An analysis of the lower-class West Indian family pattern in Toronto.

Geanine Chambers
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An Analysis of the Lower-Class West Indian Family Pattern in Toronto

Geanine Chambers

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

Windsor, 1977
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to the members of my Committee, Dr. Subhas Ramcharan, Dr. Edward Watson and Dr. Mansell Blair, who gave me all kinds of assistance in the research and writing of this Thesis.

I would also like to thank my mother and Dr. Mary-Lou Dietz who are only two of the many people who gave me the moral support to go on.

Finally, I am deeply indebted to the various West Indian Clubs and Organizations in Toronto who, by supplying me with the interviewees, made this Thesis possible.
ABSTRACT

This study examined the family pattern of a group of lower-class West Indian immigrants in the Toronto area. Emphasis was placed on the changes which occurred in the family pattern as the family moved from one environment (the West Indies) to the next (Canada); an environment where the non-legal union is the norm of the lower-class to one where the legal union is the norm of the total society.

One hundred and fifteen immigrants were interviewed and it was shown that a longer length of residence was supportive of a legal marriage, and that the respondents, regardless of their length of residence, were more likely to be legally married when they were older and engaged in common-law unions when they were younger.

Regular church attendance was not found to be effective in determining a legal marriage. It was also shown that the economic factor which was so often stressed as being highly significant in determining a legal marriage proved to the contrary.

There was a strong relationship between the respondents who intended to return home permanently and their marital status. Those who had plans of residing in Canada were more inclined to be legally married while the opposite was true of those who were definitely planning on returning to their birthplace.
Finally, it was shown that migrants who culturally, were more institutionally complete, were more likely to be engaged in common-law unions. Their close-knit networks and lower-class background were contributing factors to the maintenance of the common-law status.
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INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This is an exploratory study which focuses on the lower-class West Indian family pattern in Toronto. Emphasis was placed on the changes which occurred in the family pattern as the family moved from one cultural environment to the next, from an area of low industrialization (the West Indies) to one of high industrialization (Canada), and finally from a society where the non-legal union is the norm of the lower-class to one where the legal union is the norm of the total society. The non-legal or common-law union is in principle monogamous, relatively durable, but entered into without any formal, religious, civil or social ceremony (D. B. Matthews:1953:2).

The major variables were length of residence in Canada, marital status, education, occupation, religion, participation in ethnic activities and friendship and family networks.

Interest in the subject originated because of the lack of empirical data on the West Indian family in Canada. There has been a great deal of research done on the West Indian family in Great Britain; however, the few studies done on
West Indian immigrants in Canada have focused mainly on their general adaptation to Canada, for instance, their satisfaction with life in Canada. Very little attention has been paid to cross-cultural immigration and the effect it has on families concerned. For societies in transition like Canada, a study such as this, is of importance, since a plethora of ethnic groups exists.

The purpose of this study is two-fold. Firstly, it is an attempt to remedy the deficiency of data on the West Indian immigrant; and secondly, and more specifically, it examines the lower-class West Indian family structure in Canada, so that it may increase the data on the family in the Caribbean for the purpose of comparative studies.

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF WEST INDIAN IMMIGRATION**

The West Indian islands, "discovered" by Christopher Columbus in the fifteenth century, can be seen as small dots in the wide expanse of water which stretches from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean. The total West Indian population at the time of the 1960 Census was 3,763,000. (C. Peach:1968:2). The islands now boast oil, bauxite and tourism as their main industries, but there was a time when their sugar-cane production made them the prized possessions of the British Empire.
A backward glance at the West Indian stage shows that a single factor predominated. This was the ruthless pursuit of profit through the cultivation of sugar-cane from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Fundamental to the cultivation of sugar was slavery. The expansion of the sugar industry required an increased labour force, which was supplied first by the native Arawak and Carib Indians, who soon perished due to the hard labour. After this, several unsuccessful attempts were made to recruit labourers from different parts of the world. After the Chinese proved incapable of handling the field-work, millions of Africans were recruited from Africa's inexhaustible resource. This was the beginning of the great slave trade to the West Indies, which was to last until 1834, when slavery was abolished. This, together with the development of new and cheaper sugar supplies in other tropical areas brought about the collapse of the agricultural economy in the islands. Not only were "freed-men" reluctant to work on the sugar plantations but beet-sugar, grown in temperate zones, was proving to be a good competitor. Although the imperialists made one last attempt to obtain labourers for the cane-fields, (these Indentured labourers came from India and held a status slightly higher than that of the slaves), the decline came.

With the great industrial changes of the past two
centuries, came great population movements as in the case of the sugar-cane labourers to the West Indies. When this labour force was no longer required, the West Indies exported their workers. R. Palmer (1969:571) points out that in the early part of the twentieth century, West Indians migrated by the thousands to Panama and the other parts of Latin America. This period of massive immigration ended shortly after the First World War. Another wave of immigration started after the Second World War, this time to the United States and the United Kingdom. It must be pointed out at this time, that farm labourers constituted the great majority of these immigrants. This wave of immigration reached its peak in the fifties. Palmer attributes this mass migration to the decline of the sugar industry which created great unemployment. On the other hand, it was fairly easy to migrate to Great Britain and the United States, where wide post-war expansions meant jobs for professional and skilled workers.

However, this great immigration was to be short-lived. In the sixties, Britain passed the Commonwealth Immigration Act, which restricted the number of West Indian immigrants and, at the same time, the United States' Quota System, which had existed before, made it more difficult for West Indians to migrate. In 1962, a change was instituted in the Canadian Immigration laws: discrimination was
formally removed, and "coloured" people were allowed to
migrate more freely to Canada.

R. Winks (1971:101) pointed out that West Indians have
been in Canada since the seventeenth century, when the
Jamaican government, unable to cope with a band of runa-
way slaves, transported them to Halifax by the Royal Navy.
Since then, small groups of West Indians have come to
Canada as soldiers during the two World Wars, skilled
workers during the early construction period of Canada,
domestic servants, students and professionals (as in the
massive recruitment of nurses, teachers, and doctors) in
the fifties and sixties.

Until 1962, West Indian migration to Canada was res-
stricted. S. Ramcharan (1974:1-2) quoting D. C. Corbett,
claims that in 1952 the Canadian Minister of Citizenship
and Immigration stated that immigrants from tropical
climes would be unable to cope with the harsh climate
in Canada, and by restricting their immigration, he was
also protecting them from discrimination. The Minister
also stated a preference for immigrants of the same
racial background.

It is surprising that Canada's attitude to the West
Indian immigrants was not more welcoming, since, in
addition to being members of the British Commonwealth,
Canada reaped great economic benefits from her West Indian investments. K. Levitt and A. McIntyre (1967:24) pointed out that Canada's investment in the Commonwealth Caribbean was greater than in any other developing country. She controls the bauxite, insurance and banking industries with an investment estimated to exceed six billion Canadian dollars.

West Indians took full advantage of the positive change in the immigration law and began to migrate to Canada in large numbers. At the moment, one can only make a rough estimate as to their number in Canada, due to the new methods of statistical reporting where non-white immigration after 1966 cannot be calculated precisely (A. Richmond: 1969:1). In addition to this, there are no records kept by the Department of Immigration for the immigrants who returned home or who are in Canada illegally.

The immigrants came largely from what is known as the "British West Indies". The West Indies in this context are the English-speaking countries in and near the Caribbean Sea comprising of ten islands and Guyana. Guyana, although not an island, is included because of its proximity to Trinidad and its highly West Indian culture. Jamaica to the north, is over a thousand miles from Trinidad, the most southern of the islands.
A glance at Table 1 with the Immigration statistics for 1962-1970 shows at all times more females than males migrating. During the period from 1962-1964 the number of females almost doubled that of the males. This could be due to the great number of nurses and domestic servants who migrated during this period.

**TABLE 1**

**WEST INDIAN MIGRATION TO CANADA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>1480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>1340</td>
<td>2227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>1346</td>
<td>2119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1278</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>3095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>2217</td>
<td>3935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>3631</td>
<td>4772</td>
<td>8403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>3546</td>
<td>4017</td>
<td>7563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>6090</td>
<td>7003</td>
<td>13093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5874</td>
<td>6582</td>
<td>12456</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The wave of migration after 1966 is quite noticeable,
especially where the numbers almost doubled that of the year before. Since then, the number of immigrants has risen each year, except for 1970 when they fell by a small percentage. This reduction in numbers was brought about by a new clause in the immigration laws which once again placed restrictions on West Indian Immigration.

Table 11 shows a breakdown of the immigrants and their islands of origin for the year 1973. The countries are represented numerically according to their size.

### TABLE 11

**WEST INDIAN MIGRATION BY ISLAND 1973**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island of origin</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>3,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>7,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>4,136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Department of Immigration and Manpower Statistics, Ottawa, 1973.*
Most of the West Indian immigrants reside in the larger cities of Toronto and Montreal. The 1971 Census of Canada shows 17,560 West Indians arriving in the province of Ontario and 15,625 of them residing in metropolitan Toronto. S. Ramcharan (1974:51) lists three reasons for this large gathering of West Indians in metropolitan Toronto. The first is its geographic location. Toronto is the closest point of entry from the Caribbean. The second is cultural and ties in somewhat with the first. Due to the fact that Toronto is the first point of entry for most West Indians, there are numerous cultural organizations there which encourage the migrant to remain. The final reason is an economic one: because Toronto is also Canada's largest industrial city, many West Indians remain there hoping to obtain employment.

In examining the historical background of West Indian migration, one can therefore see that there are many factors responsible for their settlement in Canada, and specifically in the Toronto and Montreal areas. This study focuses on the Toronto area because of its proximity to the author and the fact that it has the largest West Indian population in Canada.
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Richmond, A.

Winks, R.
migration represents a transition from one area to another and the more dissimilar the communities involved, the greater will be the difficulty of transition. The greatest contrast is to be found in the underdeveloped areas of the world and the twentieth century metropolitan capitals. A. H. Richmond (1969:5) points out that extensive migration leads to multiway of exchange of linguistic usages, religious beliefs and practices and domestic and family customs which include child rearing and socialization. R. Breton (1964:77-78) stated that the important factor determining the social integration of the immigrants was the degree of institutional completeness. In his study of Canadian ethnic communities, he found that the immigrants in the communities which lacked formal organizations were easier assimilated, than the ones which had their own religious, educational, political and national organizations. He also found that if the ethnic group spoke the language of the host country, assimilation was easier.

R. Park and E. Burgess (1921: 735) in the early twentieth century, defined assimilation as a process of interpenetration and fusion, in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other
persons or groups and by sharing these experiences and history, form one cultural life. This process, according to M. Gordon (1964:71), takes place in varying degrees. There are seven types or stages of assimilation, and this study deals with the first, which is the cultural or behavioral. Here, there is a change of cultural patterns to those of the host country. Most ethnic groups experience this type of assimilation when they first arrive to their new environment. In some cases, this stage may continue indefinitely, without the group ever progressing to the others, as in the case of the American black. Few of them are structurally assimilated, that is, hold positions in the institutional structure of the host society.

It was expected that as the immigrant was being "socialised" into the culture of the host country, he would be "desocialized" from his old culture. (Eisenstadt:1954:6). Nagata (1968:66-67) however, found in the Canadian Greek communities she studied, that acculturation did not necessarily mean the abandonment of one culture for the other. Rather, it was possible for both cultures to overlap and interact, resulting in mutual accommodation which might vary with the individual occasion. R. Breton (1964:82) claims that it was only after six years that the immigrant's ties to the host country was substantially increased. Even then, these
ties were greatly dependent on how satisfied both immigrant and native people were with each other.

Immigration has provided Canada with an ever-increasing manpower and a surging economy. Approximately, one in every nine persons in Canada is a post-war immigrant, thus there is a wide interest in immigrants and the immigration policy. (F. Jones & W. Lambert:1959:95)

Historically, the Canadian society has been a dualistic one, the two chartered groups being the English and the French. However, due to wide-scale immigration, the society is now pluralistic. Porter (1957:761-762) states that although Canada is ethnically plural, economic power is almost exclusively held by the English-speaking people of British origin, who make up less than half of the general population. Immigrants, apart from those who came from the United States, Great Britain and a few Commonwealth countries, almost never reach the top of the important hierarchies. Porter also implied that by maintaining the pluralistic society, the British were able to retain their dominance. Ethnic groups were given entrance-statuses, the less preferred groups had lower-level occupational roles and were subjected to processes of assimilation laid down by the dominant chartered group. It was stated previously that migration
was also restricted on the basis of "biological" qualities. Prior to 1962 "coloured" people were not allowed to migrate freely.

The West Indians arrived in Canada to find the status of the black man already low, although blacks were among Canada's first seventeenth-century groups (Winks:1969:95). An explanation for this could be the fact that most of these early immigrants arrived as escaped slaves and thus received a low entrace-status which was never removed. R. Winks also claims that very few blacks have made it to the middle-class and these are hardly visible because they are so widely dispersed.

S. Ramcharan (1974:267-8) found that the high occupational and educational background of some West Indian immigrants did not transfer into high occupational status or income positions in Canada. Although their educational qualifications were similar to other English-speaking people, they did not occupy the status positions of these migrants with a similar length of residence in Canada. However, after a period of seven years, most people who had suffered a loss of status were able to regain it. This regain could have been brought about by assimilation, or the immigrants starting anew in their careers.
In addition to these handicaps, some West Indians display a family pattern which was not only dissimilar to that of the host society, but was also less favoured.

THE WEST INDIAN FAMILY

In most societies, almost everyone lives his life enmeshed in a network of family rights and obligations called role relationships. One is made aware of these relationships through a long period of socialization, during his childhood. He learns how members of his family expect him to behave and he himself, sees these as the right forms of action (W. J. Goode:1964:1).

The family in North American consists of mother, father and one or more children joined together in a legal union. The West Indian family structure and modes of conjugal union do not, on the whole, conform to the Christian norm of monogamous married life, thus the family in the West Indies has often been poorly defined. There are many common-law relationships which should fall into our definition of a family and should be regarded as such in practice, although some associations have not yet received the protection of the law. Sociologists and anthropologists studying the family in the West Indies have discovered three distinct
relationships:

1. Married-Legal or Christian.
2. Married-Common-law or non-legal. This is, in principle, monogamous, between two people living under one roof, relatively durable and entered into without any formal, religious, civil or social ceremony. This category definitely implies cohabitation.
3. Friendship or Companionate. This is a union similar to that of the non-legal in every respect except that the two members involved do not live under the same roof.

(Matthews:1971:1-6)

Other authors such as H. Rodman (1971), S. Greenfield (1966), S. Patterson (1964), F. Henriques (1953) and E. Clarke (1957) have found similar breakdowns to the family pattern in the West Indies. This three-fold classification is not rigid, since a domestic group in its history might experience all these forms. There are also groups which exhibit features of more than one group. Because of the slave trade, the population of the West Indies became heterogenous, consisting of at least five different ethnic groups. This heterogeneity meant that each ethnic group brought with it some aspect of its
culture, and although they seemingly blended to form one, in some respects, certain differences in family forms are evident. This study deals with the people of African descent who form about ninety percent of the population and comprise the majority of the lower-class (J. Millette:1974:49). In addition to this, the lower-class also commonly display the common-law union.

During slavery, legal marriage was discouraged, because the slaves would have to be bought and sold in pairs and this would restrict the actions of buyers and sellers who might want to do transaction with one slave and not the other. The slaves were, encouraged, however to bear children because the master's economic status would be improved at little cost to himself (R. Hooper:1965:34). The females were also encouraged to procreate with different males, with the false belief that their fertility would be increased. How they stood in their master's favour, was greatly dependent on the number of children they could reproduce.

Although religion played an important role in subjugating the slaves, (plantation Sunday sermons were common) legal marriage was almost non-existent. Plantation owners did little to elevate the conception of Christian marriage in the minds of the slaves. It was a common thing for them to take concubines from among the slaves.
(Greenfield:1966:41-5). All these factors helped to contribute to the birth of the common-law union in the West Indies.

These unions became quite numerous and a Registrar General's Report of Jamaica in 1943 showed the number of mothers involved in common-law unions to be 29.2 percent, legally married 35.1 percent and single 35.6 percent (J. Blake:1961:149). Due to this rate of illegitimacy in the West Indies, the West India Royal Commission, in 1938, called for an organized campaign against this "sexual freedom" and "promiscuity". A Mass marriage was organized in Jamaica by the then Governor's wife. However, this movement failed in its methods and goals, due to an ignorance of Jamaican folk society and family life. Shortly after the weddings were performed, most of these "newly-married" couples were soon separated. Quite often the lower-class culture is misunderstood by the other classes who tend to judge them according to their own norms and values, rather than seeing their behavior as an adaptation to the conditions of their life. Certain types of behavior would consequently not be viewed as promiscuous. Lower-class values should also be examined because, quite often behavior is not a good predictor of values.
H. Rodman (1971:192-96), in his study of lower-class families, showed that their behavior fitted Merton's theory of lower-class behavior which is called "Value-Stretch" (R. Merton:1957). According to this theory, the group is unable to perform according to the values of the dominant groups due to a lack of resources, for instance, economic. It however, develops alternative values without discarding those of the dominant group. Later, if there is an improvement in its economic status, it will revert to the values of the dominant group. The lower-class is therefore not antagonistic towards legal marriage. For them it is often deferred until the male is able to buy a house, have an elaborate wedding, and support a wife who need not go to work. As D. Lowenthal (1972:105) states, most young men rarely command such resources. This reason for a delay in marriage is further supported by W. E. Goode (1960:21-30) and F. Henriques (1953:107) who point out that the emphasis was on the lavishness of the wedding banquet, rather than on the religious ceremony. A couple might experience feelings of "shame" if they cannot be married in "fine style". A wedding with inadequate refreshments and entertainment would be discussed for a long time by community members.
It should be pointed out at this time that not all lower-class West Indians share this attitude towards common-law relationships. Judith Blake (1961:150-53) in her study of a rural Jamaican community, noted that twenty-three out of seventy women interviewed, claimed that they did not live with their lovers because of their distaste for the common-law status. Apart from the low-status they thought it held, they feared that their offsprings would be illegitimate. Blake also said that the term "common-law" carries with it no connotation of legal obligations between partners in Jamaica. The offsprings of such unions are legally illegitimate in the same sense as if they were born of a casual encounter. (It should be noted, however, that in Jamaica, this law is being currently reviewed, so that children born out of this type of union will enjoy the same legal privileges as those born of a conjugal marriage.)

It has been suggested in our earlier discussion that slavery had some influence on the West Indian family pattern. The debate between Franklin Frazier and the late Melville Herskovits as to the origin of the non-legal union has now become quite famous. Herskovits, whose primary interest was in tracing Africanisms in the New World, sees them as an extension of a family pattern which previously existed in Africa. Both of his studies
in the Caribbean, the Haitian in 1937 and Trinidadian in 1947, were primarily concerned with the family forms in the West Indies and the relation of these forms to the general structural features exhibited by African societies. On the other hand, Frazier (1932) was concerned with the effects of slavery upon the black family. To him the family pattern exhibited by the blacks in the New World came about as a result of slavery. Thus, Frazier contended with Herskovits; the one saw the non-legal union as the outcome of slavery and the other saw it as being rooted in African cultures. Frazier's argument seems more logical since the slaves who came to the West Indies from Africa, came from different regions where different family patterns existed. It would therefore be highly unlikely for any one particular pattern to survive as a whole. It must also be taken into consideration that the family pattern of the slave was determined by the master, who could disrupt this relationship at any time. Thus an environment such as this was not conducive to economic and marital stability.

WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS

Due to the sparsity of research on West Indians in Canada, frequent references will be made to studies done on West Indian immigrant communities in Great Britain.
Sheila Patterson (1964:301-3), in her study of West Indian immigrants in a Brixton community in England, pointed out that in the early stages of settlement, migrants usually kept their customary domestic patterns as far as the situation allowed. The chief concern at this time is their economic goals. R. Hooper (1965:11-12) stated that immigrants worked hard and sent money home to sponsor their families to Britain. They were prepared to settle for a low social status if, economically, they were gratified. Their conformity to the local mores, therefore, would be determined by the speed at which they achieved financial success. Patterson believes, nonetheless, that changes will occur in the family pattern however subtle they might be. She sees three major factors as being responsible for these changes. The first is the local mores of the host country. If the local norm is conjugal marriage, then pressures from associates, peer group, priests, or even from their own children, might cause migrants to be legally married. The second is economic security. Previous studies have shown that legal marriage is often associated with the attainment of economic security which is defined as money to purchase a dwelling place and to have an elaborate wedding. The third factor which might cause a change in the family pattern is isolation. A change
might occur when the migrant is cut off from his island kinship group and local community. E. Bott (1971:106) in her support of this last factor, claims that the family's network will become more loose-knit if there is a physical or social move by members of the family, or other members of the network group. Nagata (1968:58), on the other hand, stated that the Greek working-class immigrants she studied in Toronto, reacted to the isolation from their homeland by being even more nationalistic. Their newspapers were written in the Greek language and emphasis was heavily placed on political and national events, thus keeping alive their patriotism.

R. B. Davidson's (1966:30-1) study of a Jamaican community in London showed that the majority of the immigrants very quickly changed their attitude towards marriage when they arrived in England. Couples who would have been involved in common-law unions for an indefinite period in Jamaica, had quickly legalized their unions.

Before they came to England, 22 percent of the migrants were legally married and 78 percent not legally married. Of the latter group, 30 percent were involved in common-law unions and 70 percent were single. By the end of the second year, the number of legally married rose sharply to 52 percent and the non-legally married fell
to 48 percent. In many cases, people who were not legally married mentioned that they intended to do so as soon as their economic position was improved. Davidson claims they reacted to their new environment in the main by tending to conform to it. A major factor which might have contributed to the rapid conformation was the aid of national programmes, especially in the areas of health, welfare and housing.

One of the earlier studies done on West Indians in Canada was carried out by F. Henry (1968:856). His study dealt with the female immigrants who came on the Canadian Domestic Scheme. Henry found that they were totally unprepared for this "new" life in Canada and were overtly disappointed. They had to resocialize into an environment which involved a shrinkage in their social participation and group life. The migration stipulation required that the women migrate singly. Apart from feelings of great loneliness, most of them experienced a drop in social status. Henry found that a large number of them were from lower-middle or middle-class backgrounds, who joined the programme because of the "glamour" attached to going abroad as well as the economic opportunities it offered. Most of the immigrants had experienced discrimination at one time or the other. Despite the difficulties the migrants faced,
a substantial number of them said they would migrate again because of economic reasons. Henry's study was carried out in Montreal where the second largest group of West Indian immigrants in Canada reside.

S. Ramcharan's study (1974:267) of West Indians in Metropolitan Toronto, focused on their adaptation to life in Canada. He found that favourable adaptation (that is economic, social and cultural) was dependent on length of residence in Canada, socio-economic status and racial background or skin colour (lighter shades of people were more satisfied). He also noticed that most of the immigrants experienced relative gratification. Despite discrimination experienced in employment, they still saw themselves as having a higher standard of living than had existed in the West Indies. Important to this study is one of his findings on the cultural adaptation of the West Indians. He found that they had transposed West Indian cultural institutions and fitted them into the cultural mosaic of the host country. This was made evident by the number of West Indian associations, clubs, food shops, restaurants and festive activities.

In the light of the above discussion, it would appear that the West Indian immigrants might have a tendency
to be institutionally complete and, therefore, might not undergo too many cultural changes on their arrival in Canada.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Park, R. &amp; Burgess, E.</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Introduction to the Science of Sociology</td>
<td>Chicago University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson, S.</td>
<td>1964</td>
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<td>Bloomington: Indiana University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter, J.</td>
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<td>Toronto: University of Toronto Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramcharan, S.</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada</td>
<td>York University, Toronto: unpublished doctoral thesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond, A.</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Post-war Immigrants in Canada</td>
<td>Toronto: University of Toronto Press</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wink, R.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

SAMPLE

The 115 respondents for the study were recruited from Toronto because earlier Immigration Statistics had shown that the majority of West Indians in Canada reside there.* The Department of Manpower and Immigration Statistics for the year 1973 were utilized to obtain information concerning the ratio of West Indian men to women as well as their island of origin.** It was decided to sample 65 females and 50 males because past Immigration records have always shown the females outnumbering the males. The respondents were selected from the predominant West Indian areas in Toronto as shown by S. Ramcharan (1974). The seven areas shown in Table III were sampled.

*See 1971 Census of Canada and S. Ramcharan's 1974 Doctoral thesis "Adaptation of West Indians in Canada".

** See Table II.
### TABLE 111

**AREA OF RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Residence</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bathurst-Bloor</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pape-Broadview</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dundas-Queen</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dufferin-Bloor</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vaughn-St. Clair</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dufferin-Eglinton</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Scarborough</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the Bathurst-Bloor and the Pape-Broadview areas, where eighteen and seventeen respondents were sampled respectively, sixteen were chosen from each of the other areas. Table IV shows the breakdown for the island of origin for the respondents, the number sampled from each and their sex.
### TABLE IV

**ISLAND OF ORIGIN AND SEX OF RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island of Origin</th>
<th>Number of Immigrants to Canada in 1973</th>
<th>Number Sampled from island</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>151</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>877</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>299</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>3,984</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>7,502</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>348</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>4,136</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An attempt was made to sample heads of households who were representative of a cross-section of lower-class West Indians in Toronto. The lower-class status was determined by the respondents' income and occupation. Income was based on the classification of low-income in the 1971 Census print-out and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics Classification of Occupational Categories was used to determine occupation. Students were omitted.
from the sample because the study was geared towards people in the labour force.

One of the difficulties in obtaining reliable information about immigrants is the problem in selecting a random sample. It would be unsafe to generalize from samples taken at work or at place of residence, because friends tend to find jobs at the same place and live in the same neighbourhood, so there is always a clustering of people with similar backgrounds. In spite of this, the Reference Method or the "Snow-ball Effect" was utilized as the main tool to obtain respondents. West Indian Sports Clubs and Organizations were also canvassed to obtain those respondents who met the sampling criteria.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND HYPOTHESES

The Interview Schedule, which was designed and administered by the author, consisted of forty-one questions which were mainly precoded. The remaining open-ended ones were later coded.* Apart from the background information of age and sex, the questionnaire focused mainly on the following variables:

*A copy of the questionnaire is in Appendix A.
Length of Residence in Canada

This was the major independent variable. S. Patterson (1964:301) had found this to be a very important factor in determining the migrant's family pattern. Immigrants when they first arrive, usually exhibit their own family pattern, but as time progressed, if their goals are satisfied, they will usually conform to the local norms or mores. Given this information, it is hypothesized that:

Major hypothesis
There will be a relationship between the length of residence in Canada and the type of family pattern that the migrant will display.

Sub hypothesis
The shorter the length of residence of the immigrant the more likely will he have a common-law relationship.

Sub hypothesis
The longer the length of residence of the immigrant the more likely will he have a legal union.

MARITAL STATUS AND RELATED VARIABLES

The respondent's marital status was the chief dependent variable. The questionnaire sought information as to
the religion, church attendance, ethnic friendship pattern and even presence of children in Canada. S. Patterson (1964:305-6) had shown that these variables were important in influencing the marital status.

Also of importance in determining the migrant's marital status, was the strength of his family and friendship network. The migrant who was isolated from his kinship group was more likely to conform to his host society. In relation to this, questions were also asked concerning the migrant's geographic location, whether he resided with friends or relatives, or were they living in the same neighbourhood, and if so, how often did he visit them. E. Bott (1957:98) had pointed out that close-knit networks were more likely to develop when husbands, wives, friends or relatives live in the same area. Also relevant to this was the ethnicity of the respondent's closest friends, whether they were members of his own ethnic group or they were Canadians. A. Richardson (1957:597) claims that the frequency of social participation between the immigrant and the host was positively associated with assimilation.

Another important factor which might determine the respondent's marital status was his point of emigration.
It was believed that the West Indian immigrants migrating to Canada from another country in the Western world, might have already experienced these particular changes in the family pattern for which we are looking, so questions were asked concerning the respondent's last country of residence.

There were questions asked to determine the respondent's economic status in the West Indies as well as Canada. This was to determine whether he had experienced any economic change in his status since arriving in Canada. It was previously stated that some West Indian authors had found the economic factor to be of prime importance in determining the family pattern. The respondents were asked what was their financial position in the West Indies, then what was their financial position in Canada. The two questions were compared, then recoded to form a new variable called "status difference" and this was recoded.

There were also other variables which tested how "West Indian" the respondent was, whether he had membership in West Indian Clubs and Organizations, read West Indian newspapers, took part in any West Indian Cultural festivities and whether he intended to return home permanently. Nagata (1968:59) had pointed out that some
immigrants are firmly convinced that their stay will be a temporary one and are only interested in satisfying certain goals and returning home. If this is the case here, then the respondents will not be concerned about conforming to local mores.

The respondent's age was one of the major controlling variables. It is believed that the young migrant would experience less difficulty in changing his life-style than an older migrant.

On the basis of the theory and research reported, it was further hypothesized that:

**Hypothesis II**
The more frequent the church attendance of the immigrant the more likely will he be legally married.

**Hypothesis III**
The migrant who perceives a positive change in his economic status will more likely be legally married.

**Hypothesis IV**
The higher the migrant's occupational prestige the more likely will he be legally married.

**Hypothesis V**
The migrant who has children in Canada will more
likely be legally married.

**Hypothesis VI**
The migrant who has mostly Canadian friends will more likely be legally married.

**Hypothesis VII**
The closer the migrant's kinship and ethnic network the less likely will he be legally married.

**Hypothesis VIII**
The migrant who has previously migrated to Western countries other than Canada, will more likely be legally married.

**Hypothesis IX**
The migrant who intends to make Canada his permanent place of résidence will more likely be legally married.

**Hypothesis X**
The migrant who takes part in his own ethnic activities will be less likely to be legally married.

Twenty interview schedules were pretested for reliability, then one hundred and fifteen were later administered. Some respondents were contacted by phone and visits were made to the homes of others, in
order to set up appointments. Flash cards were used where necessary, as in the cases of age and income.
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CHAPTER IV
DATA ANALYSIS

Some background information concerning the respondents will now be given in order to facilitate a clearer and more succinct discussion of the major variables.

AGE
As shown in Table V, the respondents ranged in age from eighteen to forty-nine, with the majority being between the ages of twenty-four and forty-four. Except for the first and the last two categories, the respondents seem to have been fairly equally represented.

TABLE V
AGE OF RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MARITAL STATUS

An analysis of the data (See Table VI) showed that thirty-nine (34%) of the respondents were engaged in common-law unions and thirty-two (28%) in legal unions. While statistically the number of common-law unions might appear small, for a sample of this size, it is quite outstanding.

TABLE VI

MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married (legal)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married (non-legal)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engaged</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>separated</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the respondents fell in the first three categories and because of this, reference will only be made to these, unless there are outstanding findings in the others.
RELIGION

The religious background of the respondents (See Table VII) proved interesting because the Roman Catholic and the Baptist faiths which are strongly opposed to the common-law union, are over-represented. The Roman Catholics were twenty-nine (36%) while the Baptists were eighteen (16%). S. Patterson (1964:349) had pointed out that there was a correlation between the type of religious association in which an individual participates and his socio-economic status. Most denominational churches, for instance the Roman Catholic and the Anglican, have been associated with the upper and middle-classes and a small number of upwardly-mobile lower-class people. The findings suggest that our sample might be upwardly mobile.
TABLE VII

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>111*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Four respondents had no religious affiliation.

The majority of the respondents, sixty-five (57%), had received an elementary school education (See Table VIII). This was followed by twenty-eight (24%) who had attended trade school. Only twenty (17%) had attended secondary.
TABLE VIII
EDUCATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade School</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OCCUPATION AND INCOME

When the respondents were placed into broad occupational categories, based on the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, (See Table IX) fifty-one (44%) of them were in the service category, twenty-six (25%) were skilled workers and twenty-one (18%) were clerical staff.

When income was analysed, the modal category of the respondents, (twenty-six or 30%) earned $7-7,999. (See Table X). This figure roughly represents the average yearly wage rate of the lower-income family in Canada, as shown in the 1971 Census. The majority of the respondents were between the $6,000 to $8,999 income brackets.
### TABLE IX

**OCCUPATION OF THE RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional or Tech.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE X

**YEARLY INCOME OF RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ 3-3,999</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-4,999</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-5,999</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-6,999</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-7,999</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-8,999</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-9,999</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 and over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND REASON FOR MIGRATION

With regards to the length of residence in Canada (See Table XI), forty-four (38%) of the respondents have been in Canada for six years and more, thirty (34%) for four to five years and thirty-two (37%) for one to three years. Considering that West Indian migration is a fairly recent phenomenon, the results were not unexpected.

TABLE XI
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of years</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 and over</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A large number of the respondents, fifty-five (49%) See Table XII) came to join friends or relatives, forty-nine (43%) came because of economic reasons and eight (7%) for reasons of adventure. It is therefore shown that the economic factor, although not the major cause of migration for these respondents, was nevertheless an important one.
TABLE XII
RESPONDENT'S REASON FOR MIGRATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To join friends or relatives</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TESTING OF THE HYPOTHESIS

The Chi Square test of Statistical Significance, Cramer's V Statistics and the Contingency Coefficient were employed to test the hypothesis. The critical region was arbitrarily set at $p=.05$. All of the findings have been recorded in this chapter, regardless of their statistical significance. Each of the hypotheses will be discussed here and the implications and improvements of the study will be discussed in the final chapter.
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA AND MARITAL STATUS

Table XIII shows that of the respondents who have been in Canada for one to three years, 36% were legally married and 64% were engaged in common-law unions. For the four to five-year period, the legally married were 30% compared to 70% common-law married, and for the six years and over period, there were 62% legally married. The data indicate that longer residence in Canada was supportive of a legal marriage. From the first to the fifth year period, there was a tendency for the respondents to be engaged in common-law unions, but from six years and over, the legally-married unions outnumbered the common-law ones. This finding is similar to that of R. B. Davidson's (1966:30) who had found that with the increase of time, there was a tendency for the West Indian migrants he studied, to be legally married. The Chi Square of 5.8936, df=2 was significant at the 0.05 level and we must reject the null hypothesis of no relation between the length of residence and marital status.
### TABLE XIII

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BY MARITAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>common-law Married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 years</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yrs. &amp; over</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 5.89316  df=2  probability = 0.0525
Cramer's V = 0.28810
Contingency Coefficient = 0.2764

The nine categories of the age variable were combined to form four new ones in an attempt to summarize the data and create fewer contingent associations. These were in turn used as control for the variables, length of residence and marital status. It was decided against combining the younger age categories for fear of losing valuable information because S. Allen (1971:84) in a study of West Indian immigrants in London had found a trend towards legal marriage among younger West Indians. When we controlled for age, there was a further strengthening of the relationship between the two variables.
However, it was found that the respondents in this study behaved contrarily to those respondents in Allen’s study. (See Table XIV.)

There was a tendency for the younger respondents, regardless of length of residence to be engaged in common-law unions.

**TABLE XIV**

**LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BY MARITAL STATUS BY AGE**

**AGE: 25-29**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of residence</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yrs. &amp; over</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>35.</td>
<td>65.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 4.92935       df=2       probability = 0.850
Cramer’s V = 0.49646
Contingency Coefficient = 0.44467

There was also a further strengthening of the relationship between the two variables in the older age category (See Table XV). As compared with those aged 25-29, there was a greater likelihood of the respondents being legally married, their number increasing
more sharply, with their length of residence. This finding is similar to R. B. Davidson's (1966:30) study of a West Indian community in Great Britain.

TABLE XV

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BY MARITAL STATUS BY AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of residence</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 years</td>
<td>80.</td>
<td>20.</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yrs. &amp; over</td>
<td>90.</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 4.30714  df=2  probability = 0.1161
Cramer's $\chi = 0.48917$
Contingency Coefficient = 0.43941

One could speculate that this trend for the older respondents to be legally married and the younger ones engaged in common-law unions, could probably be attributed to the new permissiveness in the North American society. People might not approve, but they are no longer shocked at the idea of two individuals of the opposite sex living together without being legally married.
While controlling for age increased the strength of the relationship in the contingent associations for the two age categories displayed, the relationship remained fairly constant for the other two age categories.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE AND MARITAL STATUS

The church was found to be important in helping immigrants to settle more completely in the life of the country (Hooper:1965:180). Patterson (1964:305) had also stressed its importance in determining a legal marriage and stated that the West Indians in her London sample, rarely attended church. Ramcharan's study of West Indians in Canada earlier mentioned, showed the contrary. He attributes the regular church attendance of the migrants in his sample to the "Welcoming attitude" which the Canadian church leaders had and which the migrants in Patterson's study had found lacking.

The finding in this study, pertaining to church attendance, was supportive of Ramcharan's. Of a total of sixty-eight respondents (three respondents had no religious affiliation), fifty of them had regular or occasional church attendance. (See Table XVI). It was hypothesized that, the more regular the church attendance of the immigrant the more likely will he
be legally married. The data indicate regular church attenders to be 54% legally married compared to 46% common-law married. For those who were occasional church attenders, 46% were legally married compared to 54% who were common-law married and for those who never attended church, 33% legally married compared to 67% common-law married. Although there are differences between the marital statuses for the regular and occasional church attenders' categories, they are minimal, compared to the difference found in the respondents who never attended church. There was a greater tendency for these respondents to be engaged in common-law unions. We could therefore conclude that, whereas a lack of church attendance determined a common-law union, regular and occasional church attendance were not very instrumental in determining a legal marriage. The pressures applied by the church to encourage a legal marriage, as shown in Patterson's study, were not very effective in this study. With the Chi Square of 1.80515, df=2, at the 0.05 level of significance, the null hypothesis of no relation between church attendance and marital status cannot be rejected.
TABLE XVI

CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY MARITAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total % 45.6 54.4

Chi Square = 1.80515 df=2  probability =0.4055
Cramer's V = 0.16293
Contingency Coefficient = 0.16081

*Three respondents had no religious affiliation.

The variable "religion" was used as a control for the relationship between the preceding variables and there was a further strengthening of the relationship within the Roman Catholic category (See Table XVII)

These respondents formed the modal group of common-law unions in the same and had all their regular church members engaged in these unions. The N of 20 was, however, small. There was no further strengthening of the relationship for the contingent associations in the other religious categories.
### TABLE XVII

**CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY MARITAL STATUS BY RELIGION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total %</strong></td>
<td><strong>35.</strong></td>
<td><strong>65.</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 3.73626  df = 2  probability = 0.1544
Cramer's V = 0.43222
Contingency Coefficient = 0.39675

---

**ECONOMIC STATUS AND MARITAL STATUS**

Studies have shown, A. Richmond (1967), S. Ramcharan (1974) and J. Porter (1965), that migrants often experience a "status-dislocation" when they first arrive at their destination. Quite often this is one of downward mobility. Considering that most people migrate because of economic reasons, this downward mobility might result in them going through a period of delayed gratification before they are able to achieve their goals. As reported, most of the studies of the family in the West Indies, have shown the economic factor to
be of prime importance in determining a legal marriage. We have therefore hypothesized that, respondents who have experienced a positive change in their economic status will more likely be legally married.

Question eighteen and nineteen of the Interview Schedule (See Appendix A) which indicated the immigrant's financial status in the West Indies and in Canada, were combined to form a new variable called "status-difference". They were crosstabulated with marital status for the test of the hypothesis. The responses for the original questions were recoded for the new ones shown in Table XVII below. Status down 1, means a lowering of status by one category and status down 2, means a lowering of status by two categories.

All the respondents who had experienced great status-dislocation (had their statuses lowered by two categories) were engaged in common-law unions. There were no outstanding findings for the other categories. The data indicated that whether or not the respondents had experienced a change in their economic status, made little difference to their marital status. These findings could be attributed to the fact that only two respondents had experienced a positive change in their economic status. Added to this was the fact that West
Indian migration was fairly new. Most of the immigrants were in Canada for less than six years. Both S. Ramcharan (1974:267) and R. Breton (1964:82) had found that it was not until after six years or more in their new environment that migrants tended to be upwardly mobile. With a Chi Square of 3.37986, df=2, we must not reject the null hypothesis of no relationship between a change in economic status and family pattern.

**TABLE XVII**

**ECONOMIC STATUS BY MARITAL STATUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status difference</th>
<th>legally married</th>
<th>common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status down 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status down 1</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Same</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Up</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 3.37986  df = 3  probability = 0.3367
Cramer's V = 0.21462

Education is one of the most crucial means of social mobility so it was used for a control for the relationship of variables—economic status and marital status. The only outstanding finding occurred at the elementary
school level, where most of the respondents were found. (See Table XVIII). The data suggested that respondents who had experienced no lowering of their economic status were more likely to be legally married than those who had. This trend may be a continuation of attitude toward legal marriage which had its roots developed in the West Indies, where legal marriage is closely allied to economic stability. There was a slight strengthening of the relationship between economic status and marital status. The relationship, however, remained fairly constant for the other educational categories:

**TABLE XVIII**

**ECONOMIC STATUS DIFFERENCE BY MARITAL STATUS BY EDUCATION**

**ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEVEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status Difference</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status down 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status down 1</td>
<td>40.</td>
<td>60.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status same</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total %          | 45.7           | 34.3               | 100|

Chi Square = 3.259-1  df = 2  probability = 0.1960
Cramer's V = 0.330515
Contingency Coefficient = 0.29186
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY MARITAL STATUS

Henriques (1953:107) had stated that legal marriage was the norm of the upper and middle-classes and could only be found among the "better-off" members of the lower-class. We are here suggesting that these "better-off" members are upwardly mobile members who have higher occupational status. We have therefore hypothesized that the higher the occupational prestige of the migrant, the more likely will he be legally married. Table XIX indicates that there is no consistent relationship or pattern from high to low occupational status. The hypothesis was not supported, and with a Chi Square of 9.63346, df=6 at 0.05 level of significance we cannot reject the null hypothesis of no relation between occupational prestige and marital status.
### TABLE XIX

**OCCUPATION BY MARITAL STATUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prof. or Tech.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>100.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total %                  | 45.1            | 54.9               | 100|

Chi Square = 9.63346     df = 6   probability = 0.1410

Cramer's $\hat{V} = 0.36835$

Contingency Coefficient = 0.34565

The variable "education" was used as a control for the relationship between the preceding variables. The relationship was not strengthened significantly, but among the higher educated people in the sample (See Table XX), the data tend to conform to our hypothesis that as one moves down the occupational scale, a larger proportion will be engaged in common-law unions. The N of 14, is however, quite small.
TABLE XX

OCCUPATION BY MARITAL STATUS BY EDUCATION

SECONDARY SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prof. or Tech.</td>
<td>100.</td>
<td>0.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>20.</td>
<td>80.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total &amp;</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 2.34889  df = 2  probability = 0.3090
Cramer's V' = 0.40961
Contingency Coefficient = 0.37904

CHILDREN IN CANADA BY MARITAL STATUS

W. L. Warner (1952:126) claims that the assimilation forces exerted by the host society on the migrant group are exerted primarily upon the child. He further implies that the child, rather than the parents, becomes the transmitting agent of social change. Patterson (1964:305) supports this, and adds that some children might compare themselves to their peers and thus exert pressure on their parents to conform to local patterns. Ramcharan (1974:145) had also stated that one of the major factors influencing West Indian migration to Canada was the perception of better
educational opportunities for their children. Given this information, it was therefore hypothesized that the migrants with children in Canada, will more likely be legally married.

Table XXI indicates that the respondents who had no children in Canada, were 29% legally married compared to 71% common-law married. The respondents who had children in Canada were 53% legally married compared to 47% common-law married.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no children</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square - 2.79715  df = 1  probability = 0.0944

Contingency Coefficient = 0.2267

There is trend for the data to be supportive of the hypothesis, however, with a Chi Square of 2.79715, df =2, it is not significant at the 0.05 level and the null hypothesis of no relation between children in Canada and marital status cannot be rejected.
Occupation was used as a control for the relationship between children in Canada and marital status (See Table XXII). The data tend to support the hypothesis in the service occupational category, and the strength of the relationship is greater than in the original relationship. However, the relationship remained fairly constant for the other occupational categories.

**TABLE XXII**

**CHILDREN IN CANADA BY MARITAL STATUS BY OCCUPATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children in Canada</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no children</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 2.82125  df=1  probability = 0.0930
Contingency Coefficient = 0.35600

**RACIAL FRIENDSHIP BY MARITAL STATUS**

Eisenstadt's study, earlier mentioned, suggested that "socialization" implied "desocialization" and in the case of the migrant, assimilation into a new culture meant his relinquishing some aspects of his old one. Richardson (1957:597) saw the frequency of social
participation between the migrant and host to be a positive sign of assimilation. Allen (1971:113) reports that such frequency of social participation might result in friendship and intermarriage. Given this information, we have hypothesized that the migrant who has mostly Canadian friends, will more likely be legally married. As the data indicate (See Table XXIII) the majority of the respondents had mainly West Indian friends.

**TABLE XXIII**

**RACIAL FRIENDSHIP PATTERN BY MARITAL STATUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial friendship pattern</th>
<th>legally married</th>
<th>common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainly West Indians</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly Canadians</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different groups</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.53484 \( df = 2 \) probability = 0.7654

Cramer's V = 0.08679

Contingency Coefficient = 0.08647

In an N of seventy-one respondents, fifty-six claimed they had mainly West Indian friends, while only two had mainly Canadian friends. Thirteen respondents had friends from different racial groups. Due to the fact
that so few of the respondents had Canadian friends, this hypothesis was not supported. With a Chi Square of 0.53484 at $p=0.05$, we cannot reject the null hypothesis of no relationship between racial friendship pattern and marital status.

This finding may be attributed to two factors. The first is that lower-class people tend to have closer ethnic networks, while people of the upper-classes tend to be more integrated. The second factor, which we must not overlook is the racial one, which might have come into play. Racial conflicts although not critical, do exist and might have prevented migrants from establishing closer relationships with other racial groups.

**KINSHIP AND ETHNIC NETWORKS BY MARITAL STATUS**

Earlier studies have shown a tendency for "clustering" among West Indian migrant groups (R. Davidson:1966:110) and (S. Patterson:1964:347). It was also found that this "clustering" retarded the process of integration because migrants would often settle with their friends or relatives, rather than live by themselves in other areas. Kinship was therefore seen as an important factor in influencing migration. This was supported by our study because forty-eight per cent of our sample claimed they migrated to join friends and relatives. We
are therefore suggesting that the migrant who has a closer ethnic and kinship network will more likely to be legally married. A migrant with a "close-network" was defined as one with friends and relatives living in his neighbourhood.

The findings (See Table XXIV) indicate that the hypothesis was not supported. There were too few migrants who had no friends or relatives in the area. With a Chi Square of 0.81632 at p=0.05, the null hypothesis of no relationship between close-knit networks and marital status cannot be rejected.

**TABLE XXIV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friends or relatives in area</th>
<th>legally married</th>
<th>common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No friends</td>
<td>0.</td>
<td>100.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 1.81632, df=1, probability = 0.1778
Contingency Coefficient = 0.21610

Due to the discrepancy in our findings, it was decided to use the variable "frequency of visitation" as an
independent variable to retest the hypothesis (See Table XXV). The data indicate that respondents who had regular visits with their friends and relatives were more likely to be engaged in non-legal unions; there were 39% legal unions compared to 61% common-law unions. The respondents who visited sometimes, were 59% legally married compared to 40% common-law married, and the respondents who had rare visits were 42% legally married, compared to 58% common-law married. Whereas frequency of visitation seem to have influenced a common-law marriage, rare visitation did not influence a legal marriage; rather, there was a tendency for people who had rare visits to be common-law married. It was therefore shown that although the migrant tended to be more common-law married when his network was close (frequent visits), he was almost as likely to be common-law married, when his network was loose (rare visits). This finding suggests that there must be some other factor which might be influencing a legal marriage here, perhaps an economic one.
TABLE XXV

FREQUENCY OF VISITATION BY MARITAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 2.41549  df = 2  Probability= 0.2989
Cramer's V = 0.18987
Contingency Coefficient = 0.18654

With a Chi Square of 2.41549, df=2 at the 0.05 level, the null hypothesis of no relationship between frequency of visitation and marital status cannot be rejected.

PREVIOUS MIGRATION BY MARITAL STATUS

It is expected that migrants who have previously migrated to Western countries other than Canada, would more likely be legally married. The explanation was that there would be similar variables in these other places which would have already been at work in influencing and changing patterns of family organization.
within the migrant group.

The hypothesis was not supported, due to the fact that most of the respondents migrated directly from the West Indies (See Table XXVI), forty-eight out of an N of seventy-one. There was also no outstanding differences in marital status for the respondents who migrated from other western countries. With a Chi Square of 1.46001, df=2 and p=0.05 we cannot reject the null hypothesis of no relationship between place of emigration and marital status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Emigration</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The W.I.</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The U.K.</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The U.S.</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 1.46001    df = 3    Probability = 0.6915
Cramer's V = 0.14340
Contingency Coefficient = 0.4195
INTENTION TO RETURN HOME PERMANENTLY BY MARITAL STATUS

The extent to which migrant groups are integrated in a new environment is highly dependent on whether they intend to make the host country their permanent place of residence. In a study of working-class Greeks in Toronto, quoted earlier, Nagata had found that integration of some respondents was retarded because they viewed their stay as a temporary one and were only interested in satisfying certain goals (economic in particular) and returning home. It was therefore hypothesized that the migrants who intend to make Canada their permanent place of residence, might conform to the local norms and be legally married. The data (See Table XXVII) is supportive of the hypothesis. The respondents who were definitely returning home were 45% legally married compared to 55% common-law married. The modal group of respondents was unsure of their return and these were 27% legally married compared to 73% common-law married. The respondents who claimed they would never return home permanently were 75% legally married compared to 25% common-law married. The Chi Square of 11.302094 df=2 was highly significant at the 0.05 level and the null hypothesis of no relationship between intention to return home and marital status must be rejected.
TABLE XXVII

INTENTION TO RETURN HOME PERMANENTLY BY MARITAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intention to return</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely</td>
<td>45.</td>
<td>55.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibly</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>75.</td>
<td>25.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 11.30209  df = 2  probability = 0.0035
Cramer's V = 0.40182
Contingency Coefficient = 0.37295

The variable "reason for migration" was used as a control for the relationship between the variables-marital status and intention to return home. The respondents who gave an economic reason (See Table XXVIII) formed the modal category and also displayed the greatest difference in percentage between the two marital categories. Although the relationship was not further strengthened, there was still a trend for the data to be supportive of the hypothesis.
TABLE XXVIII
INTENTION TO RETURN BY MARITAL STATUS BY REASON FOR MIGRATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intention to return</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>Common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibly</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 4.96518 df=2 probability = 0.0835
Cramer's V = 0.38789
Contingency Coefficient = 0.36164

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES BY MARITAL STATUS

R. Breton (1964:77) showed that the degree of institutional completeness was of prime importance in determining the social integration of immigrants and that ethnic communities which lacked formal organizations were more integrated in the host society than those which had organizations. S. Ramcharan (1974:185) in his study of West Indian immigrants, had found that culturally, they had a tendency to be institutionally complete. They had transposed West Indian cultural
organizations and had blended them into that of the host country's.

We have hypothesized that the migrant who participates mostly in his own ethnic activities, will less likely be legally married. An analysis of the data (See Table XXIX) shows that the people who participated in mainly West Indian activities were 25% legally married compared to 75% common-law married. Those who participated in mainly Canadian activities were 44% legally married compared to 56% common-law married. The respondents who participated in both types of activities, were 55% legally married compared with 45% common-law married. Although the majority of the respondents participated in both types of activities, there was a greater tendency for respondents who participated in their cultural activities to be common-law married. The data is therefore in support of the hypothesis. The Chi Square of 4.84906, df=2 is not significant at the 0.05 level and the null hypothesis of no relationship between participation in cultural activities and marital status cannot be rejected.
TABLE XXIX
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES BY MARITAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural activities</th>
<th>Legally married</th>
<th>common-law married</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainly W.I.</td>
<td>25.</td>
<td>75.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly Canadian</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both types</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 4.84906 df= 2 probability = 0.0885
Cramer's V = 0.26134
Contingency Coefficient = 0.25284

The findings are in support of both Ramcharan's and Breton's studies and may be attributed to the presence of the Canadian multi-culturalistic society, where each migrant group is encouraged to maintain its own ethnic identity, instead of being penalized for doing so, as is the result in some other countries.

In summary, we can say, although all but two of our findings were not significant at the 0.05 level which we had arbitrarily set, they were often in support of the hypotheses that were postulated and were not dissimilar to most studies done in the areas examined. The general implications and improvements of this study, will be discussed in the final chapter.
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CONCLUSION:

The main object of this study was to analyse the family pattern in a group of lower-class West Indians in the Toronto area, to see whether certain variables within their new environment, for instance, length of residence in Canada or a change in economic status, would influence their marital status. Within the scope of the study and the limitations of the method of analysis, the results afford certain conclusions.

On the whole, it was shown that a longer length of residence was supportive of a legal marriage, and that the respondents, regardless of their length of residence, were more likely to be legally married when they were older, and engaged in common-law unions when they were younger.

Regular church attendance was not found to be effective in determining a legal marriage, and respondents of the Roman Catholic faith showed a greater tendency to be engaged in common-law unions. The latter finding was surprising, since West Indians belonging to the Roman Catholic Faith are usually in a higher socio-economic category, (Patterson:1964:349) and would be more likely to be legally married.
The economic factor, so often stressed as being of prime importance in determining a legal marriage among the lower-class West Indians, was found to be of little significance. Respondents in low as well as high occupations were engaged in common-law unions. This is contrary to our original hypothesis, that high occupational status would be supportive of a legal marriage. These findings raise certain questions, for instance, why was there such inconsistency in marital status among the respondents at the higher occupational level? We can only speculate that the "better-off" members of the lower-class West Indians are changing their attitudes towards a legal marriage. Possibly, there are certain factors in Toronto or the Canadian society in general, which might have influenced our findings. For instance, the trend in Canada towards legal marriage might be changing, and upwardly-mobile people might be more in approval of common-law unions.

Because few respondents migrated from places other than the West Indies, we were unable to analyse the effects the previous migration might have had in determining their marital status. There was a strong relationship between the respondents who intended to return home permanently and their marital status. Those who had plans of residing in Canada were more inclined to be
legally married, while the opposite was true of those who were definitely planning on returning to their birthplace.

There was a tendency for respondents who had children residing with them in Canada to be legally married. Because so few respondents had mainly Canadian friends, we were unable to analyse the effects close association with the hosts may have had in determining the marital status. We, however, decided to examine the ethnic and friendship networks of the respondents to see whether those who had close-knit networks were more likely to be common-law married. Our finding showed a loose or close-knit network made very little difference to the marital status.

Finally, it was shown that migrants who, culturally, were more institutionally complete, were more likely to be engaged in common-law unions. Their close-knit networks and lower-class background were contributing factors to the maintenance of the common-law status.

Due to the size of our sample, we cannot extrapolate, nor can we suggest that our findings will be typical of every ethnic group, but we believe that they will be useful to the Canadian society, in general, to provide a better insight into the problems of Race
Relations and Integration. Further studies of West Indian immigrants in Canada, on a wider scale, could be carried out in the future to see what difference may occur in the family pattern, depending on the specific area in which they live. For instance, most migrants on first arriving in their own environment, follow a similar pattern. They congregate usually in small urban areas, where employment is available or where their friends and relatives reside. However, when they are economically more secure or more integrated into their new environment, they will usually move away to areas where they might be in the minority. The social relationship between migrant and host might therefore become less minimal.

Finally, a replicative study could be carried out in another five years or more, to see what effects longer length or residence might have had on the immigrants' family pattern. As earlier noted, West Indian migration to Canada is fairly new, and more than half of our sample have been in Canada for less than five years, a period not long enough to experience any major transformation in their life-style. Added to this is the fact that most new migrants are still oriented towards their home and former life-style,
and are more pre-occupied with their dreams of
improving their economic situation and returning
home, rather than with conforming to the local
norms.
APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Can you tell me in which West Indian island you were born?
   Jamaica  1
   Guyana   2
   Trinidad 3
   Barbados 4
   Antigua  5
   St. Kitts 6
   St. Vincent 7
   Dominica 8
   Other (Please specify) 9

2. Did you come to Canada from?
   The West Indies (name island) 1
   The United Kingdom 2
   The United States 3
   Other 4

3. How long have you been in Canada?
   Under one year 1
   One to three years 2
   Four to five years 3
   Six years and over 4
4. Can you tell me what was your main reason for migrating to Canada?

5. To what religious group do you belong?
   - Anglican 1
   - Catholic 2
   - Methodist 3
   - Baptist 4
   - Seventh Day Adventist 5
   - Presbyterian 6
   - United Church 7
   - Other (please specify) 8

6. Can you tell me how often you attend church in your neighbourhood?
   - Regularly 1
   - Occasionally 2
   - Never 3

7. How many members of your congregation are West Indians?
   - Most of the congregation 1
   - Fifty-fifty split 2
   - Few of the congregation 3
   - Other 4
8. What is your occupation?
   (Probe for type of company if necessary)

9. Would you tell me the highest grade of school you completed?
   Primary school
   Elementary School
   Secondary school
   Trade School
   Other (Please specify)

10. In which area of the city do you live?
    Bathurst-Bloor
    Pape-Broadview
    Dundas-Queen
    Dufferin-Bloor
    Vaughan-St. Clair
    Dufferin-Eglinton
    Scarborough
    Other

11. In your area, are there?
    Mostly West Indians
    Fifty-fifty split
    Mostly whites
12. Are there any coloured in your area?
   Yes 1
   No 2

13. Do you live in?
   An apartment 1
   A rooming house 2
   Your own house 3
   A rented house 4
   Other 5

14. Do you live with friends or relatives?
   Friends 1
   Relatives 2
   Other 3

15. Do you have any friends or relatives living in this area?
   Yes 1
   No 2

15a. If yes, how often do you visit them?
    Regularly 1
    Sometimes 2
    Rarely 3
    Not at all 4
16. Think of all the people you know well. On the whole, would you say that most of them are living in this neighbourhood?
   Yes 1
   No 2

17. Are your close friends?
   Mainly West Indians 1
   Mainly Canadians 2
   A mixture of different ethnic groups 3

18. In your neighbourhood, is your financial position?
   Higher than average 1
   Average 2
   Lower than Average 3

19. Would you say that your financial position in your neighbourhood in the West Indies was?
   Higher than average 1
   Average 2
   Lower than average 3

20. If you had to make a choice, what social group would you say you belong to in Canada?
   Upper-class 1
   Middle-class 2
   Lower-class 3
   Other (please specify) 4
21. Using this card, can you give me your total yearly family earnings?

- Under $2,999 1
- $3,000-3,999 2
- $4,000-4,999 3
- $5,000-5,999 4
- $6,000-6,999 5
- $7,000-7,999 6
- $8,000-8,999 7
- $9,000-9,999 8
- $10,000 and over 9

MARITAL STATUS

22. Are you?

a) Single 1
b) Married (Legally) 2
c) Married (common-law) 3
d) engaged 4
e) divorced 5
f) widowed 6
g) separated 7
h) other 8
a) If single,
   I) Do you plan to be legally married
      yes
      no
   IA) If yes, why?
   IB) If no, why not?

II) Have you ever been a member of a common-law union?
       yes
       no
    IIA) If yes, why did the relationship break up?

b) If married (legally)
   i) Did you get married
      In the West Indies
      In Canada
      Other
   ii) Were you involved in a common-law relationship
       at any time?
       yes
       no
iia) If yes, where?
   In the West Indies 1
   In Canada 2
   Other 3

c) If living a common-law marriage,
i) Were you living a common-law marriage in the West Indies?
   yes 1
   no 2

ii) Do you intend to get legally married?
   yes 1
   no 2

iii) If yes, why?

iv) If no, why not?

d) If engaged,
i) Were you engaged
   In the West Indies 1
   In Canada 2
   Other 3
ii) Were you ever a member of a common-law marriage?
   yes 1
   no 2

iii) If yes, where?
    The West Indies 1
    Canada 2
    Other 3

e) If divorced,
i) Were you divorced in?
    The West Indies 1
    Canada 2
    Other 3

ii) Do you plan to remarry?
   yes 1
   no 2

III) Were you ever a member of a common-law relationship?
   yes 1
   no 2

IV) Are you involved in one now?
   yes 1
   no 2
f)  If widowed,
i)  Do you plan to remarry?
   yes  1
   no   2

ii) Were you ever a member of a common-law union?
    yes  1
    no   2

iii) Are you involved in one now?
     yes  1
     no   2

g)  If separated,
i)  Were you legally married?
   yes  1
   no   2

ii) Were you ever a member of a common-law union?
    yes  1
    no   2

iiia) If yes, where?
     The West Indies  1
     Canada         2
     Other          3
23) Could you tell me to what clubs or organizations you belong?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organization</th>
<th>Do you attend meetings</th>
<th>Are most members W. Indians?</th>
<th>Do you hold office?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes  no</td>
<td>yes  no</td>
<td>yes  no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.------------------</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.------------------</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.------------------</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.------------------</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.------------------</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.------------------</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. Do you take part in any West Indian cultural festivities in Canada?

yes 1
no 2
25) Where do you foodshop most often?
   
   In supermarkets  1
   Local stores  2
   W.I. Food shops  3
   Other  4

26) Do you read any newspapers or magazines published by West Indians in Toronto? (e.g. Spear, Contrast)

   Regularly  1
   Occasionally  2
   Never  3

27) Do you read any newspapers published in the West Indies and available in Toronto? (e.g. The Daily Gleaner, The Trinidad Guardian)

   Regularly  1
   Occasionally  2
   Never  3

28) Concerning cultural activities, do you think West Indians should?

   Participate mostly in their own activities  1
   Participate mostly in Canadian activities  2
   Partly in both types of activities  3
   Other  4
29) Are you employed at present?
   yes  1
   no  2

   If yes, ask questions 30 and 31

30) What is the proportion of West Indians employed at the place you work?
   Mostly West Indians  1
   Fifty-fifty split  2
   Mostly whites and others  3

31) On your break, do you spend most of your time with
   West Indian fellow workers  1
   White fellow workers  2
   Other coloured workers  3
   A mixture of all three  4
   Alone  5
   Other  6

32) Do you have any children?
   none  0
   1  1
   2  2
   3  3
   4  4
   5  5
   6 or more  6
If respondent has children, ask questions 33 to 36.

33) How many children are with you in Canada?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34) Do any of the children attend the following schools in Canada?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic High</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35) In school, are your children's friends?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Friends</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainly Canadians</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly W. Indians</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mixture of both</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
36) Do you belong to the Home and School Association?
   yes  1
   no   2

36a) If yes, how often do you attend meetings?
   Regularly  1
   Sometimes  2
   Rarely    3
   Not at all 4

37) Since you first came to Canada, have you paid any visits to your home country?
   Yes   1
   No    2

38) Would you return to the West Indies permanently, if given the opportunity?
   Definitely  1
   Possibly   2
   Never     3

39) Could you please tell me to which age category you belong? (Show card with age categories.)

40) Race ---------------------
    (Respondent's race by observation)
41) Sex
   Male  1
   Female  2
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