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CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

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IDENTIFICATION AND ADAPTATION:
A STUDY OF TWO GROUPS OF JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS
IN NEW YORK CITY

by

Monica H. Gordon

A dissertation submitted
to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

1979

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

February 6, 1979
date

Chairman of Examining Committee

Feb 8 1979
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Executive Officer

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

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Abstract

IDENTIFICATION AND ADAPTATION:
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IN NEW YORK CITY

by

Monica H. Gordon

Adviser: Dr. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi

The study examined the situational determinants which influenced migration from the West Indies and the adaptation process and identification of two groups of immigrants from Jamaica who arrived in the United States (a) between 1920 and 1940 (early immigrants) and (b) between 1960 and 1975 (recent immigrants).

The major theoretical thrust of this study is that situational determinants in the sending and receiving societies and the level of satisfaction in the receiving society affect the patterns of adaptation and identification. The research strategy compared the adaptation and identification patterns of the two groups.

It was argued that Jamaican immigrants, who are predominantly black, would be subject to similar patterns of discrimination as experienced by black Americans, and therefore:

1. They would define their situation as unsatisfactory
2. Each group would utilize different strategies in the adaptation

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process--the early group would submit to the assimilationist pattern while the recent group would develop a pluralistic pattern

3. Each group would identify with Jamaica regardless of length of residence--since this foreign status identification is viewed as beneficial
4. The surrender of the "sojourner's role" is dependent on situational factors in the host and sending societies and the immigrants' subjective definition of their situation

The conclusions reached are: length of residence is related to levels of satisfaction, adaptation, and identification--the early immigrants indicated higher levels of satisfaction and identified more strongly with American than the recent group. Although the recent immigrants showed no regular pattern of dissatisfaction, they identified strongly with Jamaica--unlike the vacillating pattern of the early immigrants. Neither group indicated that "foreign status" identity provided special privilege.

The adaptation pattern varied for each group: the early immigrants showed a pattern of cultural assimilation while the recent immigrants developed a pluralistic adaptation with a strong orientation toward Jamaican culture. The former have largely surrendered the "sojourner role" by deciding to stay. The latter have established a commuting pattern which is a new pattern for immigrants from the West Indies in the post-1960 period.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to express my appreciation to the many persons who gave me support, encouragement, and assistance. Without them, this dissertation would not have been possible.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my mother and grandmother, who are the original source of my inspiration.

I extend my thanks to the presidents and other officers of the various Jamaican organizations and to the many other individuals who assisted me in collecting the data for this study.

To the members of my committee, Dr. Setsuko Matsunga Nishi, Dr. Joyce Ladner, and Dr. Michael Brown, I express my gratitude for their guidance and invaluable assistance throughout the period of this study. They helped to make the task much less difficult than it might have been.

Dr. Richard Hudson of IBM and a graduate of the Department of Sociology, CUNY, has given me invaluable assistance in setting up the computer program and the data analysis. Mr. William Herrick and Dr. Lindsay Churchill of CUNY were also helpful in this area. I am grateful to them.

Finally, to Ms. Megan McLaughlin of Columbia University School of Social Work and New York Community Trust, I am most grateful for the many discussions and criticisms which helped greatly in clarifying some of the data.

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

West Indian immigrants, like all other immigrants to the United States, must go through the process of acculturation in order to achieve some degree of success in adapting to the demands of the new environment. "Acculturation" is the process of change in the culture of a group of people adjusting to continuing contact with some other group (Banton 1967:78). This process of acculturation is observable in immigrants who must acquire the means of coping with the norms and values of a new society without the benefit of timely socialization. Immigration itself is another process, the physical transition from one society to another, but the two processes are interrelated, as Eisenstadt observed:

> Immigration usually takes place in groups which do not encompass all the social sphere of the people, and for some time at least the immigrant is confined to such smaller groups as his mainstay of social participation and identification. Thus throughout this period the immigrant can perform adequately only some of his roles as only in these smaller groups are his role expectations more or less institutionalized. In other, wider spheres the immigrant lives in an unstable, unstructured field, with only minimal institutionalization of role-expectations. The immigrants' integration within the new country may, then, be visualized as a process of extension of the immigrants' field of social participation through mutual adaptation of their role-expectations and institutionalized norms of the absorbing society. Through this process the immigrants may find solutions to the double social and psychological insecurity in which they are involved [1956:225-226].

The literature on immigrants deals mainly with the acculturation and assimilation of European immigrants in the American society. This focus is probably due to the fact that, historically, Europe has been

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the largest supplier of immigrants to the United States. Nevertheless, the immigrants from the Western Hemisphere and other parts of the world have been affected by and have affected the social and cultural development of this country. Immigrants from the Western Hemisphere include Canadians, South and Central Americans, and West Indians, excluding Puerto Ricans, who are citizens of the United States.

Bryce-Laporte (1972:33) estimated that, between 1820 and 1970, one million West Indians emigrated to the United States. This figure represents 2 percent of the total immigrant population to the United States. The rate of flow of immigrants from the West Indies varied during this period; the largest groups arrived immediately after the First World War, but there had been a gradual increase since 1903. After 1924 immigration from the West Indies slowed to a very small fraction of the previous years and did not become numerically significant again until the mid-1960s (Reid 1939:31-44, 233-249; Dominguez 1975:70-129; Immigration and Naturalization Service Reports 1920-1941, 1960-1975).

Immigration laws and the general economic conditions during the 1930s restricted the flow of immigrants to the United States. However, West Indians who had never migrated to Europe in significant numbers began to do so *en masse* in the 1950s and continued for a decade. A new Immigration Act in 1965 redirected the flow of West Indians to the United States; thus a period of approximately twenty years separates the two groups of West Indian immigrants. The gap was bridged only by a small number annually who were, usually, close relatives of previous immigrants.

The period since the First World War has been classified as one of drastic changes; technological advancements have brought, along with

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their blessings, many human problems. Territorial settlements and large population exchanges, vast numbers of displaced persons seeking a new homeland as a result of various political and economic upheavals. Many others, seeking the means for self-advancement, have made immigration an important agent of social and cultural change. The immigrants who leave their country voluntarily have some perception of the new society to which they migrated. This perception will be crucial to the kinds of expectations they have and the rate of their acculturation. The social structure of the host society will, in part, determine the positions the immigrants will assume. Where these positions differ from the immigrants' expectations, the immigrants may erect barriers which, in some way, protect the images they have of themselves. This is often done by overtly emphasizing their national origin, a factor which had no importance prior to emigration. According to Weinstock (1969:32), their nationalistic feelings grew up after they had settled in the new society as a result of nostalgia and the various forms of rejection they experienced.

West Indians are allegedly among those immigrants who place great emphasis on national origin. The projected reason for such identity is their reluctance to be identified as black Americans (Reid 1939: 109-112; Bryce-Laporte 1972:40). That they face problems similar to those faced by other groups in addition to the structural barriers due to race is a point of view that has not been given much consideration by scholars focusing on acculturation or immigration. Of special interest, especially at this time, is the factor of change, that is, changes in the host and sending societies and how these changes affect the selection and patterns

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of immigrant adaptation, and indentification with the sending or receiving societies.

The study will investigate the patterns of adaptation utilized by West Indian immigrants and their perception of themselves in relation to the host and sending societies and the relationship between their perception of themselves and their patterns of adaptation.

Two groups of immigrants from the English-speaking island of Jamaica, West Indies, have been selected for comparison. Each group arrived in the United States with an average of twenty-five years between them. The first group arrived after the First World War (1920-1940) and the second group after the Second World War, but much later after that war than the first group (1960-1975). These two periods have been chosen because of the significant changes of the post-World War II era in the two societies. It is assumed that these changes have implications for the patterns of adaptation and identification for each immigrant cohort.

The decision to leave Jamaica stems from the realization that opportunities for self-improvement are limited and that possibilities are better elsewhere. America represented a virtual El Dorado, an impression drawn from unreliable reports and acquaintance with emigrants on return visits to the island. These returned emigrants usually have an air of prosperity--beautiful clothes, money to spend, and a kind of glamor which others long to capture for themselves. If the visitor attempted to reveal the difficulties and hardships an immigrant encounters, no one listens; the contrast between such a person and many of those who remained in the homeland is often so great that they were likely to conclude that the rewards were worth the hardships. Besides the obvious

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success of the emigrant, the relatives living in Jamaica also benefit through frequent remittances of money and occasional packages of clothing which improve their living standards above those of their neighbors. Only the positive aspects of immigration are taken into account by those who wish to emigrate.

The first contact situation is defined by some as a "culture shock." Greely (1969:31) and Richardson (1967:9-10) defined culture shock as the sudden recognition by immigrants that they have a long way to go before they will realize the expected rewards. The concept and the reality of the situation differ so sharply in some instances that, for the first time, the immigrants may begin to question the wisdom of the decision to emigrate. The Jamaican immigrants to America soon discover that racial factors restrict their residential and occupational prospects and that they must share residence and compete for menial jobs with black Americans and other minority groups. Material advantages and improvement of their social position are among the major objectives of the immigrants. Some immigrants had positions of relatively high prestige prior to emigrating, although the economic rewards were usually low. In Jamaica an appointee in the government service (civil servant) or a public school teacher has middle-class status. When such individuals emigrated, it was most unlikely that they would find jobs of comparable status, particularly those in the 1920-1940 period.

The need to find immediate employment forces the immigrant to take whatever is available at first. The economic rewards are usually greater but the immigrants will experience erosion of the self-esteem derived from higher occupational status in their country. They may then

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begin to reflect on their situation prior to emigrating and derive some satisfaction in planning their eventual return. Immigrants who had low-status occupations before they emigrated will experience no status contradictions and will find satisfaction in the economic rewards but may find little opportunity for social advancement. They, too, may envision the return to their country, where their social status would improve as did their economic position.

Low-status occupation, discrimination, prejudice, and feelings of rejection in America combine to minimize the disadvantages in Jamaican society and strengthen the desire to return at the earliest possible time. However, there is no evidence to indicate that this return will approach the immigrants' expectations: therefore it must be assumed that, at some point, the immigrants relinquish the idea of returning, although this may not have been a conscious resolution. Expressed intent to return, even when unsupported by substantive plan, seems to have the effect of mediating difficulties encountered in the host society.

Objective social characteristics provide individuals with the means of developing self-identity. In Western societies, education, occupation, individual enterprise, and achievement are major indicators of social status (Hodge et al. 1966:309-321). Self-esteem as well as self-identity are based on the level of acquisition of these social indicators and the acknowledgment of others that an individual has acquired that level (Maykovich 1972:9-24; Kramer 1970:3-16; Shibutani 1961:214-218).

The West Indian immigrants in America discover the contradictions in their situation when they realize that, even when they acquire the

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symbols of a certain status level, they will not be included in the universalism of these symbols. Rather than accept a low self-esteem based on some arbitrary racial characteristics, they reject the host's ascribed identity and claim exemption based on their foreign origin. Thus the immigrant who had been a school teacher prior to emigrating will attempt to maintain the self-esteem which the occupation provided, disregarding the low prestige of the post-migration occupation of factory or domestic worker. Some immigrants resolve one dilemma by qualifying themselves for higher status occupations but may yet find themselves outside the charmed circles which validate and give meaning to their achievement.

Three major variables are relevant to all immigrants: the environmental background, the immigration itself, and the contact situation (Vrga 1971:40). The environmental background is a combination of socio-cultural variables by which successive immigrant categories differ from one another. This is demonstrated in the West Indian situation by the classification status of each group: the first group came under the aegis of the British government as British subjects. The second group arrived as Jamaican citizens, immigrants of a sovereign state.

The level of education, occupation, and age at the time of leaving the native country are also background factors. The latter group of West Indians are generally younger and better educated and have higher occupational status classifications (demographic characteristics).

The immigration itself covers three main variables: the motivation, the conditions under which the immigration occurred, and the intervening history. This is reflected in Oscar Handlin's (1959:20) statement that, "in understanding the character of the adjustment, it is essential

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to know the circumstances under which the newcomers depart from the land of their birth."

Economic consideration was a prime factor for the old immigrants, given the stagnant nature of the colonial economy of the period. Their lack of political franchise was, apparently, not a matter of great concern; they were, probably more concerned with acquiring the means and returning to establish middle-class life-style under the existing regime. Color prejudice or social and economic inferiority of the black sector of the population were not seen as social problems; they might even have denied their existence except when expressed in economic terms.

The recent immigrants also emphasize economic rewards. The unemployment rate in Jamaica remained high, staying over 20 percent for the past ten years. Unemployment is distributed throughout the ages of 20-64 for males and 25-54 for females, but the majority of immigrants are between the ages of 10 and 29 years (Dept. of Statistics, Jamaica, 1973). This suggests that unemployment is not a primary reason for emigration in this group. Underemployment and, as Lowenthal (1972:213) suggested, educational opportunities and restrictive social environment are important factors in this group's decision to emigrate.

Whatever the motivation, it must be concluded that, "when existing social conditions fail to satisfy the individual's needs, at least minimally, certain members of the collectivity will entertain the notion of moving away to other places, where, as they see it, they will have a better chance of satisfying their unmet needs and overcome deprivation" (Mangalam and Schwarzweller 1970:10). Deprivation in this case is relative, since many immigrants from the West Indies are better off than

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many others who remain there. The immigrants from Jamaica leave voluntarily; the extent of the immigrants' knowledge of the structural arrangement of the American society prior to emigration is not known, but it is reasonable to assume that they were not totally ignorant of the patterns of segregation and discrimination. Reid (1939:67-73) indicated that some of the earlier immigrants had experienced the discriminatory patterns of the American society prior to coming to the United States when they worked for American firms involved in the building of the Panama Canal. Whatever their knowledge of the situation, the immigrants seem disposed to disregard structural and attitudinal factors in pursuit of their own goals.

The intervening history, the period between the arrival of the two groups, has been a period of striking changes on a world-wide basis. Political upheavals produced new forms of government, extended the benefits and problems of technology, changed the social, political, and economic statuses of countless people both positively and negatively, and increased the incidence of cultural contacts.

The consequences for the West Indies were political emancipation from colonial dominance, the expansion of social institutions, especially education and health, and significant economic growth. These changes result in extensive rise in expectations which their society could not fulfill.

Of consequence to this study is the fact that change in political status enabled Jamaicans to take advantage of the new immigration policy of the United States (1965), which removed them from the restriction of the quota system of 1924 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. In spite

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of the numerical limitation imposed since July 1, 1968 (120,000 from the Western Hemisphere excluding immediate relatives of U.S. citizens), the United States is now the major recipient of West Indian immigrants (U.S. Department of Justice 1969)

The contact situation refers to the position which the host society assigns the immigrants and the subsequent treatment accorded them. This position is predetermined by the existing social and cultural context or social structure which Milton Gordon defines as

> . . . the set of crystallized social relationships which members have with each other which place them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized, or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society such as economic and occupation life, religion, marriage and family, education, government, and recreation [1964:30-31].

To the American situation the element of race and ethnicity must be added, since these are primary variables in social relationships. Historically, black people have been subjected to institutionalized inequality because of race. Bogardus (1947), in his ranking of national and ethnic groups on a "social distance" scale, ranked blacks in 1926 and 1946 in the 31 and 35 places, respectively, out of 36 national and ethnic groups. Immigrants are placed in the society according to their race, ethnic background, and sometimes nationality.

Ethnicity is defined by Orlando Patterson as "that condition wherein certain members of a society in a given social context choose to emphasize as their most meaningful basis of primary extra-familial identity certain assumed cultural, national or somatic traits" (1975:308). Immigrants are not only confined to racial sectors, but also identify with an ethnic group; those with distinctive cultural differences and language often join established racio-ethnic communities in the receiving

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society. The earlier immigrants from the West Indies had to find a place in the community of native black Americans and adjust to what Reid (1939: 26) described as an intraracial and interracial situation involving the two social systems (black and white America) until they could create a community which reflected their cultural background.

The more recent immigrants, although faced with similar institutional arrangements, had the advantage of wider residential and occupational choice resulting from anti-discrimination legislation. It would appear, however, that this group lives in areas close to friends and relatives instead of spreading out and so creates a more concrete community than did the earlier immigrant group, which had more of an essence of community. Judith Kramer (1970:46) suggests that shared interest and social nearness create the feeling of community even in the absence of defined geographical limits.

There is little evidence that there was an identifiable West Indian community before the First World War, although there were West Indians living in New York. George Haynes (1912:100-104) identified them as being disproportionately represented in the business sector of the black community. The arrival of the post-World War I immigrants provided a firm basis for the establishment of a community network within the framework of the general black community.

The necessity for physical survival forced the earlier immigrants to acquiesce to the demands of the host society, realizing that their overt conformity best satisfies their physical needs. They continued to identify themselves as West Indians which compensated for the unstable, unstructured, and inadequate institutionalization of role expectations

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in their relationship with the wider society mentioned by Eisenstadt above. The renunciation of one identity and the assumption of another is dependent on the degree of satisfaction which the new identity is perceived as providing.

The second group arrived when there was emphasis on national identity in their native country and renewed emphasis on ethnicity in the host society (Lewis 1968; Yancey et al. 1976). The social structure, which contemporary theorists describe as pluralistic (Gordon 1964:159; Parenti 1967), enables the new immigrants to retain their identity as West Indians in the American society. This identity is supported by other situational factors such as clustering in neighborhoods, the presence of family instead of single individuals, more frequent return visits to the society of origin, and services in food, entertainment, newspapers, etc., which reinforce cultural traits.

Religion seems more significant for the earlier immigrants than for the newer arrivals. The diversity of religious affiliations makes it difficult for West Indians to build a community based on common religious beliefs as other immigrant groups such as the Jews or the Irish had done (Glazer and Moynihan 1968). Nevertheless, a West Indian community exists which appears to stress the latter immigrants' values and affiliations more than those of the earlier immigrants.

The above observations provided the frame of reference for the investigation of the two groups of Jamaican immigrants who arrived in the United States (a) between 1920-1940 and (b) between 1960-1975.

The situations investigated are:

(a) The conditions which motivated emigration from Jamaica in the two periods

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(b) The structural conditions each group of Jamaican immigrants encountered when they arrived in the United States

(c) The patterns of identification and adaptation as a result of social structural situations encountered and their pre-migration experiences

In the following section, the literature dealing with aspects relevant to the migration process and immigrants' absorption is examined in order to develop a relevant frame of reference for black immigrants generally and Jamaican immigrants in particular. The hypotheses which appear later have been generated from the preceding discussion and provide the framework for assessing the immigrants' identification and patterns of adaptation.

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CHAPTER 1

THEORY AND RESEARCH

Much sociological theory and research have focused on the problems of immigrants in their struggle toward adaptation in a new country, and the result is a formidable accumulation of literature and concepts attempting to define the immigrant situation in America as well as elsewhere. Terms such as assimilation, acculturation, melting pot, cultural and structural pluralism, integration, and adaptation have been used to define the phenomena of contact and outcome of the meeting of immigrants and host.

Assimilation Theories

Among the earliest and best-known theories of assimilation are the works of Park and Burgess (1921:735), who 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 their experiences and history are incorporated with them into a common cultural life. Park's (1950) race relations theory is demonstrated as a cycle of competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Although Park was aware of the possibility of arrested process in assimilation, he viewed that as an individual rather than as a group problem.

Bogardus (1930) formulated his theories based on the immigrant situation in California instead of the Northeast as in Park's case. He

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outlined a different cycle: curiosity, economic welcome, industrial and social antagonism, fair-play tendencies, quiescence, second-generation difficulties. These theorists see assimilation as the inevitable outcome of culture contacts. However, no time limit has been placed on assimilation and, as Etzioni (1959:260) pointed out, there is no way to prove or disprove that assimilation is inevitable since the unassimilated group can be defined as not having reached the stage of assimilation. Also, the dynamics that would lead from one stage to the next or the characteristics which would mark each stage were not defined so that assimilation could be positively identified. The situation of blacks and other minorities in the assimilation schema remained problematic--an exception to the rule or a possibility in an ever-receding future. West Indian immigrants who are overwhelmingly black pose the same problem for the assimilationists.

Warner and Srole (1945:285-286) outlined some conditions and time sequence in the assimilation process. They postulated that, when combined cultural and biological traits are highly divergent from the host society, the immigrant group would be greatly subordinated, which in turn would strengthen in-group ties and lengthen the period of assimilation, making it a long, slow, and painful process. Here also, the assumption of eventual assimilation is made, but the long, painful process leaves room for Etzioni's comments on time as a factor in the assimilation process.

Vander Zanden (1972:275-279) and Bagley (1975:2) elaborated on and extended the assimilation possibilities suggested by Warner and Srole. They suggested conditions which facilitate and/or impede the

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assimilation process. Among these conditions are the number and rate of entry of immigrants, the type of immigrants and immigration system, ethnicity, skills, and wealth, and the territorial distribution of the immigrants. Vander Zanden also suggests that the degree of competition, the proximity and access to the homeland, continuous intergroup contacts, and the predisposition of the receiving society to recognize differences affect conditions of adaptation.

The idea that assimilation is not the desired goal of every immigrant group was suggested by Louis Wirth (1955) in his formulation of patterns of minority/majority relations. He observed thatminorities varied widely in their desired form of relationship with the dominant sector and that there are intra-group differences in the desired relationship. Wirth's patterns of relationships are pluralistic, assimilationist, secessionist, and militant. He cited the pluralistic and the assimilationist patterns as more relevant to the United States, especially in the case of Jews and blacks. Rosenthal (1960) further demonstrated the pluralistic pattern of adaptation in his study of Jews in Chicago. He observed that Jews were acculturated but not assimilated; that Jewish self-consciousness facilitated acculturation but retarded assimilation. Weinstock (1969) made similar observations for Hungarian refugees in the United States. Shibutani and Kwan (1965:502, 533) noted that, even within the same ethnic group, one sector may opt for assimilation while the other advocates cultural pluralism, and that the same division may exist in the wider society.

Milton Gordon (1964:71-73) distinguished between two kinds of assimilation: behavioral assimilation or acculturation, which is the

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acquisition of the manners and style of the host society, and structural assimilation, which is the dissolution of differences even at the most intimate primary levels. He noted that structural assimilation does not necessarily follow behavioral assimilation and indicated that groups such as blacks and Puerto Ricans have low assimilation levels. Gordon further drew attention to the deficiencies of the melting pot and Anglo-conformity theories and suggested that structural pluralism is the social organizational pattern of the American society.

Anglo-conformity required immigrants to renounce their ancestral culture in favor of the norms and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group which dominated the institutional structure of the American society. This does not allow for the accommodation of differences and implied the inferiority of other cultures. The melting pot idea, on the other hand, suggests a blending--biological and cultural--of immigrants with the dominant Anglo-Saxon group, thus creating a new indigenous American type (Gordon 1964:85). Ethnicity, however, has triumphed.

Acknowledging this, Schemerhorn (1970:122) identified four types of pluralism which gave immigrants the viability to adapt to the American society without the necessity of having to renounce their ethnicity. He referred to (1) normative pluralism, which is an ideological component enabling minorities to preserve their cultural patterns if they so desired without major conflicts with dominant groups patterns, (2) political pluralism, which enables groups to participate in the political process according to their own interests; (3) cultural pluraism, which sets groups apart from one another and identifies them on the basis of religion, nationality, language, or race, (4) social (structural)

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pluralism, which allows for the development of parallel institutions and emphasizes the differences between the various groups in the society. Blacks, who assimilationists admitted were unassimilable (Metzger 1971: 632), can be easily placed within the analytic framework of pluralism and West Indian immigrants, who have both minority and national status, can also be examined within this framework.

As Wirth suggested (see above), assimilation is not the desired goal of every immigrant group; neither is the host society always willing to assimilate immigrants or deem them assimilable. Although some theorists (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Kristol 1966) claimed that blacks are distinctly Americans without culture other than the American culture, Blauner (1972) convincingly argued that a distinctive black culture exists. Glazer and Moynihan (1963:31) further claimed that West Indians have been absorbed into the general black group and, by implication, also have no cultural distinction from white Americans. However, they recanted their statement on the absence of a distinctive black culture (1970:xx), stating that a conscious awareness of foreign origin based on the reality of a foreign culture is only one element in the establishment of strong social organization and that immigrant groups have become conscious of themselves as distinct entities in America, on the basis of experience in America.

Supporting this idea are Weinstock (1968), discussing Hungarian immigrants, and Constance Sutton (1975), discussing West Indian immigrants in Britain. They argued that immigrants did not develop consciousness of themselves as a distinctive group until they had the experience of living in a foreign country.

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Lieberson (1961) postulated that the critical problem on a societal level in racial and ethnic contact is the initial contact situation, where each population grouping attempts to maintain and develop a societal order compatible with its way of life prior to contact. These institutional arrangements which determine the pattern of group dominance in the political, social, and economic spheres play a role in the assimilation process but are insufficient to determine the final outcome or the intermediate stages of ethnic contact. Therefore, he maintains that neither assimilation nor conflict is the inevitable outcome of racial and ethnic contact. Lieberson (1973) further suggested that immigrant cohorts are differentially located in the American occupational structure. He refuted earlier theories that the newest immigrants move in at the bottom of the stratification system. This is particularly true of post-World War II immigrants. We expect that West Indian immigrants will also show some differentiation in occupational structure but without the complementary status differentiation.

Problems of Immigrants' Absorption

Frank Jones (1956) suggested the utilization of a socialization role system model which he claimed would deal with such problems as interaction between host and immigrants while, at the same time, explaining the functional significance of immigrants to the system and providing a rationale for the stratification, authority, and rewards systems which result from the interaction. Since Jones is using a structural-functional analysis, his concern is with system maintenance; this commitment raises the question of change in the patterns of immigrant absorption. As noted by Lieberson, immigrants do not necessarily enter a

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social system at the bottom of the stratification ladder. This idea supports Jones' claim that immigrants are accommodated according to the needs of the host society. It is expected, then, that West Indian immigrants will be absorbed differentially depending on the social needs at the time they enter the society.

Eisenstadt (1954:6), in his investigation of immigrant absorption, noted that immigration entails not only a shrinkage in the number of roles and groups in which the immigrant is active, but also some degree of "desocialization" or shrinkage and transformation of his role status image and sets of values. He also noted the necessity for the establishment of successful work roles and the development of in-group network patterns if successful adaptation is to occur. He saw the situation as a two-way process; the fulfillment of the immigrants' aspirations and the immigrants' satisfying the expectations of the host society.

The degree of accommodation extended to immigrants will influence the patterns of adaptation. As Eisenstadt (1954:17-21) further observed, accommodation should include participation in the universal roles of the society. These universal roles include participation in economic, political, educational, and legal institutions with the option of retaining those aspects of their original culture if they consider them important to their psychological well-being. Bagu (1964:42) noted that failure on the part of the society to extend access to the society's facilities to immigrants results in their withdrawal from, or the development of hostile attitudes toward, the host society. West Indian immigrants, like native blacks, will have only limited access to society's facilities. However, while this is a potential source of dissatisfaction, the immigrants may

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derive other measures of satisfaction. Immigrants' satisfaction and their attitudes toward the host society may depend on their perception of themselves as being better or worse off than they were prior to emigration (Goldlust and Richmond 1974:212-213), rather than comparison with other groups which are more advantageously placed.

Community and Social Networks

Community and social networks are also important concepts in the studies of immigrants. Judith Kramer (1970) focused on the functions and dysfunctions of minority communities in the response of ethnic minorities to the dominant society. Joseph Fitzpatrick (1966) emphasized the importance of community in the assimilation process of immigrants. He sees the community as a base of security, peace, and psycho-social satisfaction while the immigrant learns to adjust to a new world and a source of familiar relationships and interactions which provide identity and the security of familiar patterns among familiar people.

Raymond Breton (1964), discussing the institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relationships of immigrants in Canada, concluded that language, color, and religion are prominent among the social and cultural attributes which are operative in the establishment of ethnic communities. He further argued that when differentiating features are negatively evaluated by the community, there exists a greater potential for the development of ethnic community. He referred to West Indians as high in institutional completeness. William Bernard (1973:98) observed that West Indian immigrants in the United States are debarred from full integration because of their "race," and, although they share racial characteristics with black Americans,

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their alien foreign status excludes them from membership in that group. It is therefore expected that West Indian immigrants in the United States will establish their own community for their own identificational needs (Kramer 1970:3-16), and, where they fail to establish a physical area of their own, they establish a "community of consciousness" (Pido 1977:52) or maintain a "psychological identity" with their own group (Maykovich 1976:378).

The concept of social network is utilized in the investigation of friendship patterns, associational ties, family, and cultural patterns. Elizabeth Bott (1957:216-217) suggested that the immediate social environment of the urban family consists of a network rather than an organized group and that the extended family system is still operative in the lives of Londoners. Litwak (1960) and Chodin (1973) also supported the idea of the importance of kinship networks in urban settings. They claimed that kinship is especially important in helping new migrants to get established and learn the ways of urban living. Litwak stated that the family network is especially important to those who are occupationally mobile (1960:390). Chodin, however, claimed that migrants who are assisted by relatives tend to be slower in adapting to their new environment than those who had to be self-reliant from the start. Mitchell (1969:20) argued that links on the network may involve economic assistance, kinship obligation, or friendship, but that the psycho-social aspects of the network connection may be even more important than the more tangible assistance.

The kinship network is not only operative in aiding immigrants' adaptation, but is also active in organizing and monitoring the

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migration process. The concept of "auspices of migration," which defines the social structures which establish relationships between the migrant and the receiving community before he moves, has been utilized by Tilly and Brown (1968:139-164) to indicate kinship and/or friendship networks or organizations involved with the immigrants before and after they move. Goldlust and Richmond (1974:198) agreed with Tilly and Brown that "auspices of migration" influence the adaptation patterns of immigrants.

It is assumed here that kin and friends are the important components of West Indian immigrants' social networks and that they form the basis of their primary social relationships and mediate their entry into and their relationship with the wider society.

Ethnic Pluralism

Ethnicity as a persistent factor in American life is the basis of much recent research, a process which acknowledges that the "melting pot" theory has not operated even at the level of third and fourth generations. Ethnic cleavages were observed in New York City and documented by Glazer and Moynihan (1968) in relation to residential, economic, social, and political behavior of the various ethnic groups in that city. Parenti (1967:23), observing ethnicity and political behavior, suggested that out-group rejection had fostered in-group awareness and that ethnicity is defensiveness against out-group hostility. For the Negro American, he said, "the question of ethnic identification takes on an ubiquitous quality, that race intrudes on all aspects of his life." This, of course, differs from other ethnic situations where race is not a salient factor. West Indian immigrants as part of the general black population are expected to encounter the double problem of ethnicity and race.

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Andrew Greely (1974) and Harold Abramson (1973) concentrated on ethnic cultural differences based on national and religious heritage. They indicated voluntarism rather than structural conditions for the maintenance of the patterns. The latter view is taken by Yancey and his associates (1976). They claimed that the persistence of ethnicity is dependent upon the structural conditions characterizing American cities and the position of the groups in the American social structures. Yancey's critics (Hal Levine 1977) argued that ethnicity is the result not merely of ecological patterns but also of the social interaction which results in a crystallization of identities and the subsequent establishment of ethnicity based on the interactional situation. Bergesen (1977:123-125) argued that"resurgent ethnicity" is merely politically reactionary behavior aimed at retaining privileges that have been ethnically defined and that there is no ethnic solidarity.

If, according to Bergesen, ethnicity is no longer a salient factor in American life, then recent immigrants should have no need for forming ethnic communities. Maykovich (1976) observed ethnicity among recent Asian immigrants, although she indicated a bicultural adaptation. Asian ethnics are absorbed into the Asian community by relatives already in the United States, but she claimed they have not developed a distinct Asian-American value system nor are they integrated into the American value system. The fact that there exists no common set of values among Asian immigrants prior to their arrival in the United States could be a causal factor in the failure of a common set of values to emerge. Polish ethnics in Milwaukee (Pinekos 1977), on the other hand, vary in their ethnic identity on the basis of age, education, and their maintenance

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of contact with Poland. Pinekos found that those of the group who were born in Poland and spoke the language were more likely to have strong Polish ethnic identity, maintain a high level of interest in the affairs of Poland, and be active in Polish organizations here in the United States.

Black Immigrants

The majority of these studies deal with native-born ethnic groups of third and fourth generations, but little attention has been given to ethnic groups within ethnic or, more specifically, racial groups. The study of race and ethnicity is based on differences, perceived or real, of race, nationality, religion, etc. West Indians as an ethnic group belong largely to the wider racial category of blacks, but, as they have a national origin and cultural heritage unique to them, they should be considered as both an ethnic and a racial group based on their particular characteristics.

Studies dealing with the black immigrants are extremely limited. The only comprehensive study was done by Ira Reid (1939). The study focused on patterns of adaptation, background characteristics, and the problems immigrants face as a result of social structural arrangements in the receiving society. He paid much attention to the relationship between West Indians and native black Americans, a theme which has been picked up in subsequent studies cited below.

Bryce-Laporte (1972) explored the selectiveness of immigration policies and their effects on black immigration, and the increasing consciousness of blackness as a common denominator reducing tension between natives and immigrants. John Spurling's (1962) study of natives

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and immigrants in Long Island City identified hostility between the two groups and noted patterns of social distance maintained. Noel White (1968) emphasized political contributions of black immigrants to the wider black community. John Quow (1974) and Frankie Ramadar (1976) attempted some analysis of patterns of adaptation: Quow provided some valuable information on organizational patterns and participation of West Indians in New York. Ramadar concentrated on patterns of adjustment of Trinidadians in New York City but fell short of any conclusive statement due to the restrictiveness of the sample.

Journalistic articles, e.g., Coombs (1970) and Raphael (1963), are understandably descriptive; nevertheless, they provide valuable insights into the life-styles of recent immigrants.

Comparative Studies on Immigrants

Several unpublished conference papers discuss the immigrant situation. Among these are the paper by Joyce B. Justus (1975) which concentrated on West Indians in Los Angeles and inferred that the group maintained its identity through various organizational and friendship networks. Christopher Bagley (1975) explored the effects of social structural patterns and discrimination on the personality structure of immigrants. He observed significant levels of personality disorganization among West Indians and other non-white immigrants in Britain and concluded that excessive striving without material success is a primary contributor to mental disorder. Elizabeth Hope-Thomas (1975) examined the process of adaptation of West Indians in major cities of Canada, England, and the United States and found that West Indian immigrants in Canada and the United States indicated a higher level of satisfaction

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than those in England, thus supporting Bagley's argument concerning striving without success. She explained this difference as the degree to which immigrants had to modify their original goals or the extension of the time required to realize the goals in each society. Hope-Thomas further claimed that, where the ethnic diversity of the society is extensive, the entrance of another group makes little impact on existing structures. If this is the case, the arrival of West Indians in the United States would not have any great impact on that society, but she failed to mention the numerical differences of the immigrant population in the various societies.

Canada, an immigrant and multi-cultured society, had generated considerable literature in the field of migration studies.[1] J. C. Green (1970) explored political participation and consciousness as indicators of assimilation in his study of West Indians in Vancouver. He found that younger West Indians were less involved in their Canadian community than were the older immigrants and were more loyal to their various West Indian regimes. He also found that the length of residence was significant in participation. Don Handelman (1967) investigated the role of social organization in immigrant adjustment in his study of West Indian immigrants in Montreal. Subas Ramcharan (1972) studied adaptation patterns of West Indians in Toronto and argued that the successful adaptation of West Indians in Canada would not necessitate the relinquishment of their cultural traits or primary group ties, or the disintegration of their

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[1]The Canadian studies include British, Greeks, Italians, Jews, and other immigrant groups. It is not possible to deal with other than the ones relating to West Indians in this context.

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communal identity, but would require social structural participation mainly in economic organizations.

The migration of commonwealth citizens from the West Indies to Great Britain, starting about the mid-1950s, resulted in a growing body of sociological and social-psychological literature dealing with various aspects of immigrant adjustment. The major areas of focus have been social relations between hosts and immigrants in terms of assimilation, discrimination, and prejudice (Banton 1969; Glass 1960; Patterson 1963) and internal structuring of the immigrant community (Banton 1955; Hill 1963). Causes and effects of migration on the sending and receiving societies (Davison 1962; Peach 1968; Roberts and Mills 1958) have been evaluated within the context of brain drain or loss of talent, shift in demographic characteristics and population growth, and economic and social consequences. Social-psychological consequences of the immigration contact situations are investigated by Bagley (1974, 1975) and Rutter and associates (1974).

R. W. Palmer (1974), exploring some economic considerations of West Indian migration to the United States, indicated salary differentials between the two societies as a strong pull factor but also noted that the desire for professional and vocational advancement is another consideration (as did Hope-Thomas).

Relevant to this study are Alan Richardson's (1967) indices of satisfaction, identification, and acculturation in his study of British immigrants in Australia and Weiss Bar-Yosef's (1967) concept of desocialization and resocialization in her study of immigrants in Israel. Erikson's (1955, 1959) identity development theory provides background

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information and perspectives on immigrant identity.

West Indian immigrants require a theoretical perspective which takes racial and national characteristics into account. Social attitudes and structural arrangements make the assimilation concept irrelevant to this group. The problems of absorption, community and social networks, and ethnic pluralism are relevant concepts in the theoretical consideration of this immigrant group.

Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

The patterns of adaptation and identification of Jamaican immigrants of the two periods will be examined within the framework of a model of "immigrant adaptation" developed by Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 198). The theoretical approach developed by this model indicated that pre-emigration characteristics and conditions, situational determinants in the receiving society, and length of residence influence the patterns of immigrants' adaptation and identification. The adaptation process involves objective as well as subjective factors (see Figure 1).

The pre-emigration characteristics and conditions include demographic characteristics, auspices, motivation, and education. Demographic characteristics are age, sex, marital status, family situation. Auspices refer to the conditions under which the immigrants enter the society or the selectiveness of immigration laws which allows sponsorship by relatives, job classification or educational qualification, or any other criteria. Motivation includes reasons for wanting to leave and what is anticipated in the receiving society. Education, technical training, and skills are the resources the immigrants bring to the receiving society and crucial to the adaptation process.

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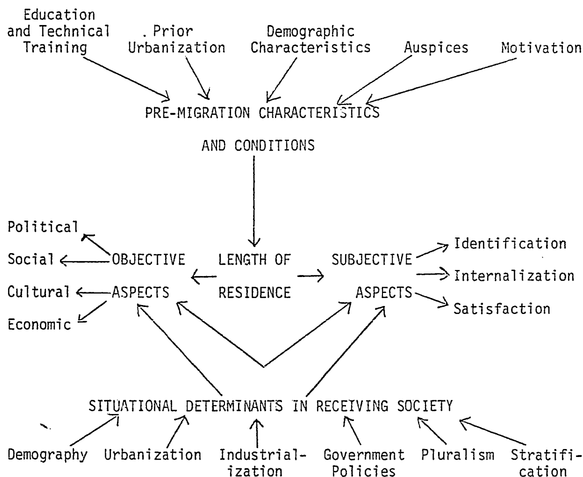

SOURCE: Goldlust and Richmond (1974:198)

Figure 1. Multivariate Model of the Immigrant Adaptation Process

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The situational determinants in the receiving society are the social structural arrangements which facilitate or impede access to the social and economic opportunities which immigrants consider necessary for self-advancement and the social networks and organizations to which they will be admitted.

The length of residence (five years) gives the immigrants the opportunity for citizenship and the right to participate in the political activities. It also provides the opportunity for them to have acquired skills which could optimize their economic opportunities and improve their social status. During this period, the immigrants would have had wide exposure to the various cultural influences of the society and the chance to become acculturated, providing the society is accommodative of such a pattern. Length of residence may provide no more than a low level of acculturation, what Milton Gordon termed "behavioral assimilation" (1964:71). On the other hand, the society may facilitate a parallel structure for the immigrants whereby they can maintain their own cultural identity patterns. This is the pluralistic structure.

The objective aspects--political, social, economic, and cultural--include occupations into which the immigrants move, participation in cultural activities of the host society and those they create for themselves, social networks of formal or informal nature, and voting and other political activities. The subjective aspects are satisfaction, internalization (acculturation), and identification and concern the immigrants' attitudes and behavior in relation to the objective factors.

Our model (Figure 2) is a modification of the above discussion in order to accommodate the absence of substantive demographic data.

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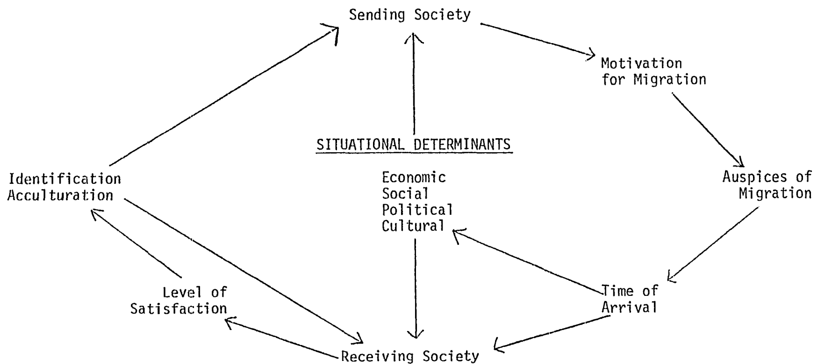

Figure 2. Motivation, Migration, Adaptation, and Identification: A Model for the Study of the Migration Process

We have postulated economic, social, political, and cultural factors in the sending and receiving societies as the situational determinants or push/pull factors which motivate migration. We assume that the economic conditions are the primary motivational factor but also view the social, political, and cultural elements as corollaries of the economic situation.

The level of the immigrants' participation in these spheres of activities will influence their perception of their situation in the host country and determine their level of satisfaction. Satisfaction in this context refers to the subjective assessment by the immigrants of how they are doing in relation to other immigrant groups in the host country and how they were situated prior to migrating. Satisfaction level influences adaptation patterns and subsequent identificational orientation. Satisfaction with conditions in the host country tends toward acculturation and identification with that society. Conversely, dissatisfaction tends to reorient immigrants to their own country through emphasis on national identity and the cultural patterns which reflect that identity.

The following hypotheses reflect the theoretical perspective and conceptualization of West Indian immigrants' (Jamaicans in particular) situation in America and their response to the situation.

1. Unsatisfactory conditions in the host society result in positive redefinition of conditions in the home country so that they (a) de-emphasize the negative factors and (b) exaggerate the positive factors.

Nostalgic longing for home develops from feelings of rejection or the failure of the host society to measure up to expectation (Weinstock 1969:32; Weiss Bar-Yosef 1964:31). The early post-migration

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situation provides motivation, opportunity, and reward for immigrants' satisfaction and subsequent identification with the host society (Heiss 1967:265). Where the immigrants experience unsatisfactory conditions, they begin to focus on the country of origin and the pleasures of existence in that society, real or imagined, cushion the harsh reality of their present situation. The immigrants may then begin to orient their behavior toward their eventual return "home," adopting the attitudes and behavioral patterns of "sojourners"[2] whose essential existence is beyond their physical surroundings. The knowledge that home is there whenever they choose to return provides psychological release from the stress of coping in a foreign country.

2. The recent immigrants from Jamaica are less inclined toward acculturation than the early immigrants because the recent immigrants (a) maintained a closer physical contact with the home society, (b) share a more geographically defined area, and (c) have more of their cultural artifacts to reinforce their cultural patterns.

The early immigrants from Jamaica arrived during the period when "Americanization," "assimilation," and the "melting pot" ideologies were the prevailing ideologies. They therefore had no institutional support for indulging cultural differences, although they were relatively close to their homeland. The means of transport was not conducive to frequent travel because it was time-consuming, expensive, and lacking in comfort. The reduction in number of immigrants from that country over an extended period of time prevented the reinforcement of cultural values and practices. They shared social institutions of the native black community.

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[2]The sojourner role has been applied to Chinese immigrants in the United States who established patterns as "temporary residents regardless of length of period of residence" (Siu 1952:34-44).

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The women, predominantly private household workers, were more exposed to American cultural values and behavior patterns than they were to those of their own group.

The recent Jamaican immigrants maintained closer contact with the home country during their early years of residence, having a vastly improved system of travel. The communities in which they live, although they are still mostly shared with native black Americans, have a more pronounced West Indian flavor than the early immigrant could achieve. The women are less isolated in private households and the range of services available to the recent group help to reinforce West Indian cultural practices.

3. There is a positive correlation between high social status and identity with country. Immigrants tend to identify positively with the country which provides them with high social status and negatively with the country which gives them low social status.

Emigration disintegrates the social identity of individuals which family, community, and the roles with their attached statuses provide and which the emigrants have come to associate with themselves. The sense of continuity and social sameness, which Erikson (1959:101-166, 1966:144-154) suggested are factors in an individual's conception of self, are broken. The individual is now forced to forge a new concept of self based on the situational factors encountered in the contact with host. As Eisenstadt (1953:169) explained, the process of transplantation involves a shrinkage of the immigrants' social life and participation and it becomes necessary to redefine old, established roles, acquire new roles, and evolve an identification with the new society compatible with the society's values and goals. In Weiss Bar-Yosef's (1967:27-29) terms,

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the immigrants must be resocialized and establish a new identity.

West Indian immigrants in the United States are part of the racial group that has been assigned low social status. It is therefore expected that Jamaican immigrants, as part of the wider West Indian immigrant group, will identify negatively with the United States and positively with Jamaica.

4. West Indian immigrants who perceive the host society as assigning them low social status are more likely to maintain foreign status identity because they perceive foreign status as providing them with (a) greater social and economic rewards and (b) more favorable attitudinal reception from their host.

Immigrants suffer a loss of identity during their early period of residence in a foreign society. According to Richardson (1967), they are first intrigued by the strangeness of their surroundings and the interest they arouse by their strangeness. This initial period is followed by "culture shock"--the realization that they are a long way from achieving their anticipated goals. Immigrants from English-speaking Caribbean who are predominantly black and therefore have the same social status as native black Americans attempt to escape the inferior status imposed by the society by continuing to claim membership in their society of origin. Seeman (1966:67-73) referred to this situation as "self-deception, where the immigrants attempt to devise their own standards. They cannot escape the stereotypes accorded the racial category but they perceive themselves as different and assume that their conception of themselves is shared by the dominant white group.

5. The decision to relinquish or retain the sojourner role is made when immigrants acquire the material assets essential to re-establishing themselves in the country of origin at the desired socio-economic level.

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The sojourner is an individual who clings to the culture of his own ethnic group and who is psychologically unwilling to organize himself for permanent residence in the country of his sojourn regardless of the length of time spent in that country (Siu 1952:34). The sojourner role, where it is imposed by the immigrants themselves, has the viability of providing the immigrants with the opportunity to stay as long as they wish since departure is voluntary. It is possible that some variance exists between the psychological orientation to non-permanent residence and the reality of returning to his society. As no time limit is placed on when the sojourner role would end (just as no time limit has been placed on immigrants' assimilation [Etzioni 1959]), immigrants can delay the return indefinitely, sometimes to the point where it is never effected. The decision to stay or return can be made by consciously assessing the relative advantages and/or disadvantages of living in either society.

The decision resulting from such contemplation is the individual's realistic relinquishing of the sojourner role in deciding to stay or leave. Others make the decision subconsciously by never making any effort to leave.

The Research Methods

The research strategy is to compare immigration from Jamaica in two periods: (a) those who emigrated between 1920 and 1940 and (b) those who emigrated between 1960 and 1975. These two periods provide the opportunity for comparison of the different situational factors in two societies which motivate migration. All the respondents, males and

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females, are citizens or permanent residents of the United States and were at least 18 years old at the time of their arrival in the United States.

The methodology used in the study included participant observation, questionnaires, and interviews. This multiple methods approach or triangulation (Denzin 1970:297-313) has been selected over the single method approach because of the paucity of previous research in the area and the absence of supporting data such as census tracts to use as reference material.

Participant Observation

Systematic participant observation was conducted from 1974 to 1977, although the researcher's familiarity with the Jamaican community extends for a period well beyond those three years. Observation continued during the questionnaire survey. Participant observation techniques have been observed (Denzin 1970:185-218), and examples of such studies (Foote White 1943:279-308; Liebow 1967:232-256) have been used as guidelines in the observation. The participant observation included (1) informal visits in the homes of Jamaicans of various occupational categories and periods of residence, membership in organizations and attendance at meetings, conferences, parties, and formal social affairs; (2) conversations relating to their life in New York, life and events in Jamaica, and the general experiences of the immigrants in everyday situations which provide insights into their adaptation patterns; and (3) neighborhood observation. The objective of neighborhood observation was to see to what extent West Indian neighborhoods constitute "an ethnic community" on the basis of institutions and services that cater to the

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special needs of West Indians, the patronage of these organizations and services, and the pattern of interaction involved in the giving and receiving of services.[3]

Interviews

The larger number of interviews were conducted from the early immigrant group. Because the members of this group are not as active or visible as members of the recent group, they were not as easily observable, so that much of participant observation focused in the recent group.[4] Concentrating the interviews in this group, the researcher was able to probe and explore beyond the limits of the questionnaire and participant observation to periods which are undocumented. The 90-minute taped interviews were conducted from the questionnaire. However, answers were not limited to the precoded answers but the respondents were encouraged, whenever it seemed expedient, to expand and relate relevant experiences to the questions. They were also encouraged to define the American society as they see it and indicate changes, positive or negative, over the period of their residence. All the interviews were conducted in the homes of the respondents or on organization premises. Those interviewed lived in Brooklyn (10), Manhattan (5), or the Bronx (1).

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to elicit information

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[3]Records for participant observation consist of diary entries, notes and pamphlets relating to events in the Jamaican community and a number of individuals as informants.

[4]Since 1939, when Reid's Black Immigrants was published, there has been no other definitive work on West Indian immigrants in the United States.

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from a sample of Jamaican immigrants in New York City about their patterns of adaptation which include cultural habits, preferences, and social networks. It also elicited information on their identification of themselves, and their general perception and attitudes toward their host and sending societies. Demographic factors such as time of arrival, age, sex, residence, etc., are also included. There is also a cohort of questions dealing with the immigrants' feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their immigrant status,

The questions were derived primarily from similar studies done in Australia (Richardson 1967), Canada (Ramcharan 1972), and England (Davison 1966). Some of the questions were modified and new ones were added as necessitated by the Jamaican immigrants' situation in the United States. The participant observation provided the basis for the selection of some of the questions used.

Seven hundred questionnaires were distributed in Brooklyn, Bronx, Manhattan, and Queens through organizations, individuals, and the mail. Churches played a very small role in the distribution of questionnaires,[5] but the socio-cultural organizations were very helpful not only with their members but also with reaching people who were not members of the organizations. Individuals who distributed questionnaires included Jamaican students, professionals who have Jamaican clientele, and other individuals known to the researcher. In this situation, one person undertakes to distribute and collect a certain number of questionnaires. The return from this arrangement was more reliable than that from the

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[5]It was difficult to contact the ministers of some of the churches by telephone and they did not respond to messages left with secretaries.

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other two sources, since the person undertakes to collect the completed questionnaires.

The mailing list of the Jamaica Progressive League was used, along with other names solicited from other organizations. Often, before mailing out a questionnaire, the prospective respondent was contacted by telephone and asked to complete the questionnaire. Names and addresses of friends and relatives were also requested, resulting in the addition of two or three more individuals from each source to the mailing list.

The distribution of the questionnaires began in June 1977, and by the end of August the majority were returned. They were sorted into the following categories: occupation, sex, and time of arrival, to determine the distribution of the return (see Table 1). We assumed, then, that the return for the first category, early immigrants, was extremely low. We therefore did an additional mailing and made telephone calls in order to increase the number.[6] By the end of October, only 42 questionnaires had been returned from that group. The response from the recent immigrants was over the anticipated two hundred. However, since a minimum age of 18 years was set for the time of arrival in the United States, those under that age were discarded. A further number were discarded because the information was too incomplete for inclusion. The final number processed was 192.

Problems Encountered in the Research

Attempts were made to reach equal numbers of respondents, based on occupation and sex, from each category, but this proved an impossible

[6]This is explained in the section titled "Problems Encountered in the Research."

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TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE

	Total	Early Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
All respondents	234	42	192
Sex:			
Male	86	24	62
Female	148	18	130
Occupation:			
Professional/Technical	52	13	49
Clerical/Sales	80	16	64
Service	62	7	55
Other	30	6	24

Responses to questionnaires came from four boroughs, Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens, Manhattan, in order of size of return, which seems to represent the pattern of distribution of the Jamaican population in New York City.

task since the researcher had no system of controls to achieve this goal. Initially the questionnaires were distributed as if we were using a random sample and each category was checked as questionnaires were returned. Thereafter, we aimed at specific groups so that the occupational areas were all relatively well represented. In the early group, the professional and clerical occupations agreed readily to be interviewed or complete questionnaires, while those employed in the service areas, or who had been employed in service areas, were more reluctant to fill in questionnaires or even to be interviewed.

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One comment frequently heard from the people from the first group (42) was, "Only a few of us are left now," Death, relocation in the United States, and return to Jamaica are the reasons given for the reduction of the group's size. That population is now more represented by their offspring (who were not included in this study) than by the original immigrants.

The population of the recent Jamaican immigrants in New York City was obtained through Immigration Department statistics but estimates had to be made of the early group in relation to the former to maintain consistency between the groups. The population estimates for West Indian immigrants in America vary with each estimator. Ira Reid (1968:41-44 and Tables 233-245) diligently calculated and sifted West Indian blacks from the general category of "African black" used by the Immigration office up to 1930. He estimated the general West Indian immigrant population at 98,620, of which 73 percent were from the British West Indies; Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Tobago, and others. The immigration from the West Indies from 1931 to 1940 was 15,502 (Statistical Abstract 1950: 99), but since the emigration exceed immigration of West Indians for most of that period (Reid 1968:41), the population would not have increased significantly. Furthermore, immigration from the West Indies was drastically reduced since the Quota Act of 1924 and the American depression further inhibited immigration.

In 1930, 73 percent of West Indian immigrants, which represents English-speaking West Indians, numbered approximately 72,138, of which 54,754 lived in New York City.

Glazer and Moynihan (1967:35) estimated the West Indian population

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at 17 percent of the native black population in 1930. They estimated the native black population in New York City in 1940 at 458,000 (1967: 318). If we assume that the percentage remained constant, the West Indian immigrant population should have approximately 77,800 in 1940, well above Reid's figure. Oscar Handlin (1962:49) estimated this population at 50,000 and, like Glazer and Moynihan, claimed that the majority of the immigrants were from Jamaica.

Dennis Forsyth's (1976:67) estimate of West Indians in the United States in 1940 is 41,970, in 1930 49,310, and in 1920 36,901. His estimate is based on the 1910 census which recorded West Indian immigrants at approximately half the foreign-born Negroes. He assumed the same percentage for the year mentioned. He refers specifically to British West Indians, but even so the figures are conservative for the entire United States.

Since Jamaica has been the largest numerical contributor to the West Indian immigrant population in the United States, it is reasonable to assume that in 1940 there were approximately 30,000 Jamaicans in the New York metropolitan area. This figure represents between one-fourth and one-fifth of the 1972-1975 immigration from Jamaica (132,000 approximately), the period for which independent figures have been available for that country.

The figures from the survey sample returns, 42 for the early immigrant group and 192 for the recent immigrant group, represent a similar proportion. Given the fact that death and relocation had eroded the early immigrant population, 42 is a reasonable numerical representation. The major concern is that respondents from all the categories are

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represented in the sample. For reasons already cited, some are more visible and more responsive than individuals from other categories.

Although it is desirable to have similar numerical values in the comparative group, the smallness of the early immigrant group and the difficulty in reaching them and in getting them to complete questionnaires made the task of acquiring a larger sample impossible. Furthermore, the analytic method utilizes a cohort of variables designed to solicit information on aspects of immigrant adjustment--satisfaction, acculturation, and identification--not matching each individual to a question. The study is not primarily quantitative but a combination of two additional methods: participant observation and interviews. Conclusions and generalizations, as far as the sample allows, will be made on the basis of all three methodological procedures.

The observation of Daves and Newton (1972) is applicable to this analysis. They suggested that

> [t]he traditional research techniques of the social sciences cannot be used with much success in the study of immigrants' social patterns. The compound difficulties of sampling and interviewing immigrant populations means that research must be based on more indirect methods of data collection and on different statistical techniques [1972:43].

This observation was made when they attempted to use census data to explore the social patterns of immigrants in Great Britain. The problem is compounded when the researcher must proceed without even this inadequate facility.

Data Analysis

The research strategy compares two groups of Jamaican immigrants, stating (a) that the immigrant group of 1920-1940 (hereafter referred to

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as the early group) adopted the assimilationist pattern, (b) that the immigrant group of 1960-1975 (recent group) adopted a pluralistic pattern, and (c) that length of residence is not a significant factor in these immigrants' identification of themselves. The theoretical thrust of this study is that situational determinants in the sending and receiving societies affect the patterns of adaptation and identification of immigrants.

Three major variables have been used; (1) satisfaction, (2) acculturation, and (3) identification, to arrive at some understanding of the adaptation and identification patterns of these immigrants. Initially, it was assumed that indices could be created for these major variables from cohorts of relevant variables, but attempts to create indices result in the loss of much of the data so as to render the findings unreliable. We decided to use the same cohort of variables but as single units of analysis in the relevant chapters. The general conceptualization around these variables is that, if immigrants are satisfied with their situation in the new country, they will tend to acculturate more rapidly and that acculturation leads to identification with the society.

The following variables were used to develop the chapters on satisfaction, acculturation, and identification:

Satisfaction variables:

(a) job satisfaction

(b) better-off in America/Jamaica

(c) achievement of goals

(d) willingness to repeat experience

(e) encourages others to emigrate

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Acculturation variables (subsections):

(a) cultural symbols relative to Jamaica

(b) informal social networks--family and friends

(c) social organizations and membership

Identification (with America and/or Jamaica):

(a) political participation

(1) voting

(2) other political activities

(b) perception of the society

(1) Americans share their opinions

(2) feel discriminated against

(3) better off in America or Jamaica

(4) Americans are more friendly when they know the immigrants are Jamaicans

(5) whether being West Indian helps them to get a job

(c) attitudes about Jamaica

(1) returning to live permanently in Jamaica

(2) identify themselves as Jamaicans

(3) know more about political situation in Jamaica than in America

(4) return to Jamaica immediately if you have enough money

(5) often wish you could just pack up and return to Jamaica

The above variables have been recoded into dichotomies and trichotomies where necessary to provide an index-like formation. Missing values are eliminated from final tables so that percentages represent only responses.

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Intervening dependent variables:

age, sex, education, some education in the United States, occupation, income, and migration reason

These intervening dependent variables are cross-tabulated with the variables for satisfaction, acculturation, and identification to determine if a relationship exists between these variables. This process will further refine the adaptation and identification patterns.

Organization of Material

This material which follows is presented in the following order:

Chapter 2 deals with situational factors in Jamaica (push factors) which motivate emigration.

Chapter 3 looks at the situation in America (pull factors) and the Immigration Policies which regulate the flow of immigrants into the United States.

Chapter 4 surveys the general West Indian immigrant population in the United States.

Chapter 5 summarizes the statistical data on the questionnaire survey of Jamaican immigrants.

Chapter 6 discusses satisfaction as a condition for acculturation and identification.

Chapter 7 discusses patterns of adaptation in terms of cultural orientation, social network, and social organizations.

Chapter 8 discusses the factors in Jamaican immigrants' identification with either Jamaica or America.

Chapter 9 looks at the immigrant in the sojourner role.

Summary and Conclusion.

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CHAPTER 2

CONDITIONS FAVORING EMIGRATION FROM THE WEST INDIES: THE "PUSH" FACTORS

> When existing social conditions fail to satisfy the individual's needs at least minimally, certain members of the collectivity will entertain the notion of moving away to other places, where, as they see it, they will have a better chance of satisfying their unmet needs and overcoming deprivation [Mangalam and Schwarzweller 1969:10).

"Unmet needs" and "deprivation" are relative terms, their definitions determined by the circumstances of the prospective emigrants and whether they are responding primarily to plus factors or minus factors. Everett S. Lee (1966:56) explained the plus and minus factors operative in selective migration. Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected, while persons responding to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected. In the first category, the decision to migrate is weighed against the advantages or disadvantages of actual and perceived opportunities at origin and destination. Persons who are well educated, economically stable, and/or enjoy high social status are in the category of positively selected immigrants.

In the second category, negatively selected immigrants are those persons responding to minus factors at origin. These factors can be political expulsion or persecution, economic conditions, or a combination of both. Whatever the situation, such persons have failed to carve a satisfactory social position in their own society and are likely to conclude that emigration could prove no worse than their present existence.

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West Indian immigrants represent both categories of immigrants, with the economic conditions as the primary factor of the minus category but also wielding a strong influence on the plus category.

The English-speaking West Indies has been an exporter of labor at varying levels of skills. Jamaica, numerically and proportionately, outstrips the other islands in the number of Jamaicans who have migrated to other countries. Whether the greater emigration from Jamaica means that Jamaicans have more unmet needs at home or that they see emigration as an easier way of fulfilling their needs is best examined through the existing conditions at the time of each wave of emigration.

Jamaica is the largest of the former British West Indian islands and belongs to that group known as the Greater Antilles. Jamaica has a total area of 4,411 square miles and a population of approximately two million. The population breaks down into racial categories as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF JAMAICA'S POPULATION

Racial category	Percentage
African/Afro-Europeans	91.4
European	0.8
Chinese/Afro-Chinese	1.2
East Indian/Afro-East Indian	3.4
Other	3.2

SOURCE: Statistical Abstract (Jamaica) 1973.

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The population composition indicates some of the complexities of the Jamaican society which are also characteristic of the other English-speaking islands with variations in the population composition.

The socioeconomic condition of each racial category varies inversely with its population ratio. Europeans are the absolute minority, yet they are socially and economically dominant while Africans, who are by far the absolute majority, are concentrated at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale. Although this situation is not unique to the West Indies, the historical development of the West Indies has its own characteristics which are the bases for certain persons to seek the satisfaction of their needs in other countries.

The former British West Indies developed in three distinct stages: the slavery period, the colonial period, and nationhood. It should be noted also that many of these islands were the prizes handed over by the Metropolitan governments in settlement of their imperialistic disputes. Jamaica, for instance, was under Spanish occupation from 1492 to 1655, when it was taken by the British; Trinidad has had a Spanish, French, and finally British occupation. Although Jamaica retained only a few relics of the Spanish occupation and the population of Jews who were part of the population of that period, Trinidadian society reflects elements of all the occupations (Gordon K. Lewis 1968:69).

The institution of slavery developed in the West Indies when sugar became an important commodity on the European market. By the later seventeenth century the smallholdings and indentured workers of the early settlers were replaced by large plantations and Africans brought to the West Indies and other parts of the Western Hemisphere for the specific

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purpose of enslavement. In terms of social organization, the West Indies shared similar patterns of slave societies in the region except in the one feature that was unique to the West Indies; the high degree of landlord absenteeism (Hall 1973). The absence of the owners gave rise to a class of estate managers or agents referred to as attorneys in Jamaica. Such a person could be the resident-manager or he would engage the services of an overseer, if a non-resident. There was also a category of workers under the attorney or overseer known as bookkeepers who performed the task of field or factory foremen.

The social structure of slave societies is too well documented to require detailed discussion here, but some aspects of the West Indian situation will elucidate the social and economic conditions to be discussed in this paper.

Gordon K. Lewis (1968) summarized the West Indian situation when he stated that

> . . . not only the dominant institution but also the controlling attitudes of the society have been shaped, to a great extent, by white European influence. Its ethnic composition has been basically Negro, but its social and political directions have been European, and, moreover, selectively European. For whatever the great European achievements since the century of genius may have been in art, technology, and science, it must be remembered that for the Caribbean, as for most other colonial areas, there has been little chance of access to their enjoyment. European control has meant, on the contrary, exposure to the less attractive attributes of Europe, its lust for adventure, its drive for expansion, its search for quick profits, not least of all the racialist arrogance and pride of the European man as he made himself, after 1500, the conqueror of the Universe [1968:55].

Institutional arrangements in the West Indies favored the absentee landlords and, to a lesser extent, the resident owners and other white workers. The West Indies was never intended to benefit from the cultural and technological development of Europe, so only those aspects that were

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favorable to the absent elite were encouraged. Besides, the West Indies was not considered "home" to the European; it was a place to live or work until one is sufficiently well off to return to Europe (Hall 1968: 123; Curtin 1955:15-16). Given this attitude, there was no incentive to Europeanize the region beyond establishing dominance. Another factor was that the colonies drew from the Metropolitan society only a small select group, often illiterate and not part of the cultural mainstream of the society. V. S. Naipaul referred to the mediocrity of the English settler in Trinidad, stating that their intellectual liveliness which distinguished them as newcomers to the West Indies faded soon after arrival. He said, "In slave society, where self-fulfillment came so easily, this liveliness began to be perverted and then to fade, and the English saw their pre-eminence, more simply, as a type of racial magic . . ." (Naipaul 1969:316).

In Jamaica, as in Trinidad, the white settler had only limited intellectual reserves which could not assist him in effectively transplanting the social institutional arrangements of his society or maintaining his personal dignity as an individual. Instead,he developed and relied upon a type of racial arrogance or magic in order to assert his authority.

Marriage and family life, which are major institutions of cultural transmission and maintenance, were not high priorities among settlers; as Douglas Hall explained, many were adhering to the injunctions of Francis Bacon.

> Those who came to the sugar colonies to attempt a fortune seemed to prefer to travel light, unencumbered with familial obstacles to their enterprises. When a man made his fortune he sought a wife

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> to give him the heir who would inherit. Whereas the quest for sexual adventure could easily be satisfied among the slave women and the poorer whites and free coloureds in a colony, the search for a wife generally led back to Britain. When whiteness of skin was one of the determinants of social excellence it was wise, for those who wished to reach the top, whether as residents or abroad, to seek a wife whose complexion was clearly virgin, and whose pedigree was either rightfully emblazoned or easily embellished [Hall 1973:122].

Edward Long, an English judge in the local vice-admiralty court of Jamaica for twelve years, bemoaned the lack of sexual morality in that colony and the white males' disregard for marriage on the basis that marriage brought heavy and intolerable expenses (Long 1973:83-84). If the attitude of the English settlers in the West Indies toward marriage reflected the wisdom of literary figures such as Francis Bacon, who advocated the single life for those who desired fortune and adventure, their lifestyles did not reflect the cultural standards of England. Many shared the patterns imposed on the slaves, who were not permitted to follow the social and cultural arrangements of their African societies, which they categorized as savage.

In the slave sector of the society both males and females had equivalent status, biological sex difference being their only acknowledged difference, and this did not entitle females to special consideration. Slavery in the West Indies was considered the most repressive, not just a way of life but the only way of life that mattered there. Virtually no one, whites or non-slaves of color, was totally free of any connection with slavery (Lowenthal 1972:42). The institutions of law, government, and religion were organized in such a way as to prevent dissatisfaction from erupting into revolt (Lewis 1969:52).

The sexual exploitation of slave women by white males produced a third group of people referred to as mulattoes, or coloreds. They were

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more likely to be given freedom than were the black slaves, and by the end of the eighteenth century they represented from 5 to 20 percent of the various West Indian populations. The free colored people were distinguished from the slaves not by freedom but by color, and color was rewarded on the degree of closeness to the European. Black former slaves who gained freedom through the generosity of their masters or by service to the state did not enjoy the same privileges as those of the free colored. For instance, it was the free colored who were able to establish their identity as a separate group, move into occupations vacated by whites and be accepted as allies, albeit an uncomfortable alliance, by whites against slave insurrections. They also replaced the black women as mistresses to the white males, further reducing their chances of emerging from slavery.

White fathers not only acknowledged their colored children but often educated them in Europe, left them property, and arranged marriages with other coloreds or for them to live with white men as their concubines (Lowenthal 19:588). As the colored group grew in number and economic importance, skin color became more of a mark of distinction so that quite an elaborate system of color distinction and associated privileges characterized social relations between the various skin pigmentations. One fact remained, however: whites were at the top and blacks were at the bottom.

Education, to the extent that it was available, benefited only the children of resident planters. By 1813 this provision was extended to the colored children. Some schools were operated by religious organizations but they were discouraged from teaching freed blacks and

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forbidden to teach slaves. Learning was not highly valued in the West Indies; those who had the desire to see their children well educated sent them to Europe if they could afford to do so (Lowenthal 1972:35). Here again another institution which could have been instrumental in integrating the diverse elements of the society was discouraged. This affected not only the slaves who were denied all access to formal education; it also deprived white residents of the intellectual flexibility which could have helped them to utilize the environmental conditions for their general social well-being instead of mere economic exploitation.

The plantation system became not just an agricultural form but the basis for a societal model of a kind (Mintz 1971:26). Eric Wolf explained the plantation system:

> Wherever the plantation has arisen, or wherever it was imported from the outside, it always destroyed antecedent cultural norms and imposed its own dictates, sometimes by persuasion, sometimes by compulsion. . . . The plantation therefore is an instrument of force, wielded to create and to maintain a class-structure of workers and owners, connected hierarchically by a staff-line of overseers and managers. Conversely, wherever it has spread, it has affected the social groups established in the areas before its advent. . . . The plantation thus not only produces its own class-structure, but has an inhibiting effect on the formation of any alternative class-structure within its area of control [Wolf 1971: 163-164].

When slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1838, the plantation system continued to dominate the economic, political, and social arrangements in the area (George Bedford 1972; Lloyd Best 1968).

The anti-slavery movement had no advocates in the West Indies. The planters refused to heed even the eminent economist, Adam Smith, who advocated wage labor as a more productive means than slavery. As Elsa Goveia indicated, it was not until pressing economic difficulties in the sugar industry in the West Indies forced the British government to

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see emancipation as a viable alternative that the humanitarian aspects which were long advocated in England and North America were conceded. She said, "humanitarian principles succeeded only when their humane objectives coincided with practical political and economic circumstances" (1965:355-356).

Since the production of sugar was the prime reason for the institutionalization of slavery, its abolition raised the question of sugar's continued dominance of the economy. One of the major arguments used against emancipation had been immediate economic decline, assuming that only under the conditions of slavery could they extract labor from the black people. The predicted economic collapse was not more severe than the gradual decline that had already been in progress in the area, except in the case of Jamaica, where production dropped significantly. The white planters, determined to hold onto their privileges, resisted all efforts to make freedom a reality for the ex-slaves. Eric Williams (1973:328-360), in what he called "the ordeal of free labor," described the repressive rules and malicious tactics that were employed to keep the ex-slaves tied to the plantation.

Great Britain compensated the planters for the loss of their slaves, a sum of twenty million pounds sterling; Jamaican planters received slightly more than one-fourth of the total (Williams 1973:332). There were no conditions attached to the compensation and no stipulation that the ex-slaves were entitled to any benefits thereform. The metropolitan countries made no provision for the former slaves. Like the planters, they were anxious to keep them on the plantation with a wage. Some of the planters used the compensation money to settle up their debts

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and withdraw from the West Indies; others invested the money in making their estates more productive and competitive with other sugar-producing areas.

As mentioned earlier, the sugar production in Jamaica declined rapidly after emancipation--resident laborers from 42,000 in 1832 to 14,000 in 1846. Many planters were ruined, yet that did not spell economic ruin for that country but a shift in emphasis from export commodities to consumption products. The total agricultural output from 1832 to 1850 fell by one-third, while the production for home consumption rose from one-third to more than one-half the total, with peasant proprietors' lot greatly improved (Lowenthal 1972:56-57; Williams 1973:339). Many of the former slaves in Jamaica rejected the wage/plantation system of the post-emancipation years and opted for smallholdings--extensions of slave garden plots, abandoned lands in the hills, or unused crown lands. William Sewell, a <u>New York Times</u> correspondent traveling in the British West Indies to assess the effects of emanciation, was suitably impressed by the industry of the ex-slaves who, through their own effort, had raised themselves to the rank of landed proprietors, taxpayers, and voters. Of the Jamaican situation, he said that economic decline resulted from the failure of the planters to acknowledge the conditions of emancipation and their antagonism toward the ex-slaves (Sewell 1973: 136-149). The lack of accommodation between former slaves and masters helped to promote the diversification in agricultural production in Jamaica.

Convinced that a cheap reliable source of labor was the key to recapturing prosperity, West Indian planters persuaded the Metropolitan

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government to import indentured workers, i.e., workers who would have a prior commitment for a specified period of time under conditions predetermined by the planters. Asians (Indians and Chinese) and Portuguese (Maderians) were recruited to replace blacks on the plantation. This arrangement reduced the dependency of the planters on the emancipated blacks and also reduced the economic value of free labor in the West Indies generally. Although the imported labor had not the numerical and, later, political significance for Jamaica and Barbados that it did for Guyana and Trinidad, the economic and psychological consequences were of great importance, both on the short-term and long-term basis.

The immediate economic consequence was the effectiveness with which the planters prevented the newly emancipated slaves from gaining economic viability through the negotiation of their labor power in an open market system. In Jamaica, the ex-slaves began to develop a free enterprise system of their own, having shown early a dislike for the continuation of work on the plantation. This left the majority in marginal economic circumstances as farmers, petty traders, laborers in non-agricultural situations, or whatever was available. They all had in common the fact that very little income accrued from such employment.

While the Indians settled on what was left of the plantation system in Jamaica and the more extensive one in Trinidad and Guyana, the Chinese rejected this area and became involved in petty trading which, in the long run, gave them total control of the wholesale/retail grocery business and the economic means to launch their offspring into the more elite occupational areas. This situation in recent years has caused many feelings of resentment to be directed at members of that group as

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well as at the more privileged colored group by the more disadvantaged black population. For the average black Jamaican, life was an economic struggle for the majority which was reinforced by the psychological damages inflicted during slavery and continued in the post-emancipation years through verbal assaults emphasizing their unworthiness and the systematic denial of any human rights.

When the Metropolitan government finally acknowledged that the planters had no intention of improving the lot of the former slaves and that the political system of "planters' democracy" was oppressive, as demonstrated by the rebellions of blacks in 1865 and the subsequent investigation (Williams 1973:400-402), Jamaica was made a Crown Colony. This meant political accountability to Great Britain, but not political franchise to the masses; this did not occur until much later, nor did this move significantly affect the socioeconomic and racio-color division of privileges.

However, the establishment of a political bureaucracy did initiate certain kinds of development, chiefly in the area of health, education, and other human services. Of course the benefits accruing to the black masses were few, but at least elementary education became available for those who could take advantage of that provision. Eventually the demands for nurses, teachers, and lesser civil servants provided an avenue of escape from peasantry and urban poverty to a pattern of social mobility formerly denied them. As Lowenthal (1972:62-75) explained, the Crown Colony status did not change the social structure of West Indian societies. In Jamaica, black people or even colored people were given positions of responsibility when there were no creole whites

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or expatriates to fill the positions. While the colored people continued to maintain their middle position from the earlier period, blacks who were qualified would not be employed in certain occupational areas. This is not to say that there had not been changes. The lack of documentation during this period leaves much to conjecture. Adam Kuper (1976: 50) suggested that there must have been major social, economic, and political changes during the colonial period which stimulated the nationalistic movements in the 1940s; Lowenthal (1972) and Williams (1973) suggested economic decline and continuation of the old regime.

As indicated earlier, the trend for diversification of agricultural products began in Jamaica but there is no indication that production in any area had improved significantly. As a matter of fact, the whole British West Indies was non-competitive because the mode of production employed was less productive than rival areas in the Caribbean, South Pacific, East Indies, and northern Australia where sugar cane production was introduced. The production of beet sugar in Europe also added to the dilemma of West Indian sugar. The kind of economic system in the West Indies, defined as "Plantation Economies" by George Bedford (1972) and Lloyd Best (1968), functions not as a dynamic system but rather tends to stagnate and was profitable only to the planter class. Any economic growth for Jamaica during this period seemed to have stemmed from the general economic growth of the hemisphere rather than from any effort of the planters or the government to stimulate economic growth.

While social services improved, their availability to the masses and access to such services made them virtually nonexistent as far as

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the larger portion of the population was concerned. What seemed to have developed was a small core comprising the colonial elite, the planters and merchants on the top level, and a colored middle group which was courted or rebuffed depending on the demand for their allegiance. Some of the services enjoyed by these people were extended to the masses. The nationalism of the middle class in the 1940s mentioned by Kuper above developed from the contradictions of the colonial system, the acceptance/rejection by the whites, the frustration of denial of opportunities to participate fully in the social and political processes, Changes in the colonial period seemed to have been the heightening of awareness of deprivation, not any significant improvement in the material condition of the general population of Jamaica.

The economic pressure, more than consciousness of social and political disadvantages, forced individuals from the British Islands to seek employment throughout the Caribbean and North America. For most of the emigrants, the push factors were operative--the low-production economy of the colonial period pushed Jamaicans and other West Indies to areas where the promise of regular wages, even under unfavorable conditions, became the "pull" factors.

The sugar industry in Cuba, financed by United States capital and using more modern technology in the production process, had demand for labor which was recruited from Haiti and Jamaica primarily. It is ironic that Jamaicans, who had shown such distaste for plantation work, went to Cuba to perform the same tasks of cutting cane, weeding, and doing other types of menial work when the cane season was over; employment which the Cubans spurned. In 1919 there were 18,122 Jamaicans in

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Cuba and by 1931 the number increased to 40,471 (Maingot 1971:44). Employment in Cuba was mostly temporary, but some workers remained and established permanent residence there while yet others moved to the United States.

West Indians also went to the Dominican Republic (Hendricks 1975) and to Costa Rica to help build the railroads and later to work in the banana industry (Bryce-LaPorte 1962), and to Panama where they helped to build the canal, after which many remained to live in both the Canal Zone and the Panama Republic. In Panama they became maintenance workers and clerks, taught school, and did whatever else was available (Reid 1968: 67-73). West Indians also went to Canada, but their major target area has always been the United States, where they arrived, sometimes directly from the West Indies, sometimes from other places to which they had previously migrated. Immigration to the United States remained largely unrestricted until about 1917, with increasing restrictions thereafter until 1965. After the 1920s, emigration from the West Indies was restricted, either by immigration laws or by lack of economic opportunities abroad; the Great Depression of the 1930s was a more effective terminator of immigration than any immigration law.

The traditional avenue of escape to economic opportunity, emigration, was unavailable in the 1930s and, consequently, unemployment and all its corollaries increased. The lack of economic opportunities was extended to include social and political repression. Dissatisfaction was expressed by riots and other civil disorders and the formation of labor unions and other political organizations in an attempt to effect social change. The coming of the Second World War provided another

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outlet for the surplus labor in the West Indies. The United States recruited male laboreres from the area to help man wartime industries and for agriculture. Young men were recruited for military duties in England and Canada, while in Jamaica the discontent of the late 1930s began to develop stronger and more organized systems for pressuring the British government for self-government.

This effort was not only a local movement. Jamaican residents in the United States, supporters of Marcus Garvey, in the 1920s actively supported the demand for self-determination. Various commission reports testified to the need for social reforms and the poor economic conditions of the region (Lewis 1968:69-117). Trade unions began to play an important role in the negotiating of wages and other conditions of employment, and, although compared to other developing countries the wages were reasonable, salaries were still pitifully small. As late as 1952 the wages for certain classes of workers, as indicated by Table 3, was lagging far behind those in developed countries.

During the period 1953-1962, the Jamaica economy grew at a phenomenal rate; the major contributor to this unprecedented growth was the inception of the bauxite mining industry. By the late 1950s Jamaica was the world's leading producer of bauxite. The tourist industry along with light manufacturing also contributed significantly to the rapid economic growth. This period also marked a shift from agriculture as the primary economic asset. This shift, unlike the United States, was due not to mechanization and increased production in agricultural output but rather to the abandoning of a non-profitable area for the more ready wage employment of the new industries (Tidrick 1973:191-195).

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TABLE 3

WAGES AND HOURS BY EMPLOYMENT CATEGORY,
JAMAICA DURING 1950s

Employment Category	Wages		Hours
	Male	Female	(daily or weekly)
Agricultural (sugar)	9/6[a]	7/0	8 hrs. per day
	8/6	6/3	8 hrs. per day
	8/3	6/0	8 hrs. per day
Public Utilities			
Electricians	132/8	-	48 hrs. per week
Servicemen	117/4	-	48 hrs. per week
Linesmen	106/5	-	48 hrs. per week
Laborers	74/1	-	48 hrs. per week
Plumbers	80/8	-	48 hrs. per week
Manufacturing			
Vegetable Products	68/3	48/11	44 & 39 hrs. per week[b]
Confectionary	66/1	48/0	46 & 39 hrs. per week
Carbonated Beverages	105/0	62/6	44 & 43 hrs. per week
Chemical Products	76/1	56/4	46 & 47 hrs. per week
Transportation and Communication			
Bus operators[c]	100/6	-	55 hrs. per week
Conductors	68/9	67/2	54 & 53 hrs. per week
Telephone workers[d]	85/7	105/1	45 & 44 hrs. per week
Cable workers[d]	145/11	155/6	44 & 39 hrs. per week
Commerce			
Clerks	100/4 to 180/10	56/8 to 160/9	-

SOURCE: Colonial Report (1956:12-13).

[a]Expressed in British Pound, approx. 7/0 (shillings) to U.S. $ in 1950s.
[b]Hours per week for males and females respectively.
[c]Bus operator is no longer an all-male category
[d]Reason for the salary differential in favor of females not determined.

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William Demas (1973:236) cautioned that total output can grow quite rapidly without corresponding, or significant increase in employment and saw the Caribbean as the prime example of such a phenomenon. Arthur Lewis (1958-401) cited Jamaica as a classic example of surplus labor economy. The result then is high unemployment in the face of rapid economic expansion.

The economic expansion paralleled a similar expansion in education, health, and other social services and a general rise in expectations. This period, 1953-1962, was also the period of the greatest emigration from the West Indies, and Jamaica in particular: the migration to Great Britain. For the first time demographers (Peach 1968; Davison 1962) and economists (Roberts and Mills 1958; Tidrick 1966) began to consider the impact of the emigration on the sending societies. Davison argued that emigration drained the islands of workers in the prime age categories, leaving young children and old people with serious consequences to the societies. Gene Tidrick argued that the consequences were, on an overall basis, beneficial rather than deleterious, referring to the stability of the unemployment rate, the reduction in population and the rate of population increase due to the emigration of individuals in the prime reproductive years. and the balance of payment.

Stuart Philpots (1973:181) discussed the impact of emigrants' remittances on the economy of the sending society, using the Island of Montserrat as his case study. Philpots went beyond the balance of payment concerns and focused on social patterns, concluding that remittances enabled lower-class blacks to take advantage of the educational opportunities, thus promoting social mobility and altering the traditional

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"color-class" system. He also observed that the remittances played a strong role in the political system, the rise of trade unions, and the collapse of the estate system of agricultural production and its associated socioeconomic hierarchy.

The thrust for self-rule and the rejection of colonialism in Jamaica was similarly influenced by emigrants abroad and by those who had returned to the island.

The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 significantly reduced the number of immigrants to Great Britain by imposing conditions of entry such as having a job lined up, joining relatives, acceptance into some training institution (hospital). The curb on migration to Britain coincided with a decline in the economic boom which Jamaica had experienced in the last decade. Demas (1973:244) observed that the Caribbean economics, in spite of their relatively high per capita income, still needed to undergo further transformation, especially in view of the slowing down in the rate of growth of the leading mineral exporting sectors and the disappearance of opportunities for emigration. This observation was made before the United States Immigration Act of 1965 was passed, which proved to be one of the new escape routes for the surplus labor of the West Indies, followed by the Canadian Immigration Act of 1972, which also had beneficial consequences for Jamaica.

The social unrest of the late 1930s and, one can presume, Britain's preoccupation with the World War II conflicts, made the administration of her colonies more difficult for Britain. She willingly acceded to the demands for internal self-rule in Jamaica. Adult suffrage was introduced in 1944, followed by political independence in 1962, after

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Jamaicans rejected the proposed Federation of the British West Indies in a 1961 referendum. Political independence coincided with the decline in economic growth and with some blurring of the gaps between the color/class socio-economic privileges, chiefly in access to educational institutions, occupation, and higher, steadier incomes. The euphoria of independence dimmed when rising expectations seemed destined to be unfulfilled given the limitations of the economy. Rescue came again in the form of a new source for emigration. In 1965 the United States Congress approved a new Immigration Act which took into consideration the new independent countries of the former British West Indies, giving them comparable status to that of other Caribbean countries which had enjoyed non-quota status since the 1924 act. Even before the 1965 act, Jamaicans had been steadily immigrating to the United States on temporary visas, but by 1967 the immigration was well under way. In 1972 Canada lifted its race, color, and national origin basis for immigration to Canada, stressing education, training, and skills as the main criteria of eligibility. This also provided another source for Jamaicans to search for economic opportunities abroad.

In the pre-independence period in Jamaica, there was a preoccupation with economic development, the expansion of social and health services, and the desire to be rid of foreign dominance. Not much attention was given to internal dissatisfaction; the national motto, "out of many one people" became a truism and the Rastafarians'[1] disdain for

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[1]Rastafarians are variously defined as "millenarian cultists," "escapists" (i.e., from social reality), "political activists," or "revolutionaries," and there seems to be some truth in all these conceptions of them. Based in Jamaica, the group was a lower-class "religio-protest"

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"brown man" government was viewed as the ramblings of an eccentric group. However, by the late 1960s the Rastafarian movement had expanded to include youths of middle-class origin and sympathizers from among university students who attempted to incorporate "rastafarianism" into a national identity.

In sympathy with the Civil Rights Movement, and later identifying more strongly with the black power movement in the United States, young West Indians began to apply the "black power" ideology to their situation (Nettleford:1972). They claimed that independence had not rid them of colonialism, that in fact they were dominated by foreign ideals and institutions that proved oppressive to the black masses. These protests created a consciousness of deprivation to the black masses. These protests created a consciousness of deprivation in the poor masses, increase in crime and violence amid worsening economic conditions in Jamaica. The government, in power since indepence in 1962, was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls. Shortly after the new government took office, it declared the country a socialist democracy. Politically, it did not alter the structure of the parliamentary democracy of the previous government, but was directed at the economic process in an attempt to alleviate the economic disadvantages of the poor and, one would suspect, to stem the tide of crime and violence.

The Jamaica from which the people emigrated in the 1960s and 1970s is politically, economically, and structurally different from the Jamaica which the early immigrants left behind. Defined by world

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movement in the 1930s, but by the 1960s it had become a socio-political commentary and by the early 1970s seems to have become the source of popular culture and social identity for many Jamaicans at home and abroad.

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standards as a middle-developed country, its citizens are constantly moving about Europe, the United States, and Canada in search of improved standards of living whether they define that in basic economic terms (looking for work) or self-improvement (improving educational and occupational status). Since 1972 there has been a new set of Jamaican immigrants based principally in Miami, Florida, and in Toronto, Canada, who define themselves as political refugees. However, they are outside the scope of this study and will not be discussed.

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CHAPTER 3

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY: THE "PULL" FACTORS

> The Civil War blew across the United States, dispelling the miasmas that had hung over it for an entire generation. It freed the Negroes and in the process destroyed the slave-plantation system as a way of life and a Weltanschauung. The anticapitalism of the South (and of the northern intellectuals as well) was suddenly gone. Now North and South were finally united under a common banner and the Republican and the Democratic parties were committed (except in matters of detail) to a single program: nothing was to stand in the way of quick industrialization of the United States. Two things facilitated the process. The first was the active role of the government, which on the one hand assisted the opening up of broad new avenues for economic growth and development and on the other consciously refrained from interfering with the innovator entrepreneurs who emerged to take advantage of them. The second was the radically changed mores of the time, which, rather than rejecting, assented to and approved the ways and means by which industrialization was to be achieved--private and unequal accumulation, the acceptance of the rough (and harsh) judgments of the market place and the writing of a rule of law which equated freedom of contract with liberty [Hacker 1970:172-173].

The economic growth of the United States was accompanied and made possible by large-scale immigration, which after the Civil War drastically altered the composition of the American people. This was also a period of geographic mobility and urbanization. The older rural America of independent farmers and businessmen, self-reliant, thrifty, versatile, with a strong sense of private property, gave way to urban wage-earners and interdependence and racial and ethnic tensions (Parkes and Carossol 1963:81).

Immigrants came to the United States for economic reasons, the "pull" of job opportunities provided by the upturns in the business cycle such as the building of railways, housing, and public utilities,

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which required large numbers of unskilled laborers. The "push" out of the country of birth took place for a great variety of reasons, mostly economic. Population growth in non-expanding economies, declining opportunities for farm workers, the elimination of skilled handicrafts by machine production, combined with perceived social, religious, and political disadvantages. The great majority of the "new immigrants" came from southern and eastern Europe and from areas in the Western Hemisphere. These people did not approximate the Anglo-Saxon immigrants who were the principal immigrants prior to 1880. They had different languages, different religion (mostly Catholics), low level of skills and education. They provided the unskilled labor for the new industries developing in the Northeast and Midwest, the mining industries (Hacker 1970:189; Handlin 1959:20-41).

The history of social work in the United States is also the history of European immigrants' adjustment to the social and economic conditions. The "new immigrants" were not welcome, first, on the basis of race: although they were white, they were not of Anglo-Saxon stock, and hence they were inferior. Secondly, they were feared by labor unions: they would provide cheap labor for industry (which they did) and depress the wage of the American worker, thus reducing the standard of living (Willensky and Lebaux 1965:50-55). Similar claims were made against Asian immigrants who arrived on the West Coast as cheap labor for the building of the railroad when the work for which they were recruited was completed. It was difficult for minority immigrants of low-status occupations to which they were intially welcomed to be integrated without inter-group animosity (Van der Zanden 1972:206-211).

The new immigrants provided the manpower for industries. In the

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first decade of the twentieth century, the ratio of foreign-born to the native population was 1:7, but immigrants constituted a much larger proportion of the industrial labor force (see Table 4).

TABLE 4
IMMIGRANTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF INDUSTRIAL LABOR FORCE

Sector	Males	Females
Manufacturing	36%	25%
Mining	45%	-
Building and hand trades	27%	-
Transportation	25%	-
Agriculture	10%	-

SOURCE: Liesenson (1971:5-6)

The nature of industrial employment isolated the immigrants from the mainstream of the American society and, since the immigrant population consisted mostly of adults, who are rarely reached by the public schools and whose constant association is with fellow workers of foreign birth, their access to American influences was limited. Many remained in the same environmental influences of the old country, establishing ethnic enclaves in the cities where they settled. These immigrant communities, however, provided psycho-social satisfaction during the transition period (Fitzpatrick 1966).

The European immigrants in New York City were exploited; they lived in slum conditions and were deprived of many social services. However, this city provided the best opportunities for skilled jobs and, since it was the destination of most immigrants, for social contact with members of one's own groups as well (Handlin 1962:23). New York City by the 1920s was the financial center of the United States, the clothing industry, and the arts, and possibly more tolerant of differences than

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any other American city of the period. In spite of the difficulty of escaping from the ranks of unskilled labor due to the lack of education and skills and capital, some immigrants found opportunities for economic mobility in trade and service areas spurned or overlooked by natives or members of the "old immigrant" group. Immigrants in the professional categories provided services to the immigrants whom they understood and who trusted them (Handlin 1962:19-42).

Since the Civil War, blacks have been migrating from the South to Northern cities in search of economic opportunities. They were attracted to New York City for the same reasons as were the European immigrants. Migration to the North increased significantly after 1910 and, as World War I drew closer and migration from Europe dropped, the demand for unskilled labor turned recruiters to the South. The migration North was accompanied by visions of freedom from victimization, discrimination, and the chance for social and economic advancement; ideals not unlike those of the European immigrants. Robert Toombly puts it this way:

> The push out of the South was paralleled by pulls from the North. For many years Southern blacks had believed that the North was the land of liberty. There was no Jim Crow, no lynching, no disrespect, many thought, where Lincoln had lived, where the Republicans ruled, where members of their race voted and held high-paying jobs. Even if these beliefs were inaccurate, by any objective standard the North was more hospitable than the South [1971:172].

Between 1910 and 1920 the black population in New York increased by 66 percent and in the following decade the total increase was 115 percent. Migration slowed during the depression years of the 1930s but climbed again between 1940 and 1960 to much larger numbers than in the previous decades. The social and economic conditions that blacks dreamt

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of securing for themselves in Northern cities did not materialize: old patterns of discrimination and segregation took new forms in the urban setting. Blacks were excluded from all but menial jobs, resented by white workers, excluded from unions, and forced to live in slum "ghettos" through the process of exclusion from white residential neighborhoods. The exclusion was supported by real estate dealers who benefited financially, the courts, and the white population. By the 1920s Harlem was established as the social and cultural center of black people in the United States and the prime area of residence for black people in New York (Meier and Rudwick 1970).

Immigrants from the West Indies were part of the general population movement toward America, and New York in particular, where they shared residential community with black Americans. These immigrants share some of the European immigrants' motivation to emigrate and some of the native black population's need to migrate from the South to Northern states. While they did not have a well-defined pattern of socio-political or religious motivation, as in the case of German immigrants, or famine and soil exhaustion and disruption of peasant economics, as the Irish, Italian, and eastern European immigrants had faced (Handlin 1959), they felt sufficiently oppressed to seek a new land where new opportunities exist. According to Everett S. Lee (1966), immigrants respond primarily to plus or minus factors; plus factors when the decision to migrate is based on rational assessment of perceived rewards at destination and minus when conditions force them from their country of origin. West Indian immigrants would fall primarily in the plus category insofar as individuals selectively decided to emigrate rather than responding

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to a general condition which pushed everyone indiscriminately.

America represented to West Indian immigrants, a country free from the constraints of colonial society, where the individual is important. If they heard of racial discrimination, the perceived opportunities were of greater consequence and they were not overly concerned. As Everett Lee observed: "Knowledge of the area of destination is seldom exact, and indeed some of the advantages and disadvantages of an area can only be perceived by living there" (1966:50). Even native black Americans who migrated from the South were ignorant of the real situation that they would encounter once they arrived at their destination. Lee further noted that difficulties associated with assimilation in the new society may create in the newly arrived a contrary but equally erroneous evaluation of the positive and negative factors at destination. West Indians as black immigrants faced some harsh realities which were unanticipated.

In spite of the antipathy towards the black migrants, it was assumed that they would eventually be integrated into the mainstream of American life as the generations of European immigrants had been. However, the situation of blacks had not improved vis-à-vis whites by the 1960s; they were still firmly entrenched at the bottom of the economic ladder and cut off from participation in other social institutions except those they developed in their own communities. Knowles and Prewitt describe the situation thus:

> The seemingly impersonal institutions of the great cities have been woven together into a web of urban racism that entraps black people much as the spider's net holds the flies--they can wiggle but they cannot move far. There is a carefully articulated interrelation of the barriers created by each institution. Whereas the single institutional strand standing alone might not be so strong, the many strands together form a powerful web [1969:144].

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Collectively, all the social institutions of the North developed patterns of dealing with black people that consequently kept them in a subordinate position quite as effectively as had the more overt patterns of Jim Crow laws in the South. Not until 1954, when the Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools were unconstitutional, in the case of Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, did black people begin to get an institutional response to challenge the social system that had oppressed them for over four hundred years.

The Civil Rights Movement, triggered off by the single defiant act of the simple seamstress Rosa Parks in 1955, signaled a new era for blacks in the United States. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964 after a series of demonstrations, confrontations, and appeals and legal battles by the NAACP. While the Civil Rights Movement was geared toward integration, there were other factions, such as the Black Muslims and the advocates of "black power." Meier and Rudwick (1970:288-290) defined black power as the articulation of a mood rather than a program, a mood that expressed disillusionment and alienation from white America, race pride and self-respect or "black consciousness." The author of the concept, however, defined black power as the call to black people to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community, to begin to define their own goals, to lead and support their own organizations, and to reject the values of the racist institutions of the American society. This was a call for political action as a unified group (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967:44).

Immigrants from the West Indies during the 1960s arrived in the United States during a period of rapid social change. As black

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immigrants they could take advantage of the new civil rights provisions for blacks and other minority groups--employment, housing, education--in areas previously denied blacks. The civil rights movement, with the Reverend Martin Luther King at its head, enjoyed a wide-based support up to the time of his assassination. However, by the late 1960s a more conservative mood prevailed--inflation, unemployment, a Republican administration, controversy over the Vietnam war, and the emergence of other groups demanding civil rights successfully diverted attention from black movements. Socioeconomic reports on blacks indicate unemployment rates running twice as high as those for whites and over 40 percent among black youths. Blacks are still concentrated in central cities with poor housing, health service delivery, and schools that are not meeting the education needs of children.

West Indian immigrants are part of this general black population. A pertinent question is whether their immigrant status provides them with immunity from what James Blackwell (1975:1-3) referred to as the "categorical treatment as a low status group." Blackwell observed that to be black now is qualitatively different from being black a short time ago, that black people confront different historical experiences and sociopolitical forces than did their forebears of the recent past. To be black, he said, is to exist in a sociopsychological state of becoming, to be engaged in a quest for identity, a search for universal meaning of being black with other black beings. This new consciousness suggests a basis for cooperation and a common identity for blacks on a universal level, or it could mean the increase in tension over scarce resources.

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The perception of America as the land of opportunity has not lost its appeal. Since the mid-1960s a new category of immigrants, mostly non-whites both from the Eastern and Western Hemisphers, have come to America in the hope of satisfying their unmet needs and overcoming deprivation. Excepting the refugees (mostly from Asia), the immigrants tend to be positively selected in that emigration is voluntary and discriminatory immigration laws sort out and select those needed by the society, not those who wish to leave their country. The decline in growth rate of post-industrial America demands a more selective immigrant population than the industrializing period required when America was still, relatively, a frontier country. Immigrants, however, come on the basis of perceived opportunities (defined according to their expectations). These perceived opportunities seem to be the motivational factors for varying cohorts of immigrants.

The American Immigration Policy

Until 1882 America maintained an "open door" immigration policy. Since the immigrants came mainly from northwestern Europe, there was no need to impose restriction as the immigrants would possess what were considered "desirable traits." In 1882 Congress passed a temporary Chinese Exclusion Act in response to the political questions raised in California regarding Chinese immigrants' place in American society. Ten years later, in 1892, the Act became permanent and was further strengthened by the 1924 Act which excluded all persons not eligible for citizenship. Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatics came under this categorization effective in 1917 when a Congressional act created the Asiatic barred zone. The Exclusion Act of 1882 also barred lunatics, convicts,

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idiots, and persons likely to become public charges. The act which established the Asiatic barred zone in 1917 also included a literacy requirement for immigrants over sixteen years of age.

The exclusion of Asiatics was the first step in the development of a selective immigration policy. The "new immigration" from Europe was no more desirable than the Asiatic immigration. One fear was that the new immigrants would lower the standard of living of native Americans by providing cheap labor for industry, a complaint heard from organized labor. The other factor was racism.

Immigration policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected the prevailing attitudes and beliefs about racial differences, culminating in immigration restrictions in 1921. Social Darwinism, the basis for some sociological conceptualization of racial capability for achievement and survival, assigned inferior racial status to all people of non-Nordic stock. Even those sociologists who were not persuaded by Social Darwinism were concerned that, if the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe continued to arrive in large numbers every year, the society could not protect the native workers from exploitation (Gossett 1963:173-175).

The literacy test was one attempt at exclusion and selection, as were the health, moral, and general behavioral patterns. Congress bowed to public opinion in 1921 when it passed the first "national origins" restrictions, when it was perceived that the literacy and other conditions did not effectively stem the flow of immigrants, especially from Eastern Europe. The slowdown in immigration from Europe during the war years 1914-1918 was revitalized with the influx of refugees fleeing

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from Russia. The 1921 Quota Law made provision that the number of aliens of any nationality to be admitted in any year be limited to 3 percent of the number of foreign-born of such nationality resident in the United States in 1910, based on the Census of that year.

Although this quota system favored northern Europeans over southern Europeans, Congress was not satisfied that it was sufficiently restrictive in keeping out less desired immigrants. The review of the Act of 1921 resulted in a new Immigration Act of 1924, which established a new quota based on 2 percent of each foreign-born group resident in the United States since 1890. This effectively reduced the total number of immigrants from Europe, but disproportionately: 29 percent from northern and western Europe and 87 percent from eastern and southern Europe (Bernard 1969:24-26).

In addition to the quota and other restrictions mentioned above, there existed also a non-quota immigration which permitted immigration from independent countries of the Western Hemisphere and close relatives of American citizens (spouses, minor children, parents), certain professionals, and individuals who are temporary immigrants, such as students.

The British West Indies, although part of the Western Hemisphere, came under the provision of the quota system, being colonies of Great Britain. Great Britain, up to 1929, utilized about 90 percent of its quota, but the Depression of the 1930s and lessening pressure to migrate left its 43 percent of the total European quota unfilled; these unfilled quotas were not, however, distributed in the colonies. Direct emigration from the British West Indies was drastically reduced after 1924, although immigration from the Western Hemisphere increased. The principal sending

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countries to the United States between 1924 and 1946 were Canada, Germany, Great Britain and North Ireland, and Mexico, in that order.

The "national origins quota system" remained in effect until 1965, although the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 revised the national origins Quota Act of 1924. The 1952 Act retained the 1924 provision but reduced the quota to 1 percent of the 1920 United States population based on country of origin. Fifty percent of each country's quota was reserved for persons of special skills and abilities of value to the United States and the other 50 percent for close relatives of United States citizens. Persons not qualified under these conditions were granted visas if the quota was not filled by the other categories (see Table 47).

The 1965 act (Public Law 89-236), which became effective July 1, 1968, revised the immigration provisions in operation since 1924 with emphasis on humanitarian principles rather than on racial preference.

Reform to the immigration laws of 1952 was introduced during the Kennedy Administration and was passed during the Johnson Administration after much debate between those committed to reform and those dedicated to the maintenance of the status quo. The compromise between the two factions is embodied in the discussion below.

The 1965 act abolished the national origins quota system and substituted a preference system which favored countries previously discriminated against. The quota system was phased out between December 1, 1965, and June 30, 1968, by allowing individual countries to retain their quotas, but unused visas were placed in a pool to be used by preference immigrants from countries with waiting lists. This was done to reduce the backlog of over-subscribed countries so that all countries would

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compete equitably by 1969 for visas on a first-come, first-served basis without preference due to national origin. The conservative aspect of the 1965 act was the limitation placed on the number of immigrants who could be issued visas each year. Those concerned about the effects which the new law would have on the American labor force insisted on Labor Department certification of immigrants to ensure that visas were issued only where there is a demand for particular skills: medical care personnel and household workers (live-in maids) were highly in demand, especially between 1967 and 1969. The Labor Department certification clause is the major compromise between the conservatives and the liberal humanitarians who wish to redress the wrongs of the 1924 Immigration Act.

After July 1, 1968, the number of visas allowed the Eastern Hemisphere (all countries outside North and South America and the Caribbean) was 170,000 exclusive of spouses, unmarried children, and parents of United States citizens. Included in this provision was a limit of not more than 20,000 from any one country and family members having four out of eight preference categories (see preference chart, Appendix B).

The Western Hemisphere enjoyed non-quota status prior to the 1965 act, except those countries which had colonial status. A limit of 120,000 annually was imposed on the region and included countries previously excluded because of their colonial status. These newly independent countries included Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and others as they gained political independence. There was no per-country limit or preference system for the Western Hemisphere; visas were issued on a first-come, first-served basis to all categories of immigrants (United States Department of Justice 1968-1970; Keely 1971, 1975).

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The question is often raised as to who benefits from the new Immigration Law. Keely (1971) observed that the 1965 Immigration Act affected the characteristics of immigrants coming to the United States. The basic changes he noted were (a) the immigrants' country of origin and (b) their occupational characteristics. Southern European, Asian, and Caribbean immigrants contribute the larger portion of immigrants. Africa has also increased its immigration to the United States significantly, mostly in the form of students who have adjusted their non-immigrant status to resident status. Asia, with the exclusion of refugees, contributed a significant number of professionals. The Philippines, particularly, has become the supplier of the "brain drain" immigrants (Pido 1977:50). The "brain drain" refers to those persons of high educational credentials and/or skills from one country whose services are being utilized elsewhere and symbolizes the loss to the country which expended its resources on the training of such individuals.

The 1965 Act, on an overall basis, favored family members (80 percent) and workers (20 percent). Of the workers, preference is given to the professions above the skilled and unskilled workers. The advantage of such a system to the United States is the acquisition of highly trained new workers in areas where they are required at relatively little cost to the society (Abrams and Abrams 1975:10-11). The advantage, however, might be offset where large numbers of relatives fall in the dependent category and will draw on the society's resources such as schools long before they can make any contribution.

While the limit of 170,000 seems adequate for the Eastern Hemisphere, based on the number of visas issued and the waiting period before

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applicants receive visas, the 120,000 for the Western Hemisphere proved inadequate for the number of applicants and, consequently, for the length of time one must wait to be issued a visa. By 1973 the waiting period for visas in Jamaica had reached two and one-half years, compared to six months when the 1965 act went into effect. This scarcity of visas was blamed on the issuance of 90,000 visas to Cuban refugees between 1969 and 1973, which these countries claimed should not have been taken from their allotments since the Cuban refugee problem was dealt with in a separate agreement in 1966 (Abrams and Abrams 1975:15 fn.; Dominguez 1975:21-24).

One of the ironies of the demand exceeding supply for visas in the Western Hemisphere was the assumption that

> . . . Caribbean people were not anxious to immigrate to the U.S. and that total immigration from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago would not exceed 7,000 in any one year. The Congress was persuaded by the then Attorney General prior to the passage of the 1965 act and this prediction had been proven false for every year since 1965, for not only the Caribbean but for Latin America as well. For Jamaica and Trinidad their new independent status since 1962 gave them immigration privileges for the first time since 1924 unimpeded by quota limitations but Latin America had had unlimited immigration to the U.S. so it is not as easy to account for the spurt in immigration from there during the 1960s and 1970s [Abrams and Abrams 1975:13].

While it is possible to ignore the migration movement of non-white people during the period of the mass migration from Europe, 1860-1924, it is impossible to do so at this time since the major migration in the Western Hemisphere since the 1950s has been the migration of non-white people from Third World countries to the major industrial centers of the world. United States immigration laws have shifted away from accommodation of northwestern Europeans to favor countries of Asia, which had had severe restrictions placed on them since 1924, and the

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southern countries of the Americas (Mexico, Central America, Caribbean, and South America), instead of Canada. One interesting feature about the recent immigration, however, as against the European immigration of the earlier period, is the fact that it is not a large mass of the hungry and the poor who had no knowledge of the language of the host society, but rather a conglomerate of individuals ranging from the cosmopolitan professional individual who speaks perfect English in addition to his native (and maybe other) language to the individuals of low skills with just enough of English to help them find the unskilled jobs they need. The new immigrants will not necessarily start at the bottom but are likely to be occupationally integrated into the labor force according to the skills with which they arrive.

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CHAPTER 4

WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

The Early Immigrants

The rate of flow of West Indian immigrants into the United States depends primarily on the existing immigration laws, which have aided and/or restricted the inflow of immigrants, especially since 1924. It is difficult to be conclusive about the number of immigrants from the West Indies prior to 1930 because (a) immigration reports did not clearly identify West Indians, (b) after 1924 many immigrants came in as illegal aliens and did not become part of the immigrant statistics, and (c) some came from other areas of the Caribbean and not directly from their place of birth, so it is impossible to identify Jamaican immigrants apart from the general categories.

The designation "African black" was used in immigration reports for all immigrants of identifiable African ancestry, regardless of their country of origin. In 1921, 7,046 of 9,873 "African black" immigrants were from the West Indies (U.S. Department of Labor 1921). It is, then, reasonable to assume that most of the immigrants in the category "African black" came from the West Indies. The best estimate of West Indian immigrant population in the United States is given in decades by the Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts: from 1901 to 1940 the figures for West Indian im migrants are 321,373 and 192,816 from 1941 to 1960. (See distributions in Tables 5 and 6.)

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TABLE 5

IMMIGRATION FROM THE WEST INDIES[a] BY DECADE

Decade	Number of immigrants
1901-1910	107,546
1911-1920	123,424
1921-1930	74,899
1931-1940	15,502
1941-1950	49,725
1951-1960	123,091

SOURCE: Statistical Abstracts (1950:99)

[a]West Indies here includes Cuba

TABLE 6

IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED (AFRICAN BLACK) 1921-1924

Year	Number of Immigrants
1921	9,873
1922	5,248
1923	7,554
1924	12,243

SOURCE: United States Department of Labor, Report of the Commissioner General on Immigration (1921-1924).

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Note the decline in the number of immigrants in the 1920s, although the significant decline did not begin until after 1924. The number of immigrants for 1921-1924 was still substantial compared to that in later years.

Compared with the immigration from Europe, the early immigration from the West Indies was modest. According to Reid (1969:78), the admission rate from the West Indies had never exceeded 1.7 percent, though they made up 2.7 percent of those debarred from entering the United States on the basis of the categories established in 1917. Most of these immigrants of the early period were persons of prime working age (14-44 years of age) but after 1924 the proportion of children to adults increased. The recent immigrants showed a similar pattern; the dependent immigrants category increased and dominated all other categories after 1970.

Single adults were the largest category of immigrants: in 1920 3,203 of the 4,268 males and 2,324 of the 3,432 females were single. This is not to say that they had no children, but their situation was not conducive to family group immigration. Unlike other immigrant groups where males were predominant, females in some years outnumbered male immigrants from the West Indies; between 1924 and 1931, single females outnumbered males (U.S. Department of Labor 1924-1931).

Most immigrants from the West Indies indicated that they were joining relatives (90 percent). Of the remaining 10 percent, most were joining friends; only a small percentage had no one to go to. The passage was paid either by the immigrants or by relatives here in the United States. Hardly any fares were paid by organizations. Relatives play

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important roles in the immigration both before and after it occurs. While West Indian family systems may not have the organizational structure of the European families such as the Italians (Gambino 1974:76), obligatory patterns have been established so that there is a strong feeling of responsibility for family members even when they are only distant relatives.

The 1924 Quota Law required that immigrants have sponsors, i.e., individuals who could demonstrate that they had the means of supporting the prospective immigrant so that the person would not become a public charge. Evidence of ability to support includes employment, money in a bank, real estate, or business. The sponsor, through letters, instructs the intended immigrant on how he/she should proceed in the visa office to ensure that he/she is issued a visa. Although the primary reason for emigrating was to seek employment, this was to be vehemently denied to the Consular Officer regardless of how he persisted. The sponsor was not required to be a relative, although most were. Dependent children (under 21 years), spouses, and parents had "non-quota status," which meant that they had preference over all quota applicants and that their applications were processed before "quota" applicants.

The literacy test, imposed since 1917, required that all immigrants be able to read not less than thirty nor more than forty words in ordinary usage, printed in legible type in the language or dialect of the immigrant's choice. Reid (1968:84-85) calculated that 98.6 to 99.0 percent of the immigrants from the West Indies were literate, i.e., able to read or write or both. Some illiterates were permitted to enter the United States because they were joining relatives. The black

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immigrant population in the United States since 1917 had a higher level of literacy than that of the general United States population at the time. Being literate, however, had no immediate advantage for the West Indian immigrants; job opportunities for black persons were limited to jobs that required no brain power. The occupational categories under which black immigrants were listed included: professionals (clergy, teachers, electricians, engineers, music, literary, scientific, physicians, and others), skilled (carpenters, clerks and accountants, dressmakers/ seamstresses, tailors, mariners, and others), and miscellaneous (laborers, servants, and others without skills) (U. S. Department of Labor 1920-1932). While the miscellaneous category remained constant from year to year, the professional and skilled categories varied in the types of skills listed. There is no indication of the educational background of those under the professional categories.

New York[1] has always been one of the central places of residence of the black immigrants. Studies done prior to 1920 estimated foreign-born population at 10 percent of the total black population in New York City and approximately 5.8 percent were from the British West Indies (Haynes 1968:58). Glazer and Moynihan (1970:34) estimated the West Indian population in New York City in 1930 at no less than 17 percent of the total black population and, with their children, the percentage increased to 20-25 percent. Osofsky (1963:131) fixed the number at 54,754 in 1930. Immigration Reports from 1920 to 1930 indicated that New York City was most often given as the destination for West Indians. Reid

[1]Miami ranked second and Boston third, with 5,512 and 3,287 West Indian immigrants respectively in 1930 (Osofsky 1963).

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(1968:85) estimated that, in 1930, 65 percent of black immigrants lived in New York City and that they were the most urban--87.4 percent compared to native blacks 81.3 percent, native whites 24.2 percent, and foreign-born whites 53.4 percent.

Native Blacks and Immigrants

As indicated earlier, black immigrants shared the community of native black Americans but were distinguished by their accents, style of dress, customs, religion,[2] with the greatest distinction being, according to Glazer and Moynihan (1967:34-35), "their greater application to business, education, buying homes, and in general, advancing themselves." Osofsky (1963:132) observed not only differences between foreign and native blacks but also among the immigrants from the various islands. British West Indians celebrate the British Monarchs' birthdays or coronation and mourn their deaths; the French West Indies celebrate Bastille Day, but he noted that in spite of the differences they have more common traits than differences.

Their experiences, desires, and mores set them apart from native Americans and were the cause of much controversy which seemed to have taken the form of verbal sparring and name-calling rather than physical violence. Reid (1968:107-108) listed 16 stereotypes used by black Americans to define West Indians, only few of them complimentary. The more intricate problems of race relations were discussed by the more erudite, the ministers, the journalists, and the street orators. William H. Ferris,

[2]While black Americans were overwhelmingly Baptists, British West Indians were Anglicans (Episcopalians), Presbyterians, etc., religions which lacked the emotionalism of the black American religion.

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in the Pittsburgh Courier of January 28, 1928, blamed Garvey for interracial problems because Garvey emphasized "black consciousness and had a strong following among West Indians. S. A. Haynes, in the Philadelphia Tribune of July 30, 1930, commented on the immigrants' resentment of being referred to as "monkey-chasers," and concluded that the immigrants themselves, in their own anxiety to impress the black American, had been overbearing and aroused their animosity.[3]

Reid (1968:126) acclaimed religion and the church as the black immigrants' fortress. It was the church that helped the immigrants from the West indies to integrate their homeland customs and traditions into their new environment and was the basis for a community which represented their interests. The continued existence of organizations formed by early immigrants suggests some degree of cultural pluralism within the black community as it existed in the white community, although Glazer and Moynihan (1970:36) claimed that West Indians have pretty much merged into the American negro population and that their children do not feel themselves to be particularly different.[4]

West Indian immigrants were politically active; they joined protest movements and were openly critical of racial discrimination. Some ran for political office, often as radicals on the Socialist-Communist tickets, or lobbied for special legislation at City Hall and in Albany

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[3]Newspaper information from clippings in the Schomberg Library, New York, New York.

[4]While the researcher disagrees with the Glazer and Moynihan statement about West Indian immigrants and their children, it is not possible to refute the statement in this study since the population of West Indian immigrants' children were not included in the study. It is naive to assume that West Indian children would escape the second-generation conflicts that other groups experienced.

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(Osofsky 1963:183). The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s had its parallel in Marcus Garvey's movement in the 1920s (Reid 1968:147-155). Garvey, a Jamaican, urged black unity but ironically he was most instrumental in alienating, on the basis of "color," many of those who could have contributed to the movement. It even seemed that, for a time, the West Indian immigrants attempted to establish the same color/class patterns which existed in the home societies. It appeared, however, that the "dark-skinned" immigrants were better equipped for survival in American than the "light-skinned" or "middle-class" immigrants who were unaccustomed to manual labor. They were strongly motivated to succeed and were not about to be subjected to the dominance of a group whose position they perceived as similar to their own. Reid summarizes the situation thus:

> Numerous West Indians have come to the United States in order to crash these color-class barriers. Others have come because after suffering economic reverses and being unable to maintain their social position at home, they could neither perform the menial employment necessary for survival, nor mix with folk who were considered their inferiors. In the United States this group constantly refers to the glories of its past or of its present social standing across the waters. Similarly, they express more resentment to any manifestation of discourtesy than the native born Negro is wont to do . . . . Thus there arises within the Negro group distinct forms of prejudices which, if they were not intra-group in nature, might be incorrectly labelled racial prejudices [1968:107].

Although some West Indians found favor with employers (according to Reid (1968:107) they "keep the personnel tone at a higher level"), they were often not hired because they did not make "good servants." The Pullman Company, which was a primary area of employment for middle-class native blacks, would not hire West Indians because "they refused to accept insults from passengers quietly" (Osofsky 1963:132). This kind of behavior pattern, of course, is not applicable to the "dark-skinned"

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immigrant, whose major concern was not with past status (which probably was best forgotten), but with the improvement of his current position. As Reid put it: "These airs of vaunted superiority and conscious inferiority play an important part in the process of adjustment" (1968:106).

West Indian immigrants were forced initially to take the menial jobs that were available to them; although they considered these jobs socially degrading, they were strongly motivated by their tradition to improve themselves (Osofsky 1963:133). They chose business and the professions when they amassed capital because those areas gave them independence from the racial division of labor which placed blacks at the bottom and restricted social and economic mobility. The services they provided were more likely to be used by residents in the black community--grocery stores, real estate, import-shipping,[5] dry-goods stores, hairdressing salons, tailoring, and dressmaking were among the principal business ventures. Glazer and Moynihan (1970:36) suggested that the West Indian superiority in educational achievement and business enterprise was due to the fact that they were a majority and accustomed to holding all positions in society except the very highest; thus that experience prevented them from developing feelings of "inadequacy and inferiority" and sustained a self-confidence that Southern Negroes on the whole lacked. This statement ignored the color/class division of labor in West Indian societies, and the fact that the all-encompassing term "Negro" was never a classificatory category given the fact that "color" was more widely used. Dark-skinned people were never given

[5]Import consisted mainly of West Indian foods and products and the shipping consisted of the handling of packages of clothing, household goods, etc., West Indians in the U.S. send home to the families at regular intervals.

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positions except where education and training gave them undisputed needed skills. Some of the immigrants who arrived with skills acquired them in the Canal Zone, Central America, and generally from working in a multiplicity of situations often outside their own country. The literacy test which was imposed in 1917 ensured that immigrants after that period could read, write, or both. Since the literacy level for West Indians was 99.8 percent, they would therefore have had a literacy level superior not only to native blacks but also to a significant portion of the white population.

Not all immigrants became successful in business or pursued educational goals, nor had they calculated that possibility as part of their emigration goals. Getting a job that provided regular income, a home, and/or money in a savings account were the modest goals of some immigrants who did not have more than a basic elementary education and/or minimal employment experience prior to emigration. This is not to say that they were less successful than the professionals and the business people. Their goals were modest and they achieved them through hard work at low-status jobs and careful handling of their income.

Elizabeth Hope-Thomas (1975:4) attributed the success of West Indian immigrants to their perception of emigration as the means of achieving enhanced economic and social status when they return to their society of origin. Osofsky (1963:133) referred to their strong motivation to succeed which stemmed from their tradition to improve themselves. The motivation to succeed and the aspiration to return home "a success" were contributory factors to whatever degree of success the immigrants achieved. Dennis Forsythe (1976:65-66) attributed success to the

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Protestant ethic based on the idea that through education, thrift, discipline, hard work, and planning, one's lot in life could be improved. Forsythe further suggested that West Indians were accorded preferential treatment from whites[6] but this success stemmed primarily from the fact that economic opportunities and rewards were relatively and absolutely greater than they had been in their own country. West Indians automatically improve their living standards in spite of the downward social mobility for some in their occupational status. He further stated,

> . . . relative to Afro-Americans, West Indian immigrants were a select group of young able-bodied, educated men and women less encumbered by families, and fiercely driven by their determination to "make good" in America. Since they regarded themselves as sojourners their relationship to the American environment was strictly specific and instrumental: they hoped to acquire quick wealth and return to the Caribbean, and to live as respectable members of the West Indian colonial elite or just as respectable members of their village communities [1976:65-66].

Forsythe indicated that West Indian immigrants arrived with educational achievement superior to that of Afro-Americans, but in fact each immigrant prior to 1940 had at best a high school education, and the majority had only elementary education; therefore their educational background is exaggerated. They were more likely to take advantage of educational opportunities which the host society offered, and the fact that they had some background to build on helped.

The Pittsburg Courier of January 28, 1928, had the following report titled "The West Indian in his New Home in America":

> Every West Indian immigrant has a definite purpose in view when he lands in New York, says the Southern Workman. In his own country there were activities which were wholly in the hands of the white men, but here he can enter upon these and assume that position

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[6]There is no supporting evidence that "preferential treatment" was given to West Indians by white Americans. The motivation to succeed and better marketable skills are more reliable arguments.

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> of natural leadership which was denied him at home. . . . Seeing that the standard of intellectual requirement in the average colored school is below what would have been exacted of him in his own land, he steadily and vigorously pushes his way to the front and finds little opposition in so doing. . . . American methods of education seem to leave too little for the mental teeth of the student, the whole diet begin predigested. The American student usually makes better recitation, reciting page after page to the astonishment of the West Indian, but the latter cannot do this, as he has been accustomed to correlate and associate every new fact with an old.

The goals and the desire to achieve were established. How were they achieved?

Those who took advantage of the educational opportunities seemed to have done so under their own efforts. There are no available records to show how they financed their education but night school seemed to have provided opportunities for some while others worked during the night and attended classes during the day. Reid (1968:120) observed that many took advantage of the industrial education that was a controversial issue during that period. Relatives aided students by providing accommodation, food, and sometimes school fees. During the 1930s it was estimated that one-third of the Negro professional population--mostly physicians, dentists, and lawyers--were foreign born (Reid 1968:121), and it is reasonable to assume that most were trained here in the United States.

The greatest difficulty the black would-be businessman faced was the non-availability of credit. Overt discrimination among financers in addition to the lack of collateral to be held against loans made it impossible for blacks to get loans (Knowles and Prewitt 1969:16). West Indian immigrants overcame this handicap by establishing their own system of financing.

Ivan Light (1972) investigated ethnic enterprises in America by analyzing the techniques used by various ethnic groups to acquire economic

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stability. Light attributed West Indians' prosperity in business to survivals of African economic customs which stressed cooperation. He described the method of accumulating capital--cooperative saving where a group of individuals contributed specified sums weekly and one individual received the collection each week until each person in the group had collected his/her share. Rotating Credit Association (RCA) is the term used for this transaction, but it is referred to as "susu" in the eastern Caribbean and "partner" in Jamaica (Light 1972:30-44). James Weldon Johnson (1925:635-639) described the cooperative buying of real estate in Harlem, and Aubrey Bennet (1977:53) found that RCA is still viable among black immigrants in Brooklyn as adaptive mechanism primarily for first-generation immigrants. Money derived from this source is used to buy homes, start up a business, buy furniture, or invest in non-economic ventures such as paying for a wedding or a trip.

Besides Rotating Credit Association, gambling was also a part of their economic activity. Light (1977:894) claimed that Caribbean blacks invented and popularized numbers in Harlem during the 1920s and that numbers gambling was still 60 percent black in 1934. A one-time resident of Harlem,[7] now living in Chicago, revealed in an informal conversation the involvement of West Indians in Harlem numbers gambling. He also identified them as the business people of the community in the 1920s and 1930s and, like Glazer and Moynihan, he attributed their success to skills they acquired in their country of origin.

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[7]The conversation took place on Sunday, November 27, 1977, in Chicago while the researcher was traveling to O'Hare Airport with the informant. The information was given when the informant discovered the researcher's ethnic background.

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Work and Occupation

Immigrants, males and females, entered the employment market. Some women worked in the garment factories, often as skilled workers. These skills were often acquired in their home country, and were the primary occupation of West Indian women, as a source of income and/or to satisfy the requirement of skill acquisition. In Jamaica women are encouraged to achieve--skills, career, profession--depending on the economic resources of the family (Gordon 1974:21). Household work as general domestic help or child care attendanat was the other major occupational area for women. This involved "living in" with a day off, with or without the night, once a week or less. This arrangement was suited only for unmarried women, who formed a significant part of the immigration. They either stopped working after marriage or found other employment where they could be at home with their families on a regular basis. Reid (1968:120) claimed that the female black immigrant[8] was more likely to have skilled employment than was the native black female.

The males were primarily industrial workers in areas where they had little opportunity to use the skills they acquired prior to their arrival in the United States. Elevator operator was a choice occupation

[8]This may be explained by the color/class situation. It appeared that some of the immigrant women were "relatively accomplished colored persons" whose employment prospects in the Jamaican job market were too limited because they were not very "fair." They were sent by their parents to the United States to search for the employment they could not find at home. "Light colored" was a category that was favored in the garment industry. The American "light colored" being traditionally a more favored group would have been engaged in more middle-class occupational pursuits--teachers in segregated schools, etc. The competition for such jobs, then, would be between dark-skinned Americans and light-colored West Indians. (Source: experiences related by survey respondents.)

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among black male immigrants. Only a few found employment in white-collar occupations initially.

The determination to succeed and the ability to use the opportunities which existed in New York were the major factors in the West Indian immigrants' success. Many of the immigrants suffered initial loss of status by taking jobs that required physical labor, to which they were unaccustomed, but used those jobs to finance their retraining into more desirable occupational areas. Others invested in real estate or business enterprise which relieved them of total dependence on the white economic structure.

West Indians and Citizenship

Citizenship had a low-level priority for West Indian immigrants (Reid 1968:160-167). This could have resulted from their perception of themselves as sojourners or it could have been that they perceived the acceptance of citizenship as acceptance of an inferior status and not having the right to complain about racial injustices. They avoided the necessity of becoming citizens by claiming to have been born in Southern states that kept no birth records and obtained birth certificates so that they could secure jobs with the Federal and City governments. They were constantly upbraided for such practices. In 1930 the foreign-born black population that became naturalized citizens amounted to .3 percent of the total foreign-born naturalized, or 25.6 percent of the total foreign black population.

The decision to become a citizen depended on the individual's perception of advantages to be gained therefrom. Reid commented:

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> Citizenship for the foreign-born Negro is something that Negro immigrants feel should be studied carefully, When its rewards become apparent they usually seek to qualify themselves for it. The method of adjustment to this "citizenship with reservation" varies North and South--in the North the emphasis being upon collective action, political and economic, while in the South, economic individualism has predominated [Reid 1968:166].

Those immigrants who became naturalized citizens were active in New York politics, especially in the 1930s. It was alleged that rivalry between native black Americans and West Indians prevented the black politicians from the two groups from making inroads into Democratic Party politics in the 1930s, with the result that they had white representatives when there were black individuals in the Harlem community who could represent them (Reid 1968:167-169).

Their failure to make an impact on the American political process led West Indian immigrants, in the 1930s, to form organizations dedicated to political independence in the British West Indies. These organizations provided forums for West Indian political leaders and financial assistance to political efforts in the West Indies. This shift in political focus seemed to suggest a rise of consciousness of themselves as West Indians, especially Jamaicans, as opposed to British subjects and their frustration at not being able to effect changes in America's racial patterns. However, like the majority of black Americans during the Franklin Roosevelt Administration, they supported the Democratic Party and have continued to do so although they maintain a relatively low political profile. In 1933 the West Indian Federation of America was organized with the following objecties:

(a) Federation of and self-government for the various West Indian Colonies

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(b) To stimulate interest in West Indian affairs among British West Indians in America

(c) To foster such industrial and commercial enterprises as may be considered necessary for the economic welfare of the group (Reid 1968:156)

Jamaicans were especially concerned about political autonomy for Jamaica, and after the riots in Kingston in 1938 they began to work diligently toward Jamaica's independence.

Benevolent associations provided the means for social contact among West Indian immigrants. Besides providing some support for the sick and disabled and money for funeral expenses, they arranged dances and other social functions which helped to maintain the group's cohesion. The church was also an important factor in West Indian immigrant lives. St. Martin's and St. Phillip's Episcopalian churches catered specifically to the needs of these immigrants.

Garvey's Influence

The patterns of social organization among West Indian immigrants in America, especially those created around social and political issues in the home societies, seemed to have been influenced by the Marcus Garvey movement. Unable to organize a successful political movement in his native Jamaica, Garvey moved his operation to America in about 1916. Working originally with a small core of West Indian immigrants, he created the United Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.). This organization embraced black people generally and Garvey succeeded in uniting native and immigrant blacks around the concept of "black nationalism."

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Garvey's appeal to the black masses was the alternative he proposed to the oppression of racial persecution, By separating racial characteristics from socially assigned stereotypes, he was able to implant a sense of self-pride where previously there had been feelings of unworthiness. Reid (1968:147-155) said that belonging and identifying with the organization brought relief from the more demeaning aspects of racism but, more importantly, it aroused the consciousness of a black world beyond the boundaries of America with which black people could, and should, identify.

Garvey succeeded in mobilizing the black masses but alienated those of mixed racial and or/ educated background who were uncomfortable with his emphasis on race. They hoped that race as a social stigma would eventually be eliminated from the American society. Garvey used the opportunity for organization which America provided (and which he was denied in Jamaica) to create a social and political organization which provided immigrants with the incentive for later political action directed at their own society.

Garvey had practical as well as symbolic meaning for the early immigrants from Jamaica and symbolic meaning for the recent ones. Recently made one of Jamaica's heroes, he is featured among the evolving cultural symbols of thatsociety.

The survivors of the early immigration period, many of whom are still living in New York, are not very visible. They continue to maintain their membership in their churches and social organizations and identify themselves as Jamaicans. Many are too old or too ill to participate actively; others are relatively well off and, like other Americans, they travel widely but they continue to live modestly,

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The Recent West Indian Immigration

The recent immigrants from the West Indies, those who arrived after 1960, came primarily under the auspices of the 1965 Immigration Act and as citizens of independent countries of the Western Hemisphere.[9] The features of this immigration as indicated by Virginia Dominguez (1975:13-14) are:

(a) Females vastly outnumbered males

(b) The immigration included professionals, clerical workers, craftsmen, and operatives

(c) British West Indians migrated in family groups less frequently than most other immigrants to the United States

Between 1967 and 1969, the majority of visas issued went to private household workers who were females. Since they were required to live where they worked, it was inconvenient to have other family members migrating at the same time. Prior to 1967 and after 1970, although females were still in the majority, the difference between male and female immigrants each year was not significant. Table 47 (Appendix B) demonstrates the age and sex differences in the recent immigration.

The third feature is partly a condition of the first. Many of the immigrants were unmarried (not necessarily without children) at the time of emigration. For the individuals with families, it was necessary to first provide a place of their own to accommodate family members

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[9]Jamaicans, the focus of this study, as well as other British West Indians, were not citizens until 1962, after the countries became independent. Since many were already in the United States on temporary visas and only changed their temporary status after the 1965 act became effective, the statement is valid.

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instead of continuing to live with relatives or where they worked. The money for passage is often not available for more than one person initially. Often the immigrant must pay for air tickets for the members of the family who join him/her eventually. Single immigrants sometimes return and marry someone they left behind so that, after a few years, complete families replace the single immigrants as spouse and children join the immigrant. The years after 1970 marked an increase in the number of immigrants under 19 years of age, while earlier years focused on the 20-49 age group.

The second category, the occupational group, are immigrants who had been certified by the Department of Labor for jobs according to their profession or skill. The early immigrants, regardless of their qualifications, were forced to take menial jobs. This group of recent immigrants were largely employed in the areas for which they had qualifications. Like the household workers, they filled gaps in the labor force where their skills were needed.

The Work Situation

Bryce-Laporte (1977:21) noted that recent immigrants have already registered their influence in more diffused areas of activities and that the trend is toward shifts in the ethnic composition of certain jobs and professional categories in the United States. As indicated earlier, this immigrant group arrived under the auspices of the 1965 Immigration Act which selected immigrants primarily on the basis of skills and the labor force requirement. Initially, those applying for visas as household workers were required only to have an employer in the United States; they were not asked to prove that they had been previously employed in that

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category. As a result, individuals with other skills-secretarial, clerical, sales--used household employment as the means of securing visas. They usually stayed in such jobs only for a short period of time and then looked for employment comparable to their occupation prior to emigration. Household jobs often required that the immigrants live in the homes of their employers. Many immigrants found the isolation from friend and relatives, the low wages, and the lack of benefits such as health cost coverage and paid holidays made these jobs unattractive for long-term employment. After working in such jobs for a reasonable period considered satisfactory for the visa provision, they usually sought more satisfying employment. Hospitals and nursing homes were important alternative sources of employment for such persons. Some had done courses in geriatric nursing and became involved in the non-professional nursing care of the elderly. Others went on to take advantage of the educational opportunities--high school, vocational training, and/or college. When family members joined such immigrants, if they continued to work as household employees, they usually did so only on a daily basis so that they could be home with their families in the evenings and on weekends.

The low status and low pay which accompany private household employment make it a very unattractive area of employment. Because most of these jobs are located in the suburbs, the immigrants are isolated from their own people and are placed into a social and cultural milieu alien to them. They work long hours, usually from early morning to late at night. The request to the immigration authority to employ an immigrant includes rate of pay (minimum), time off, and rest periods, but as Virginia Dominguez (1970:45) observed, British West Indians are the most exploited of all foreign workers in the United States. They accept

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the low wages and the restrictive conditions of the employment as the price they must pay for getting to America. Unlike the early immigrants, who were restricted to household work or the garment factories for many years, the recent immigrants continue to work in household positions only if it suits their purpose to do so. Since 1970 there has been a sharp decline in the number of immigrants who enter as private household workers and in professions (U.S. Department of Justice 1975:54).

Other immigrants from the West Indies contributed significantly to the labor force. The following are the major categories of occupations in order of number from 1962 to 1975.

TABLE 7

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS FROM JAMAICA, 1962-1975

Category	Number
Private household	22,571
Craftsmen	11,238
Professional	10,582
Operatives (including transport)	9,044
Clerical	8,753

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Justice (1962-1975).

Of the professional category, the largest category of workers consists of nurses, physicians, and related areas in the health field.

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Nurses especially filled a gap in the 1960s.[10] Ransford Palmer's (1974: 576-578) data on the distribution of Jamaican immigrants in the health field are given in Table 7.

TABLE 7

JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE HEALTH FIELD, SINCE 1960

Category	Number
Nurses	2,903
Physicians, surgeons, dentists	218
Optometrists	2
Dieticians, nutritionists	84
Medical and dental technicians	352
Therapists, healers	16
Pharmacists	52
Veterinarians	10
Other	518
Total	4,155

The total number of immigrants in the health field, 4,155, is 46 percent of all professional immigrants (see Table 48, Appendix B, for immigrants by occupational category). These immigrants occupy positions

[10]Since then, the system of training nurses has been reorganized. The colleges have nursing programs which provide training for registered nurses (R.N. diploma course) and a B.Sc. in nursing, the preferred qualification. West Indian R.N.s, in order to compete with nurses in such programs, are returning to college in large numbers to get the desired B.Sc. which they feel will soon be a standard requirement.

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in hospitals (municipal and voluntary) or nursing homes and some, especially nurses, work for private individuals.

Clerical workers are employed in the major commercial enterprises as secretaries, administrative assistants, bank tellers, hospital clerks, telephone operators, etc. They also have taken advantage of educational opportunities to improve their occupational mobility. The City University of New York, with its relatively low-cost education, is a primary source for aiding educational advancement, but all the other major university systems are used by these immigrants.

The recent immigrants have a faster rate of occupational mobility than the early group, although their rate is not equivalent to that of white groups. Palmer (1976:51) listed Caribbean immigrants' economic status at 19 out of 23 immigrant groups in the United States in 1970. Immigrants from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Mexico fall below the median income of the West Indian immigrants. Next to the Chinese, they have the higest rate of labor force participation, which, he claimed, indicated that a large portion of this population is engaged in low-paying service occupations.[11]

Residential Community

Like employment categories, the recent immigrants' residential patterns spread over the City and is spreading to the suburban areas. However, the City has the greatest concentration. Elizabeth Hope-Thomas (1975:3) compared the residential patterns of West Indian immigrants in

[11]Since 1970 these immigrants would have had the opportunity to upgrade their occupational status. This is an unknown area at this time; therefore any comment made is a conjecture based on observation.

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Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. She observed similar patterns of concentration in London, Toronto, and New York. She noted, however, that, while middle-class West Indians in Britain and Canada are widely dispersed and have little contact with other West Indians, in the United States they are rarely found outside the traditional black neighborhoods.

Occupation and income are factors in residential distribution. In Brooklyn, the Crown Heights area has a high concentration in the section closest to Bedford-Stuyvesant. As income increases, they tend to be further away, reaching into Flatbush and other areas where the population is mixed. In the Bronx, there is concentration of low-income immigrants in the South Central area, but the more affluent are in the east and northeast sections. Some of the immigrants who live in these areas are tenants of those who own houses; the income from rents helps to establish middle-class lifestyle, which is not often possible on wage income. Queens is becoming an area of residential preference because there is more land space available, something which West Indians seem to value. St. Albans and Cambria Heights are the areas where recent immigrants are re-settling, i.e., they usually move from one of the other boroughs to Queens.

A West Indian community has emerged, especially in Brooklyn, with the recent immigrants. For the early immigrants, shared interest and social nearness created the feeling of community in the absence of defined geographical limits (Kramer 1970:46; Breton 1964:174). Breton further noted that, besides the informal network, some groups develop a more formal structure which contains organizations of various sorts--

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religious, educational, political, etc.--and organize welfare and mutual aid societies, operate their own radio station, publish their own newspaper, establish commercial and service organizations among others. There is evidence that the early immigrants attempted to build a community beyond the informal social network, but they were hampered by the absence of geographically defined limits which would have given them more freedom to do so. They did manage social benevolent associations, some commercial organizations, and to some extent religious institutions, but only insofar as a church within a community of churches focused on their needs. Political organizations required joint effort with black Americans, which each denied the other because of rivalry. As a result, the early immigrants failed to establish a defined West Indian community.

The recent immigrants have established commercial and service organizations in defined areas which give the area a West Indian flavor. A New York Times article of October 20, 1974, "West Indians Flavor Bedford-Stuyvesant," would more appropriately read "Crown Heights," but this is one indication that their presence is noted. The West Indian carnival on Eastern Parkway on Labor Day attracts thousands of viewers. Although basically a Trinidadian phenomenon, it is supported by other West Indians and consolidates the West Indian presence in New York. West Indian foods, records, and other products are the major items provided by the commercial enterprises. Travel agencies, shipping and air freight services, real estate, and restaurants are among the others. West Indian music, especially reggae from Jamaica, has wide currency in New York and, along with Calypso and suker, is a significant cultural orientation among the recent immigrants.

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WLIB Radio caters totally to West Indians, although the station is owned by black Americans. Other radio stations carry West Indian-oriented programs. Newspapers are less successful; Caribbean News survived for a short period and is replaced by Caribbean-American News. The Echo lasted for a short period also and died quietly. Radio, television, the major newspapers, and the daily and weekly newspapers from home make it difficult for such a narrow-based newspaper to survive.

Many of the existing organizations among West Indians are best classified as cliques that serve narrow individual rather than community interests. There are some indications of awareness of the need for such organization that could be used as a base for political and social actions. It is possible that time will influence such developments, but the feeling of being a "sojourner" in "this man's country" may be the inhibiting factor and/or the failure of the more experienced and knowledgeable to attempt to organize the masses toward collective goals.

In Canada working-class individuals invite college graduates to help them set up organizations and translate and direct their needs to the appropriate organizations or political representatives (Handelman 1967:118-125). Here in the United States such individuals are sometimes suspected of seeking to use their countrymen for their own personal gains. As a result, they continue to exist in little cliques and direct their activities at little goals which have no significant impact on political, social, or economic organizations of the wider society.

Like the early immigrants, the recent immigrants are slow to become citizens. However, there has been a marked increase in the number of those who have become and have applied to become citizens recently.

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Between 1966 and 1975, a total of 13,442 British West Indians became citizens of the United States; 8,068 of these were Jamaicans. Although the increasing trend toward citizenship began in 1973, the peak year so far is 1975, when 2,152 Jamaicans took citizenship compared with an average of 500 annually between 1966 and 1972 (U.S. Department of Justice 1966-1975).

We have discussed the background factors of the two groups of immigrants from Jamaica within the wider context of the general West Indian immigration. The following chapters will focus on the two groups based on the survey sample.

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CHAPTER 5

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF JAMAICAN RESPONDENTS

This survey sample makes no claim to statistical representativeness of the Jamaican immigrant population in New York City. However, it is expected that it reflects some of their actual situations and will provide a general perspective on that population.

Residential Distribution

There is a close correspondence between the indicated responses to borough of residence and observed patterns of distribution of Jamaican immigrants (Table 8).

TABLE 8

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Residence	Early Group	Recent Group
Brooklyn	41%	40%
Bronx	21	39
Manhattan	24	8
Queens	7	9
Other[a]	7	4
Total	100% (N=42)	100% (N=192)

[a]There were no respondents from Staten Island

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In Table 8 we note a relatively similar percentage for each borough, except in the case of the Bronx and Manhattan. The former has a difference of +18 percent in the recent group and the latter of -16 percent. We see, then, a greater concentration of the recent immigrants in the Bronx and a slightly larger percentage of them in Queens as well. Brooklyn has relatively the same percentage distribution for each group. The "other" category are respondents who reside in the New York metropolitan area and had lived and worked (or still work) in the city.

The greater concentration of the early immigrants in Manhattan seems the result of their early settlement in the Harlem area and indicates residential stability. The South Central Bronx (Morrisania) area has a high concentration of recent low-income Jamaican immigrants, while concentrated in the northeast Bronx are the higher income groups and the upwardly mobile of the early group from Harlem. In Brooklyn, the early immigrants tend to live in old black neighborhoods while the recent immigrants live on the periphery and the more affluent in mixed neighborhoods.

Of the early immigrants, 62 percent indicated that they had lived in other boroughs, while only 33 percent from the recent group so indicated. Fifty-five percent of the former group also own the houses they live in (36 percent of the recent group own their own home), which explains the greater movement in that group. Both groups indicated that they are satisfied with their neighborhoods, but the early immigrants indicated more positive satisfaction (very satisfied, 24 percent, compared with 13 percent of the recent group). The satisfaction with neighborhood could be derived from the presence of friends and relatives

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in the same neighborhood; 83 and 79 percent of the early and recent immigrants respectively claimed that they have relatives in the neighborhood.

Although Jamaican immigrants tend to concentrate in predominantly black neighborhoods, the patterns seem to be a move to a better neighborhood, either through the purchase of a home or renting better apartments when they decide to relocate.

Age, Sex, and Marital Status

As expected, the respondents from the early category of immigrants fall into the upper age classification while the recent immigrants are concentrated in the lower (see Table 9).

TABLE 9

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Age	Early Group	Recent Group
18-30	0%	34%
31-45	5	45
46-60	49	19
61-75	27	2
Over 75	19	0
Total	100% (N=41)	100% (N=190)

The minimum age of each respondent at the time of arrival in the United States is 18 years. The age distribution in the recent group reflects the general distribution in the population (see Table 48, Appendix B).

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The male-female respondents are reversed in the two groups; from the early group there are more male respondents, while the females outnumber males by more than two to one in the recent group. There is no way to account for the difference in the early group; it is possible that males are more active and thus more reachable than the females, or that the ratio of males to females has been adequately represented. In the recent group, however, female immigrants outnumber male immigrants, but the ratio is slightly less than our sample indicates (see Table 10).

TABLE 10

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Sex	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Male	57%	32%
Female	43	68
Total	100% (N=42)	100% (N=192)

Married persons are the major respondents in both groups (see Table 11), while single individuals form a significant category in the recent group. Widowed and divorced or separated persons are of some importance in the early group. Somewhat surprising is the larger percentage of divorced/separated for the latter group, 17 percent compared with 10 percent of the recent group. A possible explanation is that marriages between West Indian males and native black females were less

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durable than marriages between West Indians.[1] Reid (1968:143-144) observed that West Indian men tended to be authoritarian in marital situations, which created unstable conditions in the relationship. Although female black Americans, because of the shortage of native black males, marry West Indians, cultural differences intervened, making the marriage difficult to sustain.

TABLE 11

MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Marital Status	Early Group	Recent Group
Single	9%	31%
Married	62	59
Widowed	12	0
Divorced/separated	17	10
Total	100% (N=42)	100% (N=192)

Of those who responded on the nationality of spouse, 71 percent from the early group claimed Jamaican spouses and 13 percent American-born spouses (5 percent of whom have West Indian parents). The recent

[1]Marriage between West Indian males and black American females was often expedient for the male, who used it as the means of stabilizing his residence status. Cultural differences are operative in such situations; the freedom which the resident's status provides makes it possible for the man to seek mates from his own society, for whom they expressed preference. Respondents from this group confided that black American women married West Indian men because they considered them good providers. Also, on the rare occasions when West Indian females married black American males, the men benefited from the women's thrifty handling of money, according to respondents.

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group is even more endogamous; 91 percent claimed Jamaican spouses and only 6 percent (12 percent West Indian parents) are married to Americans, another 3 percent being married to other West Indians.

The predominance of females in the recent immigration provides a wider selection of mates for Jamaican males than was possible in the early group, although many would have been married prior to emigration. The general tendency of mate selection among West Indians is island endogamy, and in this their behavior approximates the other ethnic groups in the city.[2]

Education, Occupation, and Income

We expected that the respondents from the recent immigrant group would have a generally higher level of education. The reverse was demonstrated, except at the college level. In Table 12 we see that the early group has a +9 percentage point difference for high school, and a +13 percentage point difference for graduate/professional education, while for the recent group, only college education is significant. Elementary and business/trade educational levels are approximately the same for the two groups.

Again, it is difficult to make any projections to the general population of early immigrants, but in an earlier chapter several references were made to the educational achievement of West Indian immigrants (Reid 1968; Osofsky 1963: Glazer and Moynihan 1967), so it is reasonable to assume that many took advantage of educational opportunities. However,

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[2]Edward Maynard (1972) made similar observations for Barbadians. The literature on ethnic minorities indicates similar patterns, especially among the first-generation immigrants (Miyamato 1939; Daley 1977).

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TABLE 12

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF RESPONDENTS BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Educational level	Early Group	Recent Group
Elementary	17%	18%
High school	26	17
Business/trade	12	11
College	19	38
Graduate/professional	26	13
Total	100% (N=42)	97% (N=187)[a]

[a]Five respondents (3 percent) from the recent group did not provide this information.

it is quite possible that the graduate/professional class is over-represented in this sample because of their greater willingness to respond to questionnaires. Most of the respondents in this category were educated beyond high school here in the United States (21 percent).

The recent group's concentration at the college level suggests educational mobility, completed or in progress. The access to educational opportunities at varying levels has been made easier over the past decade so that immigrants from the recent group could more readily take advantage of such opportunities than the early group. Of the recent group, 33 percent had college training and 10 percent graduate/professional training in the United States. The 19 percent with college education from the early group indicated that the education was acquired

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in the United States. The reason they gave most frequently for undertaking further education was to change or improve their area of work (48 and 58 percent for the early and recent groups, respectively).

Table 13, showing occupational categories of the early and recent immigrants, reveals a +5 percentage difference in favor of the early group in the categories of professional/technical and clerical/sales and a -12 point difference in the service category. The "Other" category comprises retired persons in the early gruop who did not state their occupation prior to retirement, and students and housewives who are not actively participating in the labor force.

TABLE 13

RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN UNITED STATES, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Employment Category	Early Group	Recent Group
Professional/technical	31%	26%
Clerical/sales	38	33
Service	17	29
Other	14	12
Total	100% (N=42)	100% (N=192)

Nurses form a large portion of the professional/technical category in the recent group, so that there is a difference between graduate/ professional (education) and professional/technical (occupation) in each group (26 and 31 percent, respectively, in the early group, and 13 and 26 percent, respectively, in the recent group). Others included in the

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category are persons who have at least a master's degree or who are in a clearly defined occupational area.[3]

The clerical/sales category includes all respondents who had not qualified by education or training for professional status but have identifiable white-collar occupations. The service category includes private household workers, hospital aides, domestic staff, and other individuals who provide services on a personal or institutional level. This is anemployment area of high concentration for recent immigrants.

The present employment status shows a shift from the respondents' employment situation prior to emigration (see Table 14). There has been an upward shift in all the employment categories except service for the early group and clerical/sales for the recent group. This does not

TABLE 14

RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES
IN JAMAICA, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Employment Category	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Professional/technical	19%	17%
Clerical/sales	21	34
Service	19	13
Other	41	36
Total	100% (N=42)	100% (N=192)

[3]In addition to indicating a category, respondents were asked to give the title of their jobs. This, together with educational level, helped to place them in the appropriate occupational area.

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necessarily mean that these groups have no mobility, it seems more probable that this rise has occurred because other occupationally unclassified immigrants have shifted into these occupational areas.

The "Other" category represents people unemployed or people with no clearly defined occupational status, who have participated at best intermittently in the Jamaica labor force. Respondents currently non-participants in the labor force are either retired or abstain from choice (housewives and students) and are much fewer in number. Immigrants have improved their employment status and also upgraded their occupational status.

The earlier immigrants are more likely to be employed by government than are the recent immigrants (21 percent and 10 percent, respectively), while the latter group are more concentrated in non-profit organizations (health mostly) and private commercial organizations. Very small percentages are employed in private household (2 percent and 6 percent) and 2 percent and 4 percent respectively are self-employed. Job satisfaction is high, especially among early immigrants, and they tend to stay on one job for several years before changing.

Table 15, showing income distribution of the two immigrant groups, reveals a median individual income of $11,000. Note that the early immigrants have, on the average, a higher income than the recent immigrants. Of the former, 79 percent fall into the $7,000 to $20,000 income category, while only 64 percent of the recent immigrants fall into that category. Conversely, only 7 percent of the early immigrants fall into the $3,700 to $7,000 income category, while 21 percent of the recent immigrants are at this level. There are, however, +5 and +2

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percentage point differences in favor of the recent group in the $10,000 to $15,000 and over $20,000 income categories respectively.

TABLE 15

INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Income	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
$3,000-$5,000	2%	10%
$5,001-$7,000	5	11
$7,001-$10,000	29	15
$10,001-$15,000	29	34
$15,001-$20,000	21	15
Over $20,000	2	4
	88% (N=37)[a]	89% (N=172)[a]

[a]No income information provided by 5 respondents (12 percent) of early group and 20 respondents (10 percent) of recent group.

There are other sources of income besides employment wages, but this area was not investigated.[4] However, real estate is a prime area of investment for both groups; pensions, insurance, etc., provide income for non-employed retired persons. The average higher income of the early group is possibly due to large supplemental incomes from investments rather than earned wages. In noting the income difference between the groups, it must also be noted that the early group has about reached its

[4]Such information was volunteered though not directly sought in interviews and during the participant observation.

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maximum earning capacity while the recent group potential for improvement is extensive, other conditions being equal.

The median income of all black families in the United States in 1972 is $7,629 ($12,566 with wife in the paid labor force) and for white families $12,595 ($15,654 with wife working) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1973). The income distribution in this sample suggests an intermediate average income for Jamaicans between these two groups.

These data support Palmer's (1976:50) observation that West Indians are moving into the professional and technical areas, a move which is the basis for their relatively higher income.

Citizenship

The residential status of respondents is shown in Table 16. From the early group 95 percent are citizens and the other 5 percent indicated that they have applied for citizenship. The recent group has 22 percent citizens; the majority are permanent residents. Of these 18 percent (35) applied for citizenship, 13 percent did not meet the residency requirement, and the remaining 47 percent have no intention of becoming citizens or are undecided. The "Other" category comprises individuals who have applied for resident visas and have lived in the United States for years.

Jamaicans in the United States are not required to surrender their Jamaican citizenship when they become United States citizens but continue to maintain dual citizenship. Some of the respondents seem unaware of this provision, since they indicated that they want to continue being Jamaican citizens.

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TABLE 16

RESIDENTS' RESIDENTIAL STATUS
IN THE UNITED STATES, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Residential Status	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Citizen	95%	22%
Permanent resident	5	75
Other	0	3
Total	100% (N=42)	100% (N=192)

Recent Immigration Reports record an increase in the number of Jamaican immigrants applying for citizenship.[5] Two of the respondents interviewed declared that, without the provision of dual citizenship, they would have had great difficulty in making a decision about taking American citizenship. The dual citizenship, as they see it, gives them the best of the two societies.

The decision to become citizens seems to have been motivated by perception of personal advantages; 45 and 23 percent of the groups, respectively, said that citizens have more benefits and privileges, and only 29 percent of the early group said that their reason was their intention to live in the United States for the rest of their lives. Other reasons include jobs and the sponsoring of relatives.

We assume that time is the major factor in the difference between

[5]This aspect was discussed in the section on recent immigrants in the United States.

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the residential status of the two groups. Present trends in the application for citizenship suggest a movement toward this status in the recent immigrants.

Migration Reasons and Circumstances

The reasons for migrating and the circumstances under which the respondents migrated are not always synonymous. In the early group 60 percent were sponsored by relatives, but only 19 percent claimed their primary reason for migrating was to join relatives. A similar situation exists for the recent group, although the difference is not as significant; 41 percent were sponsored by relatives but only 34 percent migrated for that reason. Of the remainder, 14 and 21 percent respectively came as temporary immigrants and later changed for permanent residence; 24 and 38 percent came on their own.[6] From the early group, 13 percent came on the basis of job offers and professional status, while 18 percent of the recent group came for such reasons.

Education is often given as the reason for emigrating; 26 percent of the early group and 28 percent of the recent group so indicated. However, 51 and 65 percent, respectively, have indicated that they have had some education in the United States. Of these, 31 and 48 percent respectively claim their reason for improving their education was that they perceived education as providing them with the means for upward mobility.

Most of the respondents lived with relatives when they first arrived--76 percent from the early group and 74 percent from the recent

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[6]Immigrants prior to 1924 did not require sponsorship or job offers to emigrate. The recent immigrants could apply on the basis of their skills or profession without prior employment initially. This has been changed.

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group. The remainder lived with friends or Jamaicans they did not know before they arrived, and a few lived on college campuses.

Only 14 percent from the recent group indicated that they were excited about being in America, against 24 percent from the early group, but the two groups show similar responses to the first year's experiences. From the early group 24 percent declared the first year the most difficult period of their lives, while 62 percent found the period challenging and interesting. The response from the recent immigrants is similar: 23 and 66 percent respectively.

While it is understood that economic considerations play an important role in the decision to emigrate, the responses to the question, "Why did you decide to come to America?" showed only 31 and 22 percent from the respective groups claiming that economic reasons were the primary motivating factors. However, since education has been strongly correlated with economic success, we can assume that there are economic motives implied in the responses to education as the reason for emigrating.

From the early group 19 percent gave a combination of reasons (6 percent from the recent group) which included family, education, and economic reasons. Only a small percentage said they were dissatisfied with life in Jamaica (5 and 1 percent respectively). This bears out Hope-Thomas' (1975:4) argument that West Indian immigrants are not economic refugees escaping from grinding poverty in their homelands, that the majority expect more than the alleviation of poverty.[7] West Indian

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[7]In the United States, those who have achieved or are in the process of achieving their educational goals are more likely to be thinking in terms of returning home in the near future to give their country the benefit of their acquired skills than are those who have no skills. The latter think in terms of returning on retirement. (Information from interviews and discussions.)

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immigrants have positive aspirations which are related to their return to their home country. Palmer (1972) made similar observations regarding professionals whose skills were under-utilized and whose need for professional growth and exchange made emigration a positive alternative.

Emigration has positive connotations for Jamaicans; self-fulfillment, however defined by the various categories of immigrants, is the primary motive. This includes economic rewards, educational achievement, and skill development and improvement of social status. Since the home society is the major reference point for many early aspirations, goals will be targeted toward that society initially.

There are many similarities between the two immigrant groups from Jamaica as far as the basic demographic characteristics can indicate. Some of the differences seem to derive from differences in time of arrival. What is missing from this analysis, however, is the process by which they arrive at their present situation, especially the early group. The next chapter, dealing with patterns of adaptation, should reveal some of these processes and the strategies they utilized in their attempt to cope with living and succeeding in the United States.

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CHAPTER 6

JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS:
SATISFACTION WITH LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

This chapter will explore Jamaican immigrants' feelings of satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with their circumstances in America. It has been suggested that level of satisfaction is related to adaptation and identification (Goldlust and Richmond 1974; Ramacharan 1972; Richardson 1967). Our theoretical model postulates that economic factors combine with political, social, and cultural situationalfactors to motivate migration. The lack of economic means places constraints on the individual's ability to participate in the social institutions of a society and cultural patterns often inhibit individual expression and personal freedom.

The lack of economic viability and the resultant social constraints and inhibiting cultural patterns are the primary motives for emigration from Jamaica. The political system is applicable only insofar as the political element creates the climate for social, economic, and cultural development. Maykovitch (1972:377) has suggested that situational factors in the sending society influence the reception and placement of immigrants in the receiving society. Immigrants from countries that are economically poor, politically weak, or externally controlled are given indifferent or hostile reception and low social status, while a more cordial welcome is extended to immigrants from societies of

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equivalent status. If this is the case, then we would expect that the early immigrants, who were leaving Jamaica as an underdeveloped colonial society, to have been assigned low status in the receiving society and the recent immigrants from an economically stronger and politically independent Jamaica to receive a more favorable reception and be given higher social status. A favorable reception will help immigrants to form a favorable opinion of the new society. Therefore the recent immigrants should experience higher levels of satisfaction. This chapter will consider the aspects of the immigrants' satisfaction and the implications for the immigrants' identificational orientation.

Immigrants' satisfaction with their life situation in the host society is subjective, depending on their perception of their situation: how they are in their post-migration situation compared with their premigration situation, and how well others are doing compared with themselves. Individuals who perceive themselves as being well-off are more likely to express some level of satisfaction than those who are discontented with their circumstances. As Richardson (1967:5-12) points out, the reliability of expression of satisfaction or dissatisfaction is difficult to assess since (a) satisfaction is usually expressed in relation to present circumstances and (b) respondents may feel constrained to respond favorably to conditions in the receiving society as justification for having migrated. Richardson further states that arrival in the host society is followed by two fairly predictable patterns: first the "elation" pattern, followed by the "depression" pattern. The elation pattern refers to the sense of wonder the immigrants feel about the strangeness which envelopes them and their eagerness to absorb the new environment.

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The novelty is accompanied by a sense of social freedom, an immunity from constraints of cultural behavioral patterns of the sending and receiving societies since they are out of the jurisdiction of the former and have not yet learned those of the latter.[1] The host may respond with "tolerant indulgence" for the eccentric immigrants or feel threatened by the immigrants' alien patterns which they fear will destroy their own social and cultural patterns. The immigrants' subsequent relations with the hosts is influenced by whether or not they are perceived as threatening to established patterns. Having made the decision to emigrate, the immigrants are anxious to justify their decisions and are therefore initially predisposed to form favorable impressions of that society. A few months after arrival immigrants begin to make a more realistic assessment of their situation and are likely to be more critical of their new country. Cultural shock, nostalgia, and reactive non-acceptance are the patterns of depression. Richardson defined cultural shock as "the sudden recognition that one has a very long way to go before it will be possible to live this kind of full and easy life" (1967:9-10).

The new life involved immediate self-maintenance--finding a job and a place to live. Where immigrants have relatives or friends or voluntary agencies to help them in the resettlement process, these factors do not immediately post acute problems. Assistance from such sources helps to give the immigrant a favorable view of the host society (Bernard 1973:88-90).

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[1]Simmel described the "stranger" as bound by no commitments and therefore free from constraints of action by habit, piety, and precedent (Wolff 1950).

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Nostalgia is associated with increased awareness of the foreign elements in the new society and immigrants may begin to reflect on the pleasant aspects of the society they left. If prejudice and discrimination against certain groups of immigrants are traditional in the host society, those immigrants will immediately become aware of not being accepted.

Jamaican immigrants in New York City are part of the general West Indian immigrant group and face the problems that immigrants face generally and some problems that are unique to them. Bryce-Laporte (1972:48) defined the situation:

> Black immigrants operate, as blacks and immigrants in the United States, under more levels of cross-pressures; multiple affiliations, and inequalities than either native blacks or European immigrants. The additions include (1) their relatively recent identification and education with colonial officialdom and European culture, and (2) their being treated as blacks and recognized as foreign.

The novelty of being in America is soon replaced by the need to solve the problems of self-maintenance. Early immigrants from Jamaica found that the opportunities they perceived as existing in America were not as easily acquired as they had anticipated. In the wider society they were "boys" instead of "men"[2] and their education or skills acquired in the sending society played no immediate role in their social placement. As Eisenstadt suggested, "The process of migration entails not only a shrinkage in the number of roles and groups in which the immigrant is active but also, and perhaps principally, some degree of

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[2]One respondent revealed that he read an ad in the newspaper which said "Men Wanted." When he applied, he was told they wanted <u>men</u>, not <u>boys</u>. As a new arrival, he did not understand theimplication; because he was short and looked much younger than his actual age, he assumed they considered him a boy.

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'desocialization,' of shrinkage and transformation of his whole status image and set of values" (1954:5-6).

According to Richardson the immigrant realized that his new environment was not only novel and interesting but fundamentally different and not understood, and for this reason a little threatening (1967:9).

Jamaican immigrants had these experiences in addition to coping with rejection from black Americans because of their foreign background (they were too British), their accents, and their clothes, which earned them the name "monkey chasers."

The feelings of antagonism between West Indians and black Americans were reciprocal. The former thought that black Americans were too acquiescent and accommodative of the racial situation, while the latter thought that West Indians were brash troublemakers, interfering in situations they did not understand.

Most of the recent immigrants arrived in America as Jamaican citizens when black-white racial confrontation had already resulted in a less rigidly structured society, although two societies--one black, one white--were still very much in evidence (Report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders 1968). The degree of resocialization, shrinkage, and transformation of roles was not as acute as in the case of the early group. Education and skills were acknowledged (they were conditions for migration) so that licensing was often the only requirement necessary to continue working in chosen occupational areas.[3] Wider choices of residential areas also reduced contact with

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[3]One nurse revealed in an interview that her most humiliating experience in the United States was the time when she was told to wear

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native black Americans, although the ethnic or racial consciousness which is indicative of the period might have forged a stronger sense of reciprocal identity between the two groups.[4]

The social structural conditions at the time of arrival differed for the two groups of immigrants from Jamaica, the recent group arriving in more favorable circumstances. Nonetheless, conditions could not be termed favorable to black immigrants in either period. We expected that immigrants would perceive their condition as unsatisfactory and hypothesized that

> Unsatisfactory conditions in the host society resulted in the positive redefinition of conditions in the home country, so that they (a) de-emphasized the negative factors and (b) exaggerated the positive factors.

During the early period of residence in the new country, the immigrants learn to adjust to the new conditions. This period could influence later feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Jamaican immigrants responded in the majority that the first year in America was both challenging and interesting (see Table 17).

Responses to the question, "What do you find most difficult to cope with in America?" varied around the practical everyday things (see Table 18), but the largest percentage responded to "understanding the American people and their way of life."

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an aide's uniform because the time she was allowed to work without a license had expired before she received her license from Albany. Elementary school teachers who receive diploma after training cannot teach in the public school unless they go on to earn college degrees. This is the most vulnerable occupational category among new immigrants with professional status in Jamaica.

[4]This separation is institutional rather than physical (see section on recent immigrants, Chapter 4, which treats the establishment of the West Indian community).

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TABLE 17

IMMIGRANTS' FEELINGS ABOUT THEIR FIRST YEAR IN AMERICA, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Feelings about First Year	Early Group	Recent Group
Most difficult	24%	24%
Challenging and interesting	64	66
Relatively easy	10	7
No opinion	2	3
Total	100% (N=41)	100% (N=191)

X^2=6.605, df=3, p=.15

TABLE 18

IMMIGRANTS' PERCEPTION OF "WHAT IS MOST DIFFICULT TO COPE WITH IN AMERICA," BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Most Difficult to Cope With	Early Group	Recent Group
Finding a satisfying job	24%	20%
Finding adequate housing	7	10
Understanding Americans	29	27
Getting around	-	11
Coping with work and family	17	20
Other	23	12
Total	100% (N=42)	100% (N=188)

X^2=11.6117, df=6, p=.07, missing 4

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Tables 17 and 18 provide a brief general overview of the immigrants' perception of their situation in America. The difference between the two groups' responses concerning the first year's experience is not very significant, but a stronger difference exists in what they considered most difficult to cope with (p=.07).

We expected a much larger percentage of the early group to have declared the period the most difficult given the situational factors of the time--overt racism, segregation, and intraracial antagonism in the black community where they lived. Instead, they seemed determined to meet the challenge of the new society and found the situation a novelty. In the interviews, encounters with overt racism were recounted with humor, as if the situation was indeed ridiculous. They spoke of the hardships of the Depression years, but not with rancor, understanding that others were having similar experiences (and by their standards were worse off then they).

The interviews reveal a strong determination to succeed and this may account for the larger percentage finding the period challenging and interesting. On the other hand we expected the recent group to have indicated a relatively easy time given the fact that they had not experienced loss of status by having to settle for menial jobs when they were qualified for better jobs, had wider residential choice, and, generally, entered a more tolerant society. Their reaction can be more appropriately interpreted in terms of Eisenstadt's and Richardson's conceptualization of new immigrants' situation as discussed earlier.

As Table 19 shows, a larger percentage of the early immigrants (73 percent) also expressed high satisfaction with their jobs, compared

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TABLE 19

IMMIGRANTS' SATISFACTION WITH JOB, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Job Satisfaction	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
High	73%	52%
Medium	3	20
Low	24	28
Total	100% (N=37)	100% (N=178)

X^2=8,131, df=2, p=.02

with 52 percent of the recent group. The satisfaction of the earlier group in this area could be interpreted as a function of the time difference in the two groups. The early immigrants have achieved occupationally all that they could reasonably have hoped to achieve, while many of the recent immigrants are still in the process of career building. Of the recent group, 19 percent consider their present employment as temporary, while 21 percent of the early group are retired persons. Among early immigrants 62 percent stayed on a job for several years before moving on, while only 46 percent of the recent group so indicated. It may be that the recent immigrants are more occupationally mobile, having a wider field of choices. The early group tend toward greater satisfaction with their occupational situation; because of more limited choices they are less well trained and are no longer concerned with job mobility.

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The recent immigrants indicated a more positive response to achievement of goals, while the early group seemed to have had to restructure their initial goals (Table 20). While 11 percent of the recent group said they had achieved none of their goals, only 2 percent from the early group responded thus. The restructuring of goals is also indicative of the situational factors the groups encountered at the time of arrival. Given the greater difficulties which the early immigrants faced, the larger percentage having to settle for alternative goals is understandable and suggests great resilience in meeting the challenge they indicated.

TABLE 20

IMMIGRANTS' GOAL ACHIEVEMENT, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Goal Achievement	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
High	40%	50%
Medium	55	38
Low	5	12
Total	100% (N=40)	100% (N=181)

X^2=5.07598, df=3, p=.16

The situation of the early immigrants recalls Hyman Rodman's (1963:209) concept of "the lower class value stretch": lower-class persons, without abandoning the general values of the society, develop alternative sets of values. Some of the early immigrants developed

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alternative goals when they realized that their ideals could not be realized. One pattern of developing alternative goals is giving their children the opportunity to achieve the goals they had desired for themselves. This was demonstrated by one of the respondents who revealed in an interview that he had wanted to be a doctor but had to become an electrician, an area of work which he enjoyed and found satisfying, Hiw two daughters are doctors, which no doubt provides him with a kind of vicarious fulfillment.

In spite of the positive response to achievement of goals among recent immigrants, they are less positive than the early group in their perception of being "better off in America." As Table 21 shows, the latter gave a more positive response (58 percent, with 32 percent giving a conditional response). The response in the recent group was in the reverse (33 percent very positive and 56 percent conditional). Here again we note that a difference exists between the two immigrant groups and is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 21

IMMIGRANTS' PERCEPTION OF BEING "BETTER OFF IN AMERICA," BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

"Better off in America"	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Strong	58%	33%
Medium	32	56
Weak	10	11
Total	100% (N=40)	100% (N=187)

X^2=8,8423, df=2, p=.05

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We observe, however, that the majority of respondents in both groups would make the same decision to emigrate and would encourage other to migrate.[5] Respondents feel not only that they have gained economically, but also that their lives have been enhanced in subjective ways.

We observed in the satisfaction variables (except goal achievement) that a significant relationships exists in the responses of the two groups as to level of satisfaction. When other variables were introduced we found that level of satisfaction is related to education, occupation, income, sex, "some education in the United States," and migration reasons. Table 23 summarizes the chi square relationship between these variables. The introduced variables have more influence in the recent group. Education is significant in job satisfaction, achievement, and feeling "better off in America" ($p=.01$), occupation in job satisfaction ($p=.03$) and goal achievement ($p=.02$). Goal achievement alone is related to "some education in the United States" ($p=.002$) and migration reason ($p=.05$). Sex is significantly related to feeling "better off in America" ($p=.01$). In the early group, migration reason and "some education in the United States" are significant in feeling "better off in America" ($p=.002$) and sex is related to achievement ($p=.04$).

Sex is significant in goal achievement in the early group only. Men indicated a higher level of satisfaction than women with their goal achievement. The men generally have higher occupational status than the

[5]Encouraging others to come to America does not always indicate satisfaction with America; sometimes, it indicates a desire for others to experience the negative aspects of immigrant life which, as Lee (1966:50) suggested, they were unprepared for.

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TABLE 22

IMMIGRANTS' PERCEPTION OF BEING "BETTER OFF IN AMERICA" BY EDUCATION AND SEX (CONTROLLING FOR TIME OF ARRIVAL)

"Better off in America"	Education			Sex	
	High	Medium	Low	Male	Female
Early Group					
High	47%	80%	33%	59%	56%
Medium	37	20	50	33	31
Low	16	-	17	8	13
Total	100% (N=19)	100% (N=15)	100% (N=6)	100% (N=24)	100% (N=16)
	X^2=6.0695, df=4, p=.19			X^2=0.1867, df=2, p=.01	
Recent Group					
High	40%	17%	40%	48%	26%
Medium	54	70	40	42	63
Low	6	13	20	10	11
Total	100% (N=96)	100% (N=53)	100% (N=55)	100% (N=58)	100% (N=129)
	X^2=14.17328, df=4, p=.006			X^2=9.074, df=2, p=.01	

women. The women either withdrew from the labor force when they got married to become fulltime homemakers or they continued in low-status occupations. Because the men had the primary responsibility for economic support of the family, they were more likely to upgrade their occupational skills and thus improve their potential for higher-level employment

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and personal satisfaction. It is not unusual, either, for a wife to assume the responsibility for economic support while the husband pursues educational goals.

In the recent group, men indicated more frequently that they were "better off in America." In America, males are preferred in employment categories above women. Immigrant men, in spite of racial discrimination,[6] would benefit from this arrangement. However, steady employment at higher wages than they could earn in Jamaica might be the factor rather than a male/female salary differential (see Table 22).

Economic factors may not be the cause for lesser satisfaction among recent immigrant women. Women generally tend to be more immersed in family, relatives, and friends. Emigration limits their associational possibilities, at least for a time, and they are more likely to feel socially isolated than men.[7] Men have greater representation in Jamaican social/benevolent and student/alumnae organizations than women. Studies of West Indian immigrants (Hope-Thomas 1975; Ramcharan 1972) found that women tended to express greater satisfaction than men in the recent group.

Respondents in the high educational and occupational categories show the highest levels of satisfaction with job and goal achievement and indicated most frequently that they were "better off in America."

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[6]Cynthia Epstein (1973), in "Black and Female: The Double Whammy," suggested that black women (professional) can sometimes succeed where black men have great difficulty. This, however, does not invalidate the "male preference" in most industries.

[7]Women sometimes work in service industries which isolate them from friends and relatives. The work hours are often long and free time inconvenient for socializing.

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TABLE 23

SATISFACTION VARIABLES BY INTERVENING VARIABLES,[b] CONTROLLING FOR TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	Income	Some Education in U.S.	Migration Reason
Job Satisfaction	.53/.43[a]	.50/.89	.20/.001	.83/.03	.94/.16	.59/.05	.63/.06
Better off in America	.92/.28	.91/.01	.19/.007	.88/.09	.47/.12	.06/.35	.005/.51
Goal Achievement	.54/.11	.04/.95	.30/.004	.16/.02	.43/.005	.000/.002	.003/.10

.00 = p value from chi square

[a]Early/recent immigrants.

[b]Intervening variables: age, sex, education, income, "some education in the U.S.," migration reason.

The respondents in the low education category are least satisfied with job, although dissatisfaction is not the dominant response. The majority are satisfied. High goal achievement is focused in the high education and occupation category. Medium and low education and occupation range from medium to high in goal achievement.

There is little variation in the early group expression of satisfaction. There is a high degree of homogeneity in this group which is absent in the recent group.

The above discussion suggests a feeling which does not clearly indicate satisfaction or dissatisfaction. There seems to be resignation on the part of the early group and tolerant indifference on the part of the recent group. The latter group tend to be more critical of the American society chiefly in the company of other Jamaicans. Richardson reported similar behavior among Dutch immigrants in Australia (1967:5) who were more willing to express dissatisfaction with Australian society when the interviewer was of Dutch origin than with other ethnic groups. Recent Jamaican immigrants are critical of the racial situation; they complain of the hypocrisy of Americans, job discrimination, and what they perceive as personal insult based on either race or nationality.

Reid (1968:170) also observed that one of the major points of contention between black Americans and West Indians was the West Indians' constant criticism of the American society. Robert L. Van, assistant to the District Attorney, New York, made the following statement on one such occasion:

> If you West Indians don't like how we do things in this country, you should go back home where you come from; we Americans will not tolerate your butting into our affairs. We are good and tired of

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> you. . . . there should be a law deporting the whole gang of you and failing that you should be run out of Harlem [Pittsburgh Courier, Thursday March 15, 1934].

The West Indians, of course, responded with outrage that a public official could make such a statement and demanded a public apology.

S. A. Haynes (Philadelphia Tribune, July 30, 1930), attempting to account for the West Indian immigrants' behavior, suggested that the exaggerated Britishness, of which they were accused, was protection against the terror of lynching, jim-crowism, and social ostracism. Their lack of understanding of the white American resulted in their resorting to rebellion; black Americans' allusions to West Indians as "monkey chasers" and mockery of their dialect was seen as the source of tension between them and West Indians.

These incidents illustrate dissatisfaction on the part of the early immigrants and the reaction of sectors of the society to their attitudes. As observed earlier, they suffered economic setbacks because they were not tolerant of insults from whites. When they failed to make favorable impressions on the American society by influencing change in racial attitudes by their criticism, they turned their attention to their homeland with the idea of building a free society.[8]

Although the early immigrants now tend toward a higher level of satisfaction than the recent immigrants, their behavior in earlier years suggests some levels of dissatisfaction which they expressed by turning their attention to their country of origin. This supports our hypothesis that dissatisfaction with the host society causes the immigrants to turn

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[8]For further discussion on the subject, see the section on social organization.

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with nostalgic longing to the society from whence they came (Weinstock 1969:31-32).

The immigrants were not unrealistic about the situation in their society, even if their nostalgic reminiscence often elicited the retort, "Why did you come to America, then?" We mentioned earlier that economic considerations were the primary motive for emigrating and so far they seem satisfied.

Most of the respondents are satisfied, or at least moderately so, with their achievement, but as Goldlust and Richard (1974)199) suggest, satisfaction often involves comparison. Jamaican immigrants comparing their pre-migration with their post-migration situations found cause for satisfaction on the one hand and dissatisfaction on the other. The source of the dissatisfaction lies in the situational determinants which permit immigrants to achieve economic and other personal goals, but deny them the psycho-social recognition which the achievement of such goals would provide them in their own country. We will examine the patterns of adaptation which the immigrants utilize to accommodate psycho-social dissatisfaction in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 7

PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION

Acculturation

Acculturation is the minimum level of assimilation necessary for immigrants to function in a new society (Gordon 1964:77). This may involve no more than outward conformity to the demands of the new society, due to external sanctions, without marked change in the personality (Goldlust and Richmond 1974:199). When conformity to some well-defined normative patterns is required, immigrants may well be forced into outward conformity. However, if they are allowed alternatives, they may elect any of the degrees of acculturation suggested by Richardson (1967: 14-17). Richardson suggested three variates of acculturation: (a) obligatory acculturation, which involves only the basics for physical survival and social relations with members of the host society, (b) advantageous acculturation, the adoption of behavioral patterns because of the perceived rewards they provide, and (c) optional acculturation, those cultural patterns which immigrants can adopt or reject without sanctions. Optional acculturation could also mean that immigrants must be free to retain their own cultural patterns.

Cultural Symbols

Culture is represented by symbols, ideals, and preferences which are unique to the people who claim a particular cultural identity. Jamaican immigrants should have such symbolic representation if they

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claim a distinct cultural identity. In this section the cultural artifacts and preferences of each of the two groups will be examined for differences in their cultural patterns and orientation, as well as their social relationships and organizational network.

Cultural symbols which can be observed externally and associated with special groups include:

(a) Communication systems--newspapers, radio stations or programs

(b) Festivals, art forms, music, sports

(c) Dietary preferences

We hypothesized that:

The recent immigrants from Jamaica are less inclined toward acculturation than the early immigrants because the recent immigrants
(a) maintain closer physical contact with the home society
(b) share a more distinct geographical area
(c) have more cultural symbols to reinforce their cultural patterns

The West Indian community has been discussed previously and the conclusion reached was that there is more of a clustering of recent immigrants than was possible for early immigrants who were restricted to the segregated neighborhoods of the general black population. It was also suggested that they maintained contact with the home society through regular visits, the communications media, and association with others of the same background. Tables 24 and 25 show the patterns of contact maintenance between the groups and their society of origin.

These two tables reveal that there is no relationship between the patterns of visit and contact maintenance in the two groups. The visiting pattern is inverse: whereas a majority of the respondents in the recent group visited Jamaica within three years after their first arrival, the early respondents tended toward visiting after at least

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TABLE 24

PERIOD BEFORE IMMIGRANTS' FIRST RETURN VISIT
TO JAMAICA, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Period before First Return Visit	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
1-3 years	15%	58%
3-10 years	37	26
over 10 years	49	12
Total	100% (N=41)	100% (N=192)

X^2=33.680, df=2, p=.000

TABLE 25

IMMIGRANTS' CONTACTS WITH JAMAICA[a]
OTHER THAN VISITS, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Contact	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Strong	64%	59%
Average	26	41
Weak	10	0
Total	100% (N=38)	100% (N=189)

X^2=21.442, df=2, p=.000

[a]These include letters, newspapers, telephone calls, and making inquiries from those who visit. Respondents who indicated at least three methods of contact are in the strong contact category; one or two methods of contact rated "average," and none rated "weak."

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ten years of residence. Travel was expensive and time consuming, usually by boat and later by train or bus to Miami and then by airplane to Jamaica. Besides, visits to Jamaica meant loss of income for the duration of the visit and very likely the search for a new job on return. This group, however, have always maintained contact and in recent years have increased the frequency of their visits.

In the early group, women fall into the middle category for visiting but maintain stronger contact through letters etc., while the men are at both extremes. Women visit more frequently in the recent group, about one and one-half times as often as men, and also maintain stronger contact.[1] Education and occupation are significantly related to contact maintenance in this group, with respondents in the high category showing the most positive response.

The maintenance of close contact with the sending society reinforces the immigrants' cultural patterns (Van der Zanden 1972:275). While the early immigrants initially depend on letters and new arrivals from Jamaica for news, the recent immigrants also have, in addition, newspaper, radio programs, and telephone service for wider, faster delivery of news. There are at least three Jamaican newspapers available in New York City, and they are read by over 60 percent of the respondents.

Radio station WLIB services, primarily, a West Indian audience and other stations also carry regular programs oriented to West Indian audiences. Of the recent immigrants, 42 percent listen almost exclusively to such programs, compared to 8 percent of early immigrants.

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[1]Since women were often the first family members to migrate, the visits are often for family reasons. Besides, they can take advantage of the institutional practice of yearly vacation with pay, a privilege the early immigrants did not have.

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Music, dance, films, and other cultural expressions which originated in Jamaica are more widely available and patronized by the recent immigrants (72 percent against 48 percent of the early group). Reggae music, which epitomizes Jamaica's "grass-roots" culture,[2] is well promoted in New York among Jamaicans as entertainment music, in festival competitions. and in record collections. Reggae music has a modest recognition in America outside the West Indian community. Table 26 illustrates the music and food preference of Jamaicans when they entertain.

TABLE 26

IMMIGRANTS' PREFERENCES IN FOOD AND MUSIC FOR ENTERTAINMENT, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Food and Music	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
All Jamaican	3%	5%
West Indian	11	9
American/West Indian	70	81
All American	11	0
Other	5	5
Total	100% (N=37)	100% (N=187)

X^2=21.019, df=4, p=.0008

[2]This is in contrast to the European cultural patterns which the new national consciousness defines as external. Reggae music is seen as Jamaicans' expression of their consciousness as a people.

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Table 26 shows an eclectic pattern in food and musical taste for both groups. However, the extremes reflect the pattern we noted earlier; the recent group is inclined toward Jamaica and the early group toward America.

Jamaicans have no festival other than the celebration of political independence from Great Britain, which replaced Emancipation Day as a national holiday and is celebrated about the same time (first week in August) each year. Jamaicans in New York celebrate the event with dances, religious services, and competitions. Representatives from America participate in the festival in Jamaica each year as representatives of Jamaican Americans. The early immigrants are the primary organizers of the festival activities, no doubt because of their long history of involvement with Jamaica's independence. The recent immigrants are more involved with the new cultural movement in Jamaica and participate in the West Indian Day Parade--the American version of carnival in Trinidad, the most elaborate demonstration of West Indian culture outside the Caribbean.

Foods are probably the universal symbol of ethnic expression among all immigrants and Jamaicans, like other ethnics, have their own food preferences. These foods are readily available in certain West Indian neighborhoods and are now a basic area of West Indian entrepreneurship along with record albums. Table 27 shows that recent immigrants show more interest in Jamaican foods (92 percent) than early immigrants (62 percent). A similar pattern is shown in preference for sports they enjoyed in Jamaica (soccer or cricket) over American sports (baseball). Whereas the majority of the early immigrants have indicated a decided preference for American sports, the recent immigrants still lean toward

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TABLE 27

IMMIGRANTS' CULTURAL PREFERENCES BY TIME OF ARRIVAL:
SERVE WEST INDIAN FOOD AT HOME

Frequency	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Very frequently to moderately	62%	92%
Infrequently to never	38	8
Total	100% (N=40)	100% (N=188)

X^2=22.638, df=1, p=.000

Jamaica. The latter also show a moderate to strong interest in Jamaican artistic entertainment, while the early group shows low to moderate interest (see Tables 28 and 29).

The general pattern as indicated by the above tables suggests a lower level of involvement in Jamaican cultural practices among early immigrants. Their isolation from the cultural influences of that country for long periods after their first arrival, and the years before they were able to make return visits, reduced the poignancy of their own culture. In addition to this, they were relatively isolated from one another, especially the women who worked as household help for several years and had only minimal contact with other Jamaicans. Conversely, the close contact with the bearers of American culture, the middle-class household, and possibly the desire to please their employers placed them in a position to be influenced by American culture.

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TABLE 28

IMMIGRANTS' CULTURAL PREFERENCES BY TIME OF ARRIVAL: SPORTS

Sport	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Jamaican (soccer, cricket)	26%	56%
American (baseball)	74	44
Total	100% (N=39)	100% (N=182)

X^2=10.28689, df=1, p=.0013

TABLE 29

IMMIGRANTS' CULTURAL PREFERENCES BY TIME OF ARRIVAL: INTEREST IN JAMAICAN ART FORMS AND ENTERTAINMENT

Interest	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Strong	7%	28%
Moderate	32	42
Low	61	31
Total	100%	100%

X^2=19.282, df=3, p=.0002

The recent immigrants are strongly reinforced by having greater access to Jamaica, Jamaican products, and frequent interaction with other Jamaicans. They also arrived at the time when ethnicity had a new

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resurgence (Yancy 1977), especially black Americans' endorsement of racial pride and cultural heritage. This created an atmosphere for support and tolerance of ethnic differences, cultural pluralism, among black people existing in the wider society.

When the early group arrived the accent had been on "Americanization" and immigrants felt pressured to discard their original cultural patterns and adopt those of the receiving society. Those who refused to abandon their old ways were sharply criticized, while those who became acculturated to the American way were rewarded. The fact that they shared institutions and community with black Americans until they could create their own contributed to their acculturation.

This is what Richardson (1967) referred to as "advantageous acculturation," the adoption of patterns perceived as bringing the greatest rewards. However, they had interests that could be pursued only by developing an organizational base whereby they could operate in their own interest. Studies of other ethnic groups reveal similar patterns: Rosenthal (1960) observed that Jews in Chicago were acculturated but not assimilated, and Weinstock (1969) made a similar assessment of the Hungarian immigrants in the United States. The following section will examine formal and informal organizations as part of the general patterns of adaptation to the new social and cultural environment.

Social Networks

Moving from one country to another resulted in the dismantling of established patterns of social relationships and the reformation of new social groupings. The new social group often included relatives,

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friends, and organizational participation. The options for the development of the immigrants' new social networks will be influenced by contacts established prior to emigration and whether or not the immigrants are absorbed into their own ethnic group in the receiving society.

Research has revealed that kinship obligations persist in urban areas and strongly influence the migration process. Litwak (1960:390) suggested that (a) modified extended families actually promote geographical mobility of their members to aid them in social mobility, (b) extended family identification does not disappear as a result of such mobility but continues despite the loss of face-to-face contact, (c) as migrant members of the family near their peak earning powers, a "geographic coalescence" tends to take place as members of the family reunite.

The importance of family in promoting further migration is attested by MacDonald and MacDonald (1964:82). They observed that a pattern of chain migration exists among immigrants, whereby prospective immigrants learned of job opportunities, were provided with transportation, and had initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous immigrants. Tilly and Brown (1968:139-142) referred to this arrangement as the "auspices of migration" or the social structures which establish relationships between migrants and the receiving society before they move. It should be noted also that non-relatives perform the above-mentioned services for new immigrants and they may be the primary source of gratification even when relatives are present. Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) and Bott (1957) argued that occupational differentiation and the demands of a technological society influence the development of multiple social networks to satisfy

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different needs arising from the socioeconomic structure of industrial society. Thus, in the general social network schema, family provide permanence in social relationships and assistance. Friendship networks, which are voluntary, are based on common interest such as occupation, while neighbors provide a generalized reference group which sets standards of behavior.

If Jamaican immigrants share neighborhood with others of their own ethnic background, it is more likely that they will continue to indulge in behavioral patterns peculiar to that group instead of adopting the behavioral patterns of the wider society.

The presence or absence of an established social network system will influence the immigrants' acculturation process. In this section we focus on the social network patterns of Jamaican immigrants in New York City.

Immigrants who join relatives already established in the new society (Chodin 1973) or those who are absorbed into their own ethnic group (Heiss 1966) become acculturated at a slower rate than those who must immediately utilize their own resources in the adaptation process in a heterogeneous situation without the support of ethnic group or relatives. The responses of the two Jamaican immigrant groups indicate that relatives form an important part of their social network of primary relationship, at least when they first arrive. Their situation is presented in Table 30.

Although relatives are important to the new immigrants during the early stages of arrival, it seems that they lose some of their importance as the primary reference group as the new arrivals broaden

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TABLE 30

ROLE OF RELATIVES IN SOCIAL NETWORK
OF NEW IMMIGRANTS, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Role of Relatives	Percentage of Respondents	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Came under auspices of relative sponsorship	55%	41%
Lived with relatives on arrival	71%	69%
Came specifically to join family	19%	34%

their spheres of activities and associations. A difference is indicated in the associational patterns of the two groups. When the immediate family (spouse and children) are excluded, relatives become the primary source of associational gratification for 26 percent and 38 percent of the early and recent groups respectively. Friends also become a central part of their primary association (see Table 31).

Kinship obligations seem to be the operational factor in extending aid to new immigrant relatives. The assistance includes a place to live, provision of the clothing needed (chiefly winter clothes, which immigrants from tropical countries are most unlikely to have); taking or directing them to sources of employment (agencies, companies), introducing them to their friends, and inviting them to join organizations in which they have membership. If relatives are involved with their own ethnic community, the new immigrants would also be absorbed in that ethnic community. This would then create a double indemnity against

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TABLE 31

IMMIGRANTS' MOST IMPORTANT ASSOCIATION
OUTSIDE IMMEDIATE FAMILY, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Association	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Jamaican relatives	28%	31%
Jamaican friends	28	39
West Indians	14	13
Americans and others	30	17
	100% (N=39)	100% (N=180)

X^2=4.2065, df=3, p=.12

acculturation. This kind of insulation can be mitigated by the friendship network and secondary group membership.

Although relatives are instrumental in guiding individuals to places to seek employment, they have little or no influence in securing jobs for them, especially where abstract tests determine the selection of a candidate for a position (Ramcharan 1972:174). Only a very small percentage from each group (5 percent and 11 percent) indicated that they involved friends and relatives in their search for employment. Occasionally a satisfied employer requested the aid of a Jamaican immigrant in recruiting others and, in the case of private household workers, relatives actively sought prospective employers for relatives and friends still in Jamaica. Davison (1966:77) noted that West Indians in Great Britain provide an informal referral service by recommending others

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to their employers or telling their friends and relatives where vacancies exist. Also, some employment agencies specialize in placing West Indian clients.

Responses indicated regular contact among Jamaicans of both groups. They also showed that presence of relatives or friends in a neighborhood influences the choice of residence. Eighty-three percent and 79 percent of the early and recent groups, respectively, have relatives and friends in their neighborhoods; 95 percent of the former and 92 percent of the latter are in regular contact (by visiting or by telephone) with friends and relatives.

Sometimes one individual becomes the central figure in a network of relatives and friends. When such an individual moves away or dies, the network ceases to function on the same level. One such situation was observed where one female became the pivot around whom an extensive social network, consisting primarily but not exclusively of relatives, developed. Many of this network of immigrants arrived in the country through the auspices of her sponsorship (direct or indirect), and she provided the services mentioned by the MacDonalds above. Through her, individuals came into contact with others with whom they would not otherwise have interacted on a regular basis. When she died, the network became fragmented because there was not enough common interest to keep that particular social network system in operation. The relationship was not merely one which provided practical assistance. It provided psycho-social satisfaction as well. She was a kind of generalized mother to members of this social network, and as Mitchell (1969:20) suggested this aspect of the network connection may be even more important than the tangible assistance.

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Migration sometimes includes several members from one family (not referring here to a nuclear unit). They may share common residence initially, but even when they establish separate residence they tend to remain close to one another. One such kinship group consisting of approximately ten nuclear units was observed. The group encompasses immigrants from the two migration periods.[3] The provision and exchange of services within the group is so extensive that contact with others outside that group is reduced to contacts in economic, educational, and religious institutions and takes the form of secondary rather than primary relationships.

In one observation at least, the primary network included others besides Jamaicans. These others are mostly individuals with whom they share organizational membership but also have contact on the primary group level, as friends and in social activities.

The above are observations made among the early immigrants. The recent group tends to favor Jamaican friends. Many of these friends are persons they knew before they emigrated and with whom they share occupational and/or other interests. It was noted, however, that although many of the recent immigrants have relatives among the early immigrants, there seemed to be little association between them. The latter consider the former brash and are probably a little envious of their relatively easy access to jobs and their not having to experience many of the hardships that the early immigrants encountered. The recent group consider the other group materialistic and too Americanized.

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[3]This is unusual. Observation indicated low level of contact between immigrants from each period.

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Conflict often arises when the two groups attempt to define organizational goals. The early group see themselves as altruistic while they see the other group as self-serving. This imposes a barrier to the recruiting of new members with the result that in some organizations the membership consists of persons in a common age category who are also part of a friendship network.

Other Jamaicans are the most important component of the social network of both groups. As Table 32 illustrates, Americans and other foreigners form the other categories with relatively similar percentage distribution in the latter category for each group. The early immigrants select Americans (47 percent, mostly black Americans), followed by other foreigners (32 percent), and other West Indians (21 percent), as their next category of primary association. The recent immigrants select other West Indians (42 percent) and other foreigners (38 percent) and

TABLE 32

IMMIGRANTS' FIRST CHOICE OF NON-JAMAICAN FRIENDS, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Non-Jamaican Friends	Early Group	Recent Group
Other West Indians	21%	42%
Americans	47	20
Other foreigners	32	38
Total	100% (N=38)	100% (N=181)

X^2=12,87349, df=2, p=.001

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Americans (20 percent). The importance of other foreigners in Jamaican immigrants' social network is unexpected but it is possible that, as strangers in a foreign country, they find it easier to become friendly with one another than to break into the networks of long-established social groups.

The recent immigrants have more contact with other West Indians with whom they share communities, work situations, educational institutions, and social and cultural activities. The latter group arrived in the United States with a more highly developed consciousness of national origin and common destiny which provided the basis for stronger bond or understanding than the earlier immigrants, who were not only isolated territorially but had little consciousness of their common origins. This wider consciousness emerged in America and will be discussed later.

The choice of spouse further reflects the strength of the in-group ties among Jamaicans. There is no large-scale intermarriage between Jamaicans and any other racial or ethnic groups, even among the early immigrants. Of those who are married, 79 percent of the early group and 88 percent of the recent are married to other Jamaicans and another 6 percent and 2 percent respectively are married to Americans of Jamaican parentage.

The recent immigrants indicated a preference for Jamaicans (33 percent) as tenants, followed closely by English-speaking West Indians (see Table 33).

The social network of Jamaican immigrants consists primarily of relatives and Jamaican friends. This pattern is reflected in Elizabeth Bott's (1958) observation in England that relatives are the most

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TABLE 33

IMMIGRANTS' TENANT PREFERENCE, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Tenant Preference	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Jamaican	9%	33%
English-speaking West Indian	20	28
Black American	14	2
White American	6	9
Other[a]	51	28
Total	100% (N=35)	100% (N=162)

X^2=24.33396, df=5, p=.0002

[a]Respondents eliminated racial and ethnic characteristics.

important component in urban social networks. Litwak (1960), the MacDonalds (1964), and Tilly and Brown (1968) arrived at similar conclusions in their observations of social patterns of immigrants in the United States.

The recent immigrants show a slight preference for Jamaican friends over relatives. Many of these friends are persons they knew before they emigrated and with whom they share occupational and other interests. This supports an earlier observation of Litwak and Bott that friendship satisfies certain demands in industrial societies which family or relatives cannot satisfy.

The third aspect of Litwak's (1960) observation needs to be modified for Jamaican immigrants because new immigrants usually live

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with relatives when they first arrive. Jamaicans tend to settle in the same neighborhood where they have relatives and friends, even when they establish independent residence. The geographic coalescence is established in the initial stage and contributes to the growth of ethnic neighborhoods.

Chodin (1973) and Hess (1966) suggest that the immigrants who are immersed in family and their own ethnic group are slower in adapting to the new environment than those who are independent of such support. While this may be operative in the case of Jamaican immigrants, it should not be ignored that situational factors in the United States relative to the racial origin of Jamaicans created barriers to absorption independent of their relationship to their own ethnic group.

The other aspect of social networks and of social organization created for the purpose of satisfying some particular needs of a group will be discussed in the following section, which explores how Jamaican immigrants deal with exclusion.

Social Organizations

Social organizations are created to achieve specific goals. They can be formal bureaucratic structures of the Weberian type or informal structures of voluntary association and primary relationships. This section will explore the social organizational patterns of Jamaican immigrants, their structures and functions in the community and for the individuals who are members of these organizations.

With the exception of religious organizations, we classify the social organizations of Jamaican immigrants as semi-formal, voluntary associations which are designed to satisfy some particular needs of the

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Jamaican community in America. We use the term semi-formal to indicate the existence of a charter which states specific aims and the conditions for membership; otherwise they are considered as a more organized form of the social network of primary relationships.

Parsons' (1951) pattern variables is used as an analytic tool in exploring the goal, the structures, and the functions of immigrants' social organization. We postulate that structural and cultural factors in the United States strongly influence the formation of social organizations which cater to the particularistic needs of special groups and that social organizations reinforce ethnic and/or national identity rather than aiding in the assimilation process.

Although no specific question was asked about religious affiliation, Jamaicans are predominantly Protestants. A significantly larger percentage of the early immigrants are members of religious organizations (93 percent, compared to 56 percent of the recent group). It seems, however, that some immigrants change their religious affiliation after migration. As one respondent succinctly stated, "As a black person in America, I could no longer identify with the churches that perpetuate racism."[5]

Most of the contemporary social organizations are narrowly based and admit to membership only select individuals who satisfy criteria defined by the names of the organizations. Examples are high school alumni associations, occupation-based associations (former Jamaican

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[5]The respondent is a member of the Black Muslim religious organization, as are a small group of other Jamaicans. They are a part of the early immigrant group and were strongly influenced by the Marcus Garvey movement.

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policemen, nurses), etc. A limited number of these organizations have wider goals--such as incorporating other groups (black Americans, other West Indians)--but have difficulty attracting members outside their own special interest (see Table 34).

Most of the organizations function to maintain contact with persons with whom they had had previous contact or with those who have similar reference points in the receiving society; e.g., student associations are centered around reference groups in the host society while alumni associations are focused on previous relations in the sending society.

TABLE 34

IMMIGRANTS' ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Organizations	Percentage of Respondents	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Church	93%	57%[a]
Professional	24	23[b]
Social/benevolent	37	26[c]
Student/Alumni	20	28[d]

[a]χ^2=16.85498, df=1, p=.000, missing 4
[b]χ^2=.00133, df=1, p=.97, missing 15
[c]χ^2=1.43158, df=1, p=.23, missing 11
[d]χ^2=.84642, df=1, p=.36, missing 11

There is no organization which can claim to represent all Jamaicans. Some are best classified as friendship groups, organized primarily

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for associational and entertainment purposes. The early immigrants seemed to have needed a more concrete organizational base. Reid (1968: 159) indicated three major areas of concern around which these immigrants organized: (1) economic and political adjustment in the United States, (2) mutual benefit organizations, and (3) organizations to foster and perpetuate desirable conditions in, and relations with, the homeland. The second and third seem to have been more successfully achieved than the first. These will be discussed below.

Jamaican immigrants have membership in professional organizations (24 and 21 percent from the respective groups), based on their occupational category. Membership in a professional organization suggests what Milton Gordon (1963:71) called "structural assimilation" or entering into a social relationship with the host society on a primary group level (Eisenstadt 1955). While this might be the situation for Europeans, immigrants from Jamaica would largely be excluded from the primary group relationships. They might consider that their occupation makes it necessary for them to hold membership, but they do not feel that they are an integral part of these organizations. This is especially true of nurses who, as interviews revealed, feel that they are not represented by the American Nurses Association. Because of this, some Jamaican nurses found it necessary to form an organization of their own, the Jamaican Nurses Group. This organization arranges workshops to assist its members in maintaining professional competence. It also makes contributions, professional and monetary, to similar organizations in the West Indies and provides social activities for members.

The social and benevolent associations respond to other needs

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of Jamaicans. According to the Parsonian typology, these organizations are particularistic rather than universalistic, diffused rather than functionally specific; status is ascribed rather than achieved; they are affective rather than affectively neutral and ego-oriented rather than collectively oriented. There are many of these organizations listed and they are organized around the practical everyday situations faced in the United States or have some wider goals, often connected with the sending society. Two of these organizations will be discussed to demonstrate their orientation.

Benevolent Associations: The British Jamaican Benevolent Association

The British Jamaican Benevolent Association is located in Central Harlem and celebrated its 60th anniversary in 1977. The membership is totally Jamaican and was organized around certain specific needs of Jamaicans in New York City. As the term benevolent suggests, its primary purpose is to provide assistance to members when the need arises, for example, contributions to hospital and funeral expenses, or loans to individuals in temporary financial need. The absence of social welfare programs and the Immigration Law requirement that immigrants should not become public charges left the burden of support in the immigrant or his family. The contribution of small amounts of money by each member and the staging of events, usually dances, to raise funds provide a reserve fund for such purposes. Members of the organization also provide such services as visiting the sick and disabled and ensuring that they are not in want of basic care. Occasionally loans are made to students who cannot meet their educational debts.

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The members of this organization are mostly retired persons, usually of low formal educational background and, possibly, never having worked outside household domestic service, which was the only available employment when they first arrived.

The president, one of the younger members, is himself retired. A college graduate, he not only assumes a leadership role but also provides advice and guidance to the members, many of whom are widows. This arrangement compares with Dan Handelman's (1967) observation of the relationship between middle-class leaders and lower-class rank and file membership in West Indian social organizations in Canada.[7] Absent, however, is the conflict which Handelman emphasized in the Canadian situation.

This organization has outlived most of its purposes. Medicare, Social Security, and other social welfare programs have assumed responsibility for the care of the elderly. However, the psycho-social needs of members are not satisfied by social welfare provisions. Because the organization is not functionally specific, it can take on new functions as the occasions arise. The dances, luncheons, cruises, and other forms of travel provide a social life that would have been difficult to arrange individually. Having membership in the organization provides the identity that is so elusive in an urban environment. Having lunch in a popular hotel compensates in some way for menial work and other low-status

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[7]West Indian immigrants in Canada of the same racial or ethnic background are segregated by their class position (Handelman 1967:119), while in the United States they have been reduced to a common level which reinforces mutuality. This is especially true of the early immigrants. Immigrant professionals are largely dependent on other immigrants of their own ethnic stock for patronage when they establish private practice, and also for ego gratification.

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classifications. Failure to attract young members, however, places its survival in doubt at this time.

Socio-political Organization: The Jamaica Progressive League

The Jamaica Progressive League (JPL) was incorporated in 1936 by a group of Jamaicans in the midst of the Depression. Its headquarters are located in midtown Manhattan, with local branches in Brooklyn, Bronx, and Queens. Unlike the British Jamaican Benevolent Association, which served immigrants, the Jamaica Progressive League was organized for the more specific purpose of working toward Jamaica's independence from Great Britain. They felt that an organization abroad could influence this process and establish an educational program in Jamaica to convince the local leaders that progress for Jamaica required political independence. The JPL funded the program. Leaders made regular visits in order to raise the consciousness of the Jamaican people.

Jamaica gained its independence from Great Britain in 1962. Therefore, at that time, the ideal purpose of the organization was fulfilled. It was then a question of where the organization would concentrate its activities. For a time the organization became Jamaica's lobby to the United States government in attempting to influence governmental policy toward the newly independent country, Jamaica. The organization takes credit for influencing the Immigration Law of 1965, from which Jamaica and other similar countries benefited considerably. They argued that American immigration policies militated against West Indians and that the newly independent countries of the Western Hemisphere should be given the same immigration privileges enjoyed by other countries. Legislation passed in 1965 is the primary sponsor of the recent immigration.

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After this was achieved, the Jamaica Progressive League went into a slump, having lost its particularistic orientation and also perhaps because of a crisis of leadership. After a six-year period of indecisiveness, it regenerated itself under a new administration and began to focus on Third World issues. Although Jamaica remained a primary focus, it was seen within the context of the West Indies. Conferences planned by the League provide a forum for West Indian and non-West Indian scholars who have expertise in the social, economic, and cultural aspects of West Indian life. It also provides a forum for Jamaican politicians who are defining governmental policies and/or attempting to influence Jamaican-Americans to retain interest in Jamaica. The audiences at the conferences are usually predominantly Jamaicans.

More recently the League has turned its attentions to the problems of West Indian[8] immigrants in New York, focusing its concern on the relationship of West Indians to educational, economic, and political systems of the American society. This is the first time in the history of its existence that the Jamaica Progressive League acknowledged that Jamaicans and other West Indians in New York have needs that should be focused on in the context of the American society.

Although the Jamaica Progressive League is probably the most viable West Indian organization in New York City, it is handicapped by its partisan political affiliation. Separatism on the basis of political affiliation characterizes political behavior in Jamaica. Therefore the

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[8]The term "West Indian" was chosen deliberately with the idea of broadening the base of the Jamaica Progressive League to include immigrants from other islands and to provide a wider base of support for programs to be initiated on behalf of needy immigrants.

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JPL, as a support of the People's National Party, is not patronized by the supporters of the Jamaica Labour Party. One problem faced by the JPL at this time is the need to change this image and to rid itself of particularistic concerns (Jamaica) and develop a more universalistic concern based on more relevant issues in the U.S.--e.g., education of West Indian children. The JPL currently offers a range of services to Jamaicans. These include tutoring for High School Equivalency tests, budget dental care, job placement, and some purely entertainment activities.

For the average member of the JPL, the monthly meeting is a social occasion where he/she can air grievances and plan activities. The social activities include dances. The early immigrants celebrated Emancipation Day (1st August) or the reigning Monarch's birthday. Funds raised from social events often went to support projects such as providing equipment for nursing homes, books and clothing for children, and political contributions in Jamaica.

The organization continues to recruit new members so that present membership also includes recent immigrants. The highlight of any year since 1962 is the celebration of Jamaica's political independence, with church services and dances at major hotels. The music is usually supplied by a leading Jamaican band. Another event which precedes the independence dance is the selection and crowning of a Miss Jamaica-America. The prize includes participating in the independence festivities in Jamaica as guest of the Jamaican government. Officers of the JPL have high status among the membership, and when they visit Jamaica their arrival is likely to be noted in the press and they are permitted

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audiences with political elites.

What the JPL has done most successfully is to transfer social-cultural practices in Jamaica to the New York scene and to help immigrants maintain contact with other Jamaicans and with Jamaica. This raises the question of whether involvement with the JPL aided or retarded the acculturation process, a question which must be considered in terms of the larger issues for black immigrants.

The immigrants who created the Jamaica Progressive League did so out of certain kinds of awareness, not merely from the nostalgic longing for home but also from an understanding of the American society and a new definition of the society from which they came. The building of their own organizational base in the United States resulted from two major components: institutional racism and ethnic self-awareness. The observation of Sutton and Makinsky (1973:131) of West Indians in England and in the United States supports this view. They claim that the consciousness of ethnic distinctiveness only emerged when they were confronted with the problems of being black in a white society.

Yancey and his associates stated the problem more succinctly when they suggested that

> . . . much of the behavior that is commonly associated with ethnicity is largely a function of the structural situations in which groups have found themselves. . . . Ethnicity defined in terms of frequent patterns of association and identification with common origins is generated and becomes crystallized under conditions of residential segregation, common occupational positions and dependence on local institutions and services. . . . Within the structural parameters characterizing urban working-class life generally ethnic culture--as heritage--is most likely to become crystallized and persist [1976:399].

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Jamaicans, like other immigrants groups, developed ethnic consciousness in the United States. The formation of organizations, especially among the early immigrants, resulted not so much from non-acculturation as from being acculturated into the ways of the society. They merely utilize Richardson's third category, "optional acculturation," perhaps because they realize the futility of attempting structural or identificational assimilation as defined by Gordon (1964:71).

Acculturation can be extended to include the use of cultural patterns in the host society to interpret and modify original cultural patterns. Contact with the American society made Jamaican immigrants dissatisfied with their colonial status, possibly because they experienced a more oppressive form of colonialism here (Blauner 1972; Cruz 1962). They no doubt recognized that subject people have no forum to fight oppression. As witnesses to the demise of the Garvey movement, they learned the futility of attempting to create a viable political organization in America as an alternative, so they opted for Jamaica as an independent country.

Tables 34 (above) and 35 summarize organizational membership and participation. Organizations, although they are not exclusive, nevertheless tend to attract members with common characteristics. The social network patterns for relatives and Jamaican friends also show a tendency toward association with black Americans in the early group and other West Indians in the recent group. These patterns continue in the social organizations: black Americans are more likely to have membership in organizations where early Jamaican immigrants are also members, while other West Indian are more frequently in the other groups.

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TABLE 35

IMMIGRANTS' FIRST CHOICE OF NON-JAMAICAN FRIENDS, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Non-Jamaican Friends	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Other West Indians	21%	42%
Americans	47	20
Other foreigners	32	38
Total	100% (N=38)	100% (N=181)

X^2=12.87349, df=2, p=.001,

However, most (71 percent early and 61 percent recent) belong to organizations that are not exclusive to any racial or ethnic group, while 44 percent (8 percent early and 36 percent recent) belong to organizations that have only Jamaican members.

Table 36 shows the relationship between membership in organizations and some other variables. We see that age and sex are not significantly related to organizational membership except in social/benevolent organizations (p=.06 for recent group for age, p=.004 for early group for sex). Membership tends to concentrate in the 31-45 age category and men are more likely than women to be members. In the recent group high education, occupation, and middle-income respondents are more frequently members of social organizations, but membership is relatively uniform for all categories in the early group.

There is no relationship between education, occupation, income,

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TABLE 36

IMMIGRANTS' ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY INTERVENING VARIABLES,[a] CONTROLLING FOR TIME OF ARRIVAL

Membership in Organization	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	Income	Some Education in U.S.
Church	.81/.26[b]	.68/.98	.68/.38	.63/.13	.22/.90	.007/.85
Professional	.35/.36	.28/.95	.008/.000	.000/.000	.005/.000	.03/.000
Social/Benevolent	.60/.06	.003/.36	.08/.06	.53/.03	.55/.01	.63/.14
Student/Alumni	.44/.49	.76/.20	.005/.000	.03/.000	.02/.000	.000/.54

Relationship: chi square

[a]Intervening variables: age, sex, education, occupation, income, "some education in the U.S."

[b]Early/recent immigrants.

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or "some education in the United States," and membership in professional and student/alumni organizations in the recent group. A look at Table 37 reveals that a strong association exists between these two organizations, which suggests that there is considerable overlapping of membership in these organizations. The relationship pattern varies in the early group but shows no relationship with occupation.

TABLE 37

ASSOCIATIONS (GAMMA) AMONG IMMIGRANTS' MEMBERSHIP IN FOUR TYPES OF ORGANIZATION

Church	-	.04	.28	.12
Profesional	.04	-	.41	.72
Social/benevolent	.28	.41	-	.42
Student/alumni	.12	.72	.42	-

The general indications are that, with the exception of religious organizations, the tendency is toward the upper educational, occupational and middle-income categories being members of social organizations and having friends rather than relatives as their primary association. Formal social organizations as well as informal social networks are centered around Jamaicans in the roles of friends or relatives. While this type of ethnic in-group association may have resulted from choice, the cultural patterns in America actively support ethnic cleavage in addition to excluding specific groups from assimilating structurally

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into the wider social group of the society.

Social organizations of Jamaican immigrants conform to the Parsonian typology of particularism in that specific groups goals are directed at sometimes very narrow targets such as providing economic assistance to an alma mater, usually in the home society, or to a wider aim such as gaining political independence from external political control. In the case of benevolent associations, they provide economic assistance to members in the absence of societally sponsored programs. They become more diffused rather than functionally specific, usually after they have achieved the original stated goal or in addition to the stated goal; they continue to provide the opportunity for interaction with members of their own ethnic group and are sources of organized entertainment and other activities.

The problems around which the organizations are formed are real and on that basis the organizations are rational or affectively neutral rather than affective. They may be said to be ego-oriented insofar as the organization satisfies some needs of the organizers more than they benefit the collectivity. Social recognition, especially in the home country, is derived from organizational roles and the corresponding status ascribed to such roles.

In addition to these factors, social organizations provide the means for reinforcing ethnic and/or national identity and the collective means for cultural exchange. The organizations are not instruments for promoting economic or political interests of Jamaican immigrants in the United States.

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CHAPTER 8

JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS' IDENTIFICATION WITH AMERICA AND WITH JAMAICA

"Identity problems are usually acute during certain periods in a person's life. These identity-crises often occur in the pre-school years, later in adolescence, and again in young adulthood" (Pettigrew 1964:4). To these can be added the immigrant, who experiences a degree of desocialization or shrinkage and transformation of his role status image and sets of values (Eisenstadt 1954:6). Emigration disintegrates the immigrants' social identity, which family and community in the sending society provided and which the immigrants had come to accept. The sense of continuity and social sameness, which Erikson (1959:101-166, 1966:146-154) suggested to be factors in the individual's conception of himself, are broken, and the individual is faced with a new situation from which a new concept of self must evolve on the basis of status indicators in the host society.

Maykovich (1976:378) suggested that individuals may adopt the cultural behavior and attitudinal patterns of the new society and may enter into social interaction with the people of the new land. Yet they may retain psychological identity with the original group. Pido suggested that "The Philippine-American community is more a community of consciousness, located in social space, than a definite locality-base phenomenon" (1977:52). These are alternate ways of dealing with the

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problem of evolving new social identity.

The society's reception of new immigrants also influences the formation of new identity. Lieberson (1961) suggested that the power relationships in the initial contact influence the subsequent patterns of relationships. Thus immigrants from countries that are economically and technologically subordinate to the host society develop ethnic solidarity in defense of their perceived subordinate position.

Jamaican immigrants of the early group come from a colonial society, as subject people without economic, technological, or political power. The second group arrived from a politically independent and more economically advanced Jamaica which, according to Lieberson, should provide for a more equitable contact situation with the host.

Immigrants from Jamaica to the United States are predominantly black and enter a society which is predominantly white and, more important, has imposed inferior social status on the group which approximates the physical characteristics of these immigrants. Because the inferior status might be contradictory to the immigrants' self-image, we expect that they will refuse to identify with the social system which classifies them in this way. We hypothesize that

> There is a positive correlation between high social status and identity with country. Immigrants tend to identify positively with the country which provided them with high social status and negatively with the country which gives them low social status.

The perception of loss of social status is related to the immigrants' subjective assessment of their position in the society of origin. In Western societies education, occupation, individual enterprise, and achievement are major indicators of social status (Hodeg et al. 1966: 309-321). Self-esteem and self-identity are based on the level of

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acquisition of those indicators and the acknowledgment of others that an individual has acquired that level (Maykovich 1972:9-24; Kramer 1970: 3-16). If there are objective criteria to measure the social status that is being transferred from one society to another, the degree of loss or gain could be easily assessed. The recent immigrants from Jamaica have a more clearly defined social status based on the status indicators above. However, the absence of objective criteria was not the basis for low status assignment, since the recent immigrants have no immunity from low status assignment.

Jamaican immigrants experience status contradiction when faced with the reality that, even when they satisfy the objective criteria for high social status, their racial characteristics supersede such criteria and deny them the social status they would otherwise enjoy. The respondents in our sample considered money (32 percent) and education and occupation (42 percent) the major indicators of social status in Jamaica; only 4 percent said skin color was the important factor. To resolve the dilemma of status contradiction, immigrants may internalize the attitudes of the society toward them and behave accordingly, or they may reject and attempt to change those attitudes or reject them in favor of those of their own society. We postulate that Jamaican immigrants from the two periods have rejected the social status assigned them by the American society and identify more strongly with their society of origin.

Identification with America

Jamaican immigrants' identification will be measured by a series of questions relating to levels of political involvement in America, their perception of American attitudes and treatment by Americans,

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and their attitudes and feelings toward Jamaica. The variables were cross-tabulated with one another to ensure that some degree of association exists between them. They are dichotomized or trichotomized as necessary to indicate positive or negative response.

Political Participation

Citizenship provides certain rights and privileges such as voting and selecting political representatives, protection at home and abroad, and consideration above non-citizens residing in the country. To the extent that certain individuals are unable to vote, it can be said that they are not represented. Citizenship as an indicator of identification with country shows the early immigrants more strongly identified with America than the recent ones. Only 13 percent of the latter group lacked the required residency period for citizenship. Of the remainder, 18 percent have already applied for citizenship, while 47 percent show no interest in so doing.

Jamaican nationals abroad do not lose their citizenship when they become citizens of another country; therefore there is no great sacrifice involved in accepting another citizenship. The early immigrants were criticized for their reluctance to become naturalized (Reid 1968:160-167). Initially these immigrants could perceive no benefits from citizenship which their permanent residence status had not already provided. To them it meant the lost of their only status of distinction, "British subjects." The pattern seemed to have changed during the Roosevelt administration, when government jobs were becoming available to blacks and citizenship was a condition for such jobs. The recent immigrants seem to find this provision of dual citizenship a

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positive incentive and efforts are now being directed at the recent immigrants to persuade them to become naturalized.[1] Responses to the question, "Why did you become a citizen?" indicate personal reasons more than feelings of identification with America.

Political participation, unlike economic activities, is optional. Those who exercise this option are probably those who wish or feel that they can influence the political process or that, as citizens, they have a duty to vote. There is a positive response to the question on the importance of voting, 95 percent from the early group and 76 percent from the recent. Table 38 summarizes the responses to questions on political attitudes and behavior.

TABLE 38

IMMIGRANTS' POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Respondents	
Political Indicator	Early Group	Recent Group
Consider voting important	95% (N=40)	76% (N=145)
Registered voter	88 (N=37)	17 (N=32)
Politically active	26 (N=11)	8 (N=16)

Table 38 indicates a deeper political involvement on the part of early immigrants, which is predictable taking into account the small

[1]This effort is being directed primarily by a lawyer (Jamaican) who has political ambitions, and like many other minority candidates, he is appealing to his own ethnic group to provide him with a base of support. There is no indication that he has achieved any measure of success.

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percentage of recent immigrants who are citizens. Even so, 88 percent of the ones who are citizens are registered voters.[2] If actual numbers of immigrants are ignored and only the eligibility to vote is considered, Jamaican immigrants would be among the highest levels of participants. The national average is 60 percent (McClosky 1968:255). Of the registered voters, 95 percent of the early group and 81 percent of the recent group are registered Democrats; the remaining voters are liberals or independents. In the homes of many Jamaicans are photographs of Franklin D. Roosevelt (early only) and John F. Kennedy, along with Martin Luther King.

The Roosevelt administration and later the Kennedy administration are seen by the early immigrants as having provided them with the first real opportunity to be more than marginal participants in the American society. In supporting the Democratic party, Jamaican immigrants were participating along with the wider black American community in a shift toward positive alignment with the Democratic Party, which is still very strong at this time. One respondent reported that her aunt, with whom she lived when she first came to the United States, cautioned her that when she became a citizen she should never vote for any other than the Democratic Party, reminding her of the social legislation of Roosevelt from which black people benefited. She has always voted for Democratic Party candidates.

The Roosevelt years seem to have had some positive influence

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[2]No question was asked about actual voting, so there is no way to compare actual voting behavior with that of other groups. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that if they took the time to register they would also take the time to vote.

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on the attitudes of Jamaican immigrants toward the American society although, ironically, it was during this administration that they began to turn their attention to the political situation in Jamaica. Actually the two situations are not irreconcilable; the humanitarian principles of the New Deal era provided the impetus for individuals to undertake difficult tasks in the interest of humanity. In a similar way black Americans of the 1960s, believing that John F. Kennedy was sincere in his liberalism, confronted white American with aggression and determination. The recent immigrants, although they have not had the experiences of the Kennedy administration, arrived in the society with some knowledge of his reputation and thus were probably predisposed to align themselves with the Democratic Party.

Although voter registration is high among eligible voters, the level of political activity is low and, as expected, lower in the recent group. The early immigrants, by virtue of their longer period of residence and to some extent the mild political radicalism of the 1920s and their participation in the independence negotiations in the West Indies, have a greater political awareness than the recent immigrants, who have knowledge only of Jamaica's political process.

There are some indications that the recent immigrants are becoming politically curious, but many do not really understand the actual meaning of citizenship and the process of registration nor the relationship between voting and representation. Again, too, political behavior in Jamaica is based on either intense emotional commitment to one party or aloofness from the process. They do not necessarily see their representatives as responsible to them in the political process. They enjoyed

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political meetings, which are often entertaining, promissory, and informative, but provide no political knowledge which is transferable to other systems. The early group has transcended this kind of political inertia due, no doubt, to living in America.

Of the early group 69 percent said they know more about the political process in American than in Jamaica, while 35 percent of the recent group made this claim.[3]

When non-citizens are eliminated, there is no significant difference in the voting patterns of Jamaican immigrants. However, with the introduction of other variables, we arrive at a more detailed pattern of voting behavior and other political involvement. Age is significant (p=.05) in the recent group, focusing on the 31-45 age group; occupation is significant (p=.06), with most voters in the high occupational category. Those in the high occupational category are also likely to be in the 31-45 year range. For the early immigrants the only variable affecting voting behavior is "having some education in the United States" (p=.01).

A significant difference already exists between the two groups in political activities other than voting (p=.001). Education, occupation, income, and "some education in the United States" are related to political activities of the recent group and level of significance ranges from p=.01 to p=.05. Education is the only variable which has a significant relationship with political activities in the early group

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[3]Jamaica has recently declared itself a socialist democratic country and there are rumors that communism is the ultimate goal. People are uncertain as to what is really happening and, possibly, this situation influences their response.

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(p=.05). Political behavior of Jamaican immigrants follows the general pattern in the United States, especially in the recent group; that is, it is class influenced. The higher the social class of the person, as indicated by education, occupation, and income, the more likely it is that he or she will be politically active (Erbe 1964). The relatively uniform pattern in the early group is probably attributable to age and the relative degree of homogeneity which characterized this group. Common background in the society of origin and shared experiences in America possibly account for the lack of variation in their political activities.

Compared to West Indians in Great Britain, the participation in American politics by Jamaican immigrants is low. Sheila Patterson (1969:315) reported twenty different political organizations in Great Britain. In Canada Subas Ramcharan (1972:162) accounted for the low political profile of West Indians by the recency of their arrival. Another study (Greene 1970:422) found that length of residence and age correlated with level of political participation. The longer period of residence in Canada and hence greater age of early immigrants made them more likely than more recent and younger immigrants to participate in politics. The younger group were more oriented to their country of origin. We may say, in summary, that recent immigrants are less likely to have associated political involvement with the achievement of any of their objective goals.

Attitudinal Identification

Identification with a society includes sharing the general opinions with others in the host country and the absence of discrimination

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based on race or country of origin. The data show that a large percentage from each group perceived and actually experienced some form of discrimination and do not think that Americans share their opinions. There is a strong correlation between these variables (significance $X^2=39.95$, $p=.002$; $R=.17938$, $p=.003$), so that the probability is that discrimination accounts for the non-sharing of opinions (see Table 39).

The perception of discrimination by occupation, income, and "some education in the United States" is significant ($p=.01$) in the recent group. There is no relationship between education and perceived discrimination, but the relationship with age is significant ($p=.05$) in this group also. In the early group education ($p=.09$), income, and "some education in the United States" ($p=.05$) are the variables that show some significant relationship to feelings of being discriminated against. Respondents in the high education and occupation and middle income categories in each group indicated most frequently that they had been discriminated against. Since many of these respondents have had "some education in the United States," they are more sensitive to the various nuances of discrimination, having had the academic as well as the practical experiences of the patterns of discrimination (see Table 40).

There is a relationship between the responses to "Americans share your opinions" and levels of education, occupation, and income in the early group, but only by income in the other group; responses to this item follow a pattern similar to that concerning discrimination.

Individuals in the above categories, especially in the recent group, are more exposed to the direct effects of discrimination, since they are more upwardly mobile than those in the other categories.

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TABLE 39

IMMIGRANTS' PERCEPTION OF AMERICANS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEM, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
1. When you look for a job, do you find that being West Indian helps or prevents you from getting the job?		
Helps	15%	10%
Prevents	8	4
No Influence	59	54
Do not know	18	32
Total	100% (N=39)	100% (N=183)
	X^2=8.245, df=4, p=.08	
2. Do you find Americans more friendly when they know that you are Jamaican?		
Yes	37%	42%
No	63	58
Total	100% (N=38)	100% (N=171)
	X^2=12.45, df=1, p=.72	
3. What do you consider the most important factor in your relationship with Americans?		
Your color and nationality	23%	32%
Yourself as a person	74	66
Other	3	3
Total	100% (N=39)	100% (N=183)
	X^2=3.382, df=2, p=.49	

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TABLE 39--continued

	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
4. Have you ever felt that you have been discriminated against?		
Yes	55%	50%
No	45	50
Total	100% (N=38)	100% (N=188)
	X^2=.17142, df=1, p=.67	
5. Do you think that you have been discriminated against because you are:		
Black	74%	55%
A foreigner	9	27
Both	17	18
Total	100% (N=23)	100% (N=93)
	X^2=8.13439, df=2, p=.08	
6. Do you feel that your color and nationality have prevented you from getting a job you are qualified to do and/or housing in certain neighborhoods?		
Yes	42%	58%
No	58	42
Total	100% (N=23)	100% (N=93)
	X^2=3.6868, df=1, p=.15	
7. Do you think Americans share your opinion?		
Yes	47%	24%
No	53	76
Total	100% (N=36)	100% (N=167)
	X^2=8.058, df=1, p=.01	

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TABLE 40

IDENTIFICATION VARIABLES AND INTERVENING VARIABLES,[a] CONTROLLING FOR TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	Income	Some Education in U.S.	Migration Reason
Political activity	.56/.49	.94/.13	.11/.04	.33/.02	.87/.004	.34/.008	.94/.13
Registered to vote	.80/.04	.56/.18	.87/.32	.83/.06	.10/.70	.001/.48	.001/.49
Americans share opinions	.01/.10	.77/.33	.02/.13	.07/.25	.75/.07	.40/.93	.15/.06
Better off in America	.92/.28	.94/.13	.19/.007	.88/.09	.47/.12	.06/.35	.005/.51
Feel discriminated against	.63/.03	.82/.87	.09/.000	.31/.006	.04/.005	.04/.0002	.81/.22
America friendly	.58/.03	.34/.13	.07/.12	.63/.26	.15/.14	.15/.47	.26/.21
Returning to Jamaica to live	.40/.08	.66/.72	.60/.03	.03/.05	.27/.24	.23/.29	.01/.11
If had money would return to Jamaica	.66/.55	.76/.98	.78/.78	.71/.57	.41/.06	.61/.54	.76/.32

.00 = p value from chi square

[a]Intervening variables: age, sex, education, occupation, income, "some education in the U.S.," migration reason.

[b]Early/recent immigrants.

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We expect immigrants who perceive themselves as "better off here" to identify with the society which gives them the opportunity for self-improvement. We mentioned earlier that this was a primary goal of Jamaican immigrants, but as Table 21 illustrates, the pattern varies for the two groups. The early group responded more positively on being "better off," while the recent group vacillates. Sex and education are the most important intervening variables in the recent immigrants' perception of their life in America (this will be discussed further in a later chapter).

The majority of immigrants from Jamaica would have improved their economic position as indicated by the income distribution and occupational upgrading discussed earlier, but social structural conditions deny them the psychological satisfaction and social recognition which such achievement would have provided them in their country. Their social organization and networks show no large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society on a primary group level (Gordon 1964:71-78). Therefore we may conclude that there is no significant level of identification with the host society, especially of the recent group.

We noted earlier that immigrants are generally satisfied with the physical aspects of their lives in the United States but do not identify strongly with America. Reid's observation, made nearly four decades ago, that "it is evident that the immigrant is economically better situated than in his original home. Migration to the United States opened up new worlds, a broader vision, and generally more satisfactory life" (1968:169) is as applicable now as then, as the survey

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indicated. However, he saw the source of the immigrants' dissatisfaction as conflict with black Americans. Jamaican immigrants see the social and political systems in America which perpetuate racism as the source of their dissatisfaction. They realize that they share all the social disadvantages with black Americans even when they claim separate identity.

Identification with Jamaica

George DeVos (1975:10-12) observed that, when a group is dissatisfied with the social status accorded them because of their race and they are unwilling to accept such social status, they will be forced to select another alternative. They may elect to orient themselves to a pattern of evaluation originating in their own society and avoid the social stigmatization imposed by the society. We hypothesize that:

> West Indian immigrants who perceive the host society as assigning them low social status are more likely to maintain foreign status identity because they perceive foreign status as providing them with
> (a) greater social and economic rewards
> (b) more favorable attitudinal reception from the host

Although there is little difference in the perception of discrimination between the two immigrant groups, their perceptions of the reason for discrimination differ. Of the early immigrants 74 percent believe that they have been discriminated against because they are black, as opposed to 55 percent of the recent group; 9 percent and 27 percent, respectively, see their foreign status as the reason for discrimination. Only 23 percent of the early immigrants and 32 percent of the recent responded that their color and nationality were the more important factor in their relationship with Americans, and 37 and 42 percent, respectively, found "Americans more friendly when they know that you

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are Jamaican." Neither group indicated strongly that being West Indian helped them to get jobs (15 percent and 10 percent respectively) or prevented them (8 percent and 4 percent respectively). The majority indicated that getting a job was independent of the individual's nationality and others did not know if their nationality influenced decisions to employ them.

The responses suggest that discrimination is more strongly associated with being black than with foreign status. Immigrants, therefore, do not see foreign status identity as providing any special economic advantages or favorable attitudinal response from their host. Age is the only variable which is related to perception of Americans as being more friendly to Jamaicans (p=.05) in the recent group. Education shows some relationship to this question in the early group, with concentration on the negative response.

How then do the immigrants feel about Jamaica? Over 80 percent of the respondents said they always let others know they are Jamaicans. Of the recent group 92 percent would return to Jamaica immediately if they had enough money, as against 8 percent of the early group. The recent group also "feel like just packing up and returning to Jamaica" more frequently and know more about the political situation there than in America. They are, however, more cautious about returning to live permanently, as Table 40 shows.

There is no relationship between the two groups' response to the idea of returning to live in Jamaica permanently. The early immigrants have mostly decided that they are not returning permanently, while the recent group are largely uncertain (variables relating the decision

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TABLE 41

IMMIGRANTS' PLANS TO RETURN TO JAMAICA
TO LIVE PERMANENTLY, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
Plan to return	Early Group	Recent Group
Yes	2%	25%
Uncertain	40	60
No	58	15
Total	100% (N=40)	100% (N=186)

X^2=36.48206, df=2, p=.000, missing 8

about returning to Jamaica will be discussed in a later chapter).

From Table 42, we see that only a small percentage of all respondents miss any opportunity to reaffirm their Jamaican identity, but only the recent group wish to and would return to Jamaica if they had the means. This suggests that they remain in America, not because they have strong feelings of identity with the country, but because economic conditions are more satisfactory. The recent group tend to respond more favorably to Jamaica than the early group. Conversely, the early group tends to respond more favorably to America. Does this means that the early immigrants are assigned higher status than the recent group, as the first hypothesis suggested?

We argued that the early immigrants were more likely to have suffered loss of social status due to the extreme discrimination and segregation of labor by race when they arrived. The other group, which

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TABLE 42

IMMIGRANTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD JAMAICA, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
1. Do you often feel that packing and going home to Jamaica is all you wish for?		
Frequently	5%	20%
Infrequently	32	48
Never	63	32
Total	100% (N=38)	100% (N=187)
	X^2=17.5972, df=3, p=.0005	
2. If you had enough money to live comfortably without ever having to work again, would you return to Jamaica immediately?		
Yes	26%	61%
No	74	39
Total	100% (N=39)	100% (N=185)
	X^2=14.9397, df=1, p=.0001	
3. Do you always let others know that you are a Jamaican?		
Yes	80%	84%
No	20	16
Total	100% (N=40)	100% (N=183)
	X^2=.16279, df=1, p=.68	

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TABLE 42--continued

	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
4. Would you say that you know more about the political situation here than in Jamaica?		
Yes	74%	36%
No	26	64
Total	100% (N=38)	100% (N=185)
	X^2=18.14217, df=1, p=.0001	
5. Do you plan to return to live permanently in Jamaica?		
Yes	2%	25%
Uncertain	40	60
No	58	15
Total	100% (N=40)	100% (N=186)
	X^2=36.482, df=2, p=.000	
6. What do you consider the most important factor which determines the way a person is treated in Jamaica?		
The money one has	33%	31%
One's education & occupation	49	41
Skin color	10	3
Family background	5	12
Other	3	13
Total	100% (N=39)	100% (N=179)
	X^2=9.4477, df=4, p=.05	

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arrived under special immigration auspices that guaranteed transfer of occupation, also benefited from Civil Rights legislation. In addition, they have greater opportunity for general self-improvement. Why then do the early immigrants seem to identify more strongly with America?

As discussed in the chapter on acculturation, the early immigrants have become more acculturated to American patterns because of their long period of residence and the absence of specific Jamaican cultural symbols during their early years in America. Yet when they began to assume "ethnic identity" as protection against racism, they elected to emphasize their Jamaican origin as the basis of this ethnic identity. This suggests withdrawal from, rather than identification with, America (Allport 1958:145); it further suggest that, in effect, they have not proceeded further than cultural assimilation (Gordon 1964:77). The recent immigrants have a lesser level of acculturation, what Richardson called "obligatory acculturation," because of having the support of easy access to their country, supportive cultural symbols, and shorter period of residence. Identification with the host country would suggest general satisfaction with their condition and with social relationships formed in that society (including receptivity and satisfaction on the part of the host country). It would also mean that they could settle down and pursue goals, confident that they have been accepted as full participating members of the society. This would provide social and psychological satisfaction in addition to economic benefits and would mean that immigrants can maintain integrated life-styles and personalities instead of the dual existence involved in living in one society and being oriented to another. The data suggest that neither of the two immigrant groups

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from Jamaica has achieved the level of identification with America, but, more specifically, the recent group seems to experience a strong pull back to Jamaica.

Identification with Jamaica provides psychological rewards and escape from the negative status image imposed on non-whites (especially blacks). Also, because some immigrants see themselves as temporary residents who will return "home to Jamaica" eventually, they make little effort to understand and identify with America beyond acquiring the economic and material assets to facilitate the return.

Continued identification with Jamaica prevents the immigrants from getting significantly involved with the American society. The majority of the recent immigrants are not involved citizens and therefore have no political forum that can negotiate their interest. Because they no longer live in Jamaica, they can exercise no political influence there either. They are, therefore, unrepresented in both societies. This is particularly true of the recent immigrants.

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CHAPTER 9

IMMIGRANTS' RESOLUTION OF THE SOJOURNER ROLE

When do immigrants relinquish the sojourner role and decide to settle permanently in the receiving society? Since immigrants who leave their society voluntarily usually have some specific goals, it is reasonable to assume that they will consider returning to their home country when they have achieved the goals. However, except for the depression years of the 1930s when emigration from the United States exceeded immigration, the departure rates indicate that, for a significant number of immigrants, migration is permanent. Where immigration plans include return to the home country, situational factors which immigrants did not anticipate, or which developed during the period of their sojourn, affect their ability to realize this part of their plans.

Paul Siu (1952:34) differentiated between the "sojourner" and the "marginal man." The former, he claimed, is distinguished from the latter by the fact that he clings to the culture of his own ethnic group, in contrast to the marginal man, who is bicultural. The sojourners show psychological reluctance to organize as permanent residents; therefore they are the strangers who spend many years of their lifetime in a foreign country without being assimilated. Here Siu is using Simmel's concept of the "stranger." Simmel's (1950:402-408) "stranger" is not a passive individual who moves into a community unobtrusively but a person who affects and is affected by the community into which he moves. Yet

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he has the distinction of not belonging. This not belonging frees him of political and social entanglements but leaves him vulnerable for the same reason. The sojourner, like the stranger, establishes a social relationship with the native group which comprises nearness and distance with potential for mobility. The sojourner's role is exemplified by the immigrants, who see themselves as temporary residents in the host society and by the host, who treats them as strangers or guests while hoping that they will not outstay their welcome but will depart when their stay is no longer convenient. They are free of social and political obligations but, at the same time, their interests are unrepresented within the country of sojourn and in the home society.

The sojourner role has been applied principally to the Asian immigrants of the nineteenth century, who came to the United States with the hope of accumulating wealth rapidly and returning to their own country to enjoy their improved status (Daley 1977; Maykovich 1972; Miyamato 1939). Because these immigrants viewed their stay as temporary, they adopted patterns which reinforced their temporary residency. These immigrants were predominantly men who were either unmarried or had left their wives behind. The absence of wives and other family members gives emphasis to the temporary nature of the residency.

The establishment of family groups in the new society is an indicator of intention to stay permanently. Miyamato (1939:86) claimed that the Japanese did not form a community until the political arrangement, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between the United States and Japan, restricted the movement of immigrants between the two countries. This political agreement forced those immigrants,who had not acquired the

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wealth they sought and who perceived greater opportunities for themselves in the United States, to begin to think in terms of permanent settlement and family life. Wives were imported from Japan by unmarried Japanese men when they decided on permanent settlement. The community they established was a "symbolic structure of Japan" which in some ways compensated for the involuntary and gradual breaking of ties with Japan. The Chinese involuntarily maintained their sojourner role because the Chinese exclusion of 1880 and 1882 effectively stemmed the flow of immigrants from China and resulted in the separation of families for several years.

Thus, the relinquishing of the sojourner role was, in part, due to political policies affecting immigration from Asia, and the immigrants' decision not to return to their country of origin, not having the freedom to re-enter as they wished. They were excluded from the social structural mainstream of the society but were accommodated as middlemen who provided services that did not impinge on the occupational mainstream.

Do West Indian immigrants define themselves as sojourners? Davison (1966:Chapter VII) observed that Jamaicans in Great Britain display the same nostalgia toward their country and resist attempts at integration--not consciously or vociferously, but quietly ignoring any efforts to weaken links with their homeland and turn their minds positively toward seeking a new permanent relationship toward the host community.

Hope-Thomas (1975:8) also found thatmany of these immigrants from the West Indies were impatient and dissatisfied with the progress

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they are making toward the realization of their goal to acquire wealth and return to their own country.[1]

West Indian immigrants of the early period in the United States, according to Reid (1968:229) made little mention of returning home, although there has been growing importance of nationality and cultural groups within the immigrant population. By 1939 these immigrants would have become sufficiently acculturated that nostalgia for the home country would have been sublimated into more constructive activities. Their interest in their home society, which was discussed earlier, indicates close contact and concerns with their society. In the early years of their arrival, they were concerned with their personal goals and making the American society more responsive to their needs. The New Deal provisions of the Roosevelt administration seem to have provided these immigrants with a perception of a more tolerant society. One respondent said, "I was determined that I would not grow old in the United States," but the Social Security provisions and the more recent Civil Rights legislation, Medicare, and other social services for the elderly have cushioned the earlier hardships and made the return to Jamaica less attractive. This respondent, age mid-eighties, has property in Jamaica but feels that it would be too much trouble to re-establish residence there. Others indicated that their immediate families are here and that they have no close ties in Jamaica any more. Those who indicated that they are not returning to Jamaica to live permanently seem regretful

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[1]The impatience and dissatisfaction were noted in immigrants in England, but not in the United States or Canada, where the perception of "doing well" was stronger.

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that they have to make that decision. Acknowledging that they will not return to Jamaica is the surrender of an ideal long cherished, usually without systematic planning. There is an expressed belief among these immigrants that they should not abandon their country. In reality they had not, because even those who have not been active in the political and social issues have contributed to the economic resources of Jamaica through remittances to relatives, taxes for lands they own, etc., while not receiving similar benefits in return.

Table 42, question 5, gave responses to the question, "Do you plan to return to live permanently in Jamaica?" The concentration of responses in the "uncertain" category for the recent group (60 percent) was unexpected. We anticipated positive responses, not necessarily because the respondents were seriously planning to return, but because of their positive orientation to Jamaica. Uncertainty was also high in the early group (40 percent), but this was anticipated. The primary reason they gave for this uncertainty is the fear that they can no longer accommodate the lifestyle. This is also the primary reason given by those who are never returning (see Tables 43 and 44). The political situation and reports of crime are major fears among those who are uncertain, but are important only in the recent group among those never returning. Employment, understandably, is of some concern in this group.

Jamaica is currently undergoing severe economic hardships.[2] Unemployment and underemployment are high in spite of recent emigration to

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[2]Source: papers presented by Carl Stone, Department of Political Science, and Trevor Farrell, Department of Economics, University of the West Indies, who gave an overview of the economic problems facing Jamaica and the English-speaking West Indies generally.

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TABLE 43

IMMIGRANTS' REASONS FOR UNCERTAINTY ABOUT RETURNING TO JAMAICA TO LIVE, BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Reason for Uncertainty	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Life-style	50%	55%
No ties	20	15
Political	30	30
Total	100% (N=20)	100% (N=109)

X^2=2.4239, df=2, p=.49

TABLE 44

IMMIGRANTS' REASONS FOR "NEVER RETURNING TO JAMAICA TO LIVE," BY TIME OF ARRIVAL

Reason for not Returning	Percentage of Group Total	
	Early Group	Recent Group
Life-style	75%	43%
Political	13	30
Employment	4	26
Other	8	1
Total	100% (N=24)	100% (N=61)

X^2=11,083, df=3, p=.01

the United States and Canada. Jobs that are open usually demand high-level skills and the remuneration is usually not comparable to that

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available in the United States. Conflicting reports of scarcity of goods and limited services as a result of recent political decisions create uncertainty. There is a wait-and-see attitude in the responses to the question, "Do you consider the present political system of democratic socialism a good system for Jamaica?" Forty-three percent from each group said, "It's too early to tell"; 21 percent (early) and 26 percent (recent) said yes, while 13 percent (early) and 17 percent (recent) said no. The remainder disclaimed any knowledge or refused to respond.

We may conclude then that economic conditions, the motive for emigration, are also the major restraining factor in the decision to return. Economic factors, as we suggested earlier, determine the availability of social services and define the life-style of that society.

The recent immigrants are more positively oriented to returning to live permanently in Jamaica. Table 42, question 5, showed independent distribution of the responses in the two groups; while the responses from the early group concentrated in the "no" and "uncertain" categories, those of the recent group concentrated in the "uncertain" and "yes" categories. The difference in the length of period is undoubtedly a factor in the decision about returning to Jamaica, but the recent immigrants also have family and property commitment here in the United States (45 percent compared with 51 percent of the early group), as well as in Jamaica (30 percent as against 45 percent of the early group). What then are the incentives and who are those returning to Jamaica? Since emigration is associated with the desire for self-improvement, we can assume that those who are returning have achieved their goals,

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however these goals are defined.

When we compare education, occupation, and "employment in Jamaica" with intention to return to live permanently in Jamaica (see Tables 45 and 46), we find that in the early group those with high education, occupation, and employment in Jamaica consistently gave a "no" response. In the middle educational category the response is also negative, but uncertain for middle occupational and "employment in Jamaica" categories. Responses focus in the negative for those with low occupational and "employment in Jamaica" classifications, and in the "uncertain" responses in the low education category. The difference in the response is significant for occupation (p=.03), education (p=.07), and "employment in Jamaica" (p=.06).

TABLE 45

IMMIGRANTS RETURNING TO JAMAICA TO LIVE, BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION, CONTROLLING FOR ARRIVAL

Returning to Jamaica?	Education:	Early Group			Recent Group		
		High	Medium	Low	High	Medium	Low
Yes		5%	-%	-%	26%	26%	21%
Uncertain		32	29	86	63	55	62
No		63	71	14	11	19	17
Total		100% (N=19)	100% (N=14)	100% (N=7)	100% (N=34)	100% (N=53)	100% (N=96)
		X^2=8.4079, df=2, p=.07			X^2=2.2162, df=2, p=.69		

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TABLE 46

IMMIGRANTS RETURNING TO JAMAICA TO LIVE, BY OCCUPATION, CONTROLLING FOR ARRIVAL

Returning to Jamaica?	Occupation:	Early Group High	Early Group Medium	Early Group Low	Recent Group High	Recent Group Medium	Recent Group Low
Yes		-%	7%	-%	21%	16%	37%
Uncertain		15	64	33	65	70	46
No		85	29	67	14	14	17
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
		X^2=13.95, df=2, p=.03			X^2=12.1384, df=2, p=.05		

The "uncertain" responses dominate in the recent group. However, those in the low occupational category have the highest percentage who intend to return to Jamaica to live. The difference between occupation and "return to Jamaica to live" is significant at the .05 level. Education shows no significant difference. In the early group, those of low occupation indicated strongly their decision not to return, while in the recent group it is the opposite. Why this difference? Low status workers are least likely to find employment in Jamaica, so that those in this category from the recent group who intend to return are probably motivated by nostalgia rather than practical consideration. They are probably least able to adapt to the complexity of the American society, while their early counterparts have become adapted to life in America and have ties here which make return undesirable.

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Education and occupation are important variables in the decision to stay for the early group, while they are important in the decisions to leave in the recent group. It was mentioned earlier that employment is a prime consideration among those who indicated that they intended to return, and those who were uncertain about returning. During the participant observation phase of this study the researcher often heard expressed the desire to acquire education and skills to return to Jamaica, not only to earn a comfortable living but also to contribute to a developing society where they perceive such skills as they had acquired, or were in the process of acquiring, are in short supply. The other factor to be taken into account is the prestige and recognition one received in a small country when one's education and occupation place him among the elite, regardless of his race or color.

Unlike the Asian and Jamaican sojourners of the earlier period, who were mostly concerned with acquiring wealth rapidly and returning to their society to get on with the business of living, the recent immigrants from Jamaica[3] are concerned with personal status and prestige, which they perceive as more accessible in their country of origin. The possibility for return is greater for the recent immigrants than for the early immigrants because (a) Jamaica has a wider capacity to absorb skills which have been acquired in America, (b) it takes a shorter period of time to acquire skills than to accumulate wealth, (c) the new immigrants have more access to information on job opportunities in Jamaica, and (d) for those who have only economic interest in America, providing

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[3]The recent Asian immigrants, according to Makovich (1976), are also more oriented to status and prestige than to just acquisition of wealth.

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they have marketable skills, they have relatively easy access to better-paying jobs which facilitate the accumulation of economic assets and the return to Jamaica.

On the other hand, the promise of regular employment and reasonable wages (compared to Jamaica) cannot be traded readily for sentimentality. Those who are uncertain about returning would have taken this into account. Family situations are also matters of concern for, like the Jamaican immigrants in England, some have children who are Americans and they realize that the opportunities are greater here for them, even if, for themselves, they could easily return to Jamaica.

To return to the question, "When do immigrants stop being sojourners?" we argued that when they have achieved their migration goals they are in the position to resolve the dilemma of living in two societies by either leaving or settling down. The decision can be forced on the immigrants by situational factors in the host or sending society. The case of the Asian immigrants illustrates this point. The decision can also be made voluntarily, as some of the early Jamaican immigrants have done. Since the majority of respondents in this group are retired and 65 percent have income over $10,000 per annum, the decision to stay is personal and voluntary. It may also be that they can no longer adjust to the Jamaican life-style on a permanent basis.

The recent immigrants tend to identify more strongly with the sojourner role, but as they are relative newcomers there are no situational factors sufficiently pressing for them to make the decision. This group, like the Asians, have compensated for their absence from Jamaica by establishing their own community which provides the psychic

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comforts of home and keeps them in constant contact with the home society's culture and with other West Indians. These factors reinforce national sentiments and reduce the pressure to assimilate. Also easy access to their homeland enables these immigrants to return frequently, thus establishing more of a commuter pattern, an alternative that was not available to the early group.[4]

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[4]It should be noted that the early immigrants have taken advantage of the new travel facilities and also make frequent visits to Jamaica, more often than when they first arrived.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Migration theories postulated that dissatisfaction with conditions in the society or origin (push factors) and perceived advantages at the migration destination (pull factors) are the motivating factors in migration. For most immigrants, migration means the chance to improve themselves socially and economically. This improvement is usually defined within the framework of the social structural arrangements of their own society, while the fulfillment of expectations is subjected to the social structural arrangements in the host country. The placement of immigrants in the economic structure and the social privileges extended to them are determined by pre-existing patterns in the host country.

The structural determinants, as expressed by the economic, social, political, and cultural conditions, change over time so that the two groups of immigrants from Jamaica left a structurally different Jamaica. The early immigrants (1920-1940) migrated from a colonial, economically and socially undeveloped and culturally undefined society. They arrived in America during the industrializing stage of development, an overtly racist and segregated society with a strong accent on assimilation. Initially they became part of the undifferentiated low status labor force.

The recent immigrants (1960-1975) left from a politically independent country which had by then moved into the middle stage of economic and social development and had become more culturally defined. They also

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encountered some different social structural arrangements in America from those the early immigrants encountered. Social legislation had reduced racial discrimination to less detectable forms so that the recent immigrants have moved into occupational and residential areas previously closed to black, both natives and immigrants.

This, however, does not imply significant social structural or attitudinal changes in the American society. It suggests population mobility, geographic as well as social, which leaves gaps which immigrants could fill on a short-term basis. The immigration policies of the receiving society regulate the selection and flow of immigrants so that those who are allowed in, initially, meet certain needs of the society. The provision for the maintenance of family units allows family members to join the original immigrants. Many of these fall into the dependent category and will draw on the society's resources long before they become contributing members.

If the manifest function of the present immigration policy is to supply immediate replacement to the labor force, the accommodation of the immigrants' dependents is the latent function which has long-term implications.

We argued that, to the extent that immigrants can satisfactorily pursue their migration goals and achieve on a comparable level with significant others, they will become acculturated more rapidly and identify with the country which provided them with the opportunity to satisfy their needs. Conversely, if they are dissatisfied with conditions in the host country, they will tend to identify more strongly with their society of origin.

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The data show some ambivalence in the responses to the satisfaction variables for both groups. Satisfaction is derived primarily from personal achievement where they have some levels of control--working hard, saving money, or getting college or professional degrees. On an overall basis, the early immigrants expressed a higher level of satisfaction, although they have had to modify their migration goals substantially. Taking into account their much longer period of residence, it seems probable that this expression of satisfaction represents the culmination of all they could possibly achieve rather than satisfaction with the status quo.

The dissatisfaction expressed by the recent immigrants seems to underlie uncertainty, disappointment, and the awareness that racial discrimination negates the society's promise of reward on the basis of merit.

Although the overwhelming majority of the respondents from both periods would make the same decision to come to America if they had to do so again and would encourage others to come, they are more cautious in the evaluation of their situation in America vis-à-vis Jamaica. Slightly over one-half of the respondents from the early group and one-third from the recent group consider themselves better off in America. One-half of the recent group and one-third of the early group are conditionally satisfied and the remainder are dissatisfied.

The patterns of adaptation are more distinct for each group. The early immigrants, as we hypothesized, show a stronger orientation toward American culture while the recent ones are more oriented toward Jamaican or general West Indian culture. The recent immigrants had the

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supports for cultural maintenance which were not available to the other group. In addition to this, the accent had been on assimilation when the first group arrived, while the recent group came into a more pluralistic and ethnically differentiated society.

The level of satisfaction and acculturation is reflected in the patterns of identification with each country. The ambivalence shown in the expression of satisfaction is observable in the identification variables. The early immigrants show more of a pattern of identificational duality than the recent ones. This duality seems to be the response to changing conditions in the host country: as social and economic conditions improve, they tend to become more identified with America. Conversely, when they were faced with racially based impediments to the pursuit of their goals, they identified strongly with Jamaica. At this time, the data show a closer identification with America than with Jamaica, reflected by their political and attitudinal orientation.

The recent immigrants show a similar ambivalence in their expression of satisfaction but culturally they are more identifiable as Jamaicans. From the time of entry, they maintained a national and ethnic consciousness which established a pattern of aloofness from involvement with others outside their own group (excluding other West Indians) and indifference to American politics. Neither group perceived foreign status identity as providing them with special privileges to which native black Americans were not entitled. This identity, however, has psychosocial value for both groups.

We hypothesized that immigrants tend to identify positively with the country that provides them with high social status and negatively

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with the country which gives them low social status. This is more observable in the recent group than in the early group. We had expected that, given the harsher experiences of the latter group, they would identify negatively with America in spite of their longer period of residence. The hypothesis would have to be altered to take into account attitudinal changes which result from structural changes over time and which they define as advantageous.

The sojourner role is an adaptive mechanism used by some immigrants to ease the transition from one country to another. Non-white immigrants exemplify the sojourner role more than do white immigrants, because of the greater difficulty in being integrated into the social structure. The surrender of the role is forced on such immigrants or it is done voluntarily. The early immigrants from Jamaica have largely surrendered the sojourner role for personal reasons. Close family ties and not being able to re-adapt to the life-style in Jamaica are the major reasons cited.

The recent immigrants' patterns reflect the sojourner role more in their non-involvement in the American social-political process than in their expressed or demonstrated intention to return to their country permanently. Approximately one-fourth of this group said they intend to return, and more than one-half are uncertain, compared with 58 percent not returning and 40 percent uncertain in the early group. The re-adaptation to the life-style, job opportunities, and political and social conditions are the major reasons cited in the recent group among those who are definitely not returning and those who are uncertain about returning to live permanently in Jamaica. Unlike other immigrants

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who maintained constant residence while they amassed wealth in the hope of eventually returning to their homeland, the recent immigrants from Jamaica maintain a commuter type of existence whereby they visit Jamaica at regular intervals. This pattern is shared by other West Indian immigrants and even the early immigrants have increased their visits in recent years.

The close proximity of the West Indies to America permits immigrants to maintain closer contact with their societies than do immigrants from other parts of the world. Modern transportation and communication systems permit greater direct involvement with the social, cultural, and political developments so that they virtually live in two societies. There is no indication now that this pattern will change in the near future unless the political relations between the West Indies and America deteriorate to the point of imposing restrictions on travel in the area. This is unlikely since the trend is toward amelioration of relations between the United States and Caribbean countries.

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LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The major goal of this study has been to develop some perspectives on the patterns of adaptation and identification of non-white immigrants. The research strategy compared two groups of immigrants who arrived in the United States in different time periods from the same society, Jamaica, West Indies. Initially, it was planned that the comparison be made between equal numbers of respondents from each period, using occupation and sex as control factors to compensate for the non-randomness of the survey sample.

Once the data-gathering process began, it was soon realized that these goals, although not unrealistic, were beyond the scope of this study because of

(a) unanticipated difficuly in locating and educing responses from immigrants from the early migration period

(b) lack of financial resources to pursue a more vigorous search for such immigrants

(c) absence of post-migration demographic guides making selection by occupation and sex time-consuming and costly (furthermore, available statistics showed that females are the majority in the recent immigration and the respondents in the early group were too few to select on any other basis but availability)

The smallness of the early immigrants' sample has imposed restrictions on statistical analyses and constrained the generalizations.

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These limitations are further intensified by the fact that the sample is non-random.

In spite of these limitations, the major goal has been achieved, which was to develop some perspective on non-white immigrants' patterns of adaptation and identification. The interviews and participant observation fill many of the gaps that a questionnaire survey leave open, making the study an important contribution to the sociology of migration.

The study provides a conceptual model which configurates various components of the migration process and allows for the theoretical analysis of the adaptation and identification process, using the assimilationist or the pluralistic perspectives as each relates to the immigration period. The model allows the research to examine the immigrants' selective subjective behavioral patterns within the context of the more objective structural factors of host and sending societies.

In addition to the model, the study provides some basic knowledge on immigrants. In particular, it elucidates the patterns of the post-1960 immigrants, who, so far, have not been studied, suggesting an area for further research. Whereas the early immigrants could be classified as sojourners, at least for a period after arrival, the recent immigrants have established, in addition to a distinctive community, a commuting pattern which defies previous sociological theories of immigrant adaptation. Further research in this area would help to clarify and develop some alternate sociological approaches to the study of this phenomenon.

While it is outside the scope of this paper to make social policy pronouncements, the implications of the data seem significant for both the sending and receiving societies. For the receiving society, while

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immigrants serve the manifest function of immediate replacement to strategic areas of the labor force, the accommodation of immigrants' dependents is a latent function which has long-term implications. This study provides information of value to educators, social planners, and others involved in the delivery of services.

Race relations and immigration are interrelated areas and, while this study focused almost entirely on Jamaican immigrants, one could hardly ignore their relations with black Americans, the larger group in which they are statistically a part. Most studies of black immigrants tend to focus on tensions between them and native blacks. Our research suggests an awareness of commonality of experiences as black people in spite of cultural differences. Further research is suggested to clarify current relations between these groups, given the new emphasis on black awareness.

Since immigration is an international phenomenon and the pattern is predominantly migration from third world countries to developed countries of Europe and North America, this study will facilitate cross-cultural studies of immigrants' adaptation and identification. Many such studies have been done in Canada and England on West Indian immigrants. This study is the first of its kind in the United States.

This study also has implications for all non-white immigrants from developing countries and reflects some of the disparities between developed and developing societies and is a contribution to the literature on the sociology of migration, especially the "new immigration."

Immigrants in post-industrial America are generally of higher intellectual caliber and more likely to be skilled than immigrants of the

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industrializing era. These immigrants are primarily from third world countries and mostly non-whites. They are attracted to America for multiple reasons, but the foremost is the economic advantages. In America they are adequately compensated for their skills and also have the opportunity to upgrade these skills. This is, however, not without social cost to themselves and their country of origin.

European immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have lost the stigma that had been attached to their immigrant status, leaving no barriers to their social and economic integration into the American society. Non-white immigrants of the period encountered barriers that were racial in origin, and recent immigrants still encounter such barriers. While there is some degree of economic integration, there is no corresponding social and cultural integration. Non-white immigrants must seek social and psychological satisfaction within their own ethnic group. Only in their own group do they receive the psycho-social satisfaction that acknowledgment of social worth brings.

The sending societies, usually developing countries, lose trained personnel to developed countries because they cannot compete with the economic attractions America offers. Third world countries which have been suppliers of raw materials to industrial countries continue in this role, providing increasingly more refined products. The "brain drain" concept is used to describe the siphoning off of intellectuals which, it is claimed, deplete the resources of the third world.

There is another side to be considered. Trained personnel are not the only immigrants. Post-industrial America has need for unskilled labor, especially to fill low-status, low-paying jobs. Whereas the

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migration of professional and skilled labor depletes the resources of the society, the migration of the unskilled contributes to the lowering or stability of unemployment in such countries. Individuals who acquire professional training and/or skills in America sometimes return to their own country to serve their own people. The indications are that this does not compare favorably to those who leave.

The status of non-white immigrants in the United States in view of their relationship to economic, social, and political institutions in many instances reflect the relationship of the countries from which they come to America, a kind of powerlessness brought about by dependency. Immigrants surrender their social standing in their own societies for the economic advantages America offers in the same way developing countries surrender their resources, human and otherwise, to the developed countries because they are economically dependent upon the developed countries, especially the United States.

The ambivalence or duality in immigrants' behavior toward their host is also reflected in the protestation of friendship on the one hand and scathing attacks on the other by developing countries toward America.

However, in the same way that third world countries fail to form any effective alliance against what they call "the dominance of the super powers," non-white immigrants in America fail to evolve any forum which can effectively represent their collective interest. They continue to exist in little groups, clinging to some national identity which can offer them a placebo against the reality of their powerlessness to act in their own interest.

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APPENDIX A

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 1952 AND 1965 IMMIGRATION ACTS

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (McCarran-Walter Act)

1. First preference: High skilled immigrants whose services are urgently needed in the United States, and the spouse and children of such immigrants.

   50 percent plus any not required for second and third preferences.

2. Second preference: Parents of United States citizens over the age of 21 and unmarried sons and daughters of United States citizens.

   30 percent plus any not required for first and third preferences.

3. Third preference: Spouse and unmarried sons and daughters of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.

   20 percent plus any not required for first or second preferences.

4. Fourth preference: Brothers, sisters, married sons and daughters of United States citizens and an accompanying spouse and children.

   50 percent of numbers not required for first three preferences.

5. Nonpreference: Applicants not entitled to one of the above preferences.

   50 percent of numbers not required for first three preferences, plus any not required for fourth preference.

Immigration Act of 1965

1. First preference: Unmarried sons and daughters of United States citizens.
   Not more than 20 percent.

2. Second preference: Spouse and unmarried sons and daughters of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.

   20 percent plus any not required for first preference.

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3. Third preference: Members of the professions and scientists and artists of exceptional ability.

   Not more than 10 percent.

4. Fourth preference: Married sons and daughters of United States citizens.

   10 percent plus any not required for first three preferences.

5. Fifth preference: Brothers and sisters of United States citizens.

   24 percent plus any not required for first four preferences.

6. Sixth preference: Skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which labor is in short supply in the United States.

   Not more than 10 percent.

7. Seventh preference: Refugees to whom conditional entry or adjustment of status may be granted.

   Not more than 6 percent.

8. Nonpreferences: Any applicant not entitled to one of the above preferences.

   Any member not required for preference applicants.

SOURCE: Keely 1965:181; U.S. Department of Justice 1960-1975.

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TABLE 47

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM JAMAICA BY SEX AND AGE, 1962-1975[a]

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Total	1,573	1,880	1,762	1,837	2,743	10,483	17,470	16,947	15,033	14,571	13,427	9,963	12,408	11,076
Males														
Total	752	885	841	867	1,188	2,543	4,674	6,306	7,109	6,835	6,394	4,971	6,260	5,294
Under 5	34	43	29	45	46	109	205	292	363	322	265	189	191	150
5-9	59	60	68	76	75	205	320	549	897	850	848	708	833	622
10-19	147	160	165	193	234	430	765	1,129	1,851	1,936	2,007	1,616	2,301	2,060
20-29	197	232	235	219	338	627	1,062	1,254	1,231	1,255	1,250	995	1,666	916
30-39	179	228	197	183	297	688	1,241	1,634	1,415	1,283	1,026	756	919	828
40-49	73	99	85	101	121	282	673	975	826	703	568	412	464	395
50-59	34	43	43	29	37	117	290	372	411	357	305	207	274	212
60-69	23	17	14	18	22	57	91	77	93	103	105	74	93	82
70-79	6	3	5	2	11	27	23	20	19	19	17	11	15	26
80 and over	-	-	-	1	7	1	4	4	3	7	3	3	4	3
Females														
Total	821	995	921	970	1,555	7,940	12,796	10,641	7,924	7,736	7,033	4,992	6,148	5,782
Under 5	37	49	54	49	51	141	182	308	361	341	261	219	213	188
5-9	44	61	68	74	81	248	363	586	906	985	913	657	867	631
10-19	151	189	178	203	249	654	1,088	1,482	2,194	2,273	2,174	1,750	2,286	2,132
20-29	190	217	217	239	406	2,183	4,064	3,035	1,614	1,433	1,307	991	1,101	964
30-39	146	235	236	214	337	2,150	3,686	2,613	1,385	1,169	982	541	659	964
40-49	75	113	88	124	185	1,422	2,106	1,545	804	773	635	364	389	734
50-59	77	63	47	40	106	798	958	759	447	510	465	282	371	490
60-69	69	41	24	18	97	253	243	253	146	208	237	138	190	376
70-79	27	25	6	8	35	75	88	51	60	37	53	39	59	53
80 and over	5	2	3	1	8	16	18	9	7	7	6	11	13	18

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Justice 1962-1975.

[a]No independent figures available for Jamaica before 1962.

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TABLE 48

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM JAMAICA BY OCCUPATION GROUP, 1962-1975[a]

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Total	1,573	1,880	1,762	1,837	2,743	10,483	17,470	16,947	15,033	14,571	13,427	9,963	12,408	11,076
Professional	140	255	252	176	346	1,357	1,777	1,704	1,056	1,078	810	562	566	503
Farm managers	8	14	5	2	11	13	18	49	68	50	6	-	10	2
Managerial	14	29	18	13	45	110	150	176	222	183	194	158	175	181
Clerical	142	151	133	167	205	686	1,347	1,360	1,061	783	797	595	715	775
Sales	23	24	8	15	29	83	146	161	128	121	105	82	92	78
Craftsmen	143	166	168	168	212	501	1,117	1,610	1,798	1,411	1,150	821	1,044	929
Operatives	161	188	157	156	224	637	984	1,029	1,297	1,007	967	674	789	774
Private household	26	20	21	26	83	3,644	6,765	4,495	1,692	1,839	1,617	761	772	810
Service	86	75	91	67	139	508	1,033	851	506	501	436	355	464	395
Farm laborers	36	38	51	56	102	44	76	203	55	145	91	73	136	82
Laborers, except farm and mine	25	47	33	36	39	66	111	170	152	136	138	124	165	97
Housewives, children, and others with no reported occupation	769	873	825	955	1,308	2,834	3,946	5,139	6,998	7,317	7,116	5,758	7,488	6,606

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Justice 1962-1975.

[a]No independent figures available for Jamaica before 1962.

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APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. When did you first arrive in the United States?

   1 Before 1940
   2 After 1940 (give exact year if known__________)

2. Were you at least 18 years old when you arrived?

   1 Yes
   2 No

3. Where do you live now?

   1 Bronx
   2 Brooklyn
   3 Manhattan
   4 Queens
   5 Staten Island
   6 Other (specify)________________________

4. Have you lived in any other borough or elsewhere in the United States?

   1 Yes
   2 No

5. A. What is your present marital status?

   1 Single
   2 Married
   3 Widowed
   4 Divorced or separated
   5 Other

   B. What is your sex?

   1 Male
   2 Female

6. What is your residence status?

   1 Citizen of the United States
   2 Permanent resident of the United States
   3 Other (specify)__________________________

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7. A. What is your present area of employment?

1 Professional (doctor, nurse, etc.)
2 Clerical/sales (office, department store worker)
3 Service (hospital aide, domestic, etc.)

Name of your job______________________________

B. Is your yearly income between

1 $3,000-5,000?
2 $5,000-7,000?
3 $7,000-10,000?
4 $10,000-15,000?
5 $15,000-20,000?
6 over $20,000?

8. Is your age between
1 18 and 30 years?
2 31 and 45 years?
3 46 and 60 years?
4 61 and 75 years?
5 over 75 years?

9. Are you currently employed by

1 a large private corporation?
2 government?
3 a voluntary non-profit organization (e.g. hospital)?
4 a small business?
5 self-employed?
6 a family or an individual in a private home?
7 other (specify)__________________________

10. What is the level of your education?

1 Elementary school only
2 Secondary or high school only
3 Business or trade school
4 College
5 Graduate or professional school
6 Other (specify)__________________________

Highest degree or diploma earned?________________________

11. What part of your education did you receive in the United States?

1 High school only
2 College
3 Graduate and/or professional
4 Business or trade
5 Other (specify)__________________________

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12. If you decided to improve your education after you arrived in America, was it because

    1 you wanted to change and/or improve your area of work?
    2 you realized that education would improve your chances to get ahead?
    3 your employer paid the school fees?
    4 others encouraged you to do so?
    5 other (specify)____________________________

13. Under what circumstances did you come to America?

    1 You were sponsored by a relative
    2 You had a job offer
    3 You came on the basis of your profession or skill
    4 You came on a temporary visa, then later changed to permanent resident
    5 Other (specify)____

14. In which of the following areas were you employed in Jamaica?

    1 Professional
    2 Clerical or sales
    3 Service
    4 Other (specify)___________________________

    Title of your job____________________________

15. Why did you decide to come to America?

    1 A chance to get a better job
    2 A chance to earn more money
    3 To join your family
    4 You were dissatisfied with life in Jamaica
    5 It was a chance to further your education
    6 Other (specify)____

16. How did you feel when you first arrived in America?

    1 Very excited about being in America
    2 Very disappointed with what you saw
    3 You felt strange but not disappointed
    4 You did not like what you saw but thought you did the right thing by coming
    5 Other (specify)____

17. How would you describe your first year in America?

    1 The most difficult period of your life
    2 A challenging and interesting period
    3 A relatively easy time
    4 Other (specify)____

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18. What do you find most difficult to cope with here in America?

1 Finding a satisfying job
2 Finding a decent place to live
3 Understanding the American people and their way of life
4 Finding your away around
5 Coping with work and family at the same time
6 Other (specify)________________________________

19. When you first arrived in the United States, did you live with

1 close relatives?
2 distant relatives?
3 friends?
4 people from Jamaica you were meeting for the first time?
5 Found a place of your own immediately or lived where you worked
6 Other (specify)________________________________

20. Do you keep in touch with friends and relatives here in New York

1 by regular visits?
2 mostly by telephone?
3 only at social events (weddings, parties, etc.)?
4 Never bothered to keep in touch with anyone from Jamaica

21. A. Are you a member of a church or other religious organization?

1 Yes
2 No

B. Are you member of a professional organization?

1 Yes
2 No

C. Are you a member of a social or benevolent association?

1 Yes
2 No

D. Are you a member of a student or alumni association?

1 Yes
2 No

22. At what level do you participate in any of the organizations?

1 Currently holding office
2 Held office previously
3 Very active member (attend meetings and share in activities)
4 Membership (rarely attend meetings or functions)
5 Membership (pay dues but never attend meetings or functions)

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23. Which of these organizations have only Jamaicans as members?

 1 Church affiliated organizations
 2 Professional organizations
 3 Social and/or benevolent associations
 4 Alumni organizations
 5 Student organizations

24. What other group of people are most likely to have membership in your organization?

 1 Other West Indians
 2 Black Americans
 3 White Americans
 4 Not limited to any nationality or color

25. When you give a party or other type of entertainment, are the food and music

 1 all Jamaican?
 2 a mixture of West Indian?
 3 a mixture of American and West Indian?
 4 all American?
 5 Other (specify)________________

26. Are you satisfied with the neighborhood in which you live?

 1 Very satisfied
 2 Satisfied
 3 Dissatisfied
 4 Very dissatisfied

27. Do you have relatives and/or friends in this neighborhood?

 1 Yes
 2 No

28. Do you

 1 own the house you live in?
 2 rent an apartment in a large apartment building?
 3 rent an apartment in a private house?
 4 rent a room in a private house or apartment?

29. If you rent a portion of your house, which of the following would be your first choice for a tenant?

 1 A white American
 2 Another Jamaican
 3 An English-speaking West Indian
 4 A black American
 5 Other (specify)________________

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30. If you are not a citizen of the United States, is it because

1 you have not lived here long enough (five years?)
2 you have applied to be a citizen?
3 you have no intention of becoming a citizen?
4 you do not wish to give up your Jamaican citizenship?
5 you never thought much about it?

31. Why did you decide to become a citizen?

1 A citizen has more benefits and privileges
2 Your job required that you be a citizen
3 Being a citizen enabled you to sponsor relatives
4 You intend to live here for the rest of your life
5 Other (specify)

32. As citizen, are you registered to vote as

1 a Democrat?
2 a Republican?
3 a Liberal?
4 an independent?
5 Other (specify)________________________

33. If you have ever participated in any political campaign, indicate below

1 the candidate for national office (president, senator, etc.)
2 the candidate for state office (governor, senator, etc.)
3 the candidate for local office (mayor, assemblyman, etc.)
4 the candidate for other office (specify)____________________

34. Do you think that it is important that you vote?

1 Yes
2 No

35. When you are looking for a job, where do you start?

1 With an agency that you have to pay
2 Go to the State employment agency
3 Go directly to the company where you would like to work
4 Ask friends and relatives to make inquiries for you
5 Advertise in a newspaper
6 Other (specify)____

36. Your very first job here was

1 waiting for you when you arrived
2 found within a month after your arrival
3 extremely difficult to find and took months
4 not needed immediately so you did not look for one

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37. How often do you change jobs?

    1 At least once a year
    2 Have the same job since you came
    3 You worked at many odd jobs until you were qualified for your present job
    4 You usually spend several years on one job before moving on to another

38. When you look for jobs, do you find that being a West Indian

    1 helps you to get the job?
    2 prevents you from getting the job?
    3 has nothing to do with your getting or not getting the job?
    4 You have no way of knowing

39. How are you treated on your job?

    1 As well as the other employees
    2 Not as well as other employees
    3 Better than other employees
    4 You are treated differently but not unkindly
    5 You work alone so you can't compare

40. How do you feel about your job?

    1 You find the job very satisfying
    2 You stay in that job only because the pay is good
    3 You dislike the kind of work you do
    4 The job supports you while you are training for some other type of work
    5 Other (specify)________________________________

41. How are you treated by your co-workers?

    1 They treat you as "one of them"
    2 They treat you as "an outsider"
    3 They are openly hostile to you
    4 They are polite but not friendly

42. Have you ever felt that you have been discriminated against?

    1 Yes
    2 No

43. Do you think that you have been discriminated against because you are

    1 black?
    2 West Indian?
    3 a foreigner?
    4 Other (specify)____________________

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44. What do you consider the most important factor in your relationship with Americans?

1 Your color
2 Your nationality
3 Your color and nationality
4 Yourself as an individual
5 Other (specify)________________________

45. Are your friends who are not Jamaicans most likely to be

1 other West Indians?
2 other foreigners?
3 black Americans?
4 white Americans?
5 Other (specify)________________________

46. Where did you meet these friends?

1 Where you work
2 At your church or other organizations
3 They live in your neighborhood
4 At school
5 Other (specify)____

47. How many years after you first arrived did you make a return visit to Jamaica?

1 Within the first year
2 Within three years
3 Within five years
4 Within ten years
5 Within fifteen years
6 Twenty and more years
7 Never returned

48. If you visit Jamaica very frequently, is it because

1 your immediate family is there?
2 you have business there?
3 Jamaica is really home?
4 you want to keep in close contact with events in Jamaica?
5 Other (specify)____

49. Besides frequent or occasional visits, do you

1 write to and receive letters from Jamaica?
2 read Jamaican newspapers regularly?
3 make occasional telephone calls to Jamaica?
4 enquire about Jamaica from others who visited there?
5 You do all of the above
6 You do 1, 2, and 4 of the above

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50. What is the nature of your business interest in Jamaica?

    1 You own property there (homes, land, livestock, etc.)
    2 You have a commercial business there
    3 You have plans for future investment there
    4 You are assessing the job market for future employment there
    5 You plan to return there when you retire

51. Do you consider the present political system, Democratic Socialism, a good system for Jamaica?

    1 Yes
    2 No
    3 Too early to tell
    4 You don't know what it is about

52. How do you feel about leaving Jamaica?

    1 You never really wanted to leave
    2 You were very happy to be going to America
    3 You had mixed feelings about leaving
    4 You never bothered much since you felt that you would be returning to Jamaica eventually
    5 You knew it was necessary for you to leave

53. How would you compare living in Jamaica with living in America?

    1 Better than in America
    2 Not as good as in America
    3 About the same as in America
    4 Easier to cope with than in America
    5 Difficult to compare since they are so different

54. Would you say that you know more about the political situation here in the United States than you know about that in Jamaica?

    1 Yes
    2 No

55. Do you plan to return to live permanently in Jamaica?

    1 Yes
    2 No
    3 Uncertain at this time

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56. If you are never returning to Jamaica to live permanently, is it because

    1 you no longer care for the life-style in Jamaica?
    2 you are dissatisfied with the political system?
    3 you can enjoy a higher standard of living here?
    4 you would not be able to find suitable employment?
    5 you consider Jamaica a backward country?

57. If you have not yet decided whether you will return to live permanently in Jamaica, is it because

    1 you are not sure that you could find living in Jamaica again satisfactory?
    2 you have no real ties in Jamaica anymore?
    3 you consider the political situation too unstable?
    4 you feel uncomfortable about the reports of crime and violence there?
    5 you have become accustomed to life here in the United States?

58. How have you managed the care of your young children?

    1 Mother stayed home with the children
    2 You leave the children in the care of someone for a fee
    3 Parents work at different times so that one is always home
    4 You send or leave the children in Jamaica until they are old enough on their own while you work
    5 Children are placed in Day Care Centers while you work
    6 Children are cared for by a dependent relative who lives with you

59. Do you encourage your children to

    1 participate in activities after school?
    2 join youth organizations in your community?
    3 come home immediately school is over and stay in the house?
    4 visit the homes of their friends?

60. Do you think the schools in Jamaica are better than the schools here?

    1 Yes
    2 No

61. What do you fear most for your children here in New York?

    1 Drug addiction
    2 That they might fall into bad company
    3 That they might be mugged or raped
    4 That they might drop out of school
    5 You have no reason to fear for them

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62. When you visit Jamaica, are you always

    1 reluctant to return to New York?
    2 very happy to leave after your vacation is over?
    3 staying longer than you had planned?
    4 spending less time than you had planned?

63. Would you say that you are better off here than you were in Jamaica?

    1 Yes
    2 No
    3 Better off in some ways
    4 Not as well off in some ways

64. If you had enough money to live comfortably without having to work again for the rest of your life, would you return to Jamaica to live immediately?

    1 Yes
    2 No

65. Do you find Americans more friendly when they know that you are Jamaican?

    1 Yes
    2 No

66. Have you achieved what you planned or hoped for when you left Jamaica?

    1 Most of what you planned and hoped for
    2 None of what you planned and hoped for
    3 Things turned out differently but you are satisfied
    4 Things turned out just as you planned and hoped they would

67. Do you think most Americans share your opinions?

    1 Yes
    2 No

68. Do you celebrate national holidays such as the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving?

    1 Yes
    2 No

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69. If you are married, is your spouse (wife or husband)

    1 Jamaican?
    2 American?
    3 American with West Indian parents?
    4 other West Indian?
    5 other nationality?

70. Have you seen any of the following films or performances?

    1 Smile Orange
    2 The Harder They Come
    3 The Jamaican Dance Theatre performance
    4 Bob Marley and the Wailers concert

71. What programs do you watch most often on television?

    1 Game shows and comedies
    2 The soap operas (daytime serials)
    3 News and public affairs programs
    4 Movies
    5 Other (specify)______________________________

72. Which of the following radio stations do you listen to most frequently?

    1 WLIB or WWRL
    2 WABC or WMCA
    3 WQXR or WNYC
    4 WCBS or WNBC
    5 Other (specify)

73. Which of the following sports do you consider most interesting?

    1 Baseball
    2 Cricket
    3 Soccer
    4 Football
    5 Basketball

74. Do you feel that your color and nationality have prevented you from

    1 getting a job you are qualified to do?
    2 getting an apartment or a house in certain neighborhoods?
    3 both of the above?
    4 neither of the above?

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75. What do you consider the most important factor which determines the way a person is treated in Jamaica?

1 The amount of money one has
2 One's education and occupation
3 The color of one's skin
4 One's family background
5 Other (specify)________________________________

76. Do you often feel that packing and going home to Jamaica is all you wish for?

1 Very often
2 Once in a while
3 Never felt that way

77. Do you know any persons who have returned to Jamaica to live permanently?

1 Yes
2 No

78. Would you agree that America is the land of opportunity?

1 Strongly agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly disagree

79. Do you always let others know that you are Jamaican?

1 Yes
2 No

80. A. If it were possible for you to make a decision now about coming or not coming to America, would you come?

1 Yes
2 No

B. Would you encourage anyone who wants to come to America to do so?

1 Yes
2 No

82. What part have you played in the West Indian Carnival in Brooklyn on Labor Day?

1 You help to organize the carnival
2 You take part in the parade
3 You only observe the carnival
4 You never attended or participated in the carnival

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83. Do you serve West Indian foods at home?

    1 Very frequently
    2 Frequently
    3 On special occasions only
    4 Never

84. Which of the following, outside your own family, would you say is your most meaningful and enjoyable association here in New York?

    1 Your relatives
    2 American friends
    3 Jamaican friends
    4 Other West Indian friends
    5 Other (specify)____

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