example, were also in the habit of sending their second generation to the West Indies to be educated, up until their completion of high school. Accordingly, children, not only those of the first but of the second generation as well, are regarded not only as agents of cultural change, but as actors maintaining cultural links between home and host societies (Soto 1987:132).

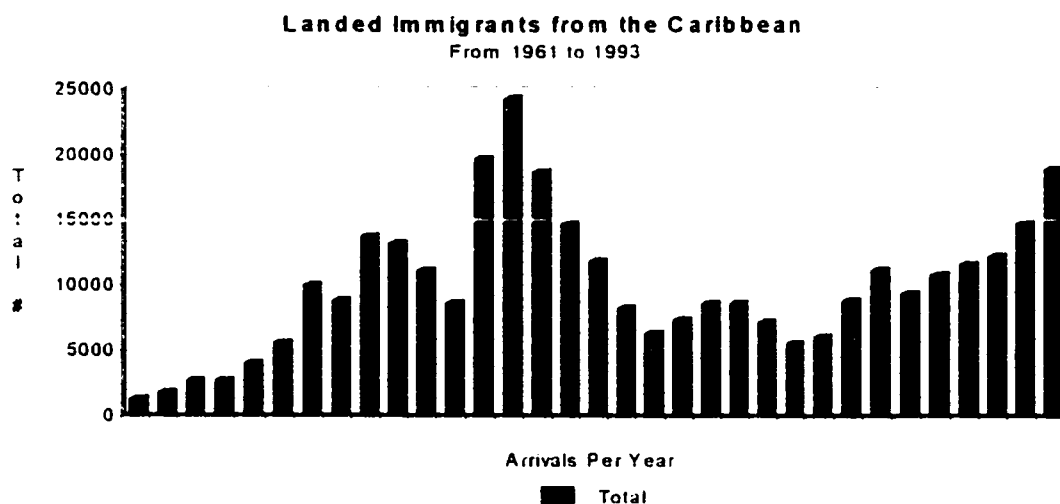
In conclusion, transnationalism provides numerous advantages to both home and host societies. In addition to providing a solution to the global insecurities of migration for the transmigrants involved, it also forces us to view both ends of the migration continuum concurrently, as an exchange not only of people, but of goods, services, cultures and ideas. Finally, we saw through transnationalism that for Grenadian migrants, this has become a way of life- a well established cultural necessity to better oneself- a cultural solution to an economic problem.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Appendix A

Graph 1.1 Total number of immigrants from the Caribbean by year of arrival 1961-1993



Note: Each bar represents one year. The first bar represents arrivals for 1961 and the last bar, 1993

Source: Immigration and Employment Statistics (1961-1993).

Table A. Changes in the Points System between 1988, 1993, 1995

Points System	1988	1993	1995
Age (21-44)	10	(21-44) 10	12
Educational Qualification	12	16	20
Occupational Demand	10	10	14
Vocational	15	10	0
Experience	8	10	9
Arranged Employment	10	8	4
Knowledge of English or French	15	15	20
Demographic Factors	10	10	0
Personal Suitability	10	10	16
* Bonus for Assisted Relatives	10	10/15	5

Note: In 1995 the category Vocational Preparation was combined with educational qualification, to form the category education or trade certification. As well, demographic factors and occupational demand were combined to form the labour market balance category. Finally, personal suitability was changed to adaptability.

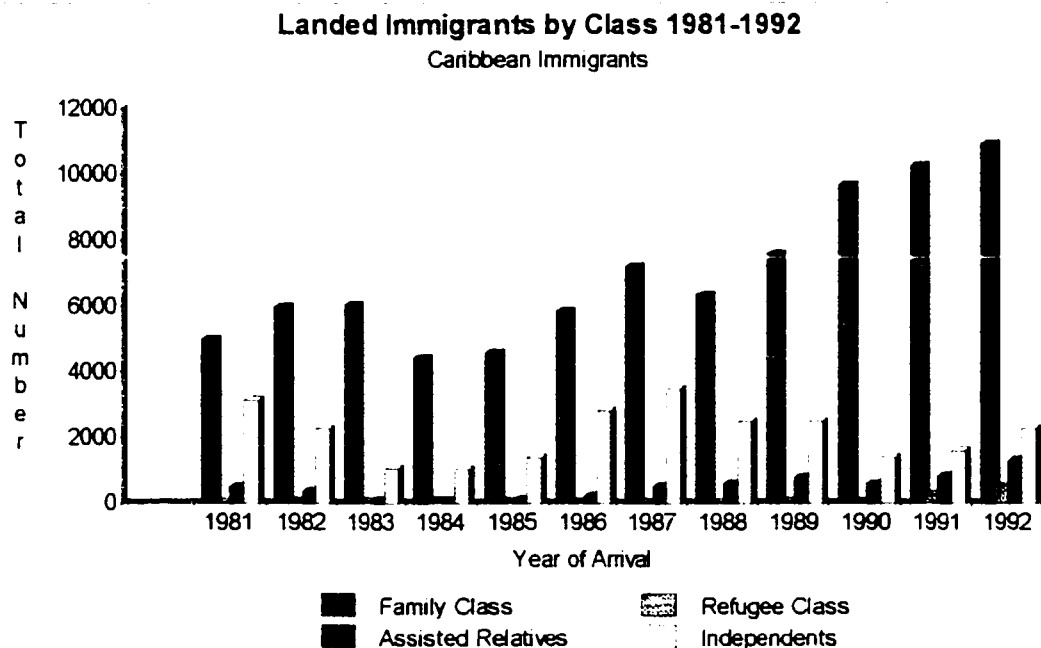
Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada. (1988). *Future Immigration levels*. Pp. 15.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 1993, Aug. 9. "Selection Standards for applicants for immigrant Visas."

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 1995, Nov. 17. Canada Changes Immigration Criterion for Skilled Workers."

Appendix A

Graph 1.2 Total number of landed immigrants from the Caribbean by class



Source. Adapted from Statistics Canada. Immigration and Employment Statistics manuals (1981-1992)

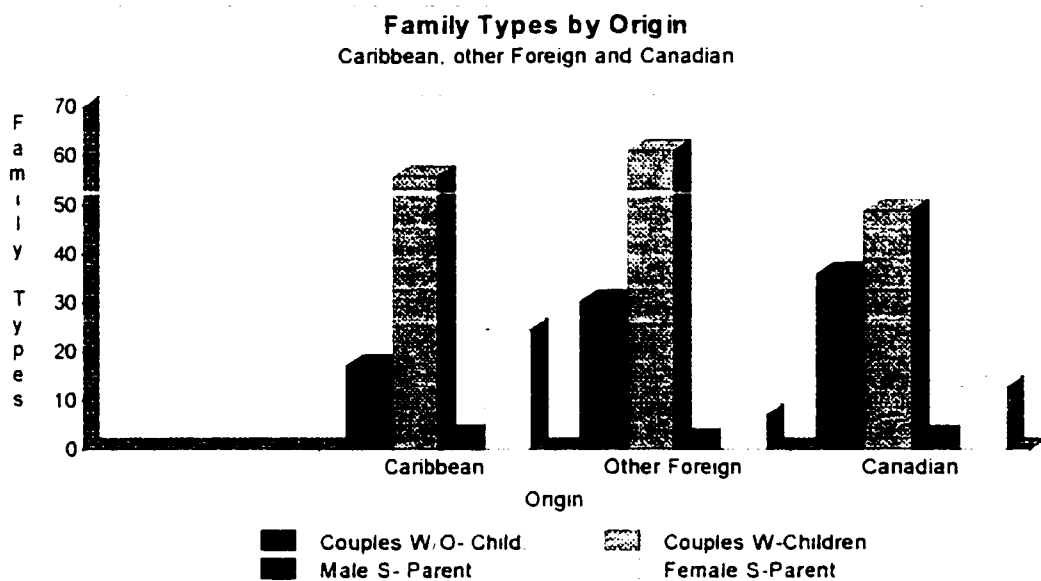
Table B Caribbean born population in Canada by countries of origin According to the 1991 Census

Country	Total #	Percentage
Jamaica	102,440	33.9
Guyana	66,055	21.3
Trinidad and Tobago	49,385	15.95
Barbados	14,820	4.79
Haiti	37,005	11.95
All Others	39,880	12.88
Total	309,585	

Source: Henry, F 1994. Adapted from Table 2.1 p. 29.

Appendix A

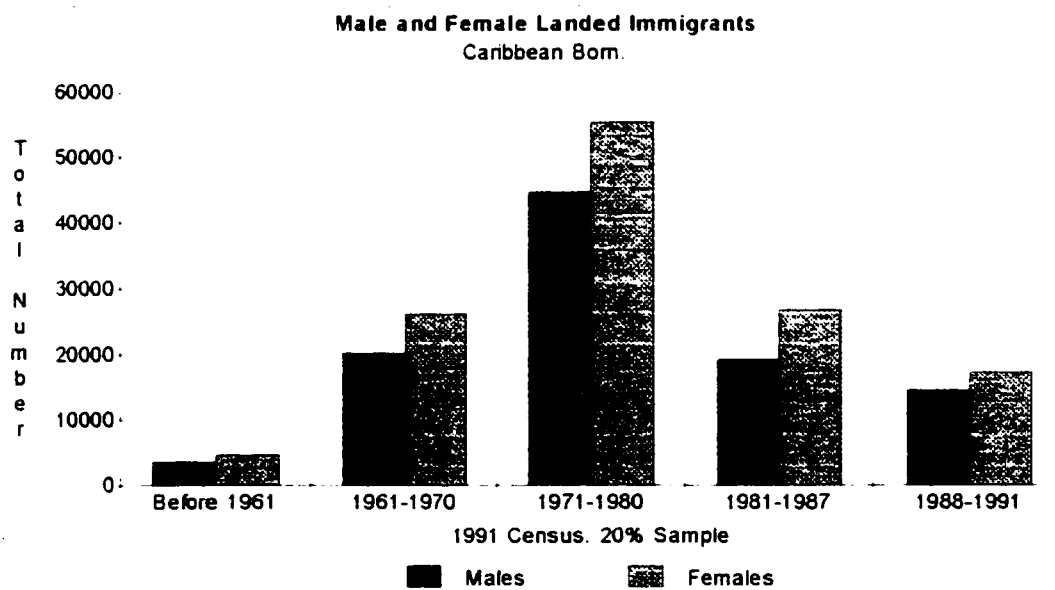
Graph 1.3 Family type by origin for Caribbean, Other Foreign and Canadian-born groups. The data was taken from the 1986 Census, from the work of Alan Simmons, cited in Henry (1994).



W/O - Without, S-Single, W-With

Source: Henry, F (1994). Adapted from Table 4 1 p. 65

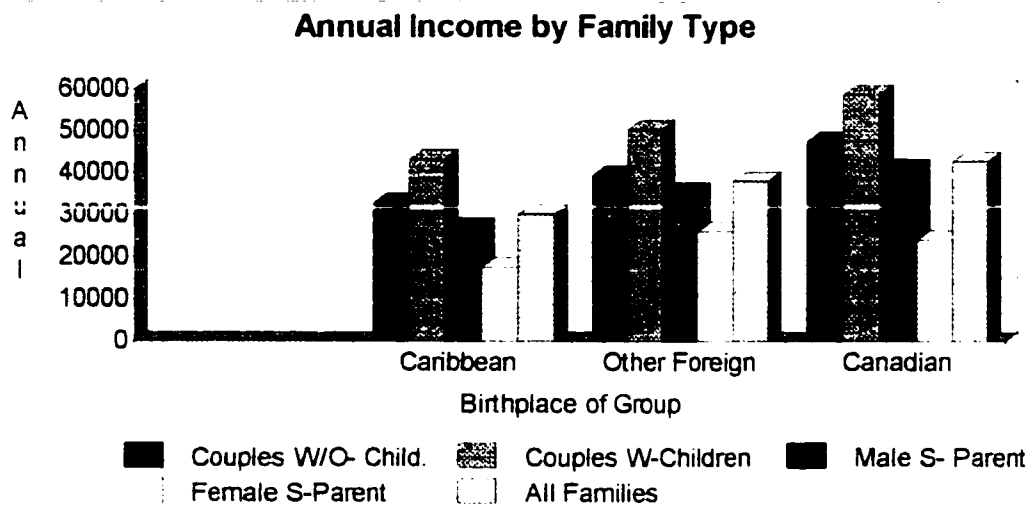
Graph 1.4 Total number of landed immigrant males and females from the Caribbean by period of immigration.



Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, Catalogue 93-316, Table 6. Pp. 174-175.

Appendix A

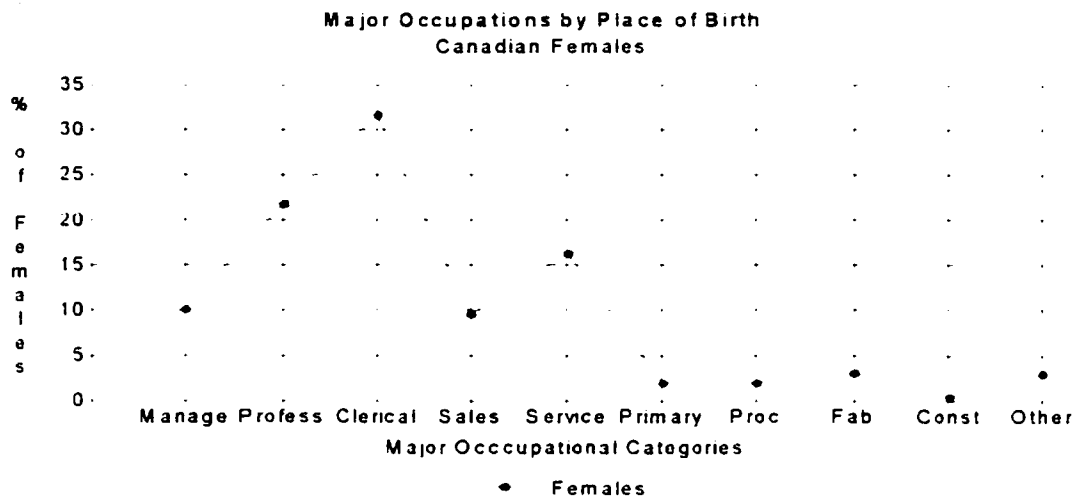
Graph 1.5 Annual income by family type and origin for Canadian, Caribbean and Foreign-born families according to the 1986 Census.



Source: Henry (1994). Adapted from Table 4.2 p. 69

Appendix A

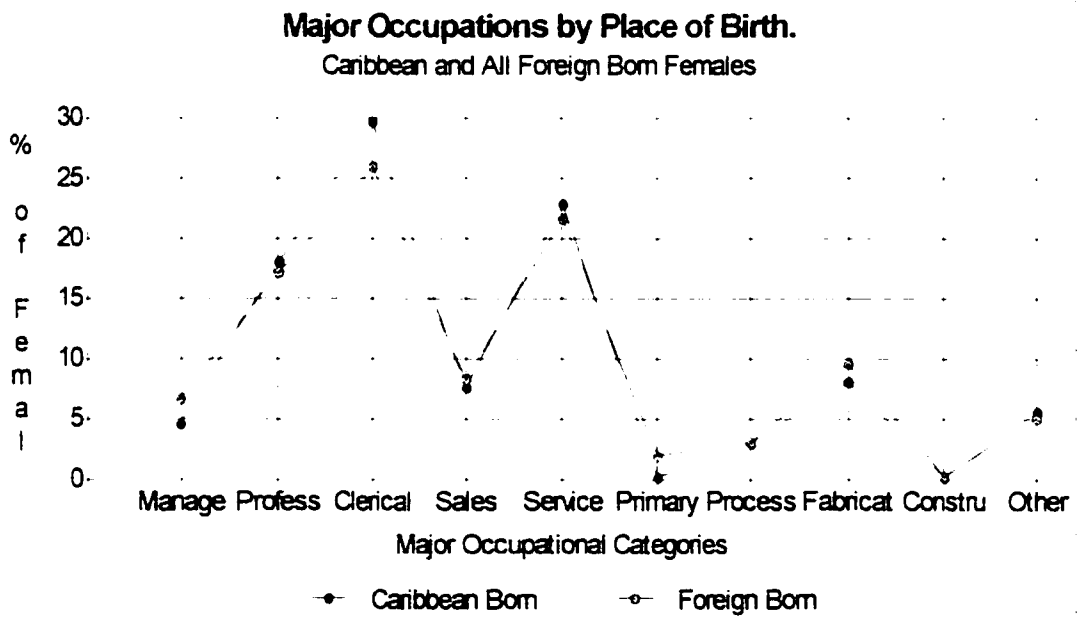
Graph 1.6a Major occupational concentration of Canadian-born females in percentage



Manage- Managerial and related, **Profess-** Professional and related, **Construct-** Construction, **Process-** Processing

Source: Statistics Canada, 1994, Catalogue 96-311E. Adapted from Table 6.2, Pp. 60

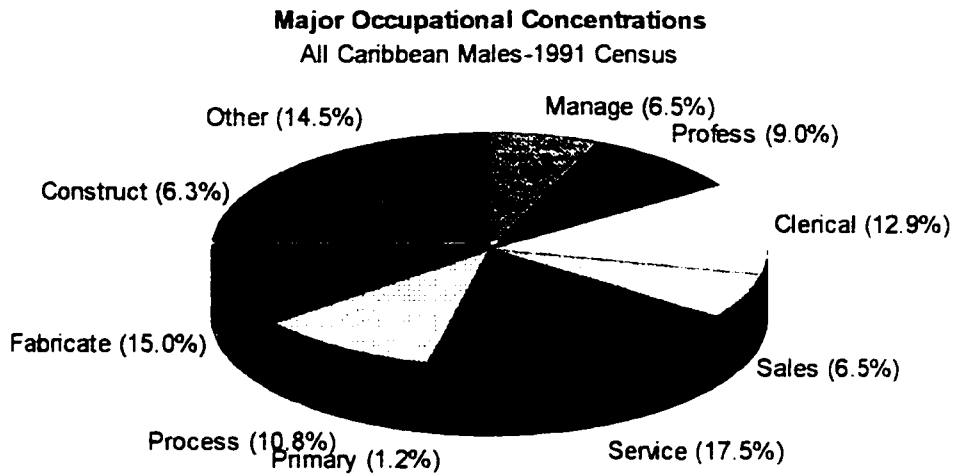
Graph 1.6b Major occupational concentrations of Caribbean and Foreign-born females according to the 1991 Census.



Source: Statistics Canada, 1994, Catalogue 96-311E. Adapted from Table 6.2, Pp. 60.

Appendix A

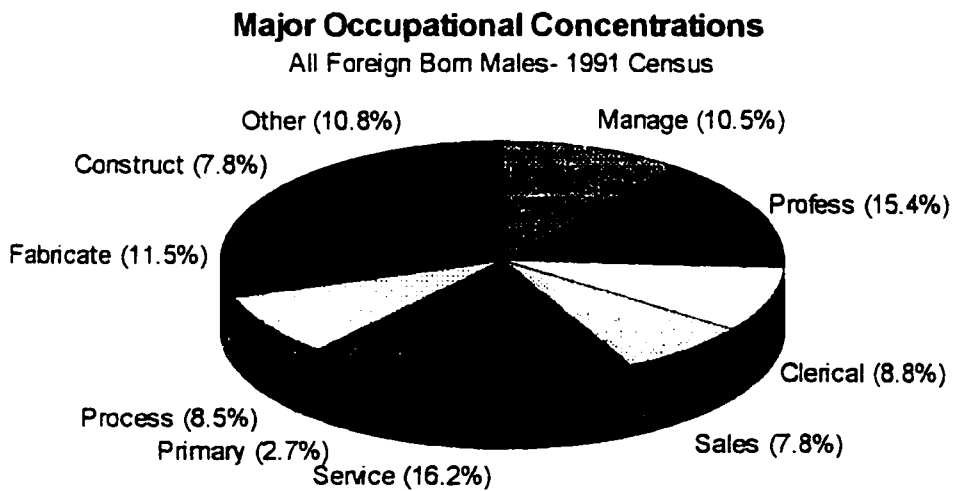
Pie Chart 1 Occupational concentration for Caribbean-born males in 1991.



Manage- Managerial and related, **Profess-** Professional and related, **Construct-** Construction, **Process-** Processing

Source: Statistics Canada, 1994, Catalogue 96-311E. Adapted from Table 6.1, Pp 57

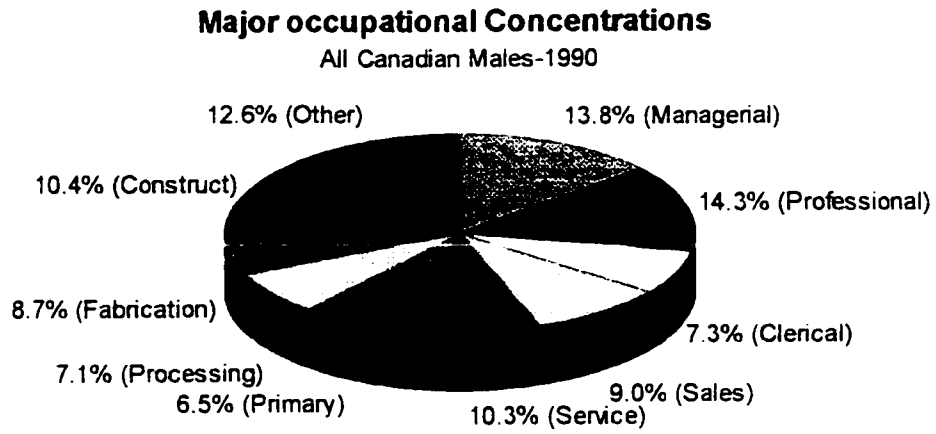
Pie Chart 2 Occupational concentration of Foreign-born males in 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, 1994, Catalogue 96-311E. Adapted from Table 6.1, Pp 57.

Appendix A

Pie Chart 3 Occupational concentrations of Canadian-born males in 1990



Construct- Construction

Source: Statistics Canada

APPENDIX B

Appendix B

Sample Profile

Total number of Grenadian Immigrants arriving between 1980 and 1992- **2907**.

Gender:

Males- 1197

Females- 1710

$1197/2907 \times 100 = 41.2\%$

$1710/2907 \times 100 = 58.8\%$

Total number of persons to be sampled- 50

Males- $41.2\% \times 50 = 21$

Females- $58.8\% \times 50 = 29$

Age of Arrival:

Table C The age distribution total of the number of Grenadian immigrants arriving between 1980 and 1992.

Age	Males (%)	#	Females (%)	#
0-19	31.7	7	23.1	7
20-29	29.0	6	31.5	9
30-39	25.2	5	23.3	7
40-49	5.2	1	6.0	2
50-59	2.8	1	6.0	2
60 -	6.2	1	10.1	2
Total	100.1	21	100	29

***(Males (%) /100 x21 = # in sample Females (%) / 100 x 29 = # in sample)**

Source: All of the above information was tabulated from the Tables (Country of Birth by Sex and Age Group) in the Immigration and Statistics manuals, 1980-1992

Appendix B

Education:

Educational attainment of Grenadian immigrants will be matched with data obtained for the Caribbean region as a whole, according to the 1991 Census. This is because data on educational levels specifically for persons from the island of Grenada is currently unavailable.

Table D The educational status of Caribbean born persons according to the 1991 Census.

Educational Status	%	# of Persons in the sample
Less than Grade 9	8.9	4
Grades 9-13	36.1	18
Some Post- Secondary	45.4	23
University	9.6	4
Total	100	50

*(%/ 100 x 50 = # of persons)

Source: Adapted from Table 4.2, Pp. 45. Catalogue No. 96-311E.

Occupational Status

Data specifically for the current occupational status of Grenadian immigrants is currently unavailable. Consequently, the occupational status for the sample will be matched with that of all Caribbean immigrants, according to the 1991 Census data.

Table E Sample profile of Occupational status

Occupation	Male (%)	# (M)	Female (%)	# (F)
Managerial/Administrative and Related	6.5	2	4.6	1
Professional and Related	9.0	2	18.1	5
Clerical and Related	12.9	3	29.7	9
Sales	6.5	2	7.6	2
Service	7.5	4	22.9	7
Primary	1.2	0	0.2	0
Processing	10.8	2	3	1
Product Fabricating	15.0	3	8.1	2
Construction	6.3	2	0.2	0
Other	4.5	1	5.6	2
Total	100	21	100	29

* M= Male M(%) / 100 x 21= # M F= Female F (%) / 100 x 29= # F

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, 1994, Catalogue 96-311E. Adapted from Table 6.1, Pp. 57, and Table 6.2, Pp. 60.

APPENDIX C

Appendix C

This interview schedule was designed only as a guideline to help structure the interview process. Accordingly, the format outlined here was not necessarily the one that was followed to conduct the interview.

Interview Schedule

Socio-demographic and Economic information.

1. Male Female

2. In what year were you born?

3. What was the last year of education completed in Grenada?
 - a. Elementary/ Primary
 - b. High School/ Secondary School
 - c. Post Secondary Non- University/ College. Vocational/ Trades
 - d. University

4. What was your last year of education completed in Canada?
 - a. Elementary/ Primary
 - b. High School/ Secondary School
 - c. Post Secondary Non- University/ College. Vocational/ Trades
 - d. University

5. Were you employed in Grenada? If yes

6. What was your occupation in Grenada?

7. What is your current occupation?

8. What is your approximate level of income?
 - a. Under 20,000
 - b. 20,000- 30,000
 - c. 30,000- 40,000
 - d. over 40, 000

9. Are other members of your household currently employed?

10. If yes. What is their occupational status?

11. Are they the major contributors toward the survival of the household?

12. Do you own your current residence?

13. When did you immigrate (permanently) to Canada?

Appendix C

- **Problems encountered in Canada**

What are some of the barriers that you faced/ that is barriers affecting your ability to improve your socio-economic status. For example, lack of accreditation for previous work, degrees, certificates, gaining admission to Canadian schools, immigration processing delays and job related problems?

Have you experienced any incidences of racism in Canada? If yes

Has this affected your ability to adapt to life/ improve your socio-economic status in Canada?

Have you encountered any other problems while in Canada? (e.g. family breakdown, health related, financial burdens, legal problems)

Have these affected your ability to improve your socio-economic status?

- **Experiences and Satisfaction with life in Canada**

How will you describe you current situation in Canada? Are you worse off or better off than when you were in Grenada?

Have you been able to achieve at a level comparable to what you had in Grenada?

Have you been able to achieve at a level comparable to what you had expect prior to immigrating?

- **Access to Information**

Did you receive information concerning life in Canada from a Canadian High Commission office in the Caribbean?

Was that information useful?

Did this information depict to you an accurate picture of conditions or life in Canada?

Was that information relevant?

Is there any information you wished you had received?

Did you receive information about Canada through the Caribbean media? If yes

Was that information useful?

Did this information depict to you an accurate picture of the conditions or life in Canada?

Appendix C

Was that information relevant?

- **Access to Information continued**

Is there any information you wished you had received?

Did you receive information about Canada through tourists/ Canadian visitors (Canadian Peace Corps) in the Caribbean?

Was that information useful?

Did this information depict to you an accurate picture of the conditions or life in Canada?

Was that information relevant?

Is there any information you wished you had received?

Did you receive information about settlement in Canada upon arrival from agencies? If yes

Have you used any of the services provided by agencies or organisations under that program?

How often have you used the service?

Were these services able to meet all your needs?

Would you use these services again?

Would you recommend it to others?

What recommendations/ suggestions can you make to help improve the program?

Did you receive information about life and settlement in Canada from friends and relations before and after arriving in Canada?

Was this information useful?

Did this information depict to you an accurate picture of conditions or life in Canada?

Is there any information you wished you had received from them?

In your estimate, was the information you received from all the above mentioned sources useful in helping you to settle down in Canada?

Appendix C

Prior to migrating did you receive any information or benefited from networks provided through Grenadian organisations in Canada?

Additional Questions

Did you face any rental problems in Canada

Questions directed to heads or members of Grenadian organisations

Does your organisation work in conjunction with other Grenadian organisations in Canada?

Do you maintain ties with other Grenadian organisations in Grenada?

Transnational Questions

Did you receive any information about Canada through Canadian funding agencies in Grenada?

Do you have any economic ties to Grenada? i.e., house, land, bank accounts, shares or support family members?

Do you consider yourself a successful Grenadian?

Would other Grenadians see you as a successful Grenadian?

APPENDIX D

Appendix D

Consent Form

Dear Participant,

My name is Paula Green. I am a student at the University of Windsor in Ontario, Canada conducting research on Caribbean immigrants in Canada. The purpose of the study will be to examine the problem of information among Caribbean immigrants. This study is being done to complete the requirements for my graduate studies thesis. The study is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Tanya Basok in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University.

The project was reviewed and approved by the ethics committee in this department at the University. As a participant if you have any ethical concerns or questions about the conduct of this research please contact Dr. Tanya Basok at 519-253-4232 ext. 3498 or Dr. Alan Hall ext. 2202, the Chair of the Ethics Committee.

The study will be conducted by way of interviews and will be recorded on audio cassette. The results of the study will be available through the Sociology and Anthropology Department at the university or through myself. It is also hoped that once completed the study will be able to provide an information pamphlet as well as help to initiate a program for preparing immigrants hoping to migrate to Canada.

Anonymity and confidentiality will be strictly adhered to and names will be left out during any presentation of the results. Participation is strictly voluntary. Thank you for your time, participation and co-operation.

Participant's statement of consent:

Having read and understood the above terms, I _____ give my full consent to participating in this study. I am advised that I am free to discontinue participation in this study at any time.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX E

Appendix E

(Satisfaction)³⁵	Males	Females	Total
Very	71.4 ^o _o	89.7 ^o _o	82 ^o _o
Somewhat	9.5 ^o _o	3.4 ^o _o	6 ^o _o
Not	19.0 ^o _o	6.9 ^o _o	12 ^o _o

(Personal Definition)	Males	Females	Total
Yes	81.0 ^o _o	89.7 ^o _o	86 ^o _o
No	19.0	6.9 ^o _o	12 ^o _o
No Answer	0 ^o _o	3.4 ^o _o	2 ^o _o

(Other Success)	Males	Females	Total
Yes	61.9 ^o _o	62.1 ^o _o	62 ^o _o
No	14.3 ^o _o	17.2 ^o _o	22 ^o _o
No Answer	23.8 ^o _o	20.7 ^o _o	16 ^o _o

(Transnational Success)	Males	Females	Total
Accounts			
Yes	9.5 ^o _o	31.0 ^o _o	22 ^o _o
Remittances			
Yes	61.9 ^o _o	58.6 ^o _o	60 ^o _o
Homes			
Yes	33.3 ^o _o	34.5 ^o _o	34 ^o _o
Shares			
Yes	9.5 ^o _o	10.3 ^o _o	10 ^o _o

Objective Success	Moderately Successful	Very Successful
Not Successful		
12% Unemployed	26 ^o _o -earning \$20-\$30,000	10 ^o _o -Earning over
34% Earning under \$20,000	18 ^o _o -earning \$30-\$40,000	\$40,000 annually
Total 46%	44%	10%

³⁵ In this comparison of males and Females, the collective percent was used.

Appendix E

Income Level	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Unemployed	9.5	13.8	12
Under \$20,000	28.6	37.9	34
\$20-30,000	28.6	24.1	26
\$30-40,000	19.0	17.2	18
Over \$40,000	14.3	6.9	10
Total Number	(21)	(29)	(50)

Problems Encountered	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Health	4.8	6.9	6.0
Family	19.0	13.8	16.0
Financial	9.5	13.8	12
Immigration	38.1	41.4	40
Rent	23.8	27.6	26
Employment	57.1	34.5	44
Accreditation	47.6	27.6	36
Other	28.6	24.1	26
Total Number	(21)	(29)	(50)

APPENDIX F

Appendix F

Research Participants Needed ASAP!

Deadline: June 22nd 1996.

To all interested Grenadians:

Ms. Paula Green, a Grenadian, currently a student at the University of Windsor is conducting research on Grenadian immigrants living in Canada, specifically those who migrated to Canada after 1980. The aim of the research is to find out whether or not the kinds of information obtained about Canadian society prior to migrating, and information obtained while in Canada was useful in helping Grenadians to adapt in Canadian society. The study will be conducted via interviews. If you are interested please contact me (Paula), at **416-532-2349**. If no one is available to take the call, please leave your name and number on the answering machine and I will contact you. **Or leave your name and number on the sign up sheet attached this notice.**

NAME

NUMBER

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