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POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS: A CASE STUDY OF WEST INDIANS IN VANCOUVER

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**POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE ASSIMILATION
OF IMMIGRANTS: A CASE STUDY OF
WEST INDIANS IN VANCOUVER^a**

BY

J. EDWARD GREENE

In this shrunken and interdependent world social movements of all kinds assume a progressively universal character and recruit their adversaries among peoples, near and far, irrespective of national boundaries. Virtually every minority group in the world has its representatives among the population of Canada.¹ However, the minority group on which this study focuses is the West Indian immigrant in Vancouver.²

Although no specific statistics of West Indians in Vancouver are available, Table 1 provides us with figures of West Indian immigrants to Canada between 1954 and 1969. Until 1962 the "entrance status" of

TABLE 1. IMMIGRATION TO CANADA DIRECT FROM THE WEST INDIES

Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total
1954	849	1959	1196	1964	2199
1955	793	1960	1168	1965	3655
1956	1058	1961	1126	1966	4359
1967	1162	1962	1480	1967	9354
1958	1192	1963	2227	1968	8356
				1969 (to June)	6117

Source: Quarterly Immigration Bulletin, Ottawa, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1946-1969.

^aThe data for this paper were collected and analysed during the academic year 1967-68. The paper is presented here in a revised version. The author is grateful for the criticisms received from Professor Ole Holsti (University of British Columbia) and for the assistance of Mr. K.A. Cazabon in analysing the data but is solely responsible for all the short-comings of this paper.

¹For an illustration of this see *Census of Canada, 1961*, Vol. 1, 2-5, and Harold Potter, "The Ethnic Structure of the Canadian Community", *Information and Comment*, (Canadian Jewish Congress), IX (June) 1956.

²"West Indian immigrant" here refers to natives of the Commonwealth Caribbean i.e., the English-speaking islands of the Caribbean including Guyana.

West Indian immigrants to Canada was assumed to be that of *less preferred* ethnic groups.³ This situation led two West Indian scholars to comment:

Canada the one Dominion in the Western Hemisphere has for a long time had strong trade links with (the West Indies). The possibility of (West Indians) emigrating to Canada, has been put forward on several occasions; and indeed many would eagerly emigrate to that country if the opportunity presented itself. But prevailing restrictions entirely rule out any large scale movement in this direction. The only emigration of working-class persons to Canada witnessed recently is a token movement of domestic workers, which proceeds under strict control measures.⁴

Entrance status under the 1962 Immigration Act implied lower level occupation roles, and as Porter puts it: "subjection to the process of assimilation laid down and judged by the dominant group in the Canadian society i. e. the English speaking Canadian".⁵

According to Eisenstadt, the process of immigration is a process of physical transition from one society to another: "Through it the immigrant is taken out of a more or less stable social system and transplanted

³See the discussion in David G. Corbett, *Canada's Immigration Policy*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957. Until 1962 there were still the "preferred" and "not-preferred" sources of immigration built into the Canadian Immigration policy. West Indian immigration to Canada was minimal to this time and was justified by the Canadian authorities on the grounds of the relative merits of assimilability by different cultural groups. As Corbett (p. 16) points out, Canadian immigration policy was supported by groundless assertions such as *the importance of climate*. However, in 1962 Canadian immigration policy was changed to permit the skill that Canada needed. But this skill category only nominally eliminated the racial bias in Canadian immigration policy. According to Kari Levitt and Alister McIntyre, *Canadian-West Indies Economic Relations*, Montreal: McGill University, Centre for Developing Areas, 1967, p. 82, "The skill criterion has served to provide Canadian officials with a rationale for largely ignoring the real immigration problems and issues when considering assistance and aid". Again in 1967 a revision of the 1962 Act provided for entry of immigrants under a "points system" whereby many categories of semi-skilled workers, young people with a high school education but no working experience could also qualify for entry into Canada. For details see, *Canada: The Immigration Act and Regulations, 1967*, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, Queens Printers, 1967.

⁴G.W. Roberts and D.O. Mills, "Study of External Migration Affecting Jamaica 1953-55", *Social & Economic Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Supplement (June, 1958), p. 10.

⁵John Porter, *Vertical Mosaic*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 61-64. Porter also discusses the reciprocal relationship between ethnicity and social class, a thesis not developed in this paper. See also S. Woodworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* Toronto: (Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), p. 61 for a mixture of racial ideas and compassion for immigrants streaming into Canada in the early twentieth century.

into another".⁶ To the extent that Eisenstadt's observation is correct, we can expect to find a more or less symbiotic relationship between the West Indian minority and the dominant group in Vancouver. Hence in the words of Louis Wirth:

What matters, then, about minorities is not merely their objective position but the corresponding patterns of behaviour they develop and the pictures they carry around in their heads of themselves and others. While minorities more often than not stand in a relationship of conflict with the dominant group, it is their non-participation in the life of the larger society or of certain aspects thereof that more particularly marks them as a minority people and perpetuates their status as such.

Therefore, there is a certain theory which emerges. It states that apart from or as a result of predispositions and/or prejudices which the dominant population or a part thereof may display, overtly or otherwise, toward a minority group, it is the *perception* of individuals within that minority of their roles in the host community which to a large extent influences their social and political behaviour.

THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF THE RESEARCH

The general problem with which this study is concerned is to investigate whether or not there are significant differences in the manner whereby different ethnic groups perceive themselves assimilated⁸ into the dominant Canadian society. The study is also concerned with analysing

⁶S.N. Eisenstadt. "The Process of Absorption of New Immigrants", *Human Relations*, V (1952), p. 224.

⁷Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups" in *Bobbs-Merrill Reprints series in the Social Sciences*, No. 318, p. 350.

⁸For the purposes of analytic precision we hereby distinguish *assimilation* from *acculturation*. Erick Rosenthal, "Acculturation without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois", in H. Lasswell, *Life in Society*, p. 276, sees acculturation as the acquisition "of knowledge, skill, behaviour patterns, language and the like in a degree presumably comparable to that of persons who have learnt that culture from birth". While acculturation, like socialization, is always partial, in that no one takes part fully in a culture, assimilation according to Rosenthal "should be reserved for a process in which the person (or group) develops a set of sentiments, social relationships, loyalties and particularly a feeling of identification with the society involved". A more elaborate distinction between these two concepts is provided by A.L. Kroeber and Talcott Parsons, "The Concept of Culture and of Social System", *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (1958), pp. 582-83, Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1951; also Michael Parenti, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification", *APSR*, LXI (1967), pp. 718-20.

the relationship, if any, between the immigrants' perception of assimilation on the one hand, and their modes of participation⁹ in the host community and support¹⁰ for its political regime on the other.

For the purposes of this study West Indians have been classified according to their professed ethnic origin, and this in fact reflects a somewhat kaleidoscopic stratification of the West Indian minority based on colour.¹¹

On the basis of these considerations, the following hypotheses were evolved which were then tested in an intensive study of a relatively small West Indian population in Vancouver.

First: the greater the *ethnic similarity* between the immigrant and the dominant group in the host population, the greater his *perception of assimilation*.

Second: An immigrant's age, the length of residence in Canada, immigration status¹² and motive¹³ for going to Canada are closely related to his perception of assimilation and his participation in the socio-political activities of the host community.

⁹No attempt is here made to distinguish political from non-political behaviour. Hence a respondent's membership in a church group, a Parent-Teachers Association or a political party, and his financial contribution to political, charitable or professional groups in Vancouver will equally be classified as participation (in the social system). What is important to the study is the degree to which the respondents participate, whether to a great extent very little or not at all.

¹⁰David Easton, *Systems Analysis of Political Life*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965, Chp. 10, illustrates support as the means whereby a person or a group orients itself favourably towards the political community, its regimes and its authorities. Such support might take the form of overt actions like voting at elections, or it might take the form of covert support i.e. supportive attitudes or sentiments for the regime. While Easton makes the distinction between the three objects of support – the political community, the political authorities and the political regime – in this analysis we shall use the three concepts interchangeably.

¹¹Race and colour are crucial variables in the study of socio-psychological behaviour of West Indians. The term *Phenotypical colour or behavioural colour* has been used by one analyst to describe the relationship between colour and social stratification in the English speaking Caribbean: see M.G. Smith, *The Plural Society in the West Indies*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 82–90; Lloyd Braithwaite, "Stratification in Trinidad", *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 2 (1953).

¹²Status here refers to immigration status – Canadian citizen, landed immigrant or student.

¹³To elicit an immigrant's motive for going to Canada the question was asked:

Why did you originally come to Canada?

- (1) To work
- (2) To study
- (3) On holiday
- (4) Other

Third: the more *informed* the immigrant is about civic matters concerning the host society, the greater the tendency for him to participate in the socio-political activities of the host community.

Fourth: the greater his perception of *assimilation*, the greater is the immigrant's *support* for the political regime of the host society.

Fifth: the greater the immigrant's *support* for the political regime of the host society, the less his support for the political regime in his home country.

In order to test our hypotheses, a 55 per cent random sample was drawn up of West Indians *known* to live in the Greater Vancouver area. Of 410 mailed questionnaires, 110 (27 per cent) were returned of which 86 (22 per cent) were valid.¹⁴

However, in analysing the data so as to describe the relationship between the variables in our hypotheses, the data is presented principally in ordinal scales. In most instances statistical tests for significance have been used and in such cases have been set at the .05 level.

Generally, the known West Indian population of our sample has been separated into five groups, White, Chinese, mixed, East Indian and Negro. However, we found that such a division was not necessarily appropriate in every instance, particularly with respect to analysing the influence on assimilation and participation of the immigrant's age, his status in Canada and his motive for emigrating to Canada.

Therefore in asking questions - "to what extent is assimilation a function of ethnicity?" - "does perception of assimilation influence support for the political system of the host society?" - our hypotheses are part of a central theory of human behaviour and social organization of minority or ethnic groups. But since no theory of ethnic politics or political assimilation has as yet found general acceptance, we have made a tentative choice as reflected in the hypotheses we propose to test.

This study is therefore for the most part exploratory. It is to be the first in a proposed series of comparative studies of West Indian immigrants in Canada. Consequently our present study will be regarded as a pilot project for the design and development of the ultimate project, its methodology, research instruments, forms of analysis and its format.

¹⁴The list of names from which the random sample was drawn was compiled in conjunction with the following organizations in the Vancouver area: Cosmos Club, A Canadian-West Indian association; the Caribbean Students Association, University of British Columbia; the Caribbean Natives; "the Moonlighters", a West Indian Steel Band; International House, University of British Columbia. In this respect Miss Hales Jones was also of invaluable service in providing additional names not included by the above organizations. It follows therefore that this was not an authentic list of West Indians in Vancouver as subsequent events were to prove. Several names which came up on our random sample and to whom questionnaires were sent turned out to be non-West Indians. Additionally, our relatively low return of valid questionnaires (22 per cent) might have been due to the large proportion returned to us designated "return to sender, address unknown".

Ethnicity as a Function of Assimilation

Hypothesis 1. The greater the ethnic similarity between the immigrant and the dominant group in the host population, the greater his perception of assimilation.

Null

Hypothesis: Ethnicity is not significantly related to assimilation.

In response to the question "of what ethnic origin do you consider yourself?", 30 of the 86 respondents (35 per cent) considered themselves Negro; 18 (21 per cent) were East Indians; 24 (28 per cent) were mixed; 10 (11 per cent) were Chinese; and 4 (5 per cent) white. We ranked these ethnic classifications from 1 to 5 respectively, white getting a rank of 5 because we considered white West Indians as having the greatest ethnic similarity with the dominant group in the host society. Chinese and mixed got similarity ranks of 4 and 3 respectively on the grounds that these two types of West Indians are to a lesser extent outside the dominant ethnic distribution of the host community than are East Indians and Negroes, who were ranked 2 and 1 respectively.

To assess degrees of assimilation among the various ethnics, we asked our respondents several questions, including *implicit* questions about their perceptions of prejudice towards themselves by the dominant group, their feelings or lack of feelings of community with the dominant group, their inter relations and associations with individuals and groups within Canadian society.¹⁵ A subject's score for this variable is the sum of the item scores for the questions which make up the variable. Hence the total (raw) score for this dimension can range from 8 to 24.

TABLE 2. ASSIMILATION SCORES FOR FIVE GROUPS
OF WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN VANCOUVER

Ethnic Group	Ranking	No. in each Ethnic Group	Mean Rank
1. Negro	470	30	15.66
2. East Indian	328	18	18.55
3. Mixed	404	24	16.75
4. Chinese	438	10	34.8
5. White	72	4	18.00
<i>df</i> = 4 <i>H</i> = 1.26	TOTAL	86	

¹⁵The questions making up this Index of assimilation included items intent on assessing the immigrant's feeling of antipathy or cordiality on the part of the Canadian public, government officials, and police. We also wanted to know whether or not the immigrant empathized with the Canadian society.

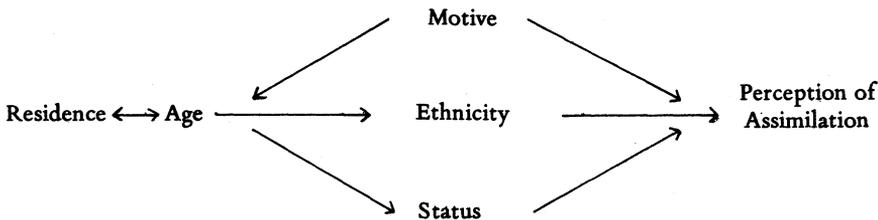
Using the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks we arrive at the final ranks indicated in Table 2.¹⁶

Reference to the Table of Critical Values of Chi-Square (hereafter referred to as Table C) gives the probability associated with the occurrence under the null hypothesis of a value of $H = 1.26$, $df = 4$ is greater than our previously set level of significance $P = .05$. Hence our decision is to accept the null hypothesis that ethnicity within the West Indian minority group of our sample does not significantly influence perception of assimilation into the host society. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the "mean rank" of East Indian West Indians (18.55) and Chinese West Indians (34.8) shows a higher tendency for assimilation than in the case of Negro West Indians (15.66), the mixed West Indians (16.75) and the white West Indians (18.00). One possible explanation for this relatively higher assimilative tendency of the East Indian and Chinese ethnics is the large Oriental population which make up the Vancouver community. Vancouver, because of its geographical location on the West Coast of the American Continent, has had long established links with Asia.

However, while accepting the null hypothesis of no relationship between ethnicity and assimilation, we postulate further that the relationship between ethnicity and assimilation is not a bilateral one but is complicated by the presence of many intermediaries. In other words, perception of assimilation is a function of contingency factors or intervening variables.

Figure 1 helps to explain our conceptualization of the effects of intervening variables on *Hypothesis I*.

FIGURE 1. CONNECTIONS BETWEEN CONTINGENCY FACTORS AND PERCEPTION OF ASSIMILATION



¹⁶In computing the rank and final correlation for these variables, our analysis might have been enhanced, had we used weighting procedures to correct for sample bias. Our decision not to weight, however, seemed justified by the tentative sample frame we used.

We are therefore postulating

Hypothesis 2. That an immigrant's age, his motive for going to Canada and his immigration status together with or apart from his ethnicity greatly influence his perception of assimilation.

TABLE 3. AGE AND IMMIGRATION STATUS

Age	Immigration Status ^a				(N)
	Canadian Citizen	Landed Immigrant	Student Visa	Total	
Under 30	—	33.3 (8)	66.6(16)	100	24
31-40	—	82 (38)	18 (8)	100	46
Over 40	75(12)	25 (4)	—	100	16

$X^2 = 12.53 \quad df=4 \quad P > .05$

^aThe data are presented (in this and the tables following) in percentages. The bracketed figures denote the actual number for each category.

In interpreting these data, we should be aware that the categories (residence, age, motive and status) are not mutually exclusive of each other. As shown in Table 3, of the West Indian immigrants in our sample whose ages are given as under 30, 66 per cent are students (only two of the respondents, both students, are under 21). At the same time, 82 per cent of the *landed immigrants* are between 31 and 40 and came primarily to seek employment. Additionally, while 75 per cent of the respondents 40 years and over had acquired Canadian citizenship, no respondent under 31 had done so.

TABLE 4. IMMIGRANT STATUS AND ASSIMILATION

Status	Assimilation			Total	(N)
	High	Moderate	Low		
Canadian citizen	75(9)	25 (3)	—	100	12
Landed immigrant	18(9)	58(29)	24(12)	100	50
Student	—	25 (6)	75(18)	100	24

$X^2 = 16.97 \quad df = 4 \quad P > .01$

At the same time Table 4 shows a highly significant relationship between immigrant status in Canada and perception of assimilation. Of the 24 immigrants on "student visas", none revealed a high level of

assimilation, 25 per cent felt moderately assimilated, and 75 per cent felt slightly or not assimilated in the host society. Of the 50 "landed immigrants", 12 per cent were highly assimilated and 62 per cent felt moderately assimilated. In the light of these trends, it is interesting to note that 75 per cent of those who had acquired Canadian Citizenship perceived themselves as integrated in the Canadian society.

TABLE 5. MOTIVE FOR MIGRATING TO CANADA AND ASSIMILATION

Motive	Assimilation				Total	(N)
	High	Moderate	Low			
To work	55.5 ⁽¹⁰⁾	33.3 (6)	12.2 (2)		100	18
To study	12 (6)	48 (24)	40 (20)		100	50
Holiday/other	12.2 (2)	44.4 (8)	44.4 (8)		100	18
	$X^2 = 11.29$	$df = 4$	$P > .05$			

Table 5 also reflects a highly significant relationship between the immigrant's motive for going to Canada and his perception of assimilation. Hence those whose motive for going to Canada was primarily "to work" manifested a high propensity for assimilation, while those who went for the purpose of "studying" or "on holiday" displayed a moderate level of assimilation. For example, 75 per cent of the immigrants who went to Canada "to work" perceived themselves to be highly assimilated, while 12 per cent felt little assimilation. On the other hand, only 12 per cent of those who went originally to study and 12 per cent of the "holidayers" felt highly assimilated.

Yet a third intervening variable is analysed in Table 6. Here we hypothesize that the older the immigrant the greater his propensity for assimilation.¹⁷ In fact, the hypothesis is substantiated by the data which shows that while no immigrant under 30 manifests a high level of assimilation, 12.5 per cent of the immigrants 31-40 years of age and 66.6 per cent of those over 40 perceive themselves as highly assimilated into the Canadian society. On the one hand, no immigrant over 40 years claimed "low" feeling of assimilation; on the other hand, 75 per cent of

¹⁷Here we were intent on discovering if our observation — that the younger West Indian is more transient and less enamoured with Vancouver society — was justified. It is interesting to note that in response to the question dealing with "returning home" the following were typical replies from respondents in the 21-30 age group:

"I shall be returning as soon as I qualify". (Student visa). "The possibilities of a job with remuneration commensurate with my experience and qualifications and with what I am earning in Canada will be hard to find in the West Indies". (Landed Immigrant). "I really have nothing to gain". (Canadian citizen).

the under 30's felt a very low level of assimilation, while the majority of immigrants (62.5 per cent) 31-40 perceived themselves as moderately assimilated.

TABLE 6. AGE AND ASSIMILATION

Age	Assimilation				
	High	Moderate	Low	Total	(N)
Under 30	—	25 (6)	75(18)	100	24
31-40	12.5 (6)	62.5(28)	25(12)	100	46
Over 40	66.6	33.3 (6)	—	100	18
	$X^2 = 14.08$	$df = 4$	$P > .01$		

Most importantly among the intervening variables, the number of years of residence in a community is often a critical factor in determining the level of assimilation and the ability of immigrants to empathize with the host community.¹⁸ Table 7 shows a significant relationship between the number of years of residence in Canada and the immigrant's perception of his assimilation. While only 8 per cent of those resident in Canada under three years felt highly assimilated, 13 per cent of those with 4 to 10 years residence and 64 per cent with over 10 years residence felt a high level of assimilation. Similarly, while no immigrant who lived in Canada for over 10 years expressed the feeling of not being assimilated, over 62 per cent of those who were there under 3 years expressed this feeling.

TABLE 7. PERIOD OF RESIDENCE AS A FUNCTION OF ASSIMILATION

Residence	Assimilation				
	High	Moderate	Low	Total	(N)
To 3 years	8 (3)	30(14)	62(21)	100	38
3 - 10 years	13 (6)	80(17)	7 (3)	100	26
Over 10 years	64(14)	36 (8)		100	22
	$x^2 = 13.98$	$af = 4$	$P > .01$		

¹⁸Many studies hypothesize assimilation as a function of residence. See, Richard T. La Piere, "Attitudes vs. Actions", *Social Forces*, 13, (1934), pp. 230-37; Robin M. Williams Jr., *Strangers Next Door*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.; Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964; Robert Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", *American Journal of Sociology*, 33, (1928) pp. 881-93; Stanley Lieberman, "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations", *American Sociological Review*, 26 (1961), pp. 902-09.

From the foregoing analysis, we may infer that although there is no significant relationship between ethnicity and assimilation, the data support our theory that *in spite* of ethnicity, an immigrant's age, the length of his residence, his motive for going to Canada, and his present immigration status greatly influence his perception of assimilation.

Participation and Support

An immigrant's perception of assimilation, however, does not necessarily explain if, and to what extent, he participates in the socio-political structure and the nature of his orientation towards the objects of support in the host society, i.e. its regime, political structures and political community.

Hypothesis 3. The more informed the immigrant is about civic matters, the greater his likelihood of participating actively in the socio-political structure of the host society.

Null

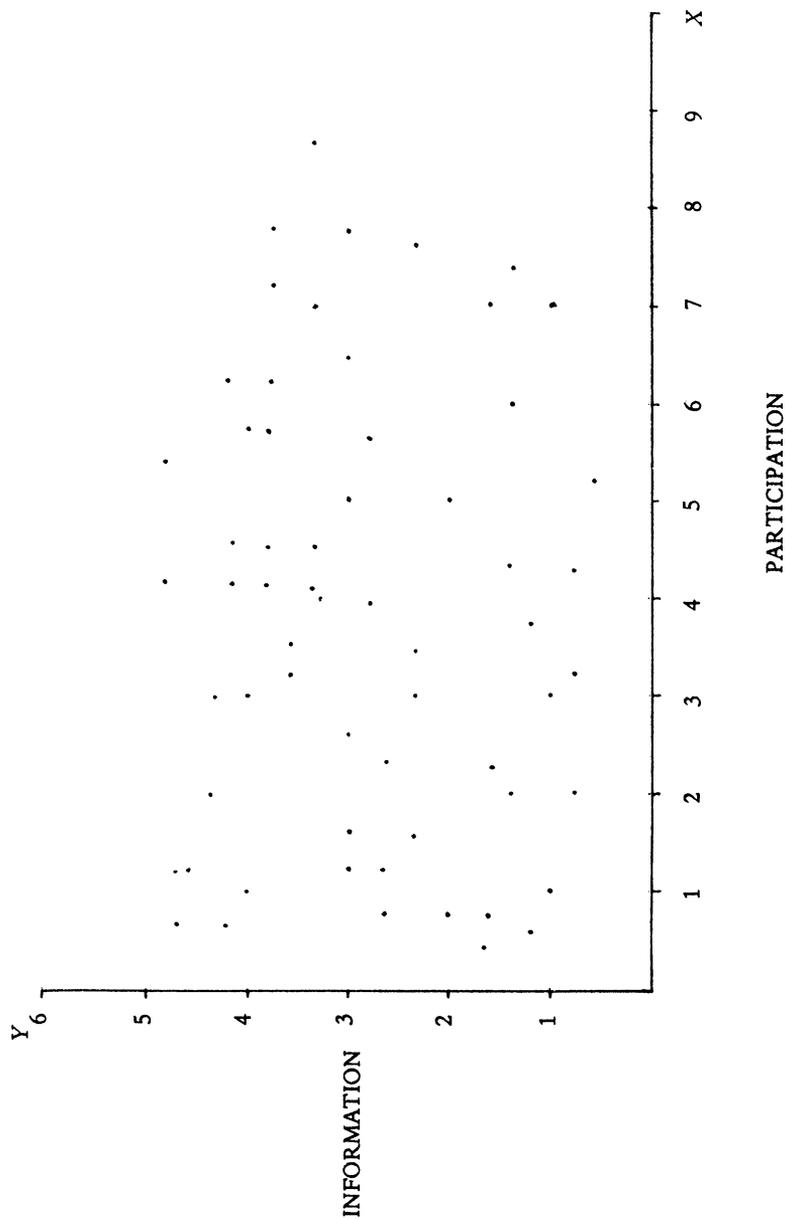
Hypothesis: There is no significant relationship between informed immigrants and participation in the socio-political structure.

Using Spearman's Rank Correlation (hereafter referred to as rho) we observe that the correlation between information¹⁹ and participation²⁰ is insignificant. Hence Figure 2 presents the data in scattergramatic form and provides further evidence of the randomness in the relationship between information and participation. We therefore conclude that the extent to which an immigrant is informed about civic matters in the host society has little, if any, relationship to his mode of participation in the socio-political activities of the host society.

¹⁹To obtain the total raw score for *information* we devised our own questions such as "Do you read Vancouver newspapers or any other Canadian newspapers?". We gave the respondent five choices ranging from "every day" through "sometimes" to "not at all". On these questions a respondent could score from 4–20. Included in this Index of information was a question to discover the level of preparedness on the part of the immigrant for life in Canada.

²⁰For *participation*, however, we used a modified version of F.S. Chapin, *Social participation Scale*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938. The extent of participation is measured by the number of member-ships held during the previous year. The intensity and/or degree of "involvement" is measured by attendance at meetings, financial contributions, committee memberships and the offices held. A high-scale score reflects a high rate of participation.

FIGURE 2. SCATTER GRAM REPRESENTING CORRELATION BETWEEN INFORMATION AND PARTICIPATION



c.f. $\tau = 0.181$ ($t = 1.981$) — No Relationship

Support for the Canadian Political Regime

Hypothesis 4: The greater his perception of assimilation, the greater is the immigrant's support for the political regime of the host society.

Null

Hypothesis: There is no significant relationship between perception of assimilation and support for the political regime of the host society.

Both the rationale and the procedure for testing this null hypothesis are similar to those used for Hypothesis 3. Having already established that there was no significant relationship between ethnicity and assimilation, we now use the same raw score of assimilation to test for any degree of association with *support*.

To measure more accurately the respondent's manifest support for the Canadian political regime we asked a battery of questions under a revised version of the *Davies Community Satisfaction scale*.²¹ Using the Spearman rho and the t test we accept the null hypothesis that except by chance we can expect to find little relationship between the immigrant's perception of assimilation and his support for the political regime.

TABLE 8. ASSIMILATION AND LOYALTY TO CANADIAN POLITICAL REGIME

Assimilation	Loyalty to Canada				No.
	High	Moderate	Low	Total	
High	44	22	33	100	18
Moderate	46	29	25	100	38
Low	12	55	33	100	30

Table 8 presents the data by simple percentages. It shows that of 18 West Indian immigrants who perceived themselves to be highly assimilated into the Canadian society, 44 per cent felt a great sense of loyalty, 22 per cent (2) felt moderately loyal, while 33 per cent (3) felt little or

²¹As revised by R. Schulze, J. Artis and J. Beegle, "The measurement of Community Satisfaction and the Decision to Migrate", *Rural Sociology*, XXVIII (1963) pp. 279-83, further modified by the writer. In this case the battery of questions which we formulated consisted of 9 statements such as "I consider Canadian politicians dull and uninspiring", "The Canadian Government should give more aid to the West Indies". Five responses ranging from "strongly agree" through "not sure" to "strongly disagree", were available from each item and each response was scored from one to five points. A maximum scale score of 45 points indicated very strong support for the Canadian political regime; a minimum score of eight points showed very weak support.

no loyalty. On the other hand, of those who perceived themselves not to be assimilated into the host society, 12 per cent felt a high sense of loyalty, 55 per cent were moderately loyal, while 33 per cent felt no/little loyalty.

Relative Support of Political Regime "Back Home"

Notwithstanding the lack of significant relationship between assimilation and support for the political regime in Canada we sought a different dimension to the notion of support.

Hypothesis 5: The less support the immigrant manifested for the Canadian political regime the greater his support for the political regime in his home country.

Null

Hypothesis: There is no relationship between support manifested for Canada and support manifested for political regime in the West Indies.

In establishing raw scores for our variable - support of the West Indian political regime - we asked questions such as "would you say that the loyalty you have for the West Indies is:

- (1) Less than the loyalty you have for Canada.
- (2) The same as the loyalty you have for Canada.
- (3) Greater than the loyalty you have for Canada."

In reply to this question, 50 per cent claimed greater loyalty for the West Indies, while 40 per cent claimed about the same loyalty for Canada as for the West Indies, and 9 per cent claimed less loyalty for the West Indies than for Canada.

TABLE 9. LOYALTY TO WEST INDIES AND LOYALTY TO CANADA

Loyalty to W.I. Regimes	Loyalty to Canadian Regime				No.
	High	Moderate	Low	Total	
High	8	42	50	100	44
Moderate	44	44	12	100	32
Low	90	10	0	100	10

$r = 0.322$ T value = 2.121 (df 84)

As shown in Table 9, of the 44 West Indians who professed a high sense of loyalty to their respective West Indian regimes, 50 per cent (22) said they had little loyalty to the Canadian regime, 42 per cent (16) were moderately loyal to the Canadian regime, while 8 per cent (6) felt great

loyalty. On the other hand, of the 10 West Indians who felt little or no loyalty for the West Indies, 90 per cent (8) felt a great sense of loyalty to Canada.

Using the Spearman's rho we reject the null hypothesis that the greater the support for the Canadian political regime the greater the support for the political regime in the West Indies. In other words, we derive a significant relationship, thus supporting the hypothesis that the less the immigrant's support for the Canadian political regime the greater his support for the regimes in the West Indies.

TABLE 10. WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
<i>Professional</i>			
Politician	1	—	1
Lawyer	1	—	1
Physician and surgeon	1	1	2
Dentist	1	—	1
Nurse (graduate)	2	10	12
Engineer	3	—	3
University lecturer	1	—	1
Teacher	6	3	9
Librarian	—	1	1
Social worker	1	—	1
Accountant	2	—	2
Artist/actor	1	—	1
Total	20	14	34
<i>Clerical</i>			
Clerk/typist/secretary	5	4	9
Civil servant	5	2	7
Sales representative	2	—	2
Total	12	6	18
<i>Other</i>			
Labourer	2	—	2
Mechanic—repairman	1	—	1
Domestic servant	—	4	4
Housewife	—	3	3
Total	3	7	10
<i>Student</i>	16	8	24
Total	51	35	86

CONCLUSION

This study suffers from several limitations, chief among which is the difficulty of estimating the validity of our sample. Tables 10 and 11 indicate that the population of our sample is very highly skilled and qualified, while Table 12 shows that by far the largest single territory represented is Trinidad with 33 per cent of the total sample. Based mainly on our knowledge of the West Indian population in Vancouver, we surmise that these educational, occupational and territorial distributions are adequately representative.

TABLE 11. W. I. IMMIGRANTS BY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

Highest Year Reached at School	Male	Female	Total
Less than 5 years	—	—	—
Some high school	5	5	10
School cert./GCE "O" Level	6	7	13
Higher school/GCE "A" Level	3	1	4
Some university ^a	21	14	35
University degree	13	7	20
Post-graduate degree	3	1	4
TOTAL	51	35	86

^aThis includes 24 students who were pursuing university degrees at the time of the survey.

Quite apart from sample validity, we were forced to collapse and combine categories in many of our variables, and this phenomenon no doubt reduced the number of possible interpretations which we could give to our data. There was also the problem imposed on us by the relative smallness of our sample. We were unable to use control variables without serious loss of information.

Then, mainly because of the ordinal scales used in this study, we were cautious about imposing stronger statistical tests on our hypotheses. Hence for the most part we used the Chi-square test of significance rather than multivariate or factor analysis.

In spite of these limitations, several theoretical constructs are suggested in the analysis above. Ethnicity has been illustrated not to be significantly related to assimilation, nor is assimilation significantly related to the nature of support which the immigrant manifests for the Canadian political regime. In addition, we have seen that the extent to which West Indian immigrants participate in the Canadian society and

TABLE 12. DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of Origin	Male	Female	Total
Barbados	8	6	14
Guyana	7	2	9
Jamaica	9	6	15
Trinidad and Tobago	18	10	28
Others (Leewards/Windwards)	13	7	20
TOTAL	55	31	86

its politics has very little causal relationship with their knowledge of civic affairs of the host community, including their preparedness for living in Canada.

However, our analysis substantiates the hypothesis that the support which the immigrant professes for the Canadian and West Indian political regimes, respectively, is inversely correlated. Also, significant to his perception of assimilation is the immigrant's age, his immigration status and his motive for going to Canada, and his period of residence in that country. It is interesting to note that the younger respondents in our sample felt less involved in the Canadian community than did the older ones; that the younger respondents also expressed greater loyalty to their respective West Indian regimes than did their older counterparts; that the largest single occupational category in our sample is the student (24); that 44 per cent of the respondents (50) originally went to Canada as students; that 28 per cent have university degrees.

While it is outside the scope of this study to make policy pronouncements, the implications of the data presented seem significant for West Indian policy scientists in tackling the very serious problem of the "brain drain". A symposium held by the Caribbean Students Association (1967) recorded that the problem for the West Indian intent on returning home was compounded by the relative lack of communication with the West Indies and the lack of knowledge about developments and job possibilities in the Caribbean.²² Levitt and McIntyre suggest an international solution to the "brain drain":

that Canada might well propose that some suitable international agency explore the feasibility of a general agreement among developed countries to impose a five-year period of restriction on immigration from low income countries with more than specified levels of professional education.²³

²²Caribbean Students Association, *Symposium: To Return or Not to Return*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Unpubl., November, 1967.

²³Kari Levitt and Alister McIntyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

However a more immediate need seems to be the setting up of agencies, perhaps as part of West Indian Missions overseas, in an attempt to provide greater liaison between West Indian immigrants and their governments. Gleaned from the political perspectives of the small sample of West Indian immigrants in Vancouver, a positive policy of communication on the part of West Indian Governments with their nationals abroad, should be fully explored.