

DWAINE PLAZA

Dwaine Plaza teaches in the Department of Sociology at Oregon State University. His research interests are on migration and settlement issues faced by Caribbeans in Canada. Currently Dwaine is co-principal investigator on a CERIS research project which examines the life history of a generation and a half, and second generation Caribbeans living in Toronto. The current paper is being published in French for a forthcoming issue of the journal *Terre America*. Dr Plaza can be contacted at 302 Fairbanks Hall, Department of Sociology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon 97330.

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**Migration and Adjustment to Canada:
Pursuing the Mobility Dream 1900-1998**

Dwaine Plaza¹

Abstract

Using Canadian census data, immigration statistics, policy and archival documents, this paper examines the social, economic and political factors that influenced the migration of Caribbeans to Canada from the turn of the century to the present. The paper also examines the current socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Caribbean population living in Canada today. By comparing the Caribbean-born with Other Foreign-born and the Canadian-born populations, we find that Caribbean people living in Canada face numerous challenges which hinder the group's overall mobility. These issues include a high rate of female lone parent families, a disproportionate male to female ratio, a larger household size, a low rate of marriage and a high rate of divorces, a low completion rate for university level schooling, a low average employment income, a low rate of home ownership and an overall higher rate of families living in poverty.

Introduction

Between 1967 and 1998, Caribbean immigration to Canada was completely transformed in terms of volume and percent of national total (see Table One for a depiction of these trends). The waves of Caribbean migrants who arrived in the post 1967 period were likely to be between the ages of 20 and 45 years, semi-skilled and with few dependants. Like most immigrants arriving in Canada, Caribbeans had the intention that they would experience the mobility dream. In Canada the mobility dream is directly linked to the American ethos of being the land of opportunity where any person willing to work hard can make it regardless of colour, ethnicity, or place of birth. The central tenet of the mobility dream, which made it especially appealing to Caribbean migrants, was that every immigrant was the architect of his or her own fortune, because equal opportunity was available to all. The reality of life for most Caribbean immigrants arriving in Canada, however, has rarely matched these ideals. The opportunity to be upwardly mobile in Canada has never been evenly distributed among all the talented or ambitious in the population. Caribbean immigrants in Canada have faced numerous barriers of systemic and institutionalised racism in finding work and in their everyday attempts to carve out a life for themselves and their families.

This paper examines Caribbean migration and settlement to Canada from the turn of the century to the present. Special attention is paid to providing an examination of the changes to Canadian immigration policy during the 1960s and the implementation of the 'Point System' which opened the door to the increased volume of Caribbeans migrating to Canada. Using special tabulations of the 1996 Canadian Census, the paper also provides a socio-demographic and a socio-economic

profile of Caribbean migrants living in Canada. This includes an examination of their settlement patterns, labor force participation, major occupations, family size, marital status, schooling achievements, home ownership, work force participation, major occupations and income levels. By examining these statistics it will become apparent that Caribbean people in Canada continue to survive despite the fact that the cards are often stacked against them.

The Early Trickle of Caribbean Migrants to Canada

The history of Caribbean migration to Canada began with the importation of a small number of slaves from the French Antilles in 1688. The first large group of Caribbeans to migrate to Canada, however, were the "Maroon" ex-slaves from Jamaica. In 1795, a dispute erupted into a war between the Maroons and the British, and, although they were not actually conquered, the Maroons, in 1796, were tricked into surrendering their arms and transported to Nova Scotia as exiled individuals from Jamaica. While in Canada, the Maroons were employed on the outskirts of Halifax, but their continued appeals to London to leave Halifax later resulted in their re-migration to Sierra Leone, West Africa, in 1800 (Walker 1984).

Over the next century, migration to Canada from the Caribbean was limited to a few dozen families who went to Victoria, British Columbia in the 1850s. Only at the end of the nineteenth century did numbers gradually increase. African Caribbean males began arriving on schooners that traded in the Caribbean region. The Caribbean migrants arriving on the East coast at this time were primarily Barbadians, whose transportation costs were subsidized by their home government. In paying their passage, the Barbadian government was attempting to ease the social

and economic conditions of underdevelopment which resulted from the centuries of European colonial domination. Despite their skills as carpenters and mechanics, most of the predominantly Black male migrants were restricted to menial jobs in the coal mines of Sydney, Nova Scotia.

Caribbean women began migrating to Canada later than the men. Once they began to migrate, however, women soon caught up with the numbers of Caribbean men already in Canada. The early trickle of Black women into Canada began in 1909 with the recruitment of Caribbean domestic workers. In 1910-11, the first formal Caribbean Domestic Scheme was negotiated between the Canadian and Guadeloupean governments. The scheme involved the recruitment of 100 Guadeloupean women to fill the demand for cheap domestic labour in Quebec. The \$80 fare for passage by ship to Canada for these women was pre-paid by their employers in return for two years of service at a monthly wage of five dollars (Calliste 1994).

During World War I, when labour was needed in the mines on the East coast to replace the soldiers off fighting in Europe, several hundred Caribbean men were recruited in 1915 as labourers for the Cape Breton mines. After the war, when the Canadian soldiers returned and resumed their jobs, the Caribbean migrants were discharged. Faced with little prospect for work on the East Coast, many of these men moved to Toronto and Montreal. Most Black men at this time could only find work as railway porters, waiters, janitors, barbers, bellhops, entertainers or as unskilled labourers in the newly emerging assembly and manufacturing sector. After they became settled, these pioneer migrants were joined by their families, so that by 1921, according to the census, there were some 1,200 people of Caribbean origin living in Toronto and approximately

400 in Montreal. These two cities contained more than one third of all the Caribbean origin population living in Canada during this period (Walker 1984).

Beginning in 1929, The Great Depression prompted the Canadian government to invoke a series of restrictive measures to limit new immigrants to those from the "preferred groups". 'White' ethnicity was the pervasive mind-set underlying the policy. As a consequence of this policy, from the late 1920s well into the early 1940s, migration from the Caribbean to Canada almost ceased; only a few dozen individuals came annually during that period. As a result, in 1941, the Caribbean origin population in Canada was actually smaller than it had been in 1921. This was due to the combination of small numbers of new arrivals and a significant out-migration of Caribbean migrants from Canada to cities in the United States like New York and Boston, where Black and Caribbean communities were larger and better established.

Later, changes in the 1952 Immigration Act did make it possible for Canada to enter into an agreement with Caribbean territories to provide the first systematic flows of immigrants from the region. The West Indian Domestic Scheme was introduced in 1955. The program brought 100 domestic workers each year from the Caribbean to work in Canadian homes. To be eligible for this program, a woman had to pass a medical examination, be single, be between the ages of 18 and 35, and have at least an eighth-grade education. Applicants were interviewed by a team of immigration officials who visited the islands once per year specifically to recruit domestic workers. Upon arrival into Canada, the women were granted landed-immigrant status and were expected to work in a home for one year. After a year of service, they had the option of finding

work in another field or remaining in domestic labor. A major problem that resulted from the scheme was that many of the applicants were not really domestics in the Caribbean, but were instead teachers, clerks, secretaries, etc., who used this scheme as a legitimate window of opportunity to gain access to Canada. Thus, many of them opted to leave domestic service after one year and begin a new life in Canada as non-domestics.

Caribbean men, on the other hand, had a considerably more difficult time gaining access to Canada during the 1950s and early 60s. For over twenty years following the end of World War II, Ontario farmers, Caribbean governments and British officials had put pressure on the Canadian state to admit Caribbean agricultural labor on a temporary or permanent basis. Canadian immigration officials resisted this pressure and refused to allow the primarily Black male farm workers entry to Canada. The change in the policy only came about in the mid-1960s because of a dramatic change in the Canadian economy. The 1960s was a period marked by continuing investment and economic growth in Canada that led to a tightening of the labor market and increasing wage rates for all industries in Canada. Coupled with restrictions introduced in the late 1950s over the admittance of unskilled workers from Europe as immigrant workers, this meant that there was a shortage of cheap labor for the Ontario farmers to call upon in planting and harvesting periods, when manual labor was essential (Satzewich 1989).

As a consequence of the changing labor picture and other political developments, incremental adjustments were made in 1966 to the Canadian Immigration Policy as it related to farm workers. The effect of these changes was that 264 Jamaican farm workers were temporarily admitted as

visa migrant workers. Since 1966, a stream of farm workers (approximately 4,700 per annum in the 1970s and 1980s and 6,000-12,000 in the 1990s) have been brought to Canada, primarily to Southern Ontario, to do seasonal farm work (picking mushrooms and tobacco or harvesting soft fruit).

The Golden Era of Caribbean Migration to Canada

The most significant changes in Canadian immigration policy which directly affected the flow of Caribbeans to Canada occurred in the late 1960s. The changes were expressed in the government White Paper Recommendations of 1966 and the 1967 regulations which followed from them. The White Paper paid much attention to humanitarian issues such as family reunification and the giving of assistance to refugees and the less privileged. Its more important emphasis, however, was on the interconnection between immigration, manpower policy and, as a concomitant of that, the need to bring an end to racial discrimination in Canadian immigration policy. In order to accomplish this, a universalistic selection criterion called the 'Point System'² was designed and recommended.

By assigning specific value to various characteristics such as education, employment prospects, age, and language, young educated Caribbeans could qualify to immigrate to Canada. This policy change meant that the previous "racialization" of immigration control was slowly being dismantled and replaced by a system that quantified each applicant's economic and adjustment potential based on more objective criteria.

Evidence of the benefits that Caribbeans derived from the policy change in 1966/67 is apparent from the volume changes of immigrants. Over the period 1967 to 1996, Caribbean immigration to Canada was completely transformed in terms of volume and percent of national total. During the period 1946 to 1966, for example, the number of Caribbean-born immigrants entering Canada is given as 29,979, or 1.1 percent of total Canadian immigration. Between 1967 and 1998, approximately 320,000 landed immigrants from the Caribbean entered Canada, accounting for 7.8 percent of overall Canadian immigration. For the first six years after 1967, Caribbean immigration into Canada averaged 12,000 per annum, with 1969 and 1970 being notable years in which the annual inflow was approximately 14,000. The increased volume is about three times larger than the 1966 figure of 3,935 Caribbean immigrants. Over the same period, the Caribbean share of total Canadian immigration averaged 8.3 percent, an increase six times what it was in 1966. See Table One for evidence of the increasing volume of Caribbean migrants moving to Canada.

Characteristics of the Caribbean Migrants Arriving in Canada

Jamaica is by far the major source of Caribbean immigrants to Canada, supplying approximately 41 percent of the grand total since the mid-1960s. Guyana is the next highest source country with 25 percent. The next in size is Trinidad and Tobago, with 21 percent, the Eastern Caribbean countries with eight percent, and Barbados with four percent of the total arrivals. (See Table Two for a depiction of this trend).

An analysis of the immigration flow data reveals that an educated human resource potential has been coming to Canada. In terms of schooling achievements, a large portion of the Caribbean

cohort arrived with secondary or technical schooling already completed. About 85 percent of women and men who arrived in Canada between 1973 and 1987 had high school either started or completed while about 13 percent of women and men had technical level schooling. With respect to already having university schooling upon arrival in Canada about ten percent of the immigrants arriving from the Caribbean region in 1967/68 already had university training. This number declines, reaching a low of two percent in 1975, and then increases significantly between 1976 and 1981, hitting another peak of eight percent. After that period, there is some fluctuation downward, but, by 1987, it is back up to 7.8 percent. This pattern is consistent with a family reunification model and the demands of the 'Point System'. Early waves of migrants were likely to be skilled or semi-skilled individuals. Later waves were likely to be the children, extended kin and parents who were sponsored by the earlier skilled migrant.

The first choice of stated destination for Caribbean immigrants during the period 1968 to 1998 is overwhelmingly Ontario, at 66 percent, followed by Quebec, at 25 percent. Together, Ontario and Quebec accounted for 91 percent of all newly arriving Caribbean immigrants. Most of the remaining eight percent was shared among Alberta, Manitoba and British Columbia, in that order, with a small one percent settling in other provinces. This is not surprising given the migration tradition of the earlier "pioneer" migrants from the Caribbean who arrived in periods before 1967. The Caribbean pioneers to Canada tended to settle in the major cities of Toronto and Montreal because these were places that already had large concentrations of immigrant populations, many of whom were also "minorities" in one sense or another. Montreal and Toronto are also the two major economic hubs in Canada and, therefore, are locations with considerable employment

opportunity. Also important in the choice of settlement was the fact that Montreal and Toronto were the two cities in Canada that had direct air routes to and from the Caribbean territories.

Within the provinces, the settlement pattern of Caribbean immigrants is quite predictable. They continue to show an overwhelming preference for urban over rural settings. Again, this is not surprising given the fact that large cities are usually locations where they would be most likely to find people of their own kind and places where, in comparison to more homogeneous, small, rural communities, overt racism might likely be lower.

A Socio-Demographic Profile of the Caribbean Migrants in Canada

The 1996 Canadian Census reveals that there are 456,048 persons of Caribbean origin in Canada (310,068 are single origin Caribbeans and 145,980 multiple origin³) or 1.8 percent of the total Canadian population⁴. Caribbeans are not spread out equally across the country as was previously noted. For the combined single and multiple Caribbean origins, Toronto accounts for 244,764 (54 percent) and Montreal for 105, 408 (23 percent). Caribbeans account for six percent of the total population of Toronto and three percent of Montreal. Compared to the Other Foreign-born group⁵ in Toronto, the Caribbean population reflects the effects of a female led chain migration process. This is a situation where women were the instigators of the migration to Canada and then worked to sponsor family and kin once established. The ratio of men per 100 women among Caribbean-born immigrants in Toronto is 86, while the ratio among the Other Foreign-born immigrant population is 120. The Canadian-born ratio is 107. See Table Three for an indication of these trends.

The age distribution of Caribbean-born immigrants is similar to that of the Other Foreign-born population. That is, approximately 59 percent of the men and women in both groups are under 40 years of age. Among the Canadian-born population, close to 69 percent of this group are under 40 years of age. In general terms, therefore, the Caribbean and the Other Foreign-born populations may be thought of as having a lower dependency ratio than the Canadian-born population because they have a smaller proportion of individuals who are between 15 and 24 years old. This pattern is also an outcome of the age demands of the 'Point System'.

The average size of Caribbean-origin families⁶ is 3.5 persons. This average is above the 2.6 persons for Canadian families. The Caribbean-origin tend to live in larger households. Fifty eight percent live in households with four or more persons, in contrast to the Other Foreign-born and the Canada-born, who tend to live in nuclear households with less than four people. Caribbean households tend to be larger because they have extended kin and fictive kin all living together under one roof in order to make ends meet and because this is a cultural legacy from their country of origin. A disproportionately high percentage of these Caribbean-origin households are headed by single females (25 percent, compared to seven percent for Other Foreign-origin and 13 percent for the Canadian-origin families). The high proportion of single female headed households partly explains why 32 percent of Caribbean households are considered to be living below the poverty line⁷. This compares to 13 percent and 19 percent for the Other Foreign-born and the Canada-born households respectively. Living in a poor family can often mean that a significant proportion

of second generation Caribbean-origin boys and girls are at a disadvantage in terms of their living conditions and its also risk getting caught in the same cycle of poverty.

Despite having larger households, Caribbeans have the lowest rate of home ownership. Fifty-one percent of Caribbean-origin families rent their residences, in comparison to 25 percent of Other Foreign-origin and 34 percent of Canadian-origin families. Some of these differences in home ownership may be explained by the fact that Caribbean-origin families tend to be comprised of a large proportion of low income, single mother families. Another possible explanation is that Caribbean-origin families tend to be made up of individuals who are not earning high salaries due in part to systemic and institutional barriers of racism. Finally, some of the variation might be accounted for by the relatively recent arrival of Caribbean migrants onto the Canadian scene. Many would not yet be in a position to have the necessary financial resources to become independent home-owners.

The disproportionate ratio of Caribbean-born males to females may partially account for the low proportion of marital unions among Caribbean-born immigrants in Canada. 52 percent of Caribbean-born immigrants reported themselves to be "married," compared to 66 percent of the Other Foreign-born and 59 percent of the Canadian-born. The Caribbean-born are the most likely to report being single (38 percent) or separated (six percent). The differences in the proportions of marriage between the Caribbean-born and the others suggests that there may be a cultural continuity among migrants whereby traditional forms of Caribbean family arrangements are being practised in Canada. These include common law "marriages", visiting unions, serial relationships,

and "illegitimate" births resulting from casual unions (Clarke 1957). Another possible explanation for the different rates in marriage is perhaps the difficulty that Caribbean-born women encounter in finding "marriageable" partners among their own ethnicity. The demographic imbalance between men and women within the migrant community means that there is a scarcity of men. This imbalance between supply and demand means that men are at a greater advantage for making sexual demands from the surplus female population. Some women may be compelled to enter into relations with men that they may not otherwise choose, including serial partnerships, casual unions or single motherhood.

A Profile of Caribbean Migrants in Toronto

Without a doubt, the major reason for emigrating from one society to another is to improve one's socio-economic conditions. While family reunion and seeking refugee status are also important reasons, almost all immigrants expect to improve their economic situation in their new land. To what extent have Caribbeans in Toronto succeeded in doing so? In this final section we use special tabulations of the 1996 census to describe the situation of Caribbeans in the work-force in Toronto, since this is where the largest cohort of Caribbean immigrants resides.

The 1996 Canadian Census provides important details on the educational profile of the Caribbean-born living in Toronto. Table 4 presents a breakdown of the educational achievements for the three comparison groups. The proportion of the Caribbean-born with secondary schooling is about the same as the Canadian-born (close to half of the population). A notably smaller proportion of the Other Foreign-born had completed secondary school, 35 percent. A large

proportion of the Caribbean-born (32 percent) had technical schooling, compared with an average of only one in five Other Foreign-born and Canadian-born . In part, the patterns of educational achievement for the Caribbean-born are a direct outcome of the selective nature of the 'Point System' which screened for individuals who were going to make a positive contribution to the skilled and semi-skilled workforce. Caribbean-born are less likely than the two control groups to have university level schooling, (18 percent, compared with 31 and 32 percent).

The overall picture which emerges is one in which the Caribbean-born are less likely to be at the lowest or the highest ends of the education ladder; rather, they tend to cluster in the middle ranges. The Canadian born-population, on the other hand, are less likely to be at the lower end of the ladder and significantly better represented at the technical and university levels. The heterogeneity of the Other Foreign-born category is evident from the above average proportion at the lowest and highest levels of the education ladder.

Having a good job is one of the most important concerns for Caribbean migrants arriving in Canada. The desire for a good job is shaped by Caribbean culture and a particular historical experience. Compared to the other groups, Caribbeans show a high labor force participation rate. Only about 15 percent of Caribbeans report being unemployed compared to ten percent of Other Foreign-born and nine percent of Canadian born. Although the Caribbean-born tend to be employed, most work in sectors of the economy which are low paying and lower in prestige.

Table four presents the relationship between occupation and employment sector participation. It is apparent that the Caribbean-born are under-represented in management and professional occupations. Only seven percent are in management occupations, while 12 percent of the Other Foreign-born and 15 percent of the Canadian-born are in the same category. With respect to professional occupations, the Caribbean-born have a 12 percent representation compared to 15 and 17 percent respectively. The Caribbean-born compared to the Canadian-born tend to be over represented in the primary manufacturing sector (25 percent) and less represented in the transportation, retail and finance sector (43 percent compared to 49 percent). In the 1996 Canadian Census, the Employment Equity Occupations define the professional category to include professionals, semi-professionals and technicians. This grouping is misleading because one would normally expect only occupations like physicians, solicitors, teachers, accountants, engineers, etc., to be in the professional category. With technicians included in the category, one must be cautious when interpreting the proportions, since Caribbeans appear to be well represented in this category compared to the Other Foreign-born.

At the other end of the occupation continuum, the Caribbean-born are over represented in the clerical and semi-skilled categories compared to the other two groups. A significant proportion of the Caribbean-born are also found in other manual occupations (17 percent, compared to 11 percent among the Canadian-born).

Caribbean migrants living in Canada are more dependent on employment income than are the Canadian-born. Only about four percent of Caribbean-born migrants own their own businesses.

This is in direct contrast to the Other foreign-born (ten percent) and the Canadian-born (seven percent). The Canadian-born are even more fortunate in that they often have income from other sources such as investments, rental income, and various transfer payments. The Caribbean-born are not as fortunate; being relatively recent arrivals to Canada they tend to be more dependent on employment income which comes chiefly from full-time work. This difference might also help to explain the high proportion of Caribbean families who are living below the poverty line.

Some research has been done in the past which uses total income to compare the foreign-born with the Canadian-born. Most notable among this work was a study by Beaujot, et al. (1988). This study found that the average total income⁸ for all males in Canada in 1980 was \$16,918, but that foreign-born males earned more than did those born in Canada by a margin of about \$2000. The study also showed that the immigrant income advantage was due to a combination of factors, among which age, education, occupational distribution, location, and length of residence were the most important. After removing the advantageous effects of age and education, the authors were able to show that only those from the United Kingdom and Europe (excluding Southern Europe) had higher incomes than did Canadian-born. Recently arriving immigrant cohorts, particularly those from "non-traditional" source countries in the "Third World," were disadvantaged despite their relative concentrations in the high-income Census Metropolitan areas like Toronto. Using the same data and methods as Beaujot, et al. (1988), Richmond (1989:39) found that the overall average total income for Caribbean-born was considerably below that for Canadian and Other Foreign born as a whole.

From the 1996 Canadian Census it is possible to quickly see from Table 4 that the situation has not improved over time for the Caribbean-born relative to the two comparison groups. The table shows that the Caribbean-born who work full-time have an annual employment income level⁹ which is well below the other two groups. The differences vary by gender, with Caribbean-born women experiencing less difference vis-a-vis their same sex cohort (approximately \$6,500 difference with the Canada-born and the Other Foreign-born women). Caribbean-men on the other hand suffer much greater differences vis-a-vis Canadian born men (approximately an \$8,000 difference) and approximately \$10,000 difference between Other Foreign-born men. These differences become even greater when we control for education. Caribbean-origin men and women with university level schooling suffer the highest relative income inequality. This group is the most likely to be subjected to a promotional 'glass ceiling' and they are most likely to have difficulty getting their 'foreign' credentials and work experience recognized as legitimate in Canada (Plaza 1998).

From the initial examination of the education, occupation, and income levels, we can see that the Caribbean-born have a particularly unique socio-economic profile. They tend to be clustered in the middle range of the education ladder and have lower proportions in management and the professions and lower overall incomes. With respect to the professional category, there seems to be less difference between the Caribbean-born and the Other Foreign-born groups. Recall, however, that the Statistic Canada employment equity categorization puts technicians into the professional category. Since the Caribbean-born have a high proportion with technical level schooling (32 percent), a high rate of technical employment reflecting that schooling may be

artificially inflating the number in the professional category and hence giving the impression that there are a large proportion of Caribbean-born professionals in Canada. Being concentrated in significant proportions outside of the management and professional occupations, it is little wonder that Caribbean-born have an annual employment income which is only 70 percent of what the Canadian-born earn.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have followed the development of Canadian immigration policy from the turn of the century to the present so as to provide a context for examining Caribbean migration trends to Canada. We have also used Canadian immigration statistics to examine the socio-demographic and socio-economic profile of Caribbeans who migrated to Canada. This exercise highlighted several features in the development of Canada 's immigration policy and how it affected the various waves of Caribbean migrants. Before WWI, in the 1920s, and again in the 1950s, Canadian immigration policy was adjusted to provide a cheap labor supply for the developing resource and service sectors. In the 1960s and 1970s, Canadian immigration policy was adjusted to increase the skill level of the workforce and fill perceived gaps in the occupational structure.

Throughout these various periods, Caribbean migrants have largely moved in step with the policy changes. When the door was opened in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the implementation of the first ' Point System', skilled Caribbean workers filed in. Those Caribbeans who are now settled in Canada have faced a climate of discrimination and racism in their day- to- day lives.

Despite the odds being stacked against them, Caribbean people continue to regard Canada as their new 'home' and a place where they and their children will continue to make it.

By looking at the current socio-demographic characteristics of the Caribbean-born population we were able to see that they are different in comparison to the Other Foreign-born and the Canada-born populations. These differences have had an indirect influence on the successes and achievements of the group as a whole in Canada. This paper noted the demographic imbalance between the proportion of males and females, particularly among the Caribbean-born. It also noted the high rate of female lone parent families. The outcome of these two demographic factors is undoubtedly the high incidence of poverty in Caribbean-origin families and the low rate of home ownership for the group. Both of these measures are indirect outcomes of a culture that has historically had a high rate of single parent households and unmarried couples cohabiting.

From the data presented on occupation and income we are left questioning the "mobility dream" which suggests that both White and non-white in Canada have had an equal opportunity for achieving upward mobility. It seems to be inaccurate to say that all immigrants to Canada started off at the bottom and have subsequently been able, through hard work and through having the right qualifications to achieve upward mobility. The bottom has not been the same for all immigrants. Caribbean-born immigrants with university level schooling who are a different ethnicity and skin-colour from the majority population in Canada seem to be more exposed to the realities of differential incorporation and the subtle practices of individual and institutional discrimination. Most telling of all, perhaps is that the Caribbean-born with significantly higher

educational attainment fare less well in occupation and income measures than do members of the Canadian or other foreign-born groups.

Caribbean-born migrants with university level schooling do not seem to be able to access management or higher paying positions in the Canadian economy. Caribbean-born workers tend to be over-represented in the lower prestige positions like clerical work and other manual occupations. This has had a direct impact on their employment earnings potential. Both Caribbean-born men and women earn considerably lower annual incomes than the Canadian-born or the Other Foreign-born despite the fact that they have a similar age profile, education profile and labor force participation rate. One would expect that there would be a few years for adjustment (learning to be Canadian) and then Caribbeans would have been accepted and allowed to compete equally based on merit and qualifications. The reality of the situation is however that many Caribbeans seem to hit a 'glass ceiling'. They are less likely to be promoted or able to penetrate the 'old boys' hiring network that the Other foreign-born immigrant groups seem to be more able to do based on their physical appearance and on being perceived to be less threatening. For those Caribbean-born men and women living in Canada learning to come to terms with this reality has been difficult. The situation they encountered in Canada went completely against their belief in the "mobility dream", where hard work, dedication, and a good education were supposed to be criteria on which individuals are judged. The reality in Canada is quite different from the promise. Hence, it becomes especially difficult to succeed causing many to develop new mobility strategies or alternative ways of looking at life in order to give themselves personal affirmation about their accomplishments.

Table 1. Percent and Volume of Caribbean Immigrants Entering Canada 1967

Year	Caribbean Inflow	Total Immigration To Canada	Caribbean Percentage
1967	8,403	222,876	3.8
1968	9,067	183,974	4.9
1969	14,970	161,531	9.3
1970	14,293	147,713	9.7
1971	12,213	121,900	10.0
1972	9,804	122,006	8.0
1973	21,429	184,200	11.6
1974	22,468	218,465	10.3
1975	18,390	187,881	9.8
1976	14,770	149,429	9.9
1977	11,922	114,914	10.4
1978	8,574	86,313	9.9
1979	7,311	112,096	6.5
1980	7,710	143,117	5.4
1981	7,464	128,618	5.8
1982	8,473	121,147	7.0
1983	6,663	89,157	7.5
1984	5,838	88,239	6.6
1985	6,811	84,302	8.1
1986	10,469	99,219	10.6
1987	14,390	152,098	9.5
1988	9,887	161,929	6.1
1989	11,018	192,001	5.7
1990	11,380	214,230	5.3
1991	12,364	230,781	5.4
1992	14,558	252,842	5.8
1993	15,404	255,819	6.0
1994	11,296	223,875	5.0
1995	11,091	212,491	5.2
1996	8,783	226,072	3.9
1997	7,373	216,046	3.4
1998	<u>5,294</u>	<u>174,175</u>	<u>3.0</u>
TOTAL	327,440	4,711,075	7.0

Source: Special tabulations of Employment and Immigration Canada

Note: Caribbean inflow includes the total from : Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Anguilla, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts, St. Luica and St. Vincent.

Table 2. Caribbean Migration to Canada by Country of Origin and Period of Arrival

	Before 1961	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-1996	Total Immigration
Anguilla	20	35	30	0	0	95
Antigua and Barbuda	90	570	840	440	140	2,075
Aruba	110	105	260	60	30	560
Bahamas	80	135	370	355	165	1,100
Barbados	1,510	5,170	4,720	2,535	1,285	15,225
Bermuda	430	335	495	350	180	1,795
Cayman Islands	25	10	40	45	65	185
Cuba	115	200	335	835	1,620	3,100
Dominica	20	485	745	710	380	2,345
Dominican Republic	40	125	300	1,890	2,210	4,560
Grenada	105	1,065	2,410	1,815	1,695	7,095
Guadeloupe	15	25	75	65	45	225
Guyana	1,630	7,685	25,170	27,725	15,490	77,700
Haiti	230	2,315	18,140	17,125	11,585	49,395
Jamaica	3,555	17,715	43,555	29,575	21,400	115,800
Martinique	10	40	125	115	25	315
Montserrat	60	155	230	80	55	585
Netherlands Antilles	120	80	130	165	40	540
Puerto Rico	20	25	55	65	70	235
Saint Kitts and Nevis	125	670	920	635	115	2,465
Saint Lucia	75	500	650	655	485	2,360
Saint Vincent	350	1,440	2,485	1,535	1,355	7,170
Trinidad and Tobago	1,270	14,035	19,055	13,330	14,325	62,020
Turks and Caicos	0	0	0	0	0	10
Virgin Islands, British	0	10	25	10	30	80
Virgin Islands, U.S.	20	10	15	10	0	65
Total Caribbean	10,025	52,940	121,175	100,125	72,790	357,100

Source: Statistics Canada Nation Censu Series 1996

Table 3
A Socio-Demographic Profile of Caribbean-Born Immigrants Compared
To Other Foreign-Born and Individuals Born in Canada

	Caribbean-Born	Other Foreign-Born	Canada-Born
Gender			
Female	53.7	45.5	48.3
Male	46.3	54.5	51.7
Ratio Males per 100 Females	86.3	119.8	107.2
Age Profile			
15-24 Years	18.5	12.6	26.5
25-39 Years	40.2	36.5	42.1
40-64 Years	41.3	50.8	31.4
Martial Status			
Single	37.6	25.4	30.6
Married	52.0	66.3	59.3
Widowed	3.8	4.5	4.9
Separated/Divorced	6.4	3.7	5.2
Family Types			
Couples Without Children	17.1	30.2	36.0
Couples With Children	55.7	60.9	48.8
Male Lone Parents	2.7	1.8	2.5
Female Lone Parents	24.5	7.1	12.7
Household Size			
One Person	6.5	10.8	14.4
Two Person	15.3	29.2	32.8
Three Person	20.6	22.7	21.2
Four Person	24.9	21.7	18.6
Five or More	32.7	15.6	13.0
Incidents of Poverty			
All Family Types	32.0	13.4	18.6
Home Ownership			
Percent Who Own Home	48.8	74.8	65.6
Percent Who Rent Home	51.2	25.2	34.4
Total N	75,250	555,345	720,220

Source: Special tabulations of the 1996 Census of Canada. Public Use Microfiche (PUMF) based on a 3% sample

Notes: Caribbean-born includes any person indicating birth in the following countries:

Anguilla, Antigua, Aruba, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Cayman Islands

Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique, Montserrat

Netherlands Antillies, Puerto Rico, St Kitts Nevis, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago

Turks and Caicos, Virgin Islands (British) and Virgin Islands (U.S.A).

Other Foreign-born includes all persons born outside of Canada who are not Caribbean-born.

Canada-born includes all persons born in Canada.

Lone parent refers to a mother or a father, with no spouse, living in a dwelling with one or more never

married sons and or daughters. Couples are two persons of opposite sex who may or may not be

legally married to each other and living in the same dwelling with or without children.

Poverty incidents is the percentage of the group with income below Statistics Canada's low income cut-off (LICO) and

the group's median income. Families and individuals with incomes below the **LICO** are sometimes referred to as "poor"

or "living in poverty". Household size refers to the number of persons living in a single private household.

Table 4. Employment and Labor Force Characteristics of Caribbean-Born Immigrants Compared to Other Foreign-Born and Individuals Born in Canada

	Caribbean-Born	Other Foreign-Born	Canada-Born
Highest Level of Schooling			
Primary	5.5	13.6	3.6
Secondary	44.2	34.5	42.4
Technical	31.6	20.5	21.8
University	18.4	31.2	32.1
Labor Force Participation			
Unemployed	14.9	10.8	9.1
Full-time Workers	80.4	82.8	83.3
Occupation			
Management	7.4	12.2	14.7
Professional	12.0	15.0	17.1
Supervisory	3.8	4.7	4.2
Clerical	12.3	6.9	9.1
Sales/Service	11.5	11.7	14.4
Skilled Craft	8.2	8.8	7.1
Semi-skilled	11.7	9.2	8.9
Other Manual	17.4	15.6	10.5
Other Not Stated	15.7	15.9	13.9
Employment Sector Participation			
Primary Manufacturing	25.4	28.7	20.7
Transportation, Retail, Finance	43.1	41.1	48.8
Government, Education, Health	19.6	16.7	20.8
Accommodation, Food	6.0	6.6	5.0
Other Industries	5.5	6.8	4.6
Class of Worker			
Paid Worker	95.7	89.8	92.8
Self-employed	2.4	5.2	3.8
Self-employed with Paid Help	1.8	4.9	3.3
Annual Employment Income Full Time Worker			
Female	\$25,400	\$32,783	\$32,000
Male	\$29,820	\$40,200	\$38,000
Both Sexes	\$27,610	\$36,491	\$35,000
Total N	75,250	555,345	720,220

Source: Special tabulations of the 1996 Census of Canada. Public Use Microfiche (PUMF) based on a 3% sample

Notes: Unemployed are those who did not work in 1995. Full-time work includes those who worked 49-52 weeks in 1995. Self Employed are individuals who owned their own business. Self-employed with a paid worker are individuals who own their own business and employ one or more persons. Employment income refers total income received by persons 15 years of age and over during the calendar year 1995 as wages and salaries. Highest level of schooling refers to the highest grade or year of elementary or secondary school attended, or the highest year of university or other non-university completed.

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End Notes

¹ Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at Oregon State University. Contact address, Room 302 Fairbanks Hall, Corvallis, Oregon, 97330, United States. Email: dplaza@orst.edu. **This paper is not to be quoted or used without the author's express permission.**

² To qualify for selection, independent applicants and nominated relatives normally had to earn 50 or more of the potential 100 points of assessment. In addition, they had to have received at least one point for the occupational demand factor, to have arranged for employment, or to have a designated occupation. In unusual cases, selection officers could accept or reject an independent applicant or nominated relatives, regardless of the actual number of points awarded (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1967).

³ The process of determining the Caribbean single or multiple origin is intricately linked to identifying the ethnic population to which respondents indicated belonging. The 1996 Canadian Census required respondents to write in their ethnic origin(s) in four write in boxes. All those who wrote in African-Black; South Asian; or Other Caribbean-origin are included in our sample of single and multiple origin Caribbean.

⁴ Unless otherwise stated, all information comes from the Public Use Microfiche Files (PUMF) based on a 2.8% sample of the 1996 census.

⁵ Caribbean-born includes any person indicating birth in a Caribbean country. Other-Foreign born includes all persons born outside of Canada who are not born in the Caribbean. Canada-born includes all persons born in Canada.

⁶ Caribbean-origin families are those in which at least one member of the couple or single parent was born in the Caribbean. Other foreign-origin families are those in which one member of the couple or the single parent was born elsewhere outside of Canada. Canada-origin families are defined as all other combinations. A census family consists of a husband and wife, or common-law partners, or a single parent of any marital status with one or more unmarried children living in the same dwelling.

⁷ The poverty line is defined as the percentage of the group with income below Statistics Canada's low income cut-off (LICO). Families and individuals with incomes below the LICO are referred to as Apoor@ or Alive in poverty.@

⁸ Total income includes all sources, such as transfer payments, rent and investment income, as well as income from employment, including self-employment.

⁹ Employment income provides a more effective measure of labor market performance and the return on human capital because it only shows the mean annual income for individuals who worked 49-52 weeks in 1995 (full-time work). The annual employment income figure does not include any other sources (i.e. investments, rental income etc). The mean employment income does not disadvantage the Caribbean-born group for their relatively recent arrival into Canada.

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