

**BLACKS IN HAMILTON:
AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS IN
COMMUNITY BUILDING**

By

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BLACKS IN HAMILTON

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ABSTRACT

This study, which is based on field research, examines the question of ethnic community formation among Blacks in Hamilton. It deals with both the factors, such as institutions or voluntary organizations, which facilitate community building and those, such as the absence of effective local Black leadership, which undermine that endeavor. Given the limited number and range of formal institutions or organizations in the local Black community, this study concentrates on the informal channels of interaction among local Blacks. The major informal channels identified and examined are as follows: (1) dinners and dances; (2) picnics; (3) the annual Cari-Can summer festival; (4) Martinsday celebrations; (5) Black History celebrations; and (6) house parties.

This study found that there are two primary reasons for the appeal of the informal features of Black communal life: (1) they offer Blacks opportunities to be overtly Afro-centric and (2) unlike formal organizations, they do not demand long-term commitments. Another major finding of this study is that Black ethnic identity in Hamilton is significantly stronger than one would expect based on the institutional strength of the local Black community. This identity is more directly related to ideologies and events among Blacks in Toronto, the United States, and elsewhere than it is to local circumstances.

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my family and to the memory of my father.

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INTRODUCTION

Blacks¹ in Canada have had to live with the dilemma of having their apparent wish for assimilation into mainstream society invariably denied by the majority (Driedger, 1989:54 and Richmond, 1990:364). In this sense, the Black experience in Canada is essentially similar to that of Black Americans--any difference being a matter of degrees (Pineo, [1977] 1987:258-264 and Glazer and Moynihan, [1963] 1970).² It is therefore necessary to identify the processes by which Blacks attempt to create a niche for themselves, as a group, in Canadian society.

¹ There is a long-standing debate among Blacks in Canada as to what members of the Black community should be called. In recent years, some Blacks have insisted on the term Afro-Canadian (see, e.g., McClain, 1979 and Williams, 1983); others have insisted on the term Afro-Canadian (see, e.g., Shreve, 1983); and yet others prefer the term Negro (see, e.g., Moore, 1985). Moreover, it is quite common for native-born Blacks who are about 60 years of age or older to insist on using the term "Colored" in reference to Blacks. This study uses the term Black in order to be consistent with the current usage in both academic and governmental circles (see, e.g., Richmond, 1990; Walker, 1985; Canada, 1989; and Ontario, 1985). The writer realizes that part of the reason some Canadians of African ancestry prefer terms other than "black" is because "the term black can be interpreted as derogatory in the context of everyday discourse" (Elliott and Fleras, 1992:68)--hence the term is used as a proper noun in this study.

² For example, a study of the ways in which a national sample of Canadians evaluated 26 "ethnic" groups showed that Blacks ("Negroes") had a score of -.52, next only to the "East Indian" score of -.95. The highest scoring group, the English, had a score of .52 (Berry, Kalin, and Taylor, 1977:106). Similarly, Bibby (1987:165) found from his 1975, 1980, and 1985 national samples that (1) the percentage of Canadians who felt "at ease" with Jews, Orientals, Native Indians, Blacks, and East Indian/Pakistanis had increased very slightly between 1975 and 1985 and (2) as of 1985, the least favored group was the East Indian/Pakistani with whom 85% of the sample indicated feeling "at ease" followed by Blacks with whom 88% of the sample indicated feeling "at ease".

Views on the Persistence of Ethnicity

The attempts to understand and explain both the persistence of ethnic groups and the relationships between minority groups, such as Blacks, and the Anglo-Celtic majority of contemporary North America have been dominated by the assimilationist and pluralist perspectives (Gordon, 1964:85; and Halli, Trovato, and Driedger, 1990:1). Broadly speaking, while assimilation suggests that ethnic groups are short-lived in modern industrial societies, pluralism suggests that not only are ethnic groups permanent features, but ethnicity is an important facet of individual identity and group behavior in such societies.

Assimilation

The view that modernization dissolves ethnic loyalties in favor of class loyalties is quite pervasive in Western social thought (Tilly, 1975:603-604). Thus, in spite of their philosophical differences, Marx ([1847] 1959), Weber ([1946] 1958), and Durkheim ([1893] 1964) all perceived of ethnicity as only a temporary phenomenon which will not withstand the tide of modernization.

One of the principal exponents of the assimilationist view in North America was Robert Park (1950 and 1952). According to Park's (1950:208-209) notion of a "race relations cycle", the relationship between minority and dominant groups consists of a maximum of five "ideal-typical" stages. The route of least resistance is contact, accommodation, and assimilation while the more circuitous route is contact, conflict, competition, accommodation, and assimilation.

Gordon (1964:71-89) expands on Park's ideas by suggesting that assimilation does not refer to a single process but to seven subprocesses which reflect the multi-faceted nature of individual and group life. These subprocesses are cultural or behavioral assimilation (acculturation); structural assimilation; marital assimilation; identificational assimilation; attitude receptional assimilation; behavior receptional assimilation; and civic assimilation.¹ According to Gordon, the most fundamental of these seven subprocesses are acculturation and structural assimilation. And of these two, the former (acculturation) emerges first and is a necessary, although not a sufficient, precondition for the other types of assimilation. Acculturation refers to the acceptance by incoming groups of the modes of dress, food, languages, values, and other cultural characteristics of the dominant group. In contrast, structural assimilation refers to the extent to which minorities not only enter the social institutions of the society, but are accepted by the dominant group into such institutions. According to Gordon, while acculturation may be achieved quite readily, structural assimilation is quite problematic.

Gordon (1964:89) contends that in North America assimilation has typically been manifested as either Anglo-conformity or amalgamation ("melting pot"). The latter perspective (amalgamation) posits that, through inter-marriage in particular, all immigrant ethnic and linguistic groups will eventually be synthesized into a new group, a view often held by Americans as being typical of their society (Gordon, 1964:89). Amalgamation presupposes cultural, structural, marital, and, consequently, identificational assimilation.

¹ See Appendix Intro.1 for brief definitions of the seven assimilation variables.

Unlike amalgamation, Anglo-conformity essentially suggests that all immigrants ought to adapt to Anglo-Saxon traditions, institutions, and culture either because Anglo-Saxon ways are superior or because Anglo-Saxons were the first to lay claim on contemporary North America (Li, 1990:12). As will be shown in Chapter III, assimilation has been the dominant official attitude towards immigrants in Canada.

Pluralism

The other major perspective on ethnic relations is pluralism. According to Gordon (1964:145), the idea of pluralism can be traced to the works of Horace M. Kallen in the early twentieth century. Gordon's (1964:85) definition of cultural pluralism is a good starting point:

...the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society.

The closest to the ideal-typical notion of pluralism in North America is what Driedger (1985:169) has termed "segregated enclavic ethnic identity." This variant of pluralism seeks to describe a situation in which minority groups live in physically segregated communities and, as such, subscribe only to the few cultural characteristics of the dominant group required to cope in the few occasions when members of other groups are encountered. Thus, for example, minorities may learn only enough of the dominant group's language required to function in the economic realm. This variant of the pluralist ideal is exemplified by the Hutterites, the Quebecois, the Indians on

reserves in rural areas, some orthodox Jews, and Blacks in urban ghettos (Driedger, 1985:169).

Another important variant of pluralism is the one suggested by Georg Simmel (1950) in which conflict is seen as a possible end and not only a means to an end, as assimilationists claim. According to this variant of the pluralist ideal, an ethnically pluralistic society may exist in which the various co-existing groups conceive of themselves as incompatible--as is the case in contemporary Beirut, for example. In a sense, this model is similar to the Marxist view except that while Marxists focus on class conflict the emphasis here is on ethnic group conflict (Driedger, 1985:168).

In general, proponents of the pluralist perspective argue that upward social mobility is largely dependent on group effort; they, therefore, tend to stress collective action, such as bloc voting. Pluralists or, in particular, pluralist ideologues, strongly support "affirmative action" policies which they believe would help correct the wrongs done to minority groups in the past. For they typically see the application of universalistic rules and standards in society as leading to "systemic" or "institutionalized discrimination", by which is meant "normative prescriptions designed to prevent the subordinate...group from equal participation in associations or procedures that are stable, organized, and systematized" (Wilson, 1973:34).

According to Driedger (1985:171), the official recognition of ethnic pluralism in Canada, embedded in the policy of multiculturalism, was more or less inevitable. He contends that the existence of French nationalism--along with Scottish and Irish desires to be separate from the English--made it improbable for Canada's founding fathers to successfully follow their

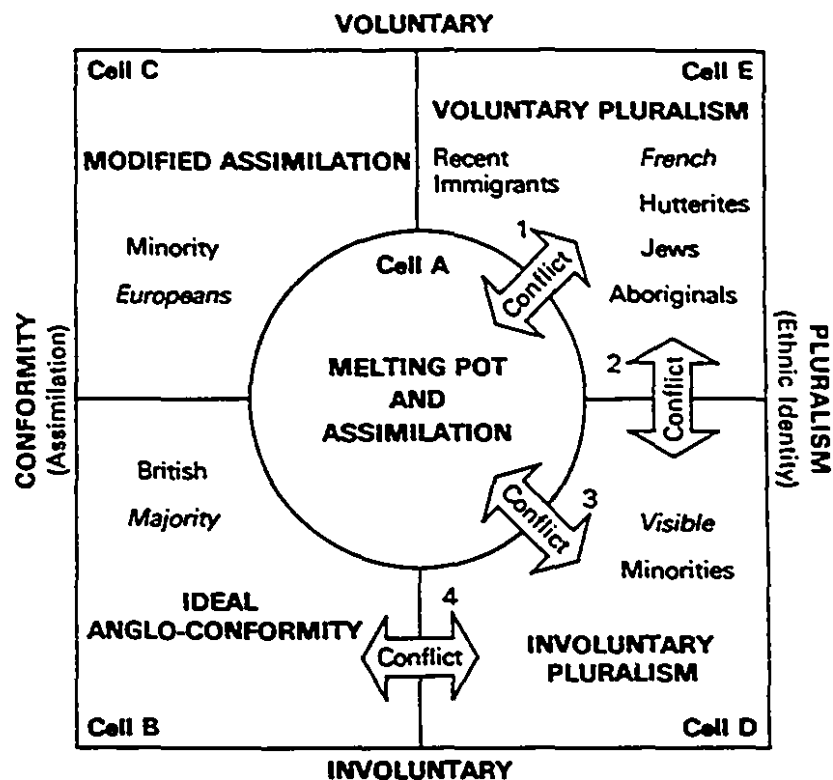
American counterparts in pursuing a goal of amalgamation.¹ Driedger (1989:172) notes that, when, in response to Quebecois pressure, the federal government established its Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, the die was cast for a policy not only of biculturalism but of multiculturalism. Thus in 1971 then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau declared Canada a multicultural country with a bilingual (French and English) framework (Breton, 1986:49 and Herberg, 1989:15).

A Summary of the Views

Driedger (1989:50-58) presents a conceptual model (below) which attempts to combine all the ideologies and theories of assimilation and pluralism. This model adds a voluntary-involuntary axis to the conformity-ethnic identity (i.e., assimilation-pluralism) continuum that attempts to describe the reality of minority group status. According to Driedger (1985:157), not only do assimilation, pluralism, and amalgamation exist simultaneously in Canada, but the status of an ethnic/racial group typically depends on both factors internal to the group, such as leadership, and factors, such as discrimination, which are external to the group. As Figure Int.1 (below) shows, Driedger (1989:54) contends that factors external to some ethnic/racial groups, such as Blacks, often relegate these groups to a position of pluralism.

¹ Another important factor responsible for the emergence of contemporary pluralism in Canada is the existence of religious diversity, a situation which became inevitable by 1945 because of the inability to assimilate the various religious fragments into a monocultural French or English hegemony (Statistics Canada, Canada Handbook, 1986:48).

FIGURE INT.1
DRIEDGER'S CONFORMITY-PLURALIST CONCEPTUAL MODEL



Source: Driedger (1989:51). Reproduced with the permission of McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.

Driedger's (1989:51) conceptual model consists of five cells, with the center cell representing amalgamation ("melting pot"). The two top cells, which lie on the voluntary axis, represent Modified Assimilation on the assimilation side of the assimilation-pluralism continuum and Voluntary Pluralism on the pluralist side of the same continuum. The former cell is

typical of second and third generation minority Europeans while the latter is typical of the French as well as of groups such as Hutterites, Jews, and first generation European (i.e., White) immigrants. In contrast, the two bottom cells, which lie on the involuntary axis, represent Ideal Anglo-Conformity on the assimilation side of the assimilation-pluralism continuum and Involuntary Pluralism on the pluralist side of the same continuum. The former cell is typical of the British majority while the latter is typical of visible minorities such as Blacks. Driedger (1989:54) summarizes the status of Blacks and other groups in the Modified Pluralism cell as follows:

...Cell D is an intermediary process closer to the pluralism pole. In this cell, individuals and groups remain pluralist involuntarily because they are forced to remain isolated. Many visible minorities like Asians, East Indians, and Blacks would like to participate more in the centre of the industrialization process but are often prevented from doing so fully because of racial prejudice and discrimination. They are likewise kept in their place by the majority group of Cell B, as well as by other Caucasian pluralists of Cell E. It is this group that faces the greatest potential for conflict because Canadian and American charters grant them equal rights ideologically.

The Problem

The preceding discussion can be summarized briefly: since Blacks as a category do not have the opportunity of assimilating into mainstream Canadian society, they can participate in communal life only by forming their own communities (Driedger, 1985:171 and Driedger, 1989:54). This endeavor is accomplished by means of interaction in both institutional and informal spheres. With the preceding points in mind, the major objective of this study is to provide an ethnographic examination of the question of community

building among Blacks in the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area¹ (Hamilton-Wentworth,² Burlington, and Grimsby).

In essence, this study is concerned with Black ethnicity in Hamilton; as such it deals with the various components of ethnicity: (a) distinct overt and covert cultural behaviour patterns; (b) personal ties, such as family, community, and friendship networks; (c) organizations such as schools, churches, enterprises, media; (d) associations such as clubs, 'societies,' youth organizations; (e) functions, sponsored by ethnic organizations, such as picnics, concerts, teas, rallies; and (f) identity as a social psychological phenomenon (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz, 1990:10).

This study examines the crucial factors affecting the nature of both formal and informal associations in the Hamilton Black community. The primary factor investigated in this respect is the legacy of stigmatization³: the fact that, in both policy and practice Blacks have historically not been welcome in Canada. One consequence of the reluctance to accept Blacks in Canada is that although there has been a Black population in Hamilton for more than 150 years the vast majority of the 3228 Blacks (Ontario, 1985:14) now in the Hamilton CMA are immigrants. As is the case in Canada as a whole (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:185-205), most Blacks in Hamilton are Caribbean nationals who immigrated to Canada only after the introduction in 1967 of the "point system" immigration policy which allowed the non-sponsored

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, Hamilton will be used synonymously with the Hamilton CMA.

² The Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth consists of six municipalities: Ancaster, Dundas, Flamborough, Glanbrook, Hamilton, and Stoney Creek.

³ See Chapter I for a theoretical discussion of this concept, as it is used in this study. Diop ([1955] 1974) and Rodney (1981) provide detailed analysis of the processes by which Blacks as a people were stigmatized shortly after ancient Egypt lost her independence, an area of investigation which is not dealt with in the present study.

immigration of skilled persons regardless of national origins (Pineo, 1987:6). The principal consequence of the relative recency of the immigration of most local Blacks is that the re-formulated local Black community is at an early stage of its life-cycle.¹ Accordingly, issues such as Black identity² and friendships are not yet fully crystallized in the experiences of many local Blacks. Indeed, there are no physical aspects of lifestyles ("material culture") which differentiates Blacks, as a group, from the larger society; in general, the manifestations of material culture among local Blacks reflect only national, social class, and religious cleavages. Thus, for example, old-line Black Canadians³ tend to be similar to members of the larger society in terms of their worldviews (Cryderman, 1986:131 and Driedger, 1989:43).

While this study is concerned with Black community building, its emphasis, in terms of Black voluntary organizations, is on the Black church.⁴

¹ The "life-cycle" of an ethnic group consists of a set of phases, with each phase representing a different level of group cohesion. The concept is used in reference to "an aggregate of individual experience, to the process of immigrant adaptation over time and to the transition from the first or immigrant generation to subsequent generations" (Reitz, 1980:125).

² The question of Black self-identity relates essentially to first generation Blacks (that is, those who are immigrants to Canada) since this study deals with the transformation of identity from one based on geographical origins (e.g., Jamaican) to one that is based on skin color (e.g., Black, Negro, Colored, Afro-Canadian, and African-Canadian). Every native-born Black, including second generation Black youths, who was asked about the nature of their self-identification indicated that they have always viewed themselves in terms of skin color--in some cases in combination with their nationality: Canadian. Unlike first generation Blacks, native-born Blacks do not have the luxury of having nostalgic dreams about a homeland outside Canada.

³ Following Hill (1960) and Winks (1972), the term "old-line Black families" is used in reference to those Black families in which the oldest member residing in Canada is at least a second generation Canadian. Basically, this category of Blacks comprises descendants of: ex-slaves and other Blacks in early Canada; Underground Railroaders; and Caribbean nationals who immigrated to Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The term "old-line Black family" does not necessarily imply membership in any particular position in the social hierarchy of Blacks in Canada.

⁴ The concept of the "Black church" is quite problematic. For one thing, historically, many so-called Black churches, the Baptist ones in particular, remained within larger, often international, White-run religious organizations (Winks, 1972). Such is the case with some

Apart from the traditional importance of the church for community-building (Millett, [1979] 1983; Frazier, 1964; and Paris, 1985), there are two core reasons why this study focuses more on the Black churches than on other local Black organizations. First, the churches are numerically the dominant organizations within Hamilton's Black community in the sense that the number of Blacks who patronize them far exceeds those who patronize any other category of Black organizations. Second, since they tend to meet quite frequently (at least twice weekly) and to own or rent the premises where these meetings are held, the churches are the most visible organizations within the Hamilton Black community. Other Black voluntary organizations meet much less frequently and tend to do so in a number of members' homes.

Broadly speaking, then, the aim of this study is to examine the organization of Hamilton's Black community and to explain the dynamics surrounding this organization. This study investigates both external and internal factors that favor and/or undermine Black community building in Hamilton; thus, it deals with both the formal and informal social structures within Hamilton's Black community. The central concerns of this study may be stated in terms of the following questions: (1) What does it mean to be Black in contemporary Hamilton? and (2) What are the factors that facilitate the emergence of group identification among the highly heterogeneous Black population of Hamilton?

contemporary Black churches in Canada, notably the Hamilton East Seventh Day Adventist Church. The concept of the Black church is used in this study in reference to churches which have predominantly Black congregants and/or are administered by Blacks. Thus, for example, a predominantly White Roman Catholic church which happens to have a Black priest does not meet the criteria for classification as a Black church.

Significance of Study

This study is important at both the theoretical and the substantive levels. At the theoretical level, this study sheds some light on the processes by which Black Hamiltonians, a stigmatized group, attempt to form a cohesive community in an environment of both subtle racism and officially institutionalized means of redressing perceived wrongs. This study is also important because it highlights the critical importance of ethnic organizations for the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity (Isajiw, 1979:21-26 and Burnet and Palmer, 1988:185) and in the adjustment of immigrants to host societies (Boissevan, 1970). Thus, although this study does not deal directly with issues of immigrant adjustment, it should, nonetheless, be of interest to those concerned about the adjustment of Blacks to Hamilton. In short, at the theoretical level, this study fulfils one of the chief roles of case studies: it provides data that would be useful in theory construction.

At the substantive level, this study is important because not only is it the first scholarly study of Black community building in Hamilton, but it is the first scholarly study of any aspect of the city's Black community since the mid-1970s. For the number of scholarly, especially sociological, studies of Blacks in Hamilton is extremely limited; only three sociological studies exist on Blacks in Hamilton.¹ The first of these studies is Franklin Henry's (1965) work in which he compared the social status and perceptions of discrimination among Blacks and Japanese in Hamilton and found that

¹ Indeed, most studies of Blacks in Canada have been historical in orientation (see e.g., Hill, 1981; Thomson, 1970; Tulloch, 1975; Walker, 1980; and Winks, 1971). The major sociological studies include the following: Austin (1972); Clairmont, Magill, and Winks (1974); Forsythe (1971); Henry (1973); Hill (1960); Laferriere (1982); and McClain-Tatum (1979).

Blacks were generally poorer and tended to perceive more instances of discrimination than their Japanese counterparts. Cole's (1967) study, an M.A. thesis, dealt with the pattern of and reasons for the immigration of "West Indian" teachers and nurses to Hamilton. And Tavernier's (1976) study, also an M.A. thesis, was concerned essentially with the processes involved in the production of a relatively cohesive group among "West Indian" students at McMaster University.

Hamilton: The Setting for the Study

Hamilton is located in the center of Ontario's industrial heartland (the "golden horseshoe") and is primarily an industrial city with steel manufacturing and associated businesses comprising its economic base (Weaver, 1982:161-169). As of 1981, the city of Hamilton had a population of 306,434. At the same time, the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) had a population of 542,095; out of this figure, ethnic origin data were available for 538,000 persons (Ontario, 1985:9). As of the 1986 census, the Hamilton CMA had a population of 557,029—representing an increase of 2.8 percent from the 1981 figure (Canada, 1986:1-1). The Hamilton CMA, which has six percent of Ontario's total population (Pineo, 1987:5), is bounded on the east by the Toronto CMA which is Canada's largest metropolitan area and the home to the majority of the country's Black population, officially enumerated at 144,000 in 1981 and 174,970 in 1986 (Canada, 1989:2-29).¹

¹ Cryderman (1986:131) notes that "statistics on black numbers remain reasoned guesswork." He then suggests that up to 200,000 Blacks lived in Toronto as of 1985—more than the official number for all of Canada.

Hamilton, like the rest of Ontario, is very ethnically diverse, with up to 50 different ethnic categories within it (Pineo, 1987:41). The largest of these categories is the British which comprises between 55 and 63 percent of the area's population (Pineo, 1987:3). The numerical predominance of the British group in the Hamilton CMA, as in the province as a whole, is understandable given the fact that the present ethnic diversity is a consequence of relatively recent immigration. For example, as of the 1981 census, up to 26 percent of the Hamilton CMA's population was foreign-born (Pineo, 1987:6).

If nothing else, Hamilton is a city of extreme contrasts.¹ For example, with regard to occupational characteristics, although the plurality of Hamiltonian workers are engaged in blue-collar work, these workers may be contrasted with the many professionals who are associated with a number of organizations--including the various levels of government, the university, and various corporations. Moreover, based on 1986 census data, although Hamilton's mean census family income of \$35,175 was below the Canadian mean of \$37,827 and the provincial mean of \$41,692, one of the city's western suburbs, the town of Ancaster, had a mean family income of \$57,326 which places that municipality among the wealthiest in the nation (Statistics Canada, 1988:199-201 and Statistics Canada, 1989:A1-A2). Hamilton's second and third wealthiest suburbs, the city of Burlington (\$49,497) and the town of Dundas (\$46,083) also had mean family incomes that were considerably

¹ A recent newspaper article about the 50th anniversary of the Royal Botanical Gardens posits, perhaps facetiously, that Hamilton is a "world class" city because, unlike Toronto and like all "world class" cities, Hamilton has a botanical gardens. The article also discussed a "curious symbiotic relationship between the foundaries at one end [the east end] of Hamilton harbor and the greenery [the Royal Botanical Gardens] at the other" (Hamilton Spectator, May 11, 1991:C1).

higher than both the national and provincial means (Statistics Canada, 1988:199-200). As of the 1986 census, the mean census family income for the Hamilton CMA was \$40,791 (Statistics Canada, 1989b:20-1).

Hamilton is forced, particularly by its geographical location, to live in the shadow of Toronto (Weaver, 1982:13, 161, and 175)--which is itself forced to live in the shadow of large American cities, notably New York City. Thus, in spite of its heterogeneity, the standard popular stereotype of Hamilton is that of a blue-collar city (Weaver, 1982:161); consequently, Hamilton carries with it such derogatory labels as "lunch bucket town."¹ According to Weaver (1982:161),

The probable status of Hamilton has had a glittering backdrop for comparison--Toronto. Always the superior rival in the past, Toronto's metropolitan power in economic matters and culture was accented in the postwar decades by the concentration of corporate headquarters and the reach of the electronic media.

The following excerpt from an article in the major local newspaper is also quite insightful:

I've never been to Newark, N.J. But I know it has a few things in common with this city. It's industrial, it's in the shadow of a much bigger centre (the Big Apple's towers loom large) and it has image problems (Hamilton Spectator, January 23, 1990:C1).

Plan of Study

This dissertation consists of nine chapters, the first of which discusses the major concepts on which this study is based. The first chapter also discusses the effects of stigmatization or racism and its by-products--including

¹ In 1971 the City of Hamilton commissioned a book, Pardon My Lunch bucket, to celebrate its 125th anniversary. In essence, the book attempts to show that, in spite of its industrial base, Hamilton is more than a working class city.

ethnocentrism, prejudice, stereotypes, social distance, and discrimination (Kallen, 1982:25)--on community building, particularly among stigmatized groups such as Blacks (Goffman, 1963 and Kallen, 1989).

The second chapter discusses the methods of data gathering and analysis--which included archival research, interviews, and "participant observation." This chapter also discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the roles available to the field researcher as well as a number of ways by which the strengths of the roles were maximized and the weaknesses minimized. In addition, the processes by which access was gained into a number of areas of local Black communal life as well as the reasons for and outcomes of the various strategies of data gathering utilized are discussed.

The third chapter is the first of two chapters concerned with the limits on successful community building placed by factors external to the Black community. This chapter discusses how social ideologies, assimilation in particular, have influenced Canada's immigration policies--especially as these policies pertain to the admission of Blacks to Canada. It also discusses how the pattern of Black immigration, which results from these policies, affects the organization of Canadian Blacks, in general, and Hamiltonian Blacks, in particular. Ultimately, this chapter examines why the existence of institutionalized discrimination has not provided sufficient stimulus for the existence of viable proactive Black organizations in Hamilton.

The fourth chapter also deals with factors external to the local Black community which militate against local Black community building. It deals with local Black perceptions of and reactions to racism and discrimination. The overwhelming objective of this chapter is to understand the role of

racism with regard to the difficulties of and prospects for effective Black community building in Hamilton.

The fifth chapter examines some factors internal to the local Black population which constrain the emergence and persistence of a viable Black community. The factors discussed are (1) heterogeneity of the Black population; (2) the relative ambiguity of Black identity (that is, a low sense of peoplehood); and (3) absence of effective leadership.

The sixth chapter is the first of three chapters (Chapters VII and VIII being the others) which examines some factors internal to the local Black population which facilitate the emergence and persistence of a viable Black community. This chapter is concerned with the Black church in Hamilton; thus, it discusses aspects of one internal factor: institutions. It discusses the social factors which led to the formation of, and those involved in rallying the commitment of some Blacks to and of other Blacks from, the Black churches in Hamilton.

The seventh chapter discusses the character of the Black voluntary associations and institutions in Hamilton. It deals essentially with the interplay between racism and discrimination, on the one hand, and the emergence of the basic ideologies underlying the organization of Hamiltonian Blacks, on the other.

The eighth chapter is concerned with the nature of social life among Blacks in Hamilton. It identifies the major forms of social interaction in which Black Hamiltonians participate locally: dinners and dances; picnics; the annual Cari-Can summer festival; Martinsday Celebrations; Black History

Celebrations; and house parties. It is argued that these events are crucial in creating a sense of peoplehood among local Blacks.

The final chapter, the ninth, summarizes and assesses the findings of the earlier chapters. It also assesses the prospects for successful community building among Blacks in Hamilton.

CHAPTER I

THE COMMUNITY: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

The principal aim of this chapter is to review some of the sociological theories of ethnicity and ethnic group formation or ethnogenesis. It discusses the ethnic group as a type of social group (Reitz, 1980), thereby rendering superfluous the question of whether Blacks in Hamilton are only a racial group and are, therefore, not an ethnic group. The term community is used synonymously with the term ethnic group; moreover, the so-called racial group is treated as only a type of ethnic group (Herberg, 1989:3). Thus, the crucial question is not whether or not Black Hamiltonians constitute an ethnic group; rather, it is whether or not they constitute or can constitute a social group. It is argued that Hamilton's Black population meets the theoretical criteria for classification as an ethnic community.

The Nature of Ethnicity

What is an Ethnic Group?

Since the ethnic group has assumed different forms depending on social and historical contexts, scholars disagree on its defining characteristics. Thus, for example, in his survey of 65 sociological and anthropological studies of ethnicity Isajiw (1979:4) found 27 different formal definitions of

ethnicity. The ten most common attributes of the ethnic group were as follows: (1) common ancestral origin; (2) common culture or customs; (3) religion; (4) race or physical characteristics; (5) language; (6) sense of peoplehood; (7) "gemeinschaft" relations; (8) common values or ethos; (9) separate institutions; and (10) minority or majority status (Isajiw, 1979:4). Nevertheless, the Canadian ethnic group may be defined in terms of four major inter-related characteristics which are manifested at both the individual (that is, the subjective) and the group (that is, the objective) levels. Thus, following Barth (1969:10-11), an ethnic group may be defined as a category of people which (1) is largely biologically self-perpetuating, (2) shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in forms, (3) makes up a field of communication and interaction, (4) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

Group Cohesion

An important characteristic of social groups is their level of cohesion—that is, the proportion of eligible members who interact within the group (Reitz, 1980:95). In order to comprehend the notion of group cohesion it is necessary to understand the related concept of group membership. According to Merton (1957:284-299), a social group is a number of persons who "interact with one another according to established patterns," who "define themselves as 'members'" and who are "defined by others as 'belonging to the group'." There are both objective and subjective components of group membership, with the former referring to interaction and the latter (the subjective) to self-

identification. Interaction may be primarily formal (such as participation in ethnic organizations) or primarily informal (such as friendships)--depending on the economic and other resources of the group. For example, economically disadvantaged groups typically have many informal relationships but few or no formal ones since such groups tend to have very few formal organizations. For its part, self-definition does not invariably accompany any form of interaction (Reitz, 1980:92-95).

Thus, group membership may be regarded as a variable--since a member may satisfy only one, both, or neither of the objective and subjective criteria (Merton, 1957:284). Thus, there are four types of group ties: full membership, latent membership, nominal membership, and non-membership. Latent members and nominal members are typically referred to as peripheral members while non-members include both potential and former members. Full members identify with the group and interact with other members of the group; latent members do not identify with the group but interact with its members; nominal members identify but do not interact; and non-members neither identify nor interact. According to Merton (1957:284-299), an important indicator of the extent to which group boundaries are clear and well defined is the number of peripheral members associated with the group.

One way to analyze group cohesion is on the basis of externally visible signs. However, this type of analysis tends to be misleading, for visibility may be high due to factors such as "race", size, residential or occupational segregation, political activity, religion, and affluence (Reitz, 1980:97). Similarly, the level of cohesion of an ethnic group may be assessed in terms

of a group's "institutional completeness"--that is, the extent to which the group provides its members a full range of "institutions" (formal organizations) such as those that cater to their "religious, educational, political, recreational, national, and even professional" needs (Breton, 1964:204). In these terms, the more institutionally complete an ethnic group is the more cohesive it will be deemed to be. But this type of analysis is plagued by the knowledge that factors such as the affluence and resources of a group tend to affect the group's institutional strength (Reitz, 1980:97).

Basically, ethnic group cohesion is dependent on a number of factors including the following: group formation with respect to varying degrees of instrumental and expressive needs, the institutional completeness of a group, recency of immigration of group members, economic position of group members, stage and type of life-cycle, and history of subordination (Reitz, 1980:119-120). Furthermore, group cohesion is greatly influenced by events in the larger society. Thus, an ethnic group changes over time as a result of both internal and external factors.

Having outlined what is meant by an ethnic group and the factors that bear on group cohesiveness, it is now necessary to investigate the processes by which a category of people become an ethnic group.

Ethnic Identity

Participation in ethnic communities is crucial for the creation and maintenance of both the external and the internal dimensions of ethnic identification. As Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz (1990:35) have noted,

an ethnic group is a phenomenon that gives rise to (1) social organization, an objective phenomenon that provides the structure for the ethnic community, and (2) identity, a subjective phenomenon that gives to individuals a sense of belonging and to the community a sense of oneness and historical meaning. These dimensions of ethnic identity are discussed in the subsections below.

External Dimensions of Ethnic Identification

Participation in ethnic communities offers individuals the opportunity to be involved in a kind of social "network" (Weinfeld, 1985:74-75). Community members tend to interact with one another and to share an institutional framework—with institutions such as religion and education. Members of ethnic groups tend to form and participate in voluntary organizations, that is, secondary groups which are formed around shared interests. Voluntary organizations not only provide individuals vehicles for sharing common interests, but often constitute potent political forces. In the latter context, Alexis de Tocqueville ([1835] 1840) in his classic work, Democracy in America, contended that voluntary organizations act as guards against despotism. Basically, ethnic voluntary organizations often play an important role in the formation and maintenance of both a distinct culture and a distinct identity for members of ethnic groups (Radecki, 1979:229). Shibutani and Kwan (1965:42) contend that the development of group identification is facilitated by any "readily visible means of identification--similarity of physical attributes, distinctive modes of dress, or a common language...." Bonnett (1980:14) notes that, among minority groups in North America, "group identification grows up as a defensive mechanism and after

developing may become a major weapon on the offensive arsenal." He notes that group identification is manifested through all the ways in which members of a minority group feel a sense of unity and take positive steps to express this feeling....As a result of group identification members of the group examine current uniqueness in their culture and label them expressions of folk genius. This phenomenon can be promoted in a number of ways. On a very formal level through newspapers, churches, radio, and also through business and politics. On a less formal level through the use of a foreign tongue or even where the English language is used there will be certain words, allusions, and topics of conversation that are unique to the minority group and generally understood by those who have had the group experience (Bonnett, 1980:77-78).

An important characteristic of the ethnic group as a form of social organization is that the ethnic group tends to have boundaries—one external and the other internal—which are established and maintained by patterns of interaction. The external boundary is established and maintained by intergroup relations while the internal one is established and maintained by socialization (Isajiw, 1979:25). The process of socialization, of which the family is the main agent, which establishes the group's internal boundary deals with the group's ideal conceptions of the "self" and provides individual members with the group's beliefs and values as well as with the differences between the group and the other group or groups (Tavuchis, 1989:168). According to Shibutani and Kwan (1965:42-43), when individuals share a "consciousness of kind" they typically believe that non-members of the group are different from themselves and, as such, ought to be treated differently.

Thus, for example, "To be Black...is not merely to live up to a set of images of what Blacks out to be like, as defined by Blacks, but also to avoid certain patterns of behavior or belief presumed to characterize whites" (Hewitt, [1976] 1991:149). For its part, the external boundary is typically dependent on the process of "altercasting" whereby others act in ways that constrain and limit what ethnic group members can do and be (Hewitt, [1976] 1991:200-203).

In his discussion of what he referred to as the "little community" (essentially, human social groups in relatively rural settings) Redfield (1955:4) notes that one of the four essential qualities of a community is "distinctiveness."¹ The concept of distinctiveness is synonymous with that of group boundary, for according to Redfield (1955:4), as a result of distinctiveness "where the community begins and ends is apparent. The distinctiveness is apparent to the outside observer and is expressed in the group-consciousness of the people of the community." In his view, group distinctiveness serves two fundamental purposes: it helps to establish social distance and also highlights the differences between the group and other groups. He contends that in the minds of all community-dwellers there are at least two elements of thought to define the relations between the people of one's own community and people outside of it: the idea of distance and the idea of difference. The members of the little community define themselves as a group partly by contrast with less well-known people who are "out there," and who are not like themselves (Redfield, 1955:113).

Ethnic boundaries can be objectively identified by a number of markers, among which are two components of culture--language and religion--and

¹ The other qualities discussed are smallness, homogeneity, and all-providing self-sufficiency.

physical traits such as skin color. Physical traits are "the most obvious and permanent" of ethnic boundary markers (Burnet and Palmer, 1988:7). Indeed, it is for this reason that groups distinguishable by physical traits are often referred to as races or visible minority groups rather than as ethnic groups (Burnet and Palmer, 1988:7).

Unlike the case with ethnic groups where co-existence on a more or less equal footing is at least theoretically possible, the presence of minority groups implies the existence of social inequality. Louis Wirth's (1945:347-348) definition of a minority group illustrates this point very clearly:

We may define a minority group as a group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination....Minority status carries with it exclusion from full participation in the life of the society.¹

In these terms, groups, such as Blacks, which are relatively powerless and at the same time easily differentiated by their skin color or other physical characteristics may be referred to as visible minorities (Burnet and Palmer, 1988:7). This does not mean that Blacks cannot be viewed as an ethnic group; for, as mentioned earlier, Isajiw (1979:1) identified "race" and "minority status" as two of the ten characteristics most frequently used in the definition of the ethnic group.

¹ This definition of the minority group does not necessarily provide sufficient grounds for considering women as a minority in contemporary North American society. A more recent definition of the minority group, which was introduced essentially in an attempt to eradicate the ambiguity regarding whether or not women are a minority group but is also useful in the context of this study, consists of four explicitly stated elements: identifiability, differential power, differential and pejorative treatment, and group awareness (Dworkin and Dworkin, 1976:17).

Internal Dimensions of Ethnic Identification

Participation in ethnic communities also helps in the formation and maintenance of personal identity; that is, it helps create and maintain "our sense of placement within the world and the meaning we attach to ourselves within the broader context of human life" (Vanden Zanden, 1977:440). According to Shaffir (1974:47)

Identities, or self-conceptions are formed not so much by an individual's view of himself in isolation but rather by the interaction of people with one another. Each person develops some notion of himself from the way others view and treat him.

The relationship between interaction and identity exists because not only are we invariably born into social groups, such as families which are important components of ethnic groups, but we become social beings only through the process of socialization which necessarily occurs within these groups (Cooley, [1902] 1956). It is through socialization that we acquire a sense of "self" and are thus able to engage in social interaction through role-taking and role-playing.

In short, the ethnic group helps us acquire a sense of who we are and also serves as a reference group for us (Shibutani, [1967] 1978:112). In the case of most North American Blacks (that is, those who cannot "pass" into the dominant or, at least a different, group), skin color is a central facet of identity (Pinkney, 1984:53 and Singh, 1981:15). For "Where race is a significant basis for distinguishing among people and evaluating them invidiously...no presentation of self can avoid the fact of race" (Hewitt, [1976] 1991:149). Thus, for most North Americans of African ancestry, being Black is tantamount to what Hughes (1945:353-359) calls a "Master" status. The following excerpt

from Hewitt's ([1976] 1991) discussion of the idea of ascription is quite relevant for the present purposes.

The contrast between ascription and achievement is important because it emphasizes the fact that a person's choice is not entirely free--indeed, in some instances it may entail no choice at all. In the United States, historically and presently, the role of a black person in many ways is fixed by race rather than by other characteristics, including many that are particularly relevant to the interaction that takes place....A hospital patient may, for example, assume that all blacks are orderlies and all women are nurses. In thus establishing the situated social identity of a particular person, as a black nurse, for example, the patient approaches interaction with her with the preconception of the role structure of the situation. And even when the patient learns that this particular black woman is a physician, the interaction that takes place is still influenced by ideas about sex and race (Hewitt, [1976] 1991:145-146).

It can be argued that, at least in North America, the so-called racial group is often only a type of ethnic group which is itself only a type of social group. For there are no biological or genetic bases for classifying human beings according to races, all so-called races being only socially created phenomena (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:13-25; Hughes and Kallen, 1976:80-84; Satzewich, 1990:253). Indeed, a credible basis for including so-called racial groups among Canadian ethnic groups is "the fact that the physical marks are superficial, not necessarily borne by all members of the group, and modifiable by interbreeding, and that there is not complete consensus as to what groups are "non-white" or "visible" in Canadian society" (Burnet and Palmer, 1988:7). Nevertheless, race is a crucial factor in understanding ethnicity

because, for one thing, it is one of the central foci of ethnic identification discussed by Weber (1978:379-398).¹ According to Weber (1978:386), "Almost any kind of similarity or contrast of physical type and of habits can induce the belief that affinity or disaffinity exists between groups that attract or repel each other." Thus, Isaacs (1975:46) argued that "body" (physical appearance) is the most important of the six components of ethnic identification--body, name, language, history and origins, religion, and nationality--which he examined. He notes that physical features are crucial because, in general, unlike the other components of ethnic identity, biological characteristics cannot be readily altered.

The body is the most palpable element of which identity--individual or group--is made. It is the only ingredient that is unarguably biological in origin, acquired in most of its essential characteristics by inheritance through the genes. Primary as they may be, all the other things that go into the making of group identity are transformable (Isaacs, 1975:46, emphasis in original).

An important characteristic of identity is that, like all other social definitions, it is relatively fragile or problematic (Foote, [1970] 1981:337) and, as such, requires constant validation from others (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:164 and Shibutani, [1967] 1978:115). Moreover, the more complex a society is--that is, the greater the number of social groups with which each individual may identify--the more likely it is for individuals to experience problems of identity (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:164). According to Shaffir (1974:229) religious-based communities tend to be more successful than ethnic-based communities in the attempt to maintain identity because of the "portability" of religious identity. He contends that identity maintenance in

¹ The other factors discussed are culture, tribe, and nationality.

religious communities is often achieved by means ranging from "dress to insulation, language, and history" (Shaffir, 1974:49). He notes, with particular reference to Chassidic Jews, that, at the minimum, religious communities tend to emphasize the social separation of their members from the larger society (Shaffir, 1974:49-50). Isajiw (1978:29) contends that the persistence of ethnic identification in contemporary Canadian society is primarily a consequence of living in a technologically advanced society which stresses individualism and, thereby, pushes individuals into a search for collective identity.

Given the relative fragility of ethnic identity, it is not surprising that there are intergenerational differences in ethnic group identification. Thus, Isajiw (1975:132) contends that there are three phases of ethnic identity maintenance in Canada: (1) "transplantation", (2) "rejection", and (3) "rediscovery". The transplantation phase refers to first generation immigrants' continuation of the culture or ways of life of their native lands. For its part, the rejection phase refers to the rebellion by second generation immigrants (i.e., the Canadian-born children of immigrants) against the language, religion, and other ways of life of the immigrants in favor of integration into the larger Canadian society. Finally, the rediscovery phase refers to the attempts by third and subsequent generation immigrants to reinterpret and adapt the immigrant institutions and culture in ways that would complement their life-style in contemporary Canadian society.

The Importance of Interaction

In essence, the formation and persistence of all social groups is dependent on two interrelated factors: perceived shared interests and interaction. But social interaction often serves to highlight and/or create common interests among individuals who interact with one another (Yancey, Ericksen, and Juliani, 1976:399). Such is the importance of interacting within ethnic communities that while objective class position influences where individuals live, its influence is greatly attenuated by ethnicity; for even the suburbs are ethnically segregated (Kalbach, 1990:35 and Marston, 1969:74). Heiberg (1989:139) and Kalbach (1990:38) contend that ethnic residential concentration in Canadian cities is less a direct consequence of economic position than it is of both discrimination against minority groups and the desire of group members to create or maintain ethnic enclosures. Pammett (1987:273) notes that explanations for the incongruence between objective class position and voting behaviour, can be placed into two broad categories: structural and cultural. With regard to structural explanations, he argues that this incongruence is indicative of the limited nature of opportunities for class-based voting. In contrast, arguments along cultural lines generally include the influence of religion and ethnicity.

While the key to the formation and persistence of ethnic groups is patterns of interaction, there are a number of factors which facilitate such interaction. These factors are examined in the following subsection.

Factors in Community Building

The views concerning factors which facilitate community building by encouraging interaction among group members may be classified into two broad categories: the ecological and the institutional.

Ecological View

Social ecologists, such as Park (1952), Burgess (1925), and Warren ([1963] 1978) argue that the formation and continuity of a community is largely dependent on its concentration in and control of a given territory. They suggest that the possession of a common trait--such as skin color, religion, or language--is by itself not a sufficient guarantee for the formation and persistence of an ethnic community. They contend further that while factors such as shared characteristics or interests and regular interaction are vital aspects of group formation and persistence, these factors typically arise from the sharing by individuals of common physical space. In short, they stress the importance of the "ecological factor" for group formation and continuity. Thus, Warren ([1963] 1978:5-6) contends that interaction and geographical concentration are both necessary conditions for the emergence and persistence of a community. He summarizes the interface between interaction and geographic concentration very succinctly:

Sociologically, the term community implies something both psychological and geographical. Psychologically, it implies shared interests, characteristics, or association....Geographically, it denotes a specific area where people are clustered....Mere similarity of interest does not in itself make a sociological community, nor does mere geographic proximity of residence (Warren, 1963/1978:5-6, emphasis in original).

Park (1952) used the term "segregation" in reference to the tendency of ecological groups, such as ethnic groups, to concentrate in specific areas within a city. In his view, "segregation" leads to the emergence of "natural areas"--that is, geographical areas in which groups consisting of individuals who possess certain common characteristics, such as skin color and economic position, tend to emerge. Similarly, Park and Burgess ([1921] 1969:163) observed that

Community is the term which is applied to societies and social groups where they are considered from the point of view of the geographical distribution of the individuals and institutions of which they are composed....An individual may belong to many social groups but he will not ordinarily belong to more than one community, except in so far as a smaller community of which he is a member is included in a larger of which he is also a member.

An important weakness of the ecological approach is its neglect of the effects of prejudice and discrimination; for ethnic residential segregation is often dependent on prejudice and discrimination as well as on economic considerations and the desire to live in close proximity to others of the same ethnic background (Agocs, 1979 and Kalbach, 1990:38). Balakrishnan and Selvanathan (1990:406) note that "Ethnic groups that are culturally similar are less likely to be segregated among themselves compared to other groups." Their analysis of the 1981 census data on ethnic residential segregation in 14 of Canada's largest cities (including Hamilton) gives support to the social distance hypothesis which states that groups high in social prestige, such as British Canadians, tend to avoid living in close proximity to groups that are relatively low in social prestige. They found that the greater the difference in social prestige between social groups, the greater the index of residential

dissimilarity between the groups (Balakrishnan and Selvanathan, 1990:408). In these terms, minority groups often form ecological enclaves primarily because they are denied the opportunity of living in the same areas as the dominant group.

Whatever the factors that necessitate the formation and persistence of an ethnic residential neighborhood, living in such enclaves is often very important for both individuals and groups (Spear, 1967:91-110). For cultural ghettos, or ethnic enclaves, not only help to protect newcomers from the sirangeness of a new society, but they also help to preserve and protect the old culture (Haas and Shaffir, 1978:26 and Wirth, [1928] 1956:37-39).

Institutional View

Although Breton's (1964) study was concerned primarily with the integration of new immigrants, it nonetheless provides an interesting structural analysis of group formation, organization, and persistence. Breton (1964:202) contends that the integration of immigrants can be achieved in four principal ways: within the host society; within their own ethnic community; within a different ethnic community; or, finally, as "isolates" who may split affiliations among the various groups. He argues that "the institutional completeness of the ethnic group is an important factor in the direction of the social integration of immigrants" (Breton, 1964:204). This is to say that when an ethnic group is institutionally complete--that is, when it provides a full range of "institutions" (or formal organizations) such as those that cater to their "religious, educational, political, recreational, national, and even

professional" needs--the ethnic group is very likely to be successful in attracting immigrants.

Breton (1964:204) lists three sets of factors which he considers to be related to the degree of institutional completeness (that is, forming a public for ethnic organizations). The first of these is that the ethnic/racial group must be significantly different from the native community in terms of traits such as skin color, language, and religion. The contention is that "The more different the people of a certain ethnicity are from the members of the native community, the easier it will be for them to develop their own institutions to satisfy their needs" (Breton, 1964:204). The second factor is the level of resources among group members. Thus, for instance, if the members are generally poor, then mutual benefit organizations are likely to be formed by social entrepreneurs. The third factor related to the degree of institutional completeness is the pattern of migration. In this view, cohesive, institutionally complete groups are more likely to emerge in situations where immigrants arrive through group or chain migration than they are when migration decisions are discrete individual affairs.

Although the present study is concerned with ethnic/racial communities, a brief discussion of religious communities is necessary since these two types of communities are similar in at least two major ways: the existence of social distance between these communities and outsiders and the attempt to avoid the assimilationist influences of the larger society. Shaffir (1974:229) notes that while ethnic communities share with religious communities the need to reckon with the assimilative influences of the larger society, one principal difference between these two types of

communities is in terms of the manner in which they resist the assimilative influences of the larger society. He argues that while religious-based communities are "active" in their resistance to assimilation in the sense that they typically establish institutions and activities for the express purpose of resisting assimilation into the larger society, ethnic-based communities are "passive" in the sense that it is generally the individuals and families within ethnic communities who decide whether or not to "adopt the dominant culture deliberately."

Hostetler ([1963] 1980:207-230) notes that one of the important ways in which the integration of Amish communities is achieved is through social and ceremonial rituals. Social rituals deal with "the routine activities of work, dress, family relations, childrearing, kinship duties, and visiting." In contrast, ceremonial rituals relate to "worship, baptism, marriages, communion, and funerals." He notes that the most important unifying factor in Amish communities is religion and that the Amish do not distinguish between sacred and secular activities (Hostetler, [1963] 1980:207).

Like the Amish, both Hutterite and Mennonite communities are centered primarily on religious activities. Religion provides these communities with common points of reference, common rules that are based on the ultimate authority of the Bible, and well-articulated sanctions (Boldt, 1985:87-101 and Redekop, 1989:61-75). The four "sociological elements" identified by Redekop (1989:63-64) as the bases for the creation and maintenance of Mennonite identity and community are applicable to the Amish and Hutterites: great persecution; separation from the established religious groups; the inter-relatedness of most Mennonite communities; and

geographical dispersion. Thus, apart from religion, the physical segregation of these groups as well as the virtual absence of modern popular media serve to facilitate the maintenance of group boundaries. The fact that these groups have historically experienced discrimination on both religious and economic grounds has served to legitimize the demands internal to the groups--thus creating ready obedience to in-group requirements (Boldt, 1985:87-101).

A Summary of the Factors

The views of group formation presented above do not necessarily contradict one another. Indeed, as Driedger (1989:143-148) has pointed out, there are six conditions which, when taken together, provide a group of individuals a shared sense of peoplehood. These conditions are ecological territory, institutions, culture, historical symbols, ideology, and charismatic leadership. Driedger (1989:143) contends that these conditions are "the basic components which constitute an ethnic community." Berger and Neuhaus (1977:7) discussed the crucial role played by the combination of residential concentration and voluntary organizations and institutions in "modern" societies such as Canada:

One of the most debilitating results of modernization is a feeling of powerlessness in the face of institutions controlled by those who we do not know and whose beliefs we too often do not share....The mediating structures of neighborhood, family, church and voluntary association are the principal expressions of the real needs of the people in our society.

According to Reitz (1980:17), there are two primary social bases for group formation--the instrumental and the expressive--and a large number of "facilitating conditions," including residential and occupational segregation.

In this view, social groups, including ethnic groups, arise from either or both of these bases. Instrumental reasons for group formation include discrimination, the needs for residential accommodation, jobs, and the acquisition of necessary language skills. The expressive reasons for group formation and persistence include the desire to associate with one's own kind--which could mean those of a common national origin or those who possess a similar lifestyle (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965:42). It is on the expressive grounds of ethnic group formation that Manyoni (1986) insisted that Black Canadians constitute an ethnic group on the basis of a common phenotypical feature. He emphasized the importance of "skinship," by which he meant social interaction based primarily on similarities in skin color.

Ethnic Stigmatization and Community Building

Among minorities whose main unifying attributes have been labelled negatively by "majority authorities" (Kallen, 1989:51), the existence of both instrumental and expressive grounds for community building does not generally guarantee success in this endeavor (Frazier, [1957] 1969:176-191). Thus, it is in the context of stigmatization that we can see the role of what Goffman (1963) calls a tribal stigma of race on the Black dilemmas of community building.

The Components of Racism

In the case of North American Blacks, stigmatization takes the form of racism--a phenomenon which involves five major components: (1)

ethnocentrism; (2) prejudice; (3) stereotypes; (4) social distance; and (5) discrimination (Kallen, 1982:25).

When racism assumes the form of ethnocentrism, the in-group evaluates the out-group and the latter's culture in terms of the in-group's culture (Elliott and Fleras, 1992:55 and Yeboah, 1988:61-72). From an ethnocentric view point, one's in-group is invariably seen as superior to other groups which are then seen as out-groups; indeed, in extreme situations, members of the out-group are not regarded as human (Lauer and Handel, [1977] 1983:229). Moreover, the greater the actual or perceived differences between one's group and the out-group, the lower one ranks the out-group (Kallen, 1982:25-26).

While ethnocentrism focuses on the in-group which it attempts to differentiate from other groups, prejudice is concerned with specific out-groups (Kallen, 1982:28). That is, in the context of ethnic group relations, prejudice refers to the "adoption of beliefs about and attitudes toward members of particular ethnic collectivities on the basis of their assumed physical, cultural, and/or behavioral characteristics" (Kallen, 1982:28). Strictly speaking, all prejudices are prejudgments; they are based on unsubstantiated opinions (Kallen, 1982:28 and Simpson and Yinger, 1972:24). Apart from the ideational component, prejudices involve emotions or "feelings" (Mackie, 1985:226). It is the interplay between ideas and emotions that makes prejudices extremely difficult to eliminate. For "Where the emotional component of ethnic prejudice is strong, unsubstantiated ideas increase in salience and resistance to change" (Kallen, 1982:29).

Ethnic stereotypes are related to prejudices because the former are the cognitive or ideological components of the latter (Kallen, 1982:30). In the context of intergroup relations, stereotypes are mental images which exaggerate and apply to all members of the out-group what in-group members consider to be undesirable traits of the typical member of the out-group¹ (Elliott and Fleras, 1992:55-56; Kallen, 1982:30; and Mackie, 1985:220-223). While stereotypes generally contain some truth, they nevertheless provide a distorted picture of the truth and help to reinforce existing prejudices by ignoring similarities between in-group and out-group members as well as the range of individual variation within each group (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:31-32 and Taylor, 1981:155-156). Stereotypes often provide a rationalization for the unequal treatment of minority groups (Lippman, 1922:98 and Taylor, 1981:161); for if, for example, all Blacks are deemed to be violent, it then makes sense to restrict the entry of Blacks into a country or a residential neighborhood.

Another key component of racism is social distance. According to Kallen (1982:32),

Social distance between members of different ethnic collectivities can be measured in terms of the number and variety of social relationships, as well as the degree of intimacy and personal individuality which characterizes the social relationships between insiders and outsiders.

She contends that as a result of the influence of ethnocentrism, social distance tends to be minimized in relationships between in-group members and

¹ This does not mean that stereotypes are invariably negative or that they are always focused on out-groups. Indeed, stereotypes about in-groups are referred to as auto-stereotypes (Taylor, 1981:154-155). The point is that, by definition, stereotypes are shared beliefs; one person's beliefs about a group do not constitute a stereotype (Mackie, 1985:222-223 and Taylor, 1981:155).

maximized in relationships between in-group and out-group members. She also argues that the higher the degree of social distance, the more instrumental and utilitarian are the relationships between in-group and out-group members. Thus, informal, intimate, and individualized relationships (that is, expressive relationships such as friendships) tend to be limited between members of groups that are separated by high degrees of social distance (Driedger, 1989:342 and Kallen, 1982:32).

The fifth major component of racism is discrimination. Kallen (1982:35) defines ethnic discrimination as the "act or practice of denying members of particular ethnic collectivities fundamental human rights and freedoms, including equal access to societal opportunities, because of past or present categorical assumptions about their assumed physical, cultural, and/or behavioral characteristics." There are two basic sources of discrimination: individual and social systems. Individual discrimination is a consequence of "conscious, personal prejudice" (Kallen, 1982:35). In contrast, systemic or institutional discrimination stems from the structure of agreements within society and is, therefore, generally more difficult to identify and correct (Mackie, 1985:231). Two Black American civil rights activists, Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, provide a very apt distinction between individual and institutional discrimination:

When white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deployed by most segments of the society. But when in that same city--Birmingham, Alabama--five hundred black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are maimed physically, emotionally, and

intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the black community, that is a function of institutional racism (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967).

Historically, the attempt to subjugate minorities through institutional discrimination, whether legal (de jure) or informal (de facto), has taken three major extreme forms: annihilation, expulsion, and segregation (Yeboah, 1988). The latter two forms are dealt with in this study since they are directly relevant to the Black experience in Canada. Annihilation is the act of murdering, or attempt by the majority to murder, the members of a minority group--as was the case with the now extinct Beothuks of Newfoundland (Barrett, 1987:300 and Hill, 1977:7). For its part, expulsion refers to situations in which the majority denies a minority the ordinary rights of full membership in a society--as was the case when the Canadian government placed Canadians of Japanese descent in concentration camps during the Second World War (Ujimoto, 1988:141-150). Finally, segregation refers to the pattern of discrimination in which the majority attempts to separate itself, often geographically, from the minority groups as a way of ensuring that a certain degree of social distance is maintained. Kalbach (1990:36-37) offers a useful example of segregation when he contends that the continued existence of ethnic residential segregation among most Canadian ethnic groups belies the assimilationist model and may suggest a desire by some groups to maintain social distance for "cultural" and not necessarily "economic" reasons.

Consequences of Racism on Community Building

The key outcome of various types of stigmatization, including that based on race, is "status degradation"--that is, the transformation of the stigmatized or minority group's identity in a negative direction (Lauer and Handel, [1977] 1983:229). According to Goffman (1963:4-5), in all instances of stigma "the same sociological features are found: an individual who might have been received easily in ordinary social intercourse possesses a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of us whom he meets away from him, breaking the claim that his other attributes have on us." Thus, in situations where a category of individuals who possess a common trait is "labelled" as subordinate or inferior, the process of group formation is often made especially difficult, for the group members are generally denied full access to the economic and other resources necessary for effective community building (Yeboah, 1988:17-60).

Stigmatization typically produces in stigmatized groups four major characteristics antithetical to community building (Fanon, 1963; Fanon, 1967; Freire, 1971; Goffman, 1963; Lewin, 1948; and Memmi, 1965).¹ First, stigmatization often leads to feelings of self-hatred and low self-esteem which are consequences of (a) internalizing the dominant group's "ways of life" or culture as "right" and (b) being denied the opportunity to be structurally assimilated into the dominant group (Memmi, 1965:122). Second, stigmatization generally produces in minority groups feelings of inadequacy regarding the ability to direct their own destiny. This state of affairs is

¹ This study deals primarily and directly with the third and fourth characteristics (see, especially, Chapters IV and V).

generally manifested in a desire to maintain the status quo (Freire, 1971:32). Third, stigmatization also produces in minority groups an inability to express directly aggression towards the dominant group. This characteristic is a consequence of feelings of powerlessness (Roberts, 1983:23). Finally, stigmatization often restricts minority groups to a situation where they are plagued by problems of ineffective leaders. There are two main reasons for this state of affairs: (1) leaders tend to have the same negative traits as their group and (2) since they are typically chosen for office by the dominant group (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967:31), leaders tend to (a) desire to be like the oppressor (Freire, 1971:29), (b) view members of their own group with scepticism (Thompson, 1963), and (c) be controlling, coercive, and rigid in their style of leadership (Kanter, 1977).

Limiting the Effects of Stigmatization

But stigmatization does not inevitably produce negative effects, or problems associated with low self-concept, for every member of stigmatized groups. For one thing, at least in modern industrial societies, some members of stigmatized groups generally possess some socially valued attributes which serve to confer on them majority statuses (Kallen, 1989:54). Thus, for example, even under South Africa's apartheid system of group relations, highly articulate and educated Blacks, such as Nelson Mandela, have majority statuses in social contexts in which these characteristics are paramount.

An important way in which some stigmatized individuals or groups--such as Mennonites, Gypsies, and very Orthodox Jews--minimize the effects of stigmatization is by providing for themselves plausible counter realities

and identities (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:166-167; Goffman, 1963:6; and Kallen, 1989:138). The Black community in the United States has historically had charismatic leaders--such as W.E.B Dubois, Booker T. Washington, Martin Luther King jr, and Malcolm X--who moved it in the direction mentioned above. The efforts of various leaders of the Black community in the United States came to a head in the 1960s in the form of socio-political movements, such as the "Black Power" movement, as well as religious movements, such as the Black Muslim and the Black Jewish movements. In the case of the Black Jews, one fundamental tenet was that all Blacks are descendants of the twelve tribes of Israel and are, therefore, Jews who, by definition, are God's chosen people (Brotz, 1964:15-46). Although the Canadian Black community has never had charismatic leaders like the ones mentioned above (McIntyre, 1976), it has nonetheless benefited from the American experience--as evidenced in the fact that self-chosen group identifications, such as Afro-American and Black, have traditionally moved from the United States to Canada.

One of the major consequences of stigmatization is that it typically serves as justification for discriminating against minorities (Bienvenue, 1985:199-205). There is a more or less paradoxical relationship between the discriminatory practices of the majority towards minority groups and the cohesion of the latter. On the one hand, the absence of external pressures tends to undermine the cohesiveness of a minority group since members may question the validity of group demands (Reitz, 1980:204). On the other hand, however, excessive external pressure undermines group cohesion by

denying group members the basic economic, political, and other resources necessary for group cohesion.

A review of the literature on the Canadian Black community shows that the existence of a relatively cohesive Black community in any Canadian city has invariably been a consequence of the racism of the majority. For racism has often led to both the emergence of effective leadership and the concentration of Blacks in ecological territories. Thus, both Hill (1960:75-91) and Austin (1972) indicate that the development of a sense of peoplehood among Blacks in early Toronto was dependent primarily on the overt racism of White Torontonians which led to the concentration of Blacks in the downtown core. Hill (1960:75-91) notes that the residential concentration of Blacks in early Toronto was a direct consequence of the racism of White Torontonians who were reluctant to rent or sell homes to Blacks. He points out that, in general, the only group that readily rented or sold homes to Blacks was the Jewish; thus, a pattern was established in which Blacks 'inherited' former Jewish neighborhoods.¹

Overt White racism helped give rise to Black leaders, such as Josiah Henson (believed to be the "Uncle Tom" about whom the book Uncle Tom's Cabin was written), who facilitated the establishment of a number of Black organizations, particularly churches (Hill, 1981 and Shreve, 1983). In terms of Black voluntary organizations, one of the most outstanding legacies of Canadian racism towards Blacks--in this case, as expressed in immigration

¹ Similarities in experiences relating to their position as despised minorities have led to a long history of special ties between Blacks and Jews, at least in North America. For instance, Weisbord and Stein (1970:206-207) note that not only did Jews readily provide accommodation and employment for Blacks in the United States, but "When white-black intermarriages have taken place they have often been between liberated Jews and Negroes in the North".

policies--was the founding in 1951 of the Negro Citizenship Association which was based in Toronto (Moore, 1985:71). The primary objective of the Negro Citizenship Association was to give "direction and assistance to old and new [Black] Canadians in becoming better Canadian citizens" (Moore, 1985:146). The most notable achievement of this association is its influence, through presentations and a 1954 brief to the federal government, on the relaxation of Canada's rigid immigration regulations (Moore, 1985:13).

Conclusion

The central focus of this chapter was to identify the conditions under which ethnic groups emerge and persist. Some scholars, such as Park and Burgess ([1921] 1969), argue that the emergence and continuity of a racial/ethnic group is largely dependent on its concentration in and control of an ecological territory. In contrast, scholars such as Breton (1964), emphasize the role of ethnic institutions or voluntary organizations. These views are not necessarily contradictory for, as Driedger (1989:143-148) has pointed out, there are at least six conditions which facilitate the formation and maintenance of social groups. Moreover, social interaction is fundamental to the formation of all social groups, including ethnic communities.

Having discussed the major concepts around which this study is organized, the next chapter will deal with the data on which the study is based. It will outline the process by which the research problem was formulated and the nature of the data utilized.

CHAPTER II

STUDYING THE BLACKS IN HAMILTON

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss both the methods (ie, the techniques used to gather the data) and the methodology (ie, the philosophy of the research process) used in this study (Bailey, 1987:32-33). The discussion assumes the following format. First, the processes by means of which the research problem was formulated are outlined, with a view to providing an account of interaction with the data during the various stages of this study. Second, an account of the nature of the data on which this study is based is provided. Third, field experiences, both as an interviewer and as a participant observer are discussed. Finally, this chapter discusses the ways in which the threats to the validity of this study were minimized.

Formulating the Research Problem

As its title suggests, this section deals with the process by which the research problem was formulated. It presents the "natural history" of this study in the sense that it outlines the characteristic forms assumed by the data at the various stages of the study (Becker, [1958] 1970:37). The objective of this endeavor is to offer the reader an opportunity to assess how and on what basis the conclusions of this study were arrived at (Becker, [1958] 1970:37-38).

This section is not concerned with the process of data gathering; that endeavor is outlined in the section entitled "The Data".

The Initial Stages

In effect, the research for this study began in the fall of 1986 in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a graduate course on qualitative sociological methods. The author's aim was to write a term paper on a topic which could be pursued as a Ph.D. dissertation. Since the author had only recently arrived in the Hamilton area and was not familiar with the city, a Black church was deemed to be the most convenient group to study. For the author's past experiences in both Winnipeg and Halifax revealed that churches generally arranged for transportation in order to ensure that anyone who is willing to attend is not denied the opportunity of so doing.

The author's acquaintances at McMaster University, most of whom were White, from whom enquiry was made about the local Black community were familiar with only one local Black church: Stewart Memorial Church (SMC). When the author telephoned the church office and indicated his intention to study a Black group in Hamilton, the assistant pastor, Reverend Robert Foster, expressed his interest in the work and offered rides to and from the church. These trips were very beneficial for the author since Reverend Foster used them as opportunities to introduce some of the areas and houses in which Black Hamiltonians once lived.

Given the fact that the author had been associated in various ways (including full-time attendance in Winnipeg) with Canadian Black churches

since 1978, the SMC aroused his curiosity on two main grounds.¹ First, unlike the Black churches with which the author was familiar, the SMC is dominated numerically by persons who are 40 years of age or older--that is, those who were born in the 1940s or earlier. Second, perhaps because of this age distribution within the SMC, services at the church are not the demonstrative type found in many other Black churches. For example, singing at the SMC is either a cappella or accompanied by only one musical instrument--either an organ or a piano. Moreover, unlike in the other Black churches where sermons are more or less spontaneous and typically exceed 45 minutes in duration, sermons at the SMC are "scripted" and rarely exceed 15 minutes in duration.

Primarily as an attempt to satisfy a growing curiosity about the SMC, the author decided in late October 1986 to concentrate on the question of attendance at the church. Accordingly, it became necessary to interview two groups of Blacks: those who attended the church and those who were either ex-members or non-members. The interviews with the first group dealt with their perceptions of the past and present roles of the church, why they attended, and what they believed the reasons were that other Blacks did not attend. In contrast, the interviews with the ex-members and non-members of the SMC provided answers as to why they did not attend the church and their perceptions as to why others did. All interviewees were informed that they

¹ Given this writer's prior involvement with various aspects of the Canadian Black community, including churches, it was not possible to enter the field without preconceptions. But the preconceptions did not constitute an impediment to this study since they were used as "sensitizing concepts"; that is, the preconceptions led the writer to do certain things and ask certain questions while in the field (Blumer, 1969 and Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

would likely be contacted again for more information since the author was thinking about basing his dissertation on some aspect of Black life in Canada.

The author was quite reluctant about basing this dissertation on the SMC, particularly because he believed that his spiritual needs would be more adequately met by continuing in the type of mainstream congregation in which he was involved immediately before moving to Hamilton: a Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada church. Nevertheless, by the spring of 1987 the author had begun thinking seriously about basing this dissertation on some aspect of Black religion in Hamilton. At the same time, however, a growing awareness of certain events affecting some local Blacks (for example, the Desmond McIntosh affair which is dealt with in Chapter IV), gradually served to shift the writer's interest to the question of racial discrimination against Blacks in Hamilton. In an attempt to deal with the question of racism against Blacks in Hamilton, the author spent the remainder of 1987 and all of 1988 attending meetings organized by various Black voluntary organizations in Hamilton.

The Final Stage

By early 1989 the observations, interviews and other research endeavors were focused essentially on what has turned out to be the final focus of this study: identifying the social conditions and processes that underlie the formation and continuity of Black businesses, institutions, and voluntary organizations in Hamilton. Thus, it was necessary to pay particular attention to social interaction among local Blacks, since interaction is the primary factor in group formation and persistence (Blumer, 1957:128).

This new research emphasis was found to be quite exciting particularly because it was congruent with the author's long-standing research interest in nation building, an area in which his M.A. thesis was based (see Etoroma, 1985).¹ However, this research endeavor confronted the author with a new challenge: many Blacks who were contacted expected the author to become actively involved in the process of community building and not remain as only a distant observer.²

The Data

The data for this study are derived primarily through the method of field research. The specific research procedures utilized include participant observation, historical research, analysis of recorded sermons, and interviews.³ Indeed, in addition to the use of archival materials, this study is based on the six major approaches employed by Gans ([1962] 1982:397-398) in his study of Italian immigrants in Boston's West End: use of community facilities; attendance at community events; informal visiting with community members; "formal and informal interviewing of community functionaries"; "use of informants"; and observation. Thus, although interviews play an indispensable role in this study, they nonetheless serve only a supplementary role. This study is not based primarily on interviews.

¹ Lofland and Lofland ([1971] 1984:8) note that the concerns sociologists take to doing social analyses often "arise from accidents of remote biography and personal history—of residence, ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, past identities or experiences...and so forth."

² Adler and Adler (1987:40) note that "Some settings allow the presence of outsiders only in certain roles."

³ As will be discussed in the sub-section entitled "The Interviews", this study utilized 40 semi-formal interviews and a much larger number of informal ones.

Field research was considered more appropriate for this study than the two other principal methods of empirical research used by sociologists--surveys and field experiments--essentially because it was necessary to readily analyze the processes of ethnic community building among Blacks in Hamilton. The necessity for field research in the sociological analysis of the processes of group formation is based essentially on three assumptions: (1) social groups are formed and maintained only through the process of interaction; (2) individuals' actions and, thus, the course of group interactions, are based on individuals' interpretations of meanings and their ability to "role-take" (that is, take others into account imaginatively); and (3) no adequate understanding of social processes is possible without the researcher focusing on the process of interpretation by which individuals construct their actions (Blumer, 1969:34, 39; Bruyn, 1966:14; and Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979:6-10, 29). In other words, a social scientist studying the process of group formation needs to "take the role" of those being studied so as to view these persons' world from their standpoint and to share their "definition of the situation" (Thomas, 1928:584). Blumer (1956:686) states very aptly the necessity of field research in the study of human group life:

We can, and I think must, look upon human life as chiefly a vast interpretive process in which people, singly and collectively guide themselves by defining the objects, events and situations which they encounter....Any scheme designed to analyze human group life in its general character has to fit this process of interpretation.

Given the nature of the available demographic data, the description of the Black population of Hamilton was done with the aid of a number of

methods including oral histories, archival materials, and observations.¹ Oral histories and archival materials, most of the latter of which were obtained from the Special Collections department at the main branch of the Hamilton Public Library, were used to provide the historical account of Blacks in Hamilton.² Since the problems inherent in historical research, including changes in the meanings of words, may have been compounded by the fact that most of the available historical records on Blacks in Hamilton are newspaper accounts, this study utilized only those accounts which were corroborated with the oral testimonies of long-time Black residents of Hamilton.

Attempts were made to ensure that both observations and interviews were representative of events and views existing in the Hamilton Black community. To this end, three types of sampling were employed predominantly: quota, snowball, and deviant cases. McCall and Simmons (1969: 64-67) have discussed these three types of sampling, which they consider to be ideally suited to field research. Basically, quota sampling occurs when one consciously investigates events or persons representing the various categories which comprise one's unit of analysis. For its part,

¹ There are three published books on the life histories of two Black native-born Hamiltonians. The first book, John Christie Holland: Man of the Year, not only deals with the life of the late John Holland, a former pastor of Stewart Memorial Church (SMC), but provides background information on the Hamilton Black community and the SMC--up till the late 1950s. The other two books, both of which consist of the reminiscings of Jackie Washington, a local Black musician, offer a more limited perspective.

² Most of the materials dealing with early Blacks in Hamilton are in the form of newspaper clippings, an important collection of which is entitled "Hamilton Mountain: Scrapbook of Clippings." There is also a collection of newspaper clippings concerned with the local Black community's oldest existing organization: the Stewart Memorial Church. From a scholarly point of view, a major shortcoming of these collections is that many of the accounts do not include page numbers and dates of publication. Nevertheless, these collections are very useful.

snowball sampling occurs when one solicits from those being studied others who are considered to be suited for the investigation at hand. Finally, deviant case sampling occurs when one makes conscious attempts to search for and study events or persons that do not fit into the ordinary pattern.

Access to Data

Access to the older native-born (i.e., indigenous) Black Hamiltonians was secured through participating in the worship services, Sunday school classes, and other activities of the Stewart Memorial Church in the fall and winter of 1986. Although not all the older native-born Blacks regularly attend the SMC, in general, those members of this category of Blacks still residing in this city either attend the SMC or attend no church at all. In any event, church members refer to their church as the "home base" for all old-line Black Hamiltonians; thus, for example, Ontario's Lieutenant Governor, Lincoln Alexander, who has not attended the church regularly for a number of years, is still regarded as a member. Indeed, Lincoln Alexander's portrait is strategically placed near the pulpit.

Access to the other churches was also not problematic because the author is (1) a Christian, (2) Black, and (3) a guitarist (see Kleinman, 1980:179-181 and Lofland and Lofland, [1971] 1984:16-17).¹ In addition, the fact that these churches are constantly in search of new members and adherents facilitated entry (see Adler and Adler, 1987:16). In short, not only was the author readily accepted into the study groups, but the fact that the author is

¹ Lofland and Lofland (1971/1984:8 and 16-17) note that access to study groups is facilitated in situations where researchers are committed and/or ascribed members of these groups. See also Shaffir, Stebbins, and Turowetz (1980:25 and 27).

Black made it possible for him to blend readily into these groups--unlike the case with some field researchers (see, e.g., Gans, [1962] 1982 and Whyte, [1943] 1981).

Field Experiences

Most of the research for this study was done in 1988 and 1989. However, some interviews were conducted in 1990 and in early 1991. Indeed, in late 1990 the author accepted the position of reporter with Share, a Toronto-based Black community newspaper which opened a bureau in Hamilton at that time. This position gave the author opportunities to make observations and conduct interviews which either confirmed or disconfirmed the tentative hypotheses that had been made on the basis of previous observations. For example, as a reporter, the author was generally offered complimentary tickets to attend various community events.

The field experiences may be separated into those related to the interviews conducted, on the one hand, and those related to participation in and observation of activities within the Hamilton Black community, on the other. Accordingly, this section deals first with the experiences as an interviewer after which it deals with the experiences as a participant observer. These issues are discussed under different subheadings.

The Interviews

The Interviewees

The question of Black community building was casually discussed with almost every Black resident of Hamilton who was encountered between

January 1989 and June 1990. The conversations with these Blacks--most of whom were strangers whom the author met and conversed with in places such as fast food restaurants, summer festivals, "house parties" and churches--generally centered around specific current events in the Hamilton Black community. However, the interviews were restricted to a total of 40 core interviewees, 20 percent of whom were of Canadian origins, 65 percent of Caribbean origins, and 15 percent of African origins.¹

Since the initial interviews focused primarily on the officers and other core members of the Black organizations in Hamilton, at least one core member of each major Black organization was interviewed for the explicit purpose of obtaining information about these organizations as well as about the general population. A total of 20 different members of these Black organizations were interviewed. Of this category of Blacks, one was African-born, three native-born, and sixteen Caribbean-born. Within the other category of Blacks interviewed, five were African-born, five native-born, and 10 Caribbean-born.

As will be discussed in the next section, one of the main criteria for selecting the interviewees was the degree of knowledge of local Black community building that these individuals were deemed to possess. Consequently, Blacks who had lived in Hamilton for less than five years and/or whom the writer considered to be manifestly transient were not included among the forty core interviewees. Thus, for instance, Black

¹ See Appendix II.1 for an outline of the main interviewees. Pseudonyms are used in order to protect the privacy of these interviewees. The questions around which the interviews were centered are listed in Appendix II.2.

international students were not selected; nor were Blacks who reside outside the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area and commute to work in Hamilton.

The interviews were typically conducted at the interviewees' homes, although some were conducted at the author's home and yet others at the University. Each of the interviewees was interviewed on at least two occasions, the first session typically lasting between one and two hours. The second and subsequent sessions were used to solicit new information as they became necessary during the process of formulating the final research problem. In addition, the second and subsequent interview sessions were used to clarify statements made by the interviewees. In general, the second and subsequent sessions were conducted over the telephone and were, with the consent of the interviewees, electronically recorded on micro-cassettes tapes.

While the interviewees generally did not object to having their statements recorded on audio cassette tapes, four of them objected to having their statements recorded by any electronic means.¹ One of these persons, a native-born Black woman, asked for a list of the central questions and later gave the author her responses in typewritten form. In the other three cases,

¹ In an extreme case, a man indicated that he preferred to be interviewed in his office since he saw the interview session as a business encounter and he restricts business activities to his office. As it turned out, this man had arranged his office so that the chairs which were usually available to guests had documents meticulously placed on them. This man not only stated that he did not want his responses taped, but indicated that the interviewer should remain standing during the interview session as this would limit the amount of time spent with him. At the end of that interview session, the man indicated that a mutual acquaintance, who was previously interviewed and who referred this writer to him, did not inform him that the writer was a student and not a newspaper reporter. He then talked about the negative experiences he previously had with journalists and about his resolve to make life as unbearable as possible for any journalists who tried to interview him.

the interviewees' responses were recorded in point form accompanied by verbatim quotes of unique statements as soon as they were uttered.

The Selection of Interviewees

The overwhelming rationale for conducting the interviews was to reconstruct the reality of life within the Hamilton Black community; that is, to obtain a reliable independent check on the validity of the observations (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979:38). Thus, it was necessary to select interviewees based on the degree of knowledge that prior observations and conversations led the writer to believe that these persons possessed regarding particular aspects of the Black experience in Hamilton. Accordingly, the emphasis was less on the personal apologies of the interviewees than it was on their insights concerning the Black community; the interviewees were used primarily as informants.

Nevertheless, based on previous studies (see, e.g., Ramcharan, 1982:49) which have underlined the significance of national cleavages in the formation of subgroups within Canada's Black population (as is the case within the larger society), it was necessary to select interviewees from the various geographical regions from which Black Hamiltonians originate. Thus, it was essential to select interviewees with some regard to nationality because it was necessary to obtain statements and descriptions that reflected various perspectives on the process of community building within the Hamilton Black community (Becker, 1970:29; Coser, 1968:430; Marx, [1859] 1913:11-12; and Wolff, 1959:576).

In short, the selection of interviewees was guided by two main considerations: (1) the interviewees' knowledge of the process of local Black community building and (2) the interviewees' geographic-cultural background. Although this stance could have biased the interview data¹ in favor of the most articulate and/or well-known long-time Black residents of Hamilton, it provided this writer with a viable way of protecting himself from the factions within the local Black community. According to Lofland and Lofland ([1971] 1984:39-40),

the researcher interviewing socially connected persons (the political leaders of a small community, for example) must cope with the problem of how to maintain neutrality in the midst of divisiveness....One typical way to protect against these dangers is to align yourself with a single broad group within the setting and to remain relatively aloof from the internal debates within that group. Thus, investigators [sic] of educational institutions have most frequently aligned themselves with either teachers or students, but not with both.

The research strategy of using informants was deemed to be more reasonable for this study than the more standard alternative of obtaining views from a sample which is purportedly representative of the general population of one's study group.² For since estimates of Hamilton's Black

¹ As will be discussed later in this section, statements made by the interviewees were cross-checked with sources such as fellow Blacks, historical documents, and observations.

² Strictly speaking, a sample is representative of a population if, and only if, every element of that population has an equal chance of being included in the sample (Babbie, 1979:165). In terms of the unit of analysis, the question of sample representativeness is irrelevant since all Black voluntary organizations are examined. In terms of the units of observation (the interviewees), the degree to which the sample is representative of the general Black population cannot be assessed since not only is this study based on a nonprobability sample, but such an assessment presupposes the existence of something that is not available: valid data on population size (Dooley, 1984:281). Blalock (1979:571) notes that "The major disadvantage of nonprobability sampling is that we can obtain no valid estimate of our risks of error. Therefore, statistical inference is not legitimate and should not be used."

population range from 3,228 (Ontario, 1985:9) to 40,000 (Hamilton Spectator, Feb. 6, 1989:C2), any attempt to measure directly the degree of representativeness of a sample of the total Black population would be futile. The goal of a representative sample (ensuring that findings are generalizable to the population under study) was achieved by making every draft of this study available to and making corrections based on comments from various members of the Black community, some readers of whom were not interviewed. This issue is discussed in greater detail, and the reactions from the local Blacks contacted are outlined, in the forthcoming section entitled "Minimizing the Threats to Validity".

Interviewees were generally selected on the basis of referrals from other Blacks who had been interviewed. For, in almost every case, interviewees recommended other persons (usually Black long-time residents of the Hamilton area) whom they believed were in better positions to provide answers to the interview questions. Without any exceptions, the persons recommended were contacted and, in most cases, these persons provided the information needed. But in a few cases, those recommended mentioned events related to the city of Hamilton and its Black community which not only seem improbable, but which could not be verified from other sources, such as other Blacks and the historical records. For example, one long-time resident stated that the present location of Jackson Square (in downtown Hamilton) was a venue in which Blacks were once bought and sold as slaves.

Observations

Freilich (1970:2) notes that roles in field research range on a continuum from that of the "native" to that of the "privileged stranger."¹ The "native" behaves and thinks in ways that approximate those of the study group (Adler and Adler, 1987:67). In contrast, the "privileged stranger" has only instrumental membership in the study group (see Simmel, 1950:405 and Wax, 1978:264) in the sense that s/he participates in the study group to some extent but is also allowed the privilege of interviewing group members and recording what s/he observes (Freilich, 1970:2). According to Freilich (1970:2), regardless of the role assumed, the fieldworker is invariably "a marginal man in the community, an outsider." [emphasis in original]

Similarly, Wax (1978:258) contends that it is extremely difficult for a researcher to become acquainted with the world-views of a social group, for membership is a two-way street: the researcher's interest in membership must be reciprocated by the group's willingness to accept him or her (Adler and Adler, 1987:40). According to Wax (1978), even if the researcher is accepted into a group s/he would invariably remain as what may be variously referred to as a non-native, an outsider, or a stranger; the only type of membership available to the researcher is "attached" or "instrumental" membership. Such a member is "a person who, though he always is and remains an outsider or non-native, may function in the society in a manner that is useful and agreeable to his hosts" (Wax, 1978:264). Wax further notes

¹ Similarly, Adler and Adler (1987) discuss three categories of membership roles available to field researchers: Peripheral, Active, and Complete. The first and the last roles are identical to the "privileged stranger" or "marginal" and the "native". The Active member role fits mid-way between the two extremes noted above.

that, unlike newcomers to a group, the field researcher is generally not socialized into a pre-existing role; rather s/he must continually team up with the group in inventing suitable roles (Wax, 1978:266).

Since the author did not become a formal member of any local Black organization¹, his socialization into roles within the various groups studied was necessarily different from that of new members (Adler and Adler, 1987:40-43). For example, the author was never assigned any formal duties; whenever he was asked to do anything, members stressed that he was only "helping" and that had group membership been greater they would not have "bothered" him with any work (see Adler and Adler, 1987:41). An example in this regard occurred in the summer of 1989 when the author joined other organizers of Hamilton's main Black-oriented festival, the annual Cari-Can Festival, in distributing flyers containing information about the festival to passersby around Gore Park in downtown Hamilton.

The author's status as a researcher generally made him only a marginal member of the study groups. For example, in one of the churches studied, the author was approached with the suggestion that he assume the role of informing fellow university students about the church and its plans to introduce a youth program. In another church, the pastor and some members enquired if the author would be the liaison between their church and the author's African compatriots in Hamilton. As it turned out, the attempts to help the officers and members of these churches were rather

¹ The decision to not formally join any local Black organization was based on the belief that, particularly because the writer is Black, membership in any of these organizations would undermine his desire to be insulated from the factionalism existent within the community (see, e.g., Adler and Adler, 1987:14 and Patterson, 1976).

unsuccessful--perhaps because most of the persons contacted thought it hypocritical for the author to invite them to churches which he did not attend regularly.

The author's experiences with many of the Black organizations studied were quite congruent with the postulation that the field researcher who stays long enough with the study group may have the opportunity to gain understandings of "latent perspectives" that "may only reveal themselves over time or when the group is in crisis" (Haas, 1988:11). For example, the author's initial impression of the Black churches, the Stewart Memorial Church in particular, was that they were committed to a Black-oriented agenda. However, he later observed that in times of dire needs within the Black population these churches did not in any significant way provide the leadership and direction needed. For example, none of the local Black churches played a visible role when the Board of Education for the City of Hamilton invited suggestions from the various ethno-cultural groups in the city regarding the implementation of the policy of multiculturalism in the school system. Indeed, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters, the Black churches are not directly committed to a Black cause. The only exceptions in this regard are Stewart Memorial Church and, to some extent, St. Paul's Ecumenical Church. The former church mentions many Black-oriented events in its weekly bulletin while the latter church (St. Paul's) lends the use of its premises to the Black population during events, such as Martin Luther King jr's birthday, which are organized by its sister organization, the Lincoln Alexander Community centre.

The most psychologically stressful part of this research was in regards to the roles in some of the Black churches, the numerically smaller ones in particular. For the author believed that some of the pastors whose rather intimate statements--directed to those whom they considered to be fully committed to the church--he recorded would likely not approve of the author's actions. One example in this regard is that of a Black pastor whose dentures forced him to abruptly end his almost one-hour long sermon in the following way:

I've got to stop now--. Help me, somebody--. Oh, I think I better stop now. My teeth are falling off.

Apart from such cases, since the author had no reason to believe that congregants of the various churches were uncomfortable about his recording church services, this activity, in and of itself, was not problematic for him.

Although the author had no intentions of keeping his identity as a researcher hidden, most individuals involved in the study groups were not aware of the nature of his involvement; for it was typically feasible for the author to make his identity as a researcher known only to those group members who were helping him directly. In all of the churches, services and, in particular, sermons, were recorded on two-hour micro-cassette tapes. Although, with the exception of Faith Centre where all sermons are officially recorded, the author may have been the only one in the congregation recording the services, those who saw the tape recorder did not seem to be bothered by it. Instead, they seemed to believe that the reason for recording the services was so as to share experiences with family and friends whom the

author would like to accompany him to church. Thus, comments such as the following were quite routine:

Bless you brother. I see you taped the service. When your wife and friends see how we are blessed here, I'm sure they'd want to join you in coming here.

Being Black, one of the author's greatest concerns was that of "going native". Nevertheless, the author did not at any time see himself as having a vested interest in or commitment to either the Hamilton Black community or the general society. The author was, at best, only a "privileged stranger" within the Black community (Freilich, 1970:2), especially since he was explicit about the fact that his stay in Hamilton was based on instrumental considerations--his studies--and that he had no intention of remaining in the city upon graduation.

Minimizing the Threats to Validity

Primarily because of the author's position as a Black person studying fellow Blacks, it was necessary to make special efforts to minimize any potential threats to the validity of the data. McCall and Simmons (1969:78) have classified into three categories the sources of threats to the validity and reliability of field research: (1) reactive effects of the observer's presence or activities on the phenomena being observed; (2) distorting effects of selective perception and interpretation on the observer's part; and (3) limitations on the observer's ability to witness all relevant aspects of the phenomena in question. In these terms, threats to the validity of field research come from both the nature of the enterprise and the socialization of the researcher into the study group.

The potential reactive effects of the author's presence on the study groups was minimal primarily because, as was stated earlier, although efforts were made to make the research role known to all members of the study groups, the author's identity as a researcher was not known by the majority of the members of these groups (see, e.g., Lofland and Lofland, [1971] 1984:24).¹ The fact that most members of the study groups did not conceive of the writer as a researcher precluded the likelihood of these Blacks significantly changing their behaviors or conversations as a result of his presence (see Becker, 1970:43-44). In this sense, the fact that the writer's research role was hidden to most members of his study groups increased the validity of the findings (Dooley, 1984:275).

Perhaps the most crucial threat to validity that may be linked to the socialization of the researcher results from the fact that the researcher's role often places limits on what s/he can observe. Thus, for instance, William Foote Whyte in his study of an Italian neighborhood in Boston reveals a great deal about the young men but almost nothing about the females or about family life (Wax, 1978:261). In the case of this dissertation, investigations of the churches were concentrated on, although not limited to, activities in the churches' main auditoriums. Consequently, the author's exposure to the children's sunday school classes, for instance, was very limited. Moreover, with the exception of the SMC and St. Paul's Ecumenical Church, the author did not have any opportunity to sit and chat in backrooms with choristers and other core members.

¹ Lofland and Lofland ([1971] 1984:24) contend that regardless of the researcher's wishes, "all research is secret to some degree because the people under study do not always remember that the researcher is a researcher."

While there may be no foolproof way of completely avoiding these problems, their effects can be greatly diminished in a number of ways. In general, reactive effects can be minimized by remaining long enough in the field. For, with time, group members are likely either not to notice the researcher's presence or not take it into account (Becker, 1970:43-44). Although the author did not attend any Black church exclusively for a protracted period of time, members of the various Black churches seemed to have regarded him as a fellow member. An important reason for the author's ready acceptance is that many Blacks, the Baby Boom generation in particular, tend not to attend these churches regularly. Indeed, many church-going Black Hamiltonians who are under 45 years of age attend White churches on a more or less regular basis and attend the Black churches only when they want to "get down". That is, they generally attend the Black churches only when they wish to release their frustrations by singing or praying loudly in a group of like-minded persons.

For their part, observer-based distorting effects, including the threat of "going native", can be minimized by taking what Posner (1980:209) refers to as a "psychic breathing space"; that is, leaving the field, every now and then. This process was quite problematic, for it was virtually impossible for the author to distance himself from the Black community for any length of time. Even when the author decided not to attend any events organized by or in relation to Blacks in Hamilton, some friends and acquaintances would visit him at home or at the university and offer details concerning these events. Given these constraints, the author was able to avoid the problem of "going native" in only one major way: although he always welcomed information

about the Black community, he sometimes did not read the materials brought to his attention for a week or longer.¹

Another way by which validity problems--including the inability to observe every conceivably important event within the Black community--were minimized was by playing back observations to various Black Hamiltonians in either verbal or written form (Shaffir, Stebbins and Turowetz, 1980:14). A habit was made of playing back findings to members of the Black community, partly because some interviewees requested these findings as a condition for offering any further information. This practice, which yielded the results which are discussed in the next paragraph, was not at all problematic because the research endeavors were not divorced from writing.

The feedback received from various members of the Black community fell into two categories: the general and the specific. A typical general comment is as follows: "That's an interesting paper. The only thing is that it's too long." The specific comments assumed three forms: (1) identifying what was left out--for example, churches, national associations, and businesses; (2) disagreeing with the author's assessments--for example, "There's no such thing as a Black church! We're definitely not a Black church; we're a Christian church, period!" and (3) providing alternative, and often more plausible, explanations for various events and phenomena within the local Black community. For example, up till spring 1991, the author assumed that the reason Blacks attend local Black churches is either

¹ Ultimately, distance from the Hamilton Black community was achieved when the writer moved out of the province of Ontario in the spring of 1991.

because of doctrinal positions or because they feel that they are not readily accepted in mainstream churches. However, in early April 1991 seven different Blacks who read a draft of the dissertation indicated that prior denominational affiliation of local Blacks is a much more plausible explanation for this phenomenon. The author has since examined the denominational affiliation of the churches and of the members and has made his position congruent with the feedback received on the matter.

Limitations of Study

Absence of Valid Demographic Data

Although access to the various Black groups in Hamilton was not problematic, the formulation of this research problem was greatly influenced by the fact that the available demographic data on Blacks in Hamilton do not have face validity. For example, since the pre-1986 national censuses did not attempt to classify Blacks as a distinct social category (Goyder, 1990:100), any stated population of Blacks in Canada is necessarily based only on estimates which may not be valid. Moreover, any attempt to gather precise demographic data on Blacks in North America is forced to reckon with the fact that not only would some Blacks see a need to not be counted with fellow Blacks, but some Blacks are not even aware of their Black roots (Frazier, [1957] 1969:197).¹

¹ An interesting local example in this regard is that of Brenda Gauthier, a blond, blue-eyed, 32-year-old mother of two small children. Although during her second pregnancy she had suffered a rash peculiar to Blacks, neither Mrs Gauthier nor her physician entertained the idea that she may have Black ancestors. It was only after Mrs Gauthier read a Hamilton Spectator article concerning a home in the suburb of Ancaster that was purchased in the 1830s by a man who bore her uncle's "unusual" name (Energals Griffin) that she finally investigated her ancestry. As it turned out, her uncle was named after her great-great-great-grandfather,

The absence of valid demographic data on the local Black population influenced the salient questions and the boundaries of this study. For example, the decision to avoid tackling directly and focusing exclusively on the question of group cohesion is related directly to the imprecision of the population data. For, as mentioned in Chapter I, the cohesion of a group refers, essentially, to the proportion of those persons eligible for membership who are actively associated with the group by way of interaction in both formal and informal contexts (Reitz, 1980:92-109). Thus, the measurement of group cohesion requires more than the enumeration and analysis of externally visible phenomena such as the number and size of institutions, organizations, and clubs; it requires an accurate knowledge of the number of individuals eligible for membership in a given social group.

Scope of Study

As stated in the Introduction, this study is concerned with community building among Blacks in Hamilton. It is not intended as a comprehensive general study of the local Black population; thus, for example, it does not deal with the seamy side of life within the Black community. It does not deal with such "social problems" as (1) drop-out rates among Black students; (2) police arrests of Blacks; (3) conviction rates of the Black population; (4) violence within Black families; and (5) drug and alcohol abuse among local Blacks. Ultimately, the choice of topic was influenced primarily by a combination of

Enerals Griffin, a Black slave who escaped from Virginia to Ancaster in 1830 and then built the home about which the newspaper article was concerned. Neither Mrs Gauthier nor her six brothers and sisters, all of whom live in the Hamilton area, had any idea of their Black ancestry (Hamilton Spectator, June 6, 1990: B1).

two factors: the writer's biography and personal history (Lofland and Lofland, [1971] 1984:8) and the limitation of available resources.

In addition, since this study is a case study of the Hamilton Black community, generalization of its findings to other ethnic communities in or outside of Hamilton cannot be readily undertaken.

Recommendations for Further Research

Given the paucity of social research on the Black community in Hamilton and the emphasis of the present study, there is a vast area of research on this community which could be undertaken. For one thing, it seems necessary to investigate this community from a "social problems" perspective--that is, to focus on conditions affecting local Blacks in ways that they consider undesirable, and which they believe they can alleviate through collective social action (Horton, Leslie, and Larson, [1955] 1985:2 and Spector and Kitsuse, [1977] 1987). Not only could such an approach shed light on possible problems of adjustment into the larger society, it could also provide social workers and other helping professionals an invaluable information base for dealing with the local Black community. Other broad areas of recommended social research on the Hamilton Black community are as follows: (1) migration; (2) labor and employment; (3) politics; and (4) housing.

Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the methods and methodology on which this study is based. It discussed the processes by which the research problem was formulated; access to the Black community; the major factors

limiting the scope of the study; and the means by which the potential weaknesses of the study were minimized and the potential strengths maximized.

It is argued that field research is very strong in terms of validity for two major reasons. First, field research typically involves the use of a multiplicity of methods, including observations, written (including historical) records, and interviews. Such methodological triangulation necessarily increases the validity of field research data since the weaknesses of a given method are thereby minimized, if not neutralized, by the strengths of the other methods used (Shaffir, Stebbins, and Turowetz, 1980:39). Second, field research permits us to study social life in its natural setting. For researchers cannot obtain adequate knowledge about human action by being aloof, "objective" observers; rather, researchers must focus on the process of interpretation by which human beings construct their actions (Blumer, 1969:34).

Although the process of formulating the research problem was quite strenuous and time-consuming, it was, nonetheless, very intrinsically rewarding. Moreover, the process of researching and writing this study has made the author quite aware that, as a Black man in North America, he may well be a spectacle to the world--one whose strengths may be left unmentioned and whose weaknesses may be exaggerated by those in a position to do so. The author has come to appreciate the fortitude it takes for diaspora Africans to be overtly Afro-centric when the external pressures to reject their African roots are so compelling.

Having discussed the theoretical and the methodological bases for the study (Chapters I and II respectively), the next chapter lays the foundation for

the empirical aspects of the study by providing an overview of the Black population in Canada and Hamilton. The third chapter has two primary objectives: first, to place Hamilton's Black population in historical and demographical contexts and, second, to examine why the existence of institutional racism (a factor external to the Black community) has not provided sufficient impetus for the emergence of proactive Black organizations in Hamilton.

CHAPTER III

THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN CANADA AND HAMILTON

Introduction

This chapter presents a brief overview of Canada's Black population, in general, and those of the province of Ontario and the city of Hamilton, in particular. The primary aim is to place Hamilton's Black population in historical, demographical, and social contexts. This chapter shows that Blacks, like other visible minorities, have historically been disadvantaged by the assimilationist influences of Canada's immigration policies. It also shows how Canadian policies and practices towards Blacks influence the demographic nature of the Black community in Canada, in general, and Hamilton, in particular.

The discussion is organized into three major sections. The first of these sections presents a historical overview of Canada's Black population, with an emphasis on how factors extraneous to the Black population have historically limited the immigration of Blacks to Canada. The second section presents a demographical outline of Ontario's Black population. The final section presents historical and demographical overviews of Hamilton's Black population.

Blacks in Canada: A Historical Overview

The first known person of African descent to arrive in Canada is Matthew Da Costa who arrived with the Champlain Expedition at Nova Scotia in 1605 (Williams, 1983:445). The second earliest record of a Black man in Canada is that of a Madagascan slave--Olivier Le Jeune--who was taken to Quebec in 1628 and lived there until his death (at about the age of 30) in 1654 (Winks, 1972:1-2). It is worth noting that slavery had no legal foundation anywhere in the territories now known as Canada and the United States until the late 17th century. Indeed, in all the English colonies south of Canada, slavery was not regulated by law until 1660 and English law codes did not recognize slaves as chattels until the 1720s. Nevertheless, the subjugation of both native Indians and Blacks into slavery was a reality in 17th and 18th century Canada. Furthermore, slavery was legally sanctioned in Canada's French territories (New France) as early as 1689 (Winks, 1972:3). Thus, up till 1783 when 3,500 free Black Loyalists from the U.S. arrived in various Canadian provinces, almost all Blacks in Canada were slaves (Walker, 1985:8).¹

According to Hill (1977:7), not only did the 18th century witness the slaughter of the Beothuk "Indians" of Newfoundland by the European settlers of early Canada, but it was also a period of thriving slave trade in Canada. For after the British government took control of New France in 1760, the importation of African slaves which had dwindled considerably was revived by British settlers who preferred Black slaves, unlike the French

¹ This state of affairs is different from the case in the United States where the early Blacks--particularly those who arrived before the Mayflower--had equal social status with their White counterparts (Bennett, Jr., 1962 and Stamp, [1956] 1972). See Appendix IV.1 for details.

settlers who preferred Indian slaves ("panis"). Thus, "slaves were bought and sold in the markets of Montreal and other cities, and newspapers carried advertisements of blacks being offered for sale. Orders were placed with New York companies for shipments of African slaves..." (McClain, 1979:12).

There is evidence that some Canadian Indians sometimes stole or bought slaves from the slaves' American masters; thus, for example, Chief Brant of Niagara kept a number of Black slaves (Shreve, 1983:19). Apart from Indian chiefs, senior government officials constituted a notable group of slave-holders in Canada. According to Hill (1977:7),

in the St. Lawrence and Niagara regions of Upper Canada, slaves were brought by United Empire Loyalists during and after the American revolutionary war. Indeed, at least six of the sixteen legislators in the first Parliament of Upper Canada owned slaves.... Slave holdings in all parts of the emerging Canada grew in the ensuing decade, so much so that in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia a "removal" program was instituted. The British government paid the Sierra Leone Company to transport 1,180 freed men and women, all of whom had asked to go, to the new African colony of Sierra Leon.

Shreve (1983:19) argues that the institution of Black slavery, which was introduced by the native Indians into what is now Ontario at a time when the area's White population was extremely limited, grew to a considerable extent before it fell into public disrepute. She notes that by the time Upper and Lower Canada, known today as Ontario and Quebec, were separated in 1791, there were three hundred slaves in the Niagara district alone. After 1796, Canadian Negroes might gain liberty by crossing into the American Northwest and in 1807 a memorial was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada complaining of desertion (Shreve, 1983:19).

Although some Canadians held slaves, large-scale slavery was not institutionalized in this country. This can be attributed primarily to Canada's climate which did not permit a labor intensive economy, such as the plantation system in which Black slaves were used in the United States as a cost-effective mode of production in lieu of sophisticated farming machines. McClain (1979:12) puts it quite succinctly:

Slavery did not survive in Canada primarily because the economy did not require a large labour force. In the Maritime Provinces the land was too poor and barren for large agricultural ventures like those in the southern United States. Most Blacks were domestic workers, and were considered luxuries. When this luxury proved too expensive and cheap white immigrant labour became plentiful, the institution was abolished.

Although large-scale slavery was not institutionalized in Canada, slavery was as entrenched in the Canadian experience as it was in the American (Tulloch, 1975 and Clairmont and Magill, 1970). Indeed, slavery lasted longer in Canada than in the northern United States; moreover, although Canada was a refuge for some runaway slaves, many such slaves escaped from Canada to New England (Winks, 1968:288). This legal subjugation of Blacks to White authority led to the development of stereotypes, including the notions that Blacks are dependent, lack initiative, and are unsuitable for leadership or management roles. Bolaria and Li ([1985] 1988:204) put it as follows:

Although slavery operated on a much smaller scale in Canada than in the United States, the legacy of slavery produced an inferior status for Blacks even long after its legal abolition. The way Black labour was used in Canada was consistent with the low standing accorded to the ex-slaves. Their skin colour

provided the added justification for exploiting and discriminating against Blacks.

The arrival of about 3,500 Black Loyalists in 1783 served mainly to foster these stereotypes--especially since most of the Loyalists settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, provinces which had very poor social and economic conditions. These Black Loyalists, like their White counterparts, were promised freedom as well as certain rights and privileges, such as parcels of land in which to establish homesteads, in return for their services to the British cause during the American Revolutionary War. However, many Blacks received only a little more than their freedoms. Furthermore, not only did the Blacks who were allotted farmland placed in the least desirable areas, but they were not given titles of ownership to the land--with the result that they could not legally sell the land when they needed to do so. The combination of physical separation, economic disadvantage, and generally small plots of land forced many Blacks to become dependent on the employment offered to them by either White landowners or the government. Thus Black Canadians were a distinct labour and service underclass which ranked below the lowest class Whites (Walker, 1985:9).

According to Walker (1985:5), while the gradual elimination of slavery in British North America from the 1790s to the early 1800s as well as the acquisition of useful trades by Black youths may have helped to improve the conditions of Blacks in Canada, this improvement was short-lived. The Canada/U.S. war of 1812, coupled with the promise of emancipation and settlement on British land in Canada, encouraged many Black Americans to immigrate to Canada. The first of these Blacks, who were known as Black

Refugees, arrived at Halifax in 1813 and immediately joined that province's labor force. The total number of Black Refugees, who were eagerly accepted as laborers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is estimated at 2,000 (Walker, 1985:5).

There is evidence that both Black Loyalists and Black Refugees successfully established their own churches and schools, in the separate settlements in which they were placed. But, due to the poor economic conditions of these settlements, these institutions were generally poor in comparison to White-run institutions. Thus, most Black settlements were, in the long run, quite unsuccessful (Walker, 1985).

The legal abolition of slavery in Canada and the rest of the then British Empire in 1833 did not have much immediate impact on the social status of Blacks in Canada. For example, because only a relatively few Black Loyalists migrated to Ontario, the extent of Black residential ghettoization and differential treatment was considerably less than was the case in the Maritimes where the majority of these loyalists went. But things started changing for the worse when the arrival of fugitive slaves from the United States led to a surge in the province's Black population. Moreover, by the 1840s the combination of three factors--the increasing availability for menial employment of poor Irish victims of their country's "potato famine", the lessening of frontier expansion, and the pervasiveness of agricultural mechanization--made the Black presence in Ontario quite unwelcome (Walker, 1985).

It is therefore not surprising that, based on the U.S. example of color segregation even after the abolition of slavery, the Ontario government

enacted a Common School Act in 1850. This act permitted the establishment of either separate schools for Blacks or the segregation of Blacks by requiring that they either attend the same schools at different times from Whites, or occupy segregated benches (Krauter and Davis, 1978:50). Although Canadian law sanctioned Black segregation only in the area of schooling, public convention prevented Blacks from voting or serving on juries in many parts of southwestern Ontario at least up till the late 19th century (Walker, 1985).

Moreover, since many Blacks were losing their jobs to Irish and other White immigrants and many other Blacks were barely subsisting on poor wages, the social separation of Blacks from mainstream Ontario society was guaranteed. While this separation was based primarily on economic deprivation and low social status, it nonetheless kept Blacks away from many mainstream church and community events (Walker, 1985:10). Thus in Ontario as elsewhere in North America, Blacks were acceptable in times of economic necessity, but contacts between them and Whites were extremely limited outside the employment realm (Walker, 1985:11-12).

Despite the social separation of Blacks from mainstream society, Canada's Black population continued to increase--a consequence of the combination of American racism and the absence of legal grounds for restricting the immigration of Blacks to Canada. According to Herberg (1989:39),

In 1851, the populations of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario, taken as a whole, were predominantly British (63%) or French (35%). The relatively few members of other ethno-racial-religious groups, in order of proportional presence were Native Peoples, Blacks, Germans, Italians, Jewish, and a sprinkling of others....

...the proportion of the Canadian population made up of British groups began to decline after 1861. The French, too, continued to decrease as a proportion of the Canadian population. Both of these declines were due to the increased presence of Blacks, Native Peoples, Germans, Eastern and Southern Europeans, and Asians. By the turn of the century, the non-charter groups made up 12% of the Canadian population, compared to only 2% 50 years before.

The Introduction of Legal Barriers to Entry

Elliott ([1979] 1983:291) has summarized the Canadian government's response to immigration very succinctly:

The management of immigration in Canada spans several distinct eras....It is useful to think of the Confederation era through 1895 (the free-entry period), the beginning of selective immigration in 1896 up to World War I (the old immigration), the period between the wars when immigration ebbed, and the post-World War II era to the present (the new immigration).

Although Canada's first immigration Act was passed in 1869, it was only in 1896, with the appointment of Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior, that the immigration policy was used to restrict entry into the country¹ (Elliott, [1979] 1983:294). Thus, during the country's first national census in 1871 the Black population represented the country's fifth largest ethnic category--next only to the British, French, German, and Dutch (Elliott, [1979] 1983:294).

¹ The immigration of Chinese nationals was restricted as early as 1885 when the British Columbia government introduced a "head tax" of \$50 on each new Chinese immigrant (Bolaria and Li, 1985:86 and Elliott, 1979/1983:294).

When selective immigration was introduced in 1896, the entry of Blacks and other "visible minorities" into Canada was greatly restricted. Thus, even in the desperate attempt to populate the prairies, Canadian policy makers were reluctant to accept Blacks—including experienced Black farmers from the United States--because they believed that Blacks could not successfully assimilate into Canadian society (Grow, 1974:17-38; Thomson, 1977:13-29; and Troper, 1972).

Indeed, from the period of Confederation in 1867 to, at least, the mid-1920s the prevailing attitude towards immigrants was that of assimilationism, expressed in the form of Anglo-conformity since Canada's strongest cultural ties were with Britain (see, e.g., Canada, 1928 and Woodsworth, 1972). Thus, the period in which immigration to Canada was at a peak also saw a decrease in the country's Black population, both in absolute terms and relative to the country's total population. Specifically, the Black population which stood at 21,394 or one half of one percent of the country's total population in 1881 decreased to 16,877 or less than one quarter of one percent of the country's total population in 1911 (Greaves, 1931:44).

In 1919, after World War I, the government passed an order-in-council under the Immigration Act of 1910 enshrining its discriminatory practices in law. The new regulations excluded classes of immigrants deemed undesirable due to climatic, industrial, social, labor, and other requirements of Canada or because factors such as their customs and modes of life were considered antithetical to their ready assimilation into Canadian society (Malarek, 1987:11). This new immigration regulation greatly restricted the entry of Blacks into Canada (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:205). For instance, this

regulation, especially as it pertained to the climate which was deemed to be too severe for Blacks, was used as justification to continue the deportation of Blacks to the United States, a practice which had begun a number of years earlier. According to Krauter and Davis (1978:45),

suddenly, 'climate' became a leading issue for those opposing the immigration of Blacks [and] legal justification for such restrictive policy lay in one of the original enabling clauses of the Immigration Act which allowed the making of regulations.

Although 1923 was the year in which the federal government passed the Chinese Immigration Act which barred the entry of all categories of Chinese into Canada (Elliott, [1979] 1983:294), it was also a year in which Canada's immigration regulations were relaxed considerably in an attempt to meet the country's labor force needs (Malarek, 1987:12). But the Great Depression of the 1930s and the outbreak of World War II soon combined to drastically curtail the tide of immigration to Canada—except for refugees and "displaced persons" from Europe (Elliott, [1979] 1983:295). Moreover, discrimination against visible minorities already in Canada intensified. For example, some visible minorities, such as the Japanese and the Chinese, were forced to move inland from the west coast and a bill was passed which denied them voting privileges (Driedger, 1985:164).

The hostility towards visible minorities did not mean that pluralist views were not in existence in Canada as early as the 1930s. Indeed, pluralist views were already gaining some prominence in Canada as early as the mid-1930s (see, e.g., Kirkconnell, 1935 and Thomson, 1944). The experiences of the Second World War in which people of different "races", religions, and nationalities fought together for a common cause—in addition to air travel

and mass communication--helped to decrease overt discrimination and facilitated the enactment of anti-discrimination laws in Canada. Thus, pluralism became predominant in Canada only since the Second World War when a heavy influx of new immigrants, most of whom were veterans and "displaced persons" from Europe, greatly increased the diversity of the country in general and of its seven largest cities in particular (Richmond, 1968:34).

However, the influx of these post World War II European immigrants, who were needed to help further Canada's post-war economic boom, helped to return to the Canadian limelight the melting pot ideology which had been propounded by E. L. Chicanot as early as 1929. For instance, on April 21, 1950, John Diefenbaker, who later became Canada's prime minister from June 1957 to April 1963, said the following in a speech he made in the House of Commons:

In the United States they got away from hyphenated considerations. One never thinks of United States citizens according to their racial [that is, ethnic] origin. One never thought of Roosevelt as a Dutch-American; one never thinks of Stassen as a Norwegian-German-American; one never thinks of Eisenhower as a German-American. While retaining their... love of their country of origin, a common Americanism was achieved. That is what we are trying to do in Canada (Canada, 1950).

The Dramatic Relaxation of Immigration Policies

Notwithstanding the efforts of some Canadian-based groups, such as the Negro Citizenship Association, the gradual decline of racial barriers in Canada's immigration policy reached a dramatic stage only in 1966 when the

White Paper outlining the country's immigration law was introduced. Based on the recommendations of the White Paper, the following four elements were included in the 1967 "point system" Immigration Act: (1) the elimination of discrimination on the basis of race or nationality for all classes of immigrants; (2) the narrowing of the "sponsored class" to "dependent relatives" (3) the creation of a new class, "nominated relatives", which included sons and daughters of any age or marital status, brothers, sisters, parents, and grandchildren likely to enter the work force; and (4) the establishment of a specific provision for "visitors" to apply for "immigrant status" while in Canada (Malarek, 1987:19-20).

While the 1967 immigration regulations served the dual purposes of maintaining Canada's image as a humanitarian nation and of providing the skilled manpower demanded by the Canadian labor market, they were not universally accepted. Accordingly, the federal government established a task force in 1973 which, in 1974, produced a four volume Green Paper containing recommendations for changes in the immigration regulations. These recommendations were changed into Bill C-24 which was introduced in Parliament in 1976 and enacted into law in July 1977 (Malarek, 1987:21).

The new immigration regulations provide for three main classes of immigrants: sponsored dependants, nominated relatives, and independent applicants. The point system policy permits the self-sponsored immigration of all persons, including Third World visible minorities, directly from their home countries—provided they attain 70 or more points out of 100 units of assessment which are based primarily on occupational skills. The following

statement indicates the official position regarding the importance of the "occupational factor" in the point system immigration policy.

An applicant who does not receive at least one point for the job experience factor must have an arranged job in Canada and a signed statement from the prospective employer indicating willingness to hire an inexperienced person or be qualified and prepared to work in a designated occupation (one in an area of Canada identified as having a shortage of workers in that occupation). Except for entrepreneurs, investors, and self-employed persons, immigrants selected under the point system must be awarded at least one unit under the occupation factor unless they have arranged employment in Canada or are willing to work in a designated occupation (Canada, 1989:13).

The Black Population in Canada

In spite of the problems discussed above, there is no doubt that the greatest 20th century increase in the Black population of Canada (a category which includes "Blacks", "Caribbean Blacks", "African Blacks", and "Other Blacks") is directly related to the current "point system" immigration policy. The following table is indicative of the impact of this immigration policy on Canada's Black population. For example, Canada's Black population which had decreased from 22,174 or .19 percent of the country's total population in 1941 to 18,020 or .13 percent of the total population in 1951, increased dramatically to 62,470 or .29 percent of the total population in 1971. The most dramatic increase in Canada's Black population occurred between 1971 and 1981 when the population increased by more than 100 percent from 62,470 or .29 percent of the total population to 144,500 or .59 percent of the total population (Bolaria and Li, 1985:170).

TABLE III.1
Blacks in Canada, 1871-1981

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of Total Population</u>
1871	21,496	.62
1881	21,394	.50
1891	Not Available	Not Available
1901	17,437	.32
1911	16,877	.23
1921	18,291	.21
1931	19,456	.19
1941	22,174	.19
1951	18,020	.13
1961	32,127	.18
1971	62,470	.29
1981	144,500	.59

Sources: Greaves (1931:44), Bolaria and Li (1985:170),
 and Canada Year Book (1988).

In spite of the "point system" immigration policy, as of the 1981 census Blacks comprised a smaller proportion of the country's population (.59 percent) than they did in 1871 (.62 percent) when Canada's first official census was taken. Nevertheless, the increase in the Black population of Canada induced by this immigration policy has continued. For, according to the 1986 census, the Black population of Canada which was 144,500 in 1981 increased by 21 percent to 174,970 or 0.7 percent of the country's total population (Canada, 1989:2-29). Thus, Blacks now officially comprise a larger proportion of Canada's population than has been the case since the country's first national census of 1871.

Apart from leading to a dramatic increase in the absolute population of Blacks in Canada, the point system immigration policy has also contributed to an increase in the absolute economic position of the Black population. But although the absolute economic position of Blacks, like that of the general Canadian population, is now higher than ever, the economic position of the Black population has not improved in relation to that of the general population. As Bolaria and Li (1985:171) have shown, in view of their higher levels of education as compared to many other Canadian ethnic groups as well as their concentration in white collar jobs, the income of Blacks is not consistent with their educational and occupational status. The 1981 census data on Ontario's Black population is quite insightful in this respect. The data showed that 48.9% of the Black population had "some post-secondary" education, as compared to the provincial mean of 36.4%; yet, Blacks had the lowest mean family income--\$21,852 per annum, as compared to the provincial mean of \$25,577 (Ontario, 1985:19). The low economic position of Blacks in Ontario is quite crucial since up to 63 percent of the country's Blacks live in this province (Bolaria and Li, 1985:171).

Indeed, there is no doubt that Blacks have historically been denied opportunities offered to many other groups of Canadians (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:185). Thus, in terms of the Black experience in Canada, Adam's (1975) contention regarding both systemic and personal discrimination against the Natives in Canada is applicable, at least to some extent, to Black Canadians. In these terms, racism is at the root of the Black dilemmas of community-building. According to Bolaria and Li ([1985] 1988:17-25), the initial contact between dominant and subordinate groups generally results

from efforts made by dominant groups in an attempt to take advantage of the labor potentials of subordinate groups. They contend that when the subordinate group is a racial group--that is, when it is a group whose physical characteristics are different from those of the dominant group, racial oppression extends beyond economic exploitation and legislative control. When a society becomes dependent on coloured labour for its economic production and accumulation, it is difficult for it not to be racist in other aspects of life (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988).

In particular, Bolaria and Li ([1985] 1988:187) contend that slavery in the New World did not result from the mere presence of Whites and Blacks on this continent, but that it evolved because it served to justify the massive deployment of unfree labor for economic production. Thus, "slavery was not born of racism; rather, racism was the consequence of slavery" (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:187). Based on the preceding arguments, it is not surprising that Bolaria and Li ([1985] 1988:185) present the following summary of the plight of Blacks in Canada:

Historically, Blacks have been a source of coerced labour under the slave system. After they were freed to sell their labour as a commodity, Blacks continued to serve both as a reserve army and as a cheap labour pool in certain sectors, such as agriculture and domestic work, where they were confined to menial, low-paying and physically exhausting labour. Although slavery did not develop widely in Canada, its legacy produced a low status for Blacks and an ideological heritage unfavourable to them.

One of the most outstanding features of the Black community in Canada is its heterogeneity. For instance, Barrett (1987:302) makes the following observation about Blacks in Nova Scotia:

In Nova Scotia alone, there were at least four distinct categories of Blacks: Loyalist blacks, Maroon blacks from Jamaica, Refugee blacks, and fugitive black slave descendants; the last named occupied the lowest rung even among other blacks. In recent decades, with a growing black population from the West Indies and the United States, the degree of fragmentation has been even greater, with considerable resentment among native-born blacks towards the sophisticated, highly educated West Indian immigrants...who tend to regard them as country bumpkins....

In the province of Quebec, the differences among Blacks is compounded by the existence of language differences within the Black population, especially since the language differences contribute to a geographical separation among Blacks--with the English speaking Blacks residing in English residential areas and their French speaking counterparts residing in French residential areas (Laferriere, 1982).

The Black Population in Ontario

As of the 1981 census, Ontario's Black population was estimated at 80,365 or 0.9 percent of the province's population of 8,534,265. Thus, Ontario's Black population represented 55.6 percent of the country's total Black population. During the period between 1981 and 1986, Ontario's Black population seemed to have increased by 37.7 percent--from 80,365 in 1981 to 110,670 in 1986. Quite notably, the proportion of Ontario's total population represented by Blacks increased from 0.9 percent in 1981 to 1.2 percent in 1986 (Canada, 1989b:2-19).

Most Blacks in Ontario live in the Toronto CMA where their population was estimated at 71,400 or 2.4 percent of that area's population of 2,975,000 (Ontario, 1985:10-15). The Ottawa-Hull CMA has Ontario's second

largest Black population, at 3,252 or 0.6 percent of that area's population of 542,000, while the Hamilton CMA has the province's third largest Black population, at 3,228 or 0.6 percent of the area's population of 538,000. Other Ontario centers in which the Black population exceeds 0.4 percent of the local population are Kitchener-Waterloo (0.7 percent), Oshawa (0.7 percent), Windsor (0.7 percent), and London (0.5 percent). Thus, most Ontario Blacks live in the province's major cities (Ontario, 1985:14).

One important consequence of the immigration policies is that, as of the 1981 census, 75.4 percent of Black Ontarians were born abroad, as compared to the provincial mean of 23.7 percent. Moreover, only 0.4 percent of the Black population immigrated to Canada before 1946 while 62.0 percent immigrated between 1971 and 1981--as compared to the provincial rates of 11.4 and 28.6 percent for the respective periods. Due to the special provisions made for traditionally female dominated occupations, such as nursing and housekeeping, the immigration policies have helped to produce a Black population with a male-female ratio of .88, as compared to the provincial ratio of .97 (Ontario, 1985:18).

The Black Ontario male labor force participation rate is 83.2 percent as compared to the provincial male participation rate of 79.7 percent. Perhaps more notably, the Black Ontario female labor force participation rate is 73.3 percent, as compared to the provincial female participation rate of 55.2 percent. Furthermore, 48.9 percent of Black Ontarians have some post-secondary education, as compared to the provincial mean of 36.4 percent. Yet, perhaps due to the fact that 55.1 percent of Blacks (as compared to the provincial mean of 40.6 percent) are involved in clerical, sales, and service

occupations, Blacks have the lowest average household income--\$21,852 per annum as compared to the provincial mean of \$25,577 per annum¹ (Ontario, 1985:19). If the relatively low incomes of Blacks can be blamed on their concentration in low-paying occupations, an important question is whether Blacks willingly choose these occupations or are "pushed" in that direction by forces outside of the Black community. This question is beyond the scope of this study and, as such, will not be pursued directly.

The structure of the Black family² in Ontario is significantly different from that of other ethnic categories in the province. For instance, Blacks have the highest proportion of single parent families with at least one child who is nine years of age or younger; they also have the highest proportion of female-headed single parent families. Specifically, 23.1 percent of Black families are female lone parent families, as compared to the provincial mean of 9.3 percent and 49.3 percent of Black lone parent families have at least one child who is nine years of age or younger, as compared to the provincial mean of 40.7 percent. Furthermore, the proportion of Blacks 15 years of age or older who are married is lower than that of any other ethnic category--54.3 percent, as compared to the provincial mean of 62.1 percent. Finally, the proportion of divorced Blacks is 3.5 percent (second only to the Magyar-

¹ "Household income" refers to the sum of the total income earned by all members of a household.

² The ethnic background of a family is defined in terms of the ethnic origin of the husband in husband-wife families and that of the family head in lone parent families (Ontario, 1985:26). Thus, for instance, a family in which a Black man is married to a White woman is considered to be a Black family. Given this definition, certain characteristics of the Ontario Black family, such as high divorce rates, may well be partly indicative of the failure of some Black-White "marriages of convenience". Marriages of this nature are often relatively trouble-free methods of obtaining the immigration papers necessary for living in Canada.

Hungarian proportion of 4.2 percent), as compared to the provincial mean of 2.5 percent (Ontario, 1985:26).

Blacks in Hamilton: History and Population

History

Blacks have been in Hamilton since, at least, the early 19th century--certainly before 1846 when the city was incorporated. The vast majority of the early nineteenth century Black Hamiltonians were United Empire Loyalists and fugitive slaves who left the United States for Canada by way of the Underground Railroad, an intricate network of well-concealed land and water routes that was established as early as the 1820s.¹

The first Black Hamiltonians were concentrated in two areas of the city, one of which was the northern section of the downtown core stretching from the Dundurn Castle area to Wentworth Street north. The other major concentration of Blacks was in an area around Concession Street on the escarpment (the "mountain"), which was then known as "Little Africa" because of its many Black inhabitants.

The concentration of Blacks in what was known as Little Africa was due to both the ingenuity of Hamilton civic leaders, who were anxious to find

¹ The Underground Railroad was organized and run by a number of both Black and White Americans and Canadians—including Quakers, Methodists and Presbyterians. Its primary aim and achievement was the transportation of Black slaves from the southern United States to freedom in the northern states as well as in such Ontario (then Upper Canada) centers as Hamilton, Windsor, Amherstburg, Toronto, St. Catharines, Brantford, Kingston, and Prescott--John Beverly Robinson, Ontario's then Attorney General, having declared shortly after the war of 1812 that residence in Canada made Blacks free and that Canadian courts would uphold that freedom (Hill, 1981:25-28).

some use for the mountain and its toll gate,¹ and the generosity of some White Hamiltonians, notably the Green family (Burkholder, 1956:28-29). Up till, at least, the late 19th century "Hamilton mountain" was barely accessible from the main city and was, consequently, regarded as an undesirable place to live; indeed, the mountain was not annexed to the city until about 1952 (Hamilton Mountain: Scrapbook of Clippings, p.165). Since the early 19th century Black fugitives from American slavery were not in a position to be selective, Hamilton civic leaders decided to establish a Black colony on the mountain around what is now known as Concession Street. At that time, Concession Street, which was the major road on the mountain, was known as the Cow-Path and had a toll gate just east of its intersection with Wentworth Street--a gate that was manned for many years by a Black family named Berry (Hamilton Spectator, June 11, 1949).

One of the most prominent White families on the mountain was the one headed by Mr. Ab Green who owned a 100 acre farm "in the fourth concession" which laid between Concession Street and Fennel Avenue and was bounded on the east by Sherman Avenue and on the west by 24th Street (Hamilton Spectator, June 11, 1949). Members of the Green family were so overwhelmed by the distressed condition of the Blacks in Little Africa that they decided to help them by offering each Black family a small plot of land, so that about half a mile of land "in unbroken line" was offered to these Blacks (Burkholder, 1968:148).

¹ Toll roads were quite common in Hamilton and many other Canadian cities since municipal government officials believed that they would save money by not constructing and maintaining roads while some businessmen rightly believed that they would make money by doing same. Such roads were abolished by King Edward VII around 1903--shortly after his ascension to the throne (Hamilton Spectator, Sept. 24, 1955).

Little Africa was centered around a church and a school which was called the Mission. This school was actually a one-room brick house which was built in 1860 as a place of worship for the use of all Protestants (Beattie, 1956:25). As from 1867 the "mission" also served as the first common school for mountain residents. Many adult Blacks sat with their children on the school's low benches and studied from the same materials, with the hope that they would someday be able to read the Bible (Burkholder, 1968).

Like their counterparts downtown, the Blacks of Little Africa seemed committed to living in Canada. For one thing, in an attempt to avoid easy identification and recapture, they generally adopted new surnames, notably Johnson. In addition, many Blacks became so attached to Canada that, wherever it was convenient, they proudly displayed pictures of Queen Victoria alongside those of Abraham Lincoln (Burkholder, 1968:147).

An important indicator of the desire of local Blacks to assimilate into the larger society is the fact that, in spite of the presence of at least two Black churches¹ in Hamilton, many of the city's early Blacks preferred worshipping with Whites in White-run churches. However, by about 1840 many White-run churches were so uncomfortable about social interaction with Blacks that they had each created a back gallery, the "Nigger Heaven", to which they restricted their Black parishioners (Shreve, 1983:42). It took this extreme measure from the White churches to get many Black Hamiltonians to attend Black churches.

¹ One of these churches was St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church (now Stewart Memorial Church) which was founded in 1835. The other church was known as the First Baptist Church of Hamilton. The latter church was founded in 1839 by a Virginia-born Black, Elder Washington Christian, and was affiliated with the Amherstburg Baptist Association from 1847 to 1868 (Shreve, 1983:43-63).

But even after they were pushed into their own churches, Blacks in early Hamilton did not give up the fight to be fully integrated into the mainstream society. For example, "Professor" Jesse Gant, a Black barber who moved to Hamilton in 1876 and lived and worked downtown until his death in 1905 (see Hamilton Herald, August 3, 1901), wrote several letters to the editor of the local newspaper, the Herald, which reveal this desire.¹ The fact that very many of professor Gant's letters as well as articles about Blacks in Hamilton were published in the Herald may well be indicative of the regard that the newspaper editors had for the Blacks in 19th century Hamilton.²

Blacks in 19th century Hamilton were faced with a situation in which the prevailing prejudice of the larger society was counterbalanced by the attempts of some White leaders to accommodate Blacks into civic life. For example, Blacks were refused admittance into all of the schools in the city's five common school districts until 1843 when members of the Black community sent a petition to the Governor General requesting that their children be admitted on the same terms as other local children (Beattie, 1956:140). Katz (1975:3) provides an excellent example of the way in which restitution was made for Blacks in connection with a procession, an example which is best understood in light of the point that the procession was "the most important civic ritual in nineteenth-century Hamilton". He notes that

Although an abolitionist Black speaker encountered jeers at one meeting, when the Black Abolitionist Society protested its

¹ Some biographical material on Professor Gant is available in the Special Collections section of the Hamilton Public Library in a collection of newspaper clippings entitled "Hamilton--Biography."

² Some of Professor Gant's letters and some articles about Blacks in 19th century Hamilton are included in Hamilton Mountain: Scrapbook of Clippings and other collections held at the Special Collections section of the Hamilton Public Library in Jackson Square.

alleged exclusion from the procession preceding the laying of the cornerstone for the Crystal Palace, the organizers of the next festivities placed them not only in the procession but near its head, before any of the other ethnic societies, in fact, where they marched resplendent in white hats (Katz, 1975:3).

It is also a testament to the regard in which the Black community, in general, and Professor Gant, in particular, was held that Gant was commissioned by the civic authorities to be an integral part of the 60th anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign. An article in the local newspaper stated the following:

A feature of the local celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of Her Majesty's reign will be the floating of the national colors at a greater height than ever before attempted....The experiment will be in the hands of Prof. Jesse Gant, a patriot from the ground up, and the greatest kite manipulator that ever came over the hills....

That the Professor will be the "whole thing" at Dundurn tomorrow he naturally enough expects and that his kite-flying experiment will attract considerable attention is a reasonable assurance (Hamilton Herald, June 21, 1897, emphasis added).

But the Black fugitives lacked the necessary financial resources to survive the harsh winters of an unbroken Canadian forest which Hamilton mountain was in the 19th century; thus, "Little Africa" essentially ceased to exist by 1900. Burkholder (1968:147) puts it quite aptly:

the little African colony on the mountain was not a permanent success. The cold of the winters chilled the blood of these children of the sun, so one family after another abandoned the homes they had made and were seen no more on the hill-top.

Since most of the Blacks who escaped to Canada in the late 18th and early 19th centuries had worked as slaves on slave plantations in the

southern United States, farming was the occupation with which they were most familiar. Thus, once in Canada, "they turned largely to farming and in the [1850s] much of the finest farm acreages along the lakeshore between Hamilton and Oakville" were occupied by them (Hamilton Spectator, August 23, 1937). There is no doubt that some of these Black farmers were quite prosperous. One prosperous Black farmer in the Hamilton area was Eneals Griffin who, along with his wife Priscilla and son James, arrived at Ancaster in 1830 and lived and farmed there until his death (at 86 years of age) in 1878. The Griffin homestead, which is now known as the Costello house, remained with the Griffin family for 150 years. According to a recent Hamilton Spectator article (June 16, 1990:B1), the home is "being designated as a building of historic and architectural value by the town [of Ancaster], and the Hamilton Region Conservation Authority hopes to have it restored within two years."

Many of the first Blacks who lived in the area now known as Hamilton, especially those who lived on the escarpment, were farmers who typically grew fruits and vegetables. Others generally worked as unskilled laborers in road construction and land clearance; handymen; maids; "shoe-shine boys"; or in other low-paying menial jobs. But by the 1840s a number of factors helped to undermine the relative stability of the Black population in Hamilton. These factors included the increasing availability of poor Irish laborers; the lessening of frontier expansion; and the pervasiveness of agricultural mechanization. Nevertheless, Blacks were not consistently at the lowest stratum of the ethnic stratification ladder. Indeed, as Katz (1975:62-68) has shown, Hamiltonian Blacks once fared better economically than the city's

Irish Catholics who had migrated here in order to escape the effects of the potato famine in their homeland. Katz (1975:68) made the following observation:

It appears that the Irish Catholics fared even worse occupationally than the small Black community--about thirty-eight families in 1851 and thirty-one a decade later, though these figures are probably an under enumeration. Although about three-fifths of them were poor, the proportion of unskilled and semiskilled workers among Blacks declined from 47 to 38 percent during the decade; the proportion in skilled trades rose correspondingly from 37 to 49 percent; and those in commerce and the professions increased from 8 to 14 percent. Blacks, in fact, were scattered among a wide variety of occupations, giving them, in all, a more favorable occupational distribution than the Irish Catholics.

But this Irish presence contributed to the new restrictions placed on Hamiltonian Blacks in the mid-19th century. For one thing, many White employers saw in the poor Irish, who were readily assimilable because of their White skins, the answer to their demand for cheap labor which was formerly seen in the unassimilable Blacks. Nevertheless, the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act by the American Congress in 1850 led to even more migration of Blacks from the United States to Hamilton and other Canadian centers. But most of these Black fugitives were economically underprivileged, a factor which contributed to their separation from mainstream society (Walker, 1985:10).

In any case, the relative stability of the Black population in Hamilton was soon undermined by a number of factors. For one thing, the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 was accompanied by a dramatic decline in the Black population of Hamilton and other areas of Canada. As a result of

the continuing emigration of Blacks to the United States--for reasons which included racial discrimination, unemployment, and the desire to return to the U.S. after slavery was abolished there in 1865--the Black population of Hamilton declined from about 800 in 1852 (Shreve, 1983:24) to about 700 at the turn of the century (Hamilton Herald, May 22, 1903) and to between 200 and 250 in 1937 (Hamilton Spectator, August 23, 1937).

The consequences of racism on Black community building in Hamilton cannot be neglected. Indeed, it is a testament to the personal memories of racism in Hamilton that three of the oldest Black organizations in Hamilton--the Stewart Memorial Church, the Prince Hall Lodge, and the Eastern Star Lodge--have persisted.¹ Every native-born Black senior citizen in Hamilton with whom the issue of racism in the city was discussed recalled vividly many personal experiences, "restrictive covenant" practices which prohibited the sale of homes to Blacks (and other groups including Jews and Italians) in areas such as Westdale, and the occasion in which the Ku klux klan burned a cross in Hamilton. For instance, a 79 year old man said the following:

It was a difficult thing growing up. We were with all the kids until we were around 10-12 years of age and then we were not invited to parties where the little girls were. This was, I think, one of their big fears: that if we got near their ladies we were going to do something or other--like an animal. And I have proved to so many of them that I'm not an animal. This is something that we've had to fight. Over the years it's been terrible....I've been refused food in restaurants. You go in a

¹ This does not mean that those who have maintained association with these groups have done so primarily because they are denied the opportunity of being involved in similar groups outside the Black community. As will be shown later, Blacks tend to be involved in these groups out of loyalty to fellow group members as well as because they do not wish to take the chance of being only reluctantly accepted by Whites.

restaurant, you sit there for ten minutes and then they'll come and ask you what you want. You tell them. Ten minutes later they'll come back and ask you what you want again. Ten minutes later, they'll come back and say "You wanna take it out?" You say no, I'll eat it here. They'll come back in another ten minutes and say "We don't have any." This is what we've experienced. Now, it's hard and difficult for most people to believe this. But it is true. It was the same manner in the way of our churches here.

Similarly, a native-born woman made the following statement:

Hamilton had at one time many Black families that were living on land up on Hamilton mountain in small one- and two-room houses. They grew fruits and vegetables and raised fowl enough to manage for a while. But to live in this country one would need a job that could buy a home that would be suitable for the winter weather. With decent jobs not being given to these people, they soon found out that they could not stay for too long with what was being offered. Soon they left Hamilton to seek areas that they could at least earn a living. Few stayed, doing work as handymen, maids, shoe-shine boys, and just the very lowest paying work available.

However, the employment opportunities created by the Second World War brought more Blacks to Hamilton from both the United States and the Caribbean, many of whom worked either in visibly manual factory jobs or in the Armed Forces. Other Hamiltonian Blacks worked as railroad porters, an occupation in which many Black men in Canada were ghettoized (Calliste, 1987). A 79 year old native-born Black Hamiltonian said the following regarding the impact of World War II on job opportunities for jobs in Canada:

The War changed so many things. I've used the terminology, without endorsing it, but I'd have to say "Thank you, Mister Hitler". Manpower shortage happened here and that's how we got jobs we never got before....It's a terrible thing to think that it took a war to open the doors for us job-wise....You see, I've met people on trains--particularly when I was a railroad porter, and that really was the only job we could get, and I've talked to them and I was offered a great many jobs--domestic jobs. I had --- ask

me to run his home in Winnipeg....I said, 'What I'd like to learn is merchandising in your store.' He went on to tell me that he couldn't put me in the store because the other employees would not want to be on the same level with me and me on their level and perhaps use the same facilities. The war came along and they had to hire us to get help.

Three railroad companies--the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian National, and The Pullman Company--were of such significance to Black life that almost every old-line Black family in Hamilton was somehow affected by them. Thus, for example, Lincoln Alexander, Ontario's present Black Lieutenant Governor, worked for a short while as a railroad porter (Share, February 15, 1990:9). The effect of work on the railroads on Black family life in Canada has been aptly summarized:

A porter's job was very demanding, and he spent most of his time on the road away from his family. Fortunately, Black mothers could draw on similar strength to those which they had used to help the Black family survive during slavery. They kept the body and soul of their families together, often alone and without their husbands' support (Share, February 15, 1990:9).

Whatever else its legacy is, work on the railroads helped to increase the migration of Blacks from both the Caribbean and the United States to Canada. Thus, in 1955 Hamilton's Black population was unofficially estimated at 500 (Hamilton Spectator, March 7, 1955).

Contemporary Black Population

The greatest 20th century influx of Blacks to Hamilton is a direct consequence of the current "point system" immigration policy which, as discussed earlier in this chapter, was introduced in 1967 and revised in 1976. For example, primarily because of this policy, the official Black population in Hamilton increased from 470 in 1961 (Frank, 1965:8) to 3,228 in 1981 (Ontario,

1985:14).¹ There are good reasons for agreeing with many long-time Black residents of the Hamilton area that the official statistics concerning the population of Blacks in Hamilton presented above represent gross underestimations. But one thing is certain: the "point system" immigration policy has contributed to a dramatic increase in the Black population of the Hamilton CMA.

Apart from leading to a tremendous increase in Hamilton's Black population, another major consequence of the present immigration policy is that although Blacks have been in Hamilton for more than 150 years the Black community is basically at a very early stage of its life cycle. For not only are most Black Hamiltonians foreign-born, but, as of the 1981 census, the mean age of the Blacks in Hamilton was under 30 years of age (Pineo, 1987:11).

Based on personal income, which is defined as the total income reported by each individual who is at least 15 years of age, Blacks in Hamilton earn less than the mean income for Hamilton; specifically, Blacks earn \$10,834 as compared to the mean of \$11,590 (Pineo, 1987:13-17). The deviation of the mean income of Hamiltonian Blacks from the city's mean income is more pronounced when level of education is taken into consideration. For the income of Blacks in Hamilton is more than \$700 less than what would be expected given their overall level of education (Pineo, 1987:38-39). Thus, while immigration policies, the "point system" in particular, may have created a situation in which the level of education for Blacks is above the

¹ Blacks comprised 1.42% of the city's population of 9645 in 1851, 0.17% of the city's population of 273,991 in 1961, and 0.6% of the population in 1981 (Katz, [1975]1979:126 and 312, and Ontario, 1985:14). In these terms, although the local Black population has increased in absolute terms, it has decreased relative to the larger population.

mean for Hamilton, racial discrimination may be a major reason for the "substantial discrepancies between expected and actual income levels" for Blacks (Pineo, 1987:40).

Although ethnicity tends to have a smaller influence on the incomes of females than on that of males, many groups nevertheless show a positive relationship between the income of females and that of males (Pineo, 1987:20). But for Blacks in Hamilton there is a statistically significant inverse relationship between the income of females and that of males, with females having incomes above the Hamilton mean of \$11,590 and males having incomes below this mean. One important factor necessary in assessing the incomes of Blacks in Hamilton is the very high rates of labor force participation among Black, especially Caribbean Black, females. Pineo (1987:23) points out that but for the high rates of female labor force participation, the household incomes for Blacks in Hamilton would be about \$800 less than it is.

The relatively high incomes for Black females is related primarily to the female based pattern of Black immigration to Canada which resulted from various Canadian immigration regulations. For, in Hamilton and elsewhere in Canada, Caribbean females were generally better equipped than their male counterparts to meet Canada's major immigration requirement with regard to Blacks in the 1950s and 1960s: the demand for teachers, nurses, and domestic servants¹ (Cole, 1967 and Satzewich, 1991:100-102). Apart from creating a situation in which Black females earn more than their male

¹ The Caribbean domestic workers'scheme, which was established in 1955, is similar to the farm workers' scheme already discussed under the heading of The Caribbean Seasonal Workers' Program.

counterparts, the immigration policies have also helped to create an imbalanced sex ratio, with the number of Black females exceeding that of Black males by up to six per cent (Pineo, 1987:8).

The Categories of Black Hamiltonians

There are at present three broad categories of Blacks in Hamilton: those of Caribbean origins, those of Canadian origins, and those of African origins. The number of Blacks with Caribbean backgrounds more than doubles that of the other categories of Blacks combined. Specifically, all other groups of Black Hamiltonians account for only 45.7 percent of the number of Black Hamiltonians who have Caribbean backgrounds (Pineo, 1987:46). Given the high proportion of Black Hamiltonians who are of Caribbean origins, the earlier indicated demographic characteristics of local Blacks correspond more truly to this category of Blacks than they do to the other categories of local Blacks.

The division of the Black population into three categories does not at all mean that there are any communities in Hamilton based solely on the geographical origins indicated above. As the term category implies, these distinctions are not necessarily of any consequence to Black Hamiltonians. Indeed, in terms of social networks, one can state categorically that factors such as socio-economic status and church affiliation are more crucial than the somewhat arbitrary distinctions outlined above. The following response from an African-born Black Hamiltonian is typical of the responses received when local Blacks were asked what they thought of fellow Black Hamiltonians:

I don't see them as a different people from myself. Only one point I see them as different--only in behavior. For Whites, you know, its attitude-wise. What I find out from the many Blacks that I've been speaking to or in walking through Hamilton and surrounding is that they don't have a sense of entrepreneurship. All they want is the immediate. Work, work, work--for somebody. I'm not against working for somebody, but at least you should try to make something for yourself--because that person you're working for was once the same as you are, because nobody can come to this world with anything.

The statement above indicates that, in spite of the differences in countries of birth, Black Hamiltonians tend to view fellow Blacks as being more similar to themselves than are other Hamiltonians. This view is congruent with Deutsch's (1969) observation that ethnic consciousness ("mobilization") often results when people find themselves in social settings where they have to communicate with strangers. He contends that people tend to seek those who are most like themselves, magnify whatever they have in common, and then attempt to build new communities based on these commonalities.

A fourth major category of Blacks, Caribbean Seasonal Workers, lives on farms that are within commuting distance of Hamilton but does not interact significantly with Black Hamiltonians. As will be shown below, for our purposes, the significant thing about the Caribbean seasonal workers is their status in Canada; their relative lack of interaction within the Hamilton Black community is not crucial since virtually all Blacks who live within commuting distance of Hamilton (e.g., Blacks in the regional municipalities of Halton and Peel) do not interact within the city.

The Caribbean Seasonal Workers' Program

The Caribbean Seasonal Workers' Program, which was introduced by the federal government in 1966, strives to use foreign labor--primarily Caribbean and Mexican--to supplement the seasonal labor available to Canadian farmers, in general, and southern Ontario farmers, in particular (Bolaria and Li, 1985:175). The workers involved in this program comprise one of the five groups of non-immigrant workers discussed in the Green Paper on immigration. These workers are required to work for eight or nine months on a Canadian farm after which they must return to their home countries. The Green Paper describes the program as follows:

The Caribbean Seasonal Workers' Program is governed by agreements between Canada and governments of certain Caribbean countries (Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago) covering recruitment of agricultural help. Wages to be paid--including a weekly guaranteed minimum wage--and accommodation and transportation arrangements are determined by agreement. Employer's associations and provincial officials are also involved. The employer notifies a Canada Manpower Centre of his requirements and these are passed to the Department of Labour of the island government concerned. The latter recruits the necessary workers. The employer then enters into a contract with the workers. The Caribbean countries concerned station liaison officers in Canada to resolve complaints by either the workers or their employers, and to arrange repatriation when necessary (Green Paper II: 188-189).

Much has been written about the Caribbean Seasonal Workers' Program (see, for example, Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:205; Chodos, 1977:235; and Roach, 1980:50). The general observation is that these workers are vulnerable to exploitation both because of their uncertain legal status (for instance, they are subject to deportation if they decide not to work on an

assigned farm) and because of the poor economic conditions in their countries of origin. Chodos (1977:235) quotes a Jamaican worker who tells a reporter that "we have become the new coolies in Canada--good enough to work on the land but not good enough to remain in the country." And in an article entitled "A changing Anglo-Saxon Toronto", a Toronto-based Black civil rights lawyer, Charles Roach, contends that the seasonal workers have been "reduced to new slaves: the new slaves of the 20th century" (Roach, 1980:50). Similarly, Bolaria and Li ([1985] 1988:205) contend that

In many ways the visa workers are subjected to similar conditions of indentured servitude as those experienced by Blacks in the earlier days. The exploitation of Black seasonal workers is facilitated partly by their vulnerable legal status and partly by the racial discrimination that subjugates non-whites to menial employment.

Apart from the first two years of the new regulations, 1973 and 1974, the number of non-immigrant workers (that is, those on Employment Authorizations) have consistently exceeded that of immigrant workers. For example, in 1984 Canada had 38,500 immigrant workers and 143,979 non-immigrant workers (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:228). Apart from 1966, the first year of the Caribbean Seasonal Workers' Program, the number of Caribbean workers involved in this program has consistently exceeded the official Black population of Hamilton. For instance, in 1981 there were 5,230 Caribbean arrivals in the program and only 3,228 Blacks in Hamilton (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:198 and Ontario, 1985:14).

Since many of these seasonal workers are involved on farms in the Hamilton area (for example, West Flamborough), it is reasonable that some of them associate to some extent with the Black community of Hamilton.

Indeed, there is at least one Black church in Hamilton (Faith Lighthouse) which some of these seasonal workers sometimes attend. In both the larger Hamiltonian society and the local Black community, the Black Seasonal Workers participate only as marginal members. For example, a White Hamiltonian woman who indicated her long-time commitment to the "Black cause" in North America and elsewhere added that although she feels that these seasonal workers are being exploited in Canada, she is nevertheless quite uncomfortable about being involved in any form of personal contact with them. She made the following statement regarding some of the Black seasonal workers in the Hamilton area:

I worked in a store at University Plaza in Dundas and had constant contact with these workers. The farmers would bring the workers to the plaza on Friday nights in large trucks and vans. They would be dropped off and left to do their shopping for a period of approximately two hours every Friday evening. It was given that if you had to leave the store during the course of the evening when the workers were hanging around outside, you always took someone with you.

Within the Hamilton Black community itself, the Black seasonal workers are accepted only reluctantly. Most interviewees claimed to have had no personal contacts with any of these seasonal workers. The reason often cited by local Blacks for their reluctance to readily assimilate into the Black community the Black seasonal workers who live in the Hamilton area is that, because of the temporary nature of their stay in Canada, these Black migrant workers do not wish to be integrated into the local Black community. The following statement by a Black professional who immigrated to Hamilton in the early 1970s is quite insightful:

The seasonal worker comes in here for a particular purpose. Basically, he comes in to spend three months, four months, five months, to make some money and go home. That's it! Therefore, he works from very early in the morning to very late at night. He has very little social life; he works, mostly, seven days a week and therefore he's not permanently based here. Why spend the time trying to contribute when I know by the time I've put my two-cents' worth in, I'll be gone. If I come back next year, it's okay. But I may not be back next year. So, to me, there's no need to get involved.

Conclusion

Discrimination, or the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to particular social categories, has traditionally been the norm in Canada's immigration policies. This practice is especially evident with regard to the non-white minority groups whose skin color serves as a highly visible identity badge which makes discriminatory practices easy to plan and carry out (Davis and Krauter, 1970:1). These discriminatory practices were first based on racist ideologies but have been based on political and economic ideologies since the end of World War II (Whitaker, 1987). The discriminatory practices have had to be greatly reduced, if not completely eliminated, primarily because Canada needs more immigrants in order to maintain national social and humanitarian ideals for economic growth (Malarek, 1987:28). For while Canada's birth rate has declined and her aged population increased, the demand by Europeans to immigrate to Canada has decreased—basically because social and economic conditions have improved radically in the European countries.

At the same time, the deteriorating socio-economic situation in the "Third World" has made it necessary for nationals of the constituent

countries to seek to emigrate to Canada and other Western countries. Thus, the Black population of Canada has experienced considerable growth in recent years. Indeed, as a result of the pattern of immigration which is a consequence of Canada's immigration policies, not only are there more Black women than Black men in Hamilton but the former, who have higher incomes than their male counterparts, earn incomes which are only slightly above the average for the Hamilton CMA (Pineo, 1987:21). Thus, although Hamilton's Black population is socio-economically better off than it was prior to the 1960s, it has not made much advances relative to the larger population.

Having outlined the role of racism in the nature of Black immigration to Canada in general and Hamilton in particular, the next chapter will assess the role of racism in the problems of community building in contemporary Hamilton.

CHAPTER IV

CONSTRAINTS ON COMMUNITY BUILDING: EXTERNAL DYNAMICS

Introduction

The chief objective of this chapter is to understand the role of racism--a factor external to the local Black community--with regard to the difficulties of and prospects for effective Black community building in Hamilton. This chapter summarizes the major views prevalent within Hamilton's Black community with respect to the role of racism on the problems of Black community building. Two broad issues are examined: (1) racism against local Blacks and (2) the ways in which local Blacks react to perceived racism against them.

Racism Against Local Blacks

As has been shown in the outline of Black history in Hamilton (Chapter III), Black Hamiltonians have historically had to reckon with the same types of problems encountered by Blacks elsewhere on this continent. Nevertheless, the incidents of overt racism against local Blacks have diminished so considerably that virtually every long-time resident of Hamilton readily admits to this point. For example, a retired native-born Black Hamiltonian indicated that local Blacks have experienced a decrease in occupational ghettoization and an increase in structural assimilation:

In my day, all Blacks were considered to be comedians and lazy because they were depicted so in the movies. You talked slow with that drawl. There were no Black doctors, lawyers, detectives. You were in this category where you ate chicken and watermelon....The Connaught Hotel was the only local job we had here in Hamilton—"bell boys". And a new manager came in and he fired everybody, except two--and they had to work straight nights. And, as a Black person, you could not get a room in that hotel, you could not eat in there--but you could work. This is the funny thing about White people: you could nurse their baby for them, you could be in their homes--maybe you're too dumb to steal, maybe that's how they feel--but on any social aspect, no. Now, we have a lot of social life with White people today--that's because times have changed. They meet us more often in a different level.

One of the main consequences of the decrease in overt racism in contemporary Hamilton is that some Hamiltonians now assume that, unlike the case in Toronto, racism does not exist in their city. For instance, at least one local politician, Alderman Tom Murray, has stated that Hamilton does not need a race relations committee,¹ and that the present one should be eradicated, since he can find no evidence of racism in the city (see, e.g., Hamilton Spectator, April 30, 1990:D2).

¹ Hamilton's Mayor's Race Relations Committee has been in existence since 1985 (Hamilton Spectator, April 30, 1990:D2). In the spring of 1990 it received a number of formal requests from some local politicians to consider fundamental changes to its structure and mandate (Hamilton Spectator, April 28, 1990:B2). The major requests of these politicians are that the committee reduce its present size of 35, become more representative of local "ethnic groups and visible minorities," and become less "adversarial" (Hamilton Spectator, April 30, 1990:D2).

Despite the impression of Hamilton as being more tolerant of Blacks than Toronto,¹ there are at least four well-publicized cases of police mistreatment of Blacks in Hamilton. In one of these cases, a young Black woman who was seen at the scene of a street fight was charged with assault and kept overnight in police custody, despite the contrary testimony of at least one eyewitness whose credibility was not in question (Hamilton Mountain News, March 28, 1990:3).

A more serious case involved Barry Griffith, a Black man who was charged and subsequently convicted as an accomplice in the 1981 murder of Peter Hodgins. Some local Blacks have publicly questioned the fairness of Griffith's charge and conviction on the grounds that the two key witnesses used by the police and the courts are not credible (Share, May 2, 1991:19).²

A third case of apparent police injustice in Hamilton is the one involving John Morris, a native-born Black Hamiltonian businessman and father of five grown children. In this case, Morris's wife telephoned the 911 emergency number when she believed that a teen-age girl visiting the family home was having a nervous breakdown. When police officers accompanied the ambulance attendants to the Morris's family home, Mrs Morris became

¹ One of the most explosive group relations problems in contemporary Toronto is the tense relations between the local police force and the city's Black community (see Barrett, 1987:321-323). This is hardly surprising considering the fact that between 1988 and spring 1991, five police officers on duty in Toronto and its suburbs have been charged in regards to four shooting incidents—two of which were fatal—involving Blacks (Toronto Star, May 15, 1990:A1-A2; Hamilton Spectator, May 15, 1990:A1-A2; and Hamilton Spectator, May 18, 1990:A11).

² One of the two witnesses, Patrick Belmont, admitted to having a grudge against Barry Griffith as well as to being offered a \$25,000 reward by the police department for testimony leading to Griffith's conviction. The other key witness, Stefan Dietrich who was 16 years of age when the crime was committed, testified in court that his memory may have been impaired since an accident had fractured his skull three years earlier. Dietrich also testified that he abused drugs and alcohol around the time of the crime (Share, May 2, 1991:19).

upset and insisted that they leave her home. The police officers did not respect Mrs Morris's wishes, or explain to her why they could not do so; instead, they assaulted four members of the Morris family. Ironically, the police officers laid criminal charges of assault and obstruction of justice against the four members of the Morris family whom they had assaulted, charges which were subsequently dropped in February 1987. For their part, the Morrises agreed not to lay countercharges against the police. Instead, the Morrises filed a \$1 million (one million dollars) civil suit for assault, false arrest, false imprisonment, and malicious prosecution against the Hamilton-Wentworth police force and three of its officers: Constables Blair Midgley and Richard Elston and Acting Sergeant Larry Woods. In the end, lawyers for the police force persuaded the family to drop the lawsuit and settle the matter out-of-court for an undisclosed amount of money which the family lawyer, Ray Harris, described as "significant" (Hamilton Spectator, March 7, 1990:B1).

A fourth case of apparent police injustice against a member of the Hamilton Black community is the one involving a Jamaican-born man, Desmond McIntosh. In effect, Desmond McIntosh was made the scapegoat between 1983 and 1986 in an attempt to divert attention from illegal drinking sessions which had been taking place among some Hamilton-Wentworth police vice officers in a police station since 1980 (Hamilton Spectator, December 12, 1989:F1). The drinks illegally consumed were those seized from bootleggers, drunken drivers, and others who violated liquor laws; the drinks had been placed in a basement storage room and were scheduled for use as exhibits (Hamilton Spectator, December 16, 1989:A1).

In terms of community building, the importance of the incidents involving some members of the local police force and some local Blacks is that some Blacks often cite these incidents as evidence that Blacks are often singled out for differential and unequal treatment. For example, although the police officers who tried to frame Desmond McIntosh appear to have received the necessary recompense for their wrong-doing,¹ a native-born Black woman made the following statement:

...the only way that the police could bring it [the Desmond McIntosh case] to court was to include somehow the fabrication of a sign that said "All drinks \$2"....But the real crime was the breaches of trust that went along with the many dishonest things that the group was doing. The question then arises: why was the Jamaican man and his friend—another Black—put on the stand and made to answer the rude questions that were asked of them? Mr. Desmond McIntosh and a Ms. Malinda Johnson were made to put their private lives out in public with, of course, complete press coverage....I feel that there was as much damage done to the McIntosh man and his little group of friends as was done to all of the officers involved.

Among local Blacks, the distrust of formal authority goes beyond the local police department. Indeed, a major theme within the Hamilton Black community is a distrust for the various levels of government as well as for government-funded programs such as Multiculturalism. Perhaps the most vivid expression of this view is that of the Tillie Johnson Committee, an ad hoc group set up in 1986 to deal with the experiences of the Black Hamiltonian woman after whom the committee was named. The following

¹ Six of the police officers were charged in 1986. Constable Randy Bailey, the officer who fabricated the evidence in order to facilitate the conviction of Desmond McIntosh on bootlegging charges, resigned from the police force in 1988 after he was convicted on a number of grounds including fabricating evidence (Hamilton Spectator, December 12, 1989:F1).

is an excerpt from a typewritten statement prepared by the Tillie Johnson committee:

...Since as far back as ten years ago she [Tillie Johnson] has endured a barrage of ignorant acts, character slurs and obstruction of business....For example, in 1982 Tillie suffered the humiliation of having urine poured into her stand and produce by another market vendor and when she reported the incident [she] had to bear the embarrassment of having market management laughing and scoffing at her for complaining about this vulgar infringement of Public Health Laws.

It appears that no committee, government body or elected official identified as being the appropriate people to handle matters of this nature are prepared to act on the well documented breaches of the law....Apathy on the part of City Hall encouraged the continuation and vehemence of incidents which were carried out with impunity because there was no fear of reprisal from anyone.

Every Black person interviewed expressed, to some degree, the view that the various levels of government are not making significant efforts to attend to the needs of Blacks in Canada. For example, a native-born Hamiltonian who is in her mid-60s said the following:

...the government isn't doing anything to help us. Sure, they have Multiculturalism, which is good for European immigrants who want to lose their accent and join the mainstream. But if you're Black they'll call you a nigger even if you have no accent. Our problems are too deep-rooted for Multiculturalism....I've decided the best thing is to start fighting single-handedly....My dream is to set up a powerful group to fight in this city. Maybe up to fifty percent of my group will be Americans. You know the Americans don't take nonsense from anybody.

Similarly, a Black man who occupies leadership positions in two major Black organizations in Hamilton said the following:

Multiculturalism is a misnomer. If you look at Statistics Canada it talks about Portuguese, Polish, Jews, Italians, ex cetera, ex cetera. And when it comes to the other peoples it says "and others": the Black people, the West Indian people--all others fall into the "and others". They were not delineated; they were not categorized....Don't tell me that that group of people because they do not have numbers are any less significant than the ones who have the most numbers. The government makes that argument because in the government's eyes--in the government's terms--it translates into votes....And then there's an unrecognizable force coming from the Multicultural Centre. The Multicultural people, the Multicultural Centre--the idea is to divide and conquer. They too say they speak for the Black people. Yet they do not do anything toward quote unquote the Black endeavor. What they want the Black people to do, and these Black organizations to do, is to come to the Multicultural Centre and pay for the use of the Centre. And that's the extent of their interest.

A Caribbean-born Black man indicated that the various levels of government in Canada are not responsive to Blacks because Black Canadians lack the power to command the respect of Canadian politicians. He put it as follows:

The various levels of government are responsive to the needs of any community in proportion to the amount of economic, social, or moral power of that group. This is a capitalist society. This is a society that is based upon the right of might, okay....Power doesn't take a backseat to anything but power and, therefore, in order for politicians to be responsive to us we must have power. Look at the last few killings of Black youth in Toronto and Montreal, alright. In every case the police have been excepted. Also, there is such a large Black population in Canada and we have been unable to get Canada to totally distance itself from South Africa. You know, the government has not been able to affect the growing use of drugs among Black people. It cannot and would not address itself to skyrocketing unemployment. Why? Because they're not afraid of us. They don't respect us.

Similarly, a Caribbean-born Black man who immigrated to Hamilton in the early 1970s made the following statement:

The governments are not responsive because we have not been able to make demands. You see that is the problem you have not been able to make demands and in most elective processes if you want and you can deliver in block, your demands become very important, but we have not been able to deliver in block. So, our demands have not been necessarily that important....The government will give enough to make you happy, quote unquote. Okay? If you want anything really more than that, really more than subsistence, you would have to show them, you would have to lobby, use a lobby entry. We have not been able to lobby very well down this neck of the woods. I mean, we have not been able really to lobby for and to put any more people in any positions.

It is significant that even in Toronto where, due to factors such as the large Black population and the tense relations between segments of the Black community and the police force, Black leaders are quite visible in both the local and national media, the Black community is distrustful of politicians and other leaders. For example, in their study of ethnic identity in Toronto, Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz (1990:237-243) found that most (54%) West Indians (i.e., Caribbean nationals) believed that "politicians do not take ethnic leaders seriously." They also found that most (65%) of the West Indians believed that their ethnic community leaders are not well enough connected to important people in business and government to be politically efficacious.¹ Most significantly, West Indians had the lowest percentage (34%)--and the highest incident (24%) of "Don't know"--of those who disagreed with the statement that "Even if more active, [ethnic community] leaders and

¹ The study dealt with seven ethnic groups: Chinese, German, Italian, Jewish, Portuguese, Ukrainian, and West Indian. West Indians had the highest scores in the two questions already mentioned.

organizations would not get more attention" from politicians and government officials.

Given the basic lack of confidence in Canadian governments, it is not surprising that Black Hamiltonians tend to have reservations about the utility to their community of participating in Canadian political life. They tend to give a qualified support to the idea of participating--by way of voting or working on behalf of Canadian politicians--in Canadian politics. The following statement by a Caribbean-born man who immigrated to Canada in the mid-1970s is typical of the responses received to the question of whether participation in Canadian political life is beneficial to Blacks:

Yes, provided that this participation is looked upon in a strategic, tactical aspect, right, and not as the method of social change or empowerment. You know, as long as we don't become too naive in thinking that the Liberal party or the NDP or the Progressive Conservatives are our friends and will act on our behalf, right. As long as we do not think that we can become Prime Minister of this country--any Black individual--and remain ideologically unchanged, right. As long as we don't believe that Lincoln Alexander is a Black man, right, that Lincoln Alexander is an African in consciousness and in terms of who he serves, then, fine, we can participate in politics. But the best way to participate in politics is to have power...like the Reichmans. That's right. You don't need to run, you don't need to vote. All you need to do is to have economic and social power and political power will inevitably follow. But we Black people have neither so, therefore, the gains that we would make in terms of political activity are not only limited, but our activities themselves would be limited.

Given their view that they are not accepted at the institutional level, it is not surprising that local Blacks tend to state that their White counterparts assume that, because they are Black, they could not be of Canadian ancestry or,

indeed, citizenship.¹ A common statement of the Black interviewees is that when Whites ask them the question, "Where are you from?" the presupposition is that they could not have been born in Canada. As indicated in both the Introduction and Chapter I, the view by local Blacks that they are not fully accepted by the majority is consistent with the sociological literature in both Canada and the United States (See Clarke, 1986; Driedger, 1989:54; and Pinkney, 1975). The following statement from a young Black Hamiltonian woman illustrates this point:

No matter how nice I dress when people see me, first and foremost, they see me as Black. I once went for this interview dressed in a skirt-suit--a nice skirt, a nice jacket, and so on. I went a few minutes early and sat down to wait. After the interview, the woman who interviewed me asked if I'd like to take the job. I told her 'no' and that the salary didn't quite meet my expectations. After we talked for a while, she started asking me how come I was so well dressed. I told her 'well, back home you have to be well dressed for interviews'.

Similarly, a native-born Black woman who is in her 60s said the following:

Have you ever noticed how if you're Black people automatically assume that you're a foreigner. God help you if you're Black and have an African or Moslem name and, on top of that, have an accent. This is something that always amazes me, because, if you're White no matter how strange your name sounds everybody will assume that you're a Canadian. I've seen White

¹ For me, the realization that, in spite of how I conceived of myself, in the minds of some Canadians I am first and foremost a Black man came to me in the spring of 1980 when a White female cashier wrongly accused me of shoplifting at a gift store in a shopping mall in Halifax, Nova Scotia. After being strip-searched by White male security guards in a busy walk-way outside the said store, both the security guards and the cashier apologized to me for the embarrassment inflicted on me. They then told me that the only reason I was suspected of being a shoplifter was that I matched the profile of the typical shoplifter in that mall: I was a young, Black man. Before that experience, not only was skin color not an important component of my self-identity, it was not an important consideration for me in terms of my social cleavages; what I considered fundamental were religious and social class issues.

people whose accent is so thick that you can cut it with a knife yet nobody asks them where they're originally from.

Quite interestingly, many Hamiltonian Blacks, generally the African-born, stated that fellow Blacks often make the same types of comments and ask them the same types of questions for which Blacks tend to claim that Whites do not accept them as Canadians.¹ An African-born man said the following:

I don't know about you, but in my experience White people are not ready to accept we Blacks as Canadians. Therefore, those of us who are now Canadian citizens must always watch over our shoulders. We must never forget that we are Canadian citizens only on paper....Whenever you mention that you have this friend who did so and so, what's the first thing Canadians will say: "Is this friend back in your country?" When you tell them the friend is in Canada, they'll say, "When did he come here?" Like you're not supposed to have any friends in Canada....The worst thing is that the Black people, the West Indians, are not different—except the educated ones, the few who know about Africa, not just those who went to school.

The fact that Blacks, including those who are immigrants to Canada, sometimes ask fellow Blacks these questions suggests that the questions are not invariably racially motivated. Nevertheless, at least when initiated by Whites, Blacks tend to view these questions as racist and condescending.

One of the clearest areas in which Blacks are systematically prevented from full participation in the larger society is with respect to decision-making. A Black man said the following:

¹ This, indeed, was quite true in my experience. For example, almost without exception, Blacks who introduced me to other members of their voluntary organizations included the fact that I am a Nigerian national. Thus, I was typically introduced in the following way: "This is Efa—and I can't quite pronounce his last name so I won't even try. He's a Nigerian and he's studying at Mac...."

In North America, making money is not difficult. If all else fails, put on a back-to-front collar and get up and preach the word. You can make some bread on that too....The problem is that what this society has done to us is color our mobility senses and said to us, what you need is money. But like I said before, Michael Jackson makes a hell of a lot of money but I don't think you are going to want him to represent you as a member of parliament....Society will allow you to make as much money as you want but don't try to be the one to change things, that's when you get into problems. Therefore, many of our people, and that's across the board, are into all sorts of schemes to make money and some of them are doing fairly well. But I wonder how many of us would really be accepted in the change-making roles of this society....Not many. I don't think many at all.

Virtually every Black person interviewed mentioned at least one incident in which either some circumstance or the actions of others made him or her feel extremely different from the mainstream population solely on the basis of skin color. For example, a young, Black woman discussed her family's experience with a real estate agent whose services had been enlisted by her parents in order to facilitate the sale of their home in Hamilton. According to this woman, the real estate agent indicated that it would be a lot easier to sell the family home if the family photographs are taken off the walls. The original reason this Black woman gave for telling this story was to illustrate "how strange some Hamiltonians are." The first time she was contacted about commenting on the story all she would say was that "I don't know what to make of it." When she was contacted a second time she said the following:

Thinking back--and this happened in the 1970s--all I can say is that, more than any thing else, that man's suggestion made it clear to me that in my family we're Black and, therefore, not a part of the mainstream. This was a serious thing because when we were growing up in England the important things were what

you did and how much money you had to spend, and not the color of your skin.

The nature of racism experienced by Black Hamiltonians as well as their lack of acceptance as full-fledged Canadians illustrate the processes of typification and altercasting in Black/White interactions. Evidence of typification is seen in the fact that Blacks are treated as a "type" and not as individuals (Hewitt, [1976] 1991:175-177). The notion of typification explains why police officers would assume (as in the Morris case mentioned above) that Blacks who are at a scene in which police services are needed must be the source of the problem. This notion also helps us to understand why Blacks may be commonly seen as a "type"—generally, as "West Indian"; that is, this notion helps us understand why a Black person may not be readily seen as a Canadian or as having a "Canadian accent". Berger and Luckmann (1967:31-32) discuss the concept of typification as follows:

Every typification...entails incipient anonymity. If I typify my friend Henry as a member of category X (say, as an Englishman), I ipso facto interpret at least certain aspects of his conduct as resulting from this typification—for instance his tastes in food are typical of Englishmen, as are his manners, certain of his emotional reactions, and so on. This implies, though, that these characteristics and actions of my friend Henry appertain to anyone in the category of Englishman, that is, I apprehend these aspects of his being in anonymous terms. (Emphases in original)

The statements from Black Hamiltonians outlined above also show evidence of altercasting in Black/White interactions. The notion of altercasting refers to the process whereby one person in an interaction (ego) casts the other (alter) into a role that the former chooses for the latter, in an attempt to manipulate the situation for selfish reasons (Weinstein, 1969 and Hewitt, [1976] 1991:200-203). From the point of view of minorities, the greatest

dilemma posed by altercasting is that they are placed on the defensive--thereby creating the impression that the views of the dominant partner in the interaction is valid. According to Hewitt ([1976] 1991:201), even when a negative attribution is denied, "there lies the acceptance of an issue--an implicit agreement that what is charged is worth talking about and thus might be true."

For local Blacks, a crucial consequence of the externally imposed social distance between their community and the mainstream society is that the former lack a strong economic base. Thus, virtually every Black interviewee identified the absence of a strong economic base as one of the major problems faced by Blacks both individually and collectively. A native-born Black man made the following statement:

I think our biggest problem is economic. In this society a group cannot expect to be respected unless it has a strong economic base. Look at the Sikhs. They control the taxi and Limo business, especially at Toronto airport. Look at the Chinese. They control the corner store business all over the place. Therefore, these people don't care if you don't want to hire them or live near them. The Chinese don't care if you don't want to buy from them because they know that you'll buy when they are the only store open in your area. Besides, their own people always buy from them. What business do we Black people control? None. We're always working for someone else. When you work for a salary, people do not respect you. This is why you find that White people don't think much of us. They like to choose our friends for us. They like to decide for us which of our people are really Black, quote unquote. They make demands of us that they dare not make of themselves or of any other group: they demand that just because we're Black we must all like one another, we must all hang around one another.

A Caribbean-born Black Hamiltonian who is a social worker in Toronto indicated that a link exists between the relative lack of economic and

other resources in the Hamilton Black community and the problems of Black community building in the city. He said the following in response to the question of what he believed to be the greatest problem confronted by Blacks in Hamilton:

I think the most overarching problem that Black people face in Canada is the fact that Black people do not have institutions to help them to be resistant to racism in this society and to weather the social evils that rampage through the society because of the society's own inherent corruption, materialism, and lack of values. Black people are the last hired and the first fired; they suffer a chronic unemployment situation. There's Affirmative Action. It's okay, but it cannot solve the problem. I believe that what can solve the problem is more Black people going into more Black businesses. Owning Black businesses is an institutional way within the Black community whereby we could hire our own....I think, fundamentally, the answer to your question is a lack of institutions and resources in order to combat this particular racist environment in which we live.

It is true that a number of Blacks, such as Lincoln Alexander (Canada's first Black Member of Parliament and Ontario's first Black Lieutenant Governor), Howard McCurdy (a Member of Parliament for Windsor, Ontario), and Rosemary Brown (a former member of the British Columbia Provincial Parliament), have achieved prominent political positions in contemporary Canadian society. But some members of the local Black community see such positions as evidence of tokenism and not of an open society. The following statement from an interviewee in response to the question of what constitutes the major problem confronted by Blacks in Hamilton illustrates this view:

Let's take Canada in general. I think basic, basic problem is the level to which one can rise. Let me clarify that. You know that you are told that everything is available to you, if you work hard enough. But you and I know that that is not necessarily true—

that everything is available to a certain point. After that point, you are still shut out of the system. Okay? What our society does is it gives one or two token people, puts a strain on those individuals to maintain that level of identity that they have created for them and still maintain their blackness--which might mean helping your brother. I will give you an example. We have a Lieutenant Governor who is Black, okay? But I guarantee you that that has placed a strain on him in terms of his relationship with Black people. And it has, because he cannot and does not want to be seen as favoring Black people in anything that he does.

In terms of community formation, one of the important considerations concerning the economic clout of the Hamilton Black population is that, in general, the institutional strength of an ethnic community is positively related to the economic and other resources available to the group (Reitz, 1980:97). As shown earlier (see Chapter I), it is because of the influence of economic resources on institutional strength that the attempt to judge the cohesion of an ethnic group in terms of the group's "institutional completeness" is often misleading (Reitz, 1980:97).

Apart from the cases in which persons in positions of authority use such official capacities in discriminating against them, Blacks in Hamilton tend not to conceive of racial discrimination as a major concern. Some of the Blacks who were asked the question concerning their perceptions of racial discrimination in Hamilton stated that they are certain about the existence of such discrimination but that they have had no obvious personal experiences. For example, a Black woman said the following:

I can't say that I've been noticeably discriminated against. This doesn't mean that I've not been discriminated against.

A Black male professional who is a long-time resident of Hamilton said the following:

There's racial discrimination in Canada. There's no doubt about that. But it depends on where you are, what you do, and the people you associate with. The people I associate with at the professional level, obviously, are not the types that would discriminate. They look at what you've done and what you can do rather than at the color of your skin.

Another Black man responded in the following way when he was asked whether he has experienced racism in Canada:

I came to Canada in 1974 in the aftermath of the Trudeau liberalization policies towards non-White people coming into Canada. But that aftermath also led to a highly racist backlash in Canada at the time because Canadians, now having to adjust to such large numbers of non-White people, reacted in a very racist way. When I came here there were regular beatings of Blacks and East Indians on the subways and a high level of racist graffiti on walls. I remember the Western Guard, Toronto's home-grown racist organization, came within a couple thousand votes of winning the mayoral seat of Toronto....Yes, I've experienced racism. I've experienced name-calling, I've seen graffiti on washroom walls, I've seen racism on T.V., I've experienced racism in the material in classroom; and in the attitudes of people. Racism is a very real thing to me.

Most of the Black Hamiltonians who claim to have experienced racial discrimination at the personal level have had these experiences in the areas of employment and housing. A 79 year old native-born Black man stated that it was only after WW II created a shortage a laborers that Blacks were offered a wide range of jobs in Hamilton. He added the following about housing opportunities for Blacks:

It was awfully hard to rent a place. People took out petitions to prevent home ownership. In 1948 I wanted to build a house in Stoney Creek. The Real Estate man told us that there were no building lots out there. I went and saw a lot with a sign on it and I went to my lawyer and told him "you buy that lot for me and turn it over to me". When it was being built a lady down the street took up a petition. She thought —, my wife, was White

and she took me for Black. This was at the end of the War. She went to a German couple living next door and they said that they wouldn't sign it because our house was bigger than theirs and it would put their property value up. I purposely cultivated that one and I turned that woman into a lady. We got her into our house, to our bowling league. When my wife took sick and she took our two adopted boys in. And when we sold that place, we were the only friends she had. We were patient, my wife and I, we cultivated her. We had to teach her, and she went to that German couple and said "my goodness, how wrong you could be!" You've got to know someone. I didn't try to rape her or anything. There is this fear.

A Caribbean-born Black man said the following with regard to his experiences in finding employment within his field of expertise in Hamilton:

Hamilton is the most difficult place—in fact, I'll give you an example. I am a school psychologist and I have worked in a lot of places around Hamilton but I have never worked in Hamilton. I have worked in Toronto, I am now Chief Psychologist in Brantford. I have applied to the Hamilton Board of Education but have never gotten in. I will give you an even better example, my wife was trained as a social worker with the Hamilton Board, okay....When time came for hiring suddenly she was not the one they were looking for. So, that tells you how— She is now working with Peel. She worked in Toronto also....In Hamilton you found, more than in Toronto, when you went in for a job you were over qualified. When you went in for a job, it was no longer there. You knew it was racism, but it is not like the U.S. where they can tell you, "we don't like you". You can't pin it down, and if you can't pin it down, the difficulty is in seeking redress because what do you seek redress for? They tell you that you are over qualified. Now, we know that is a lot of bullshit. But that is the way the cookie crumbles. Things are never there, things sort of nebulously disappear when you go for them—you know, like the jobs and that sort of thing.

A Caribbean-born Black man said the following about his experience with regard to locating suitable accommodation when his family moved to the Hamilton CMA in the 1970s:

We had this experience--and this is going back--that we really knew. It took place in Burlington. We were looking for an apartment. We just called. My wife had called--and since she has a soft voice sometimes it is very hard to tell the accent, versus mine because I have a very voice--and...the lady said the apartment is available. So I called and I said we would like to come and look at it and she said no, she had just rented it. I asked one of the guys at work if he would call the lady and ask if the place is rented and she said "no, the place is available". When we walked up to the door, she was shocked. I said, 'Do me a favor; don't lie like that. You know this apartment is available. However, I appreciate because if you did not want us. It is better for me to be out instead of being in knowing that you can wreck my car or something.' That is one of the instances I remember. There were other instances where you just can't put your finger on it.

The perception of racism and the related perception that Blacks are not regarded as Canadians tend to make Blacks feel alienated from the social life of the city. Thus, Blacks tend to be "isolates" who find it quite difficult to assimilate into, or otherwise form, formal social groups--including Black ones. In short, Blacks tend not to be structurally assimilated into Hamiltonian society.

Reactions to Racism

In her study of the political behavior of Blacks in Canada, McClain (1979) contends that the responses of Blacks to perceived racism may be classified into four main categories: (1) aggression (e.g., verbally confronting the perceived discriminator), (2) displaced aggression (e.g., child or spousal abuse), (3) acceptance, and (4) avoidance.

Our data reveal the preponderance of the first and the last categories of responses--aggression and avoidance--within the local Black community.

Our data also indicate that the manner in which local Blacks react to incidents of perceived racism is a direct reflection of both their particular station in life and the subtle nature of these incidents. Relatively young Blacks (those born after World War II), especially those who have post-secondary education and are of African or Caribbean ancestry, are more likely to verbally confront perceived discriminators than are their older counterparts. In contrast, older Blacks typically respond to discrimination through avoidance.

Verbal Confrontations

One pattern of response used by some Blacks in their interactions with non-Blacks is by confronting the perceived discriminator in a somewhat subtle verbal manner. This is the stance typically adopted by both Black professionals and second and subsequent generation young Black Canadians. The following statement from an African-born businessman illustrates the latter stance:

A lot of people are trying to challenge me in the area of business. They always ask me, "How do you manage to know this business?"....In the beginning, I didn't take it seriously. But after some time I started answering them 'Why do you ask me that?' I learned...Then sometime I come to the point where I replied them how come you are in business? To make money. I say, 'same thing: I'm in business to make money.' You know, sometime they ask me, "what do you sell?" I say, 'what do you want to buy?' For instance, when I went out this morning I saw a friend and he asked me what am I doing. I'm buying and selling and importing. He says "What do you import?" I say 'Well, what do you want to import.' "Mmm, what about drugs?" Then I just laughed and said, 'Well, you know where to find it—but not here.' I say 'Anything legit, I can bring this for you....Then he laughed and we left there. I learned to answer them back. I used to just ignore it and just keep quiet. But when you keep quiet there is a question mark. You left a suspicion

there. I always try to say what's in my mind; I don't care whether these are friends or whatever but they know sooner or later they will not ask me that question again. And they will help change from asking someone else. Roughly, they all see us Blacks as druggies. To be honest with you, they all think when you're Black you must be doing drugs.

At the collective level, the most vivid example of directly confronting perceived discriminators can be found in the actions of the committee which organizes Hamilton's largest Black-centered festival, the annual Cari-Can festival. The following excerpt from a 1989 press release made by this committee is quite insightful:

We, the members of the Cari-Can Committee are very disappointed, distressed and upset by the way the Finance Committee of the City of Hamilton has treated us....

During our 1988 application we were told that "the City can not afford to support another festival". This would seem to be not only an unsatisfactory response, but a rather inaccurate response. It is very unfair for a City to deny an annual festival on this basis while in the next breath as it were supporting a brand new festival: "Earthsong". What is even more abusive, injurious and insulting is the City's approval and support of this new festival to the tune of \$30,000 two weeks before the Cari-Can festival at the same location, Dundurn Park....

In light of these circumstances, the following questions beg for answers:

Why would the City's finance committee refuse to support an annual festival which would bring over 100,000 people into the city?

Why is the City giving financial and other support to a brand new festival when it told the Cari-Can Committee that it could not support another new festival...?

What are the real reasons for not lending support to the Cari-Can Festival?

There are two reasons why Blacks of African and Caribbean origins are more likely to confront perceived discriminators than their counterparts of North American origins. First, they are generally professionals who are more

readily marketable in the economic sphere than their unskilled counterparts and, second, they grew up in African countries in which virtually all the elites are fellow Blacks. The businessman mentioned above explained his stance as follows:

Maybe it's because I was not brought up here. What I understand is that its something they get right from the beginning--right from childhood....For instance, just going to school or something--they are always putting Blacks back.

Quite curiously, there is a tendency among Black Hamiltonians, the middle class ones in particular, to suggest that Blacks who have encountered overt racial discrimination may have helped to create the situations that engendered these practices. For instance, a Black male professional said the following:

I'm not saying that racism doesn't exist. It exists all over the world. What I'm saying is that we, as a group, are not doing anything to prevent it. And, as you know, when you're down, they'll tread on you--and we're down already. If you're down already the best thing to do is keep yourself clean. If you keep yourself clean nobody will be able to hold anything against you. It's easy for me to see why these Black kids get in trouble--you know, in Toronto and all over the place. They come in with the impression that everything is gold out here--only to realize that you have to work twice as hard to have what people here have. They want the material things but they don't want to work for them. They just want to get the gold chains. Well, life's not that easy.

Similarly, a Black long-time resident of Hamilton who is a real estate investor said the following:

...sure, there's discrimination. There's discrimination in housing. I have no doubt that if you're Black you may have difficulty getting accommodation....When I first came here I experienced such discrimination....I met a superintendent who told me the place had been taken. I went back, called again, and

it was still there. I came back and he repeated the same kind of story: "it's been taken". But, then, in hindsight, now I can see what the problem can be. I've had some Black tenants and some of them are difficult to deal with. So I can see why a landlord who's had problems would be very reluctant to get another one. The most difficult tenants I've had have always been Black.

Avoidance

The phenomenon of avoidance manifests itself essentially through role distance (Goffman, 1961). A very lucid statement with regard to avoidance was made by a Caribbean-born man who moved to Toronto in the early 1970s and to Hamilton shortly thereafter:

I think that if you were to ask me what the major problem faced by Blacks in the U.S. is I'd probably say racism. In Canada, this is probably true too. But the racism here is extremely subtle. In the States, racists will call you nigger to your face, therefore, you know what people and places to avoid. In Canada, the same people who smile at you, who even invite you home for dinner, are the ones who plan behind your back to push you down. I think one can say that there are degrees of subtleness of racism within Canada. It is more subtle here in this town than it is in Toronto, for example. Fortunately for me, my mother had lived in Canada for a while before sending for me; therefore, I knew what to expect in Canada and how to always watch my back, if you know what I mean. I learned how to play the fool with the fools.

This pattern of thought is also well represented by a Caribbean-born middle-aged Black man who has lived in Canada since the early 1960s. He responded as follows to the inquiry regarding his reactions to a man who apparently denied him a job because of his skin color:

I call people like that ignorant. I didn't want to make a big issue because you will have to creep first before you can walk or run.

A retired native-born Black Hamiltonian said the following in response to the question of what his experiences have been in Hamilton:

There was a time that I was prepared to kill because of discrimination....This is what we've come up with and it is not over yet. I've learned to be patient, to fight with words and pleasant smiles. I would smile even though I'm not happy, although that might be deceitful. Jesus teaches this. Take the man who says "you like watermelon" and you say 'Yes. I like it fried'. That word "fried" makes him realize how stupid he is. So many persons are stupid about the other fellow.

Similarly, a Black professional stated that what bothers her most about life in Canada is the insidious nature of the racism existing in the country. She said the following about her experiences in Hamilton:

It bothers me to no end--the possibility of some illiterate White person thinking that she's better than I am just because she has a pale skin. It sets all kinds of intellectual ramblings going on in your mind. On a personal level, I can't pinpoint anything that anyone has ever done to me directly--apart from, I think, once....I was in Eaton's and some guy walked past and, in an Italian accent, he said "Nigger" and I kind of looked. I thought I did not hear what he said so I kind of stood and looked around and he said it again. The irony of this guy with his Italian accent calling me Nigger made me laugh and that scared him so he took off.

Quite notably, the use of indirect techniques, such as laughter, is typical of relatively powerless (that is, minority) groups, such as women and children, in their dealings with those who are perceived as more powerful (Goffman, 1961:114-115 and Lipman-Blumen, 1984:91). When encounters with members of the majority cannot be readily avoided, laughter is a means of distancing oneself from the role to which one is assigned without appearing to be overly aggressive. Thus, in his discussion of "role distance" Goffman (1961:115) notes that

Sullenness, muttering, irony, joking, and sarcasm may all allow one to show that something of oneself lies outside the constraints of the moment and outside the role within whose jurisdiction the moment occurs.

Clarke (1986) discusses the importance of laughter as a "weapon against resentment" among some Blacks in Canada:

In their hearts, these men have refused to accept the various categorizations and all the conclusions that can be drawn from the categorizations that define them as "immigrants". They know, even though they are silent, that that status implies certain debilitating and mediatizing pathologies. They cannot sleep with the system or with the attitude.

But they do accommodate. They succumb to the assault. And find no weapon but laughter--the weapon of fools. It seems to be the only effective means of warding off the evil spirits and the devious assaults upon one's personality. It is a quick-witted tool that enables one to set up a temporary distance between one and those assaults.

As Glickman (1985:279) pointed out in his study of some of the effects of anti-semitism in Canada, one way in which minorities distance themselves from prejudice and discrimination is by being ambivalent towards the host society. The ambivalence of local Blacks towards Hamilton is compounded by the city's negative image as well as by its proximity to the cities of Toronto and Buffalo, New York. The following statement from a Black man who immigrated to Canada in the early 1970s illustrates this point:

I think Hamilton is still a very staid, old, White folks place....When I first moved to Toronto when I first moved to Canada, to get good Black hair products I used to have to go down to New York to my sister's once, twice, three times a year and buy my supplies for the year. Okay? Then I noticed that the stores began to bring--not only the black specialty stores, but we are talking about drug stores: Shopper's Drug Mart, for example.

And now even BiWay and Bargain Harold's you can get Black products....Now the international shelves are getting bigger and you can find things like okra..., tangerines, and sugarcane in Miracle Mart. Not in the specialty store, but in the regular stores. And that is when the community is taking us seriously. Hamilton has not been forced to change. I don't know why.

At least partly because of the overwhelmingly negative views of Hamilton, every foreign-born Hamiltonian who was asked to state his or her reasons for moving to the city cited very pragmatic considerations, such as employment opportunities. Not even one Black person indicated that s/he moved to Hamilton because of expressive attachments to the city; indeed, some of the Blacks interviewed were apologetic about living in Hamilton and, as such, claimed to be "based" in Toronto or elsewhere.¹ For example, when a Black professional was asked about her decision to move to Hamilton, she said the following:

I think my husband had a friend who knew somebody in Hamilton. You see, when we were in England his parents lived in the States and his parents wanted us to live there and I didn't want to go there. And so we—at the time we were kind of--like we wanted to do something. And the choice then was to go back home. And, as it happened, it was the time of great turmoil in Jamaica which ruled out going home because things were not that hospitable out there. Since I did not want to go to the States, we compromised to come here. I think he had a friend who lived here or who knew someone here.

¹ The preference for Toronto is quite interesting given a number of well-known negative aspects of Black life in that city—e.g., the crisis in police-Black relations and the relatively high rates of poverty and drug-related crime associated with some segments of the Toronto Black community (e.g., part of the Jane/Finch neighborhood). Part of the reason for the identification with Toronto may be because that city's positive image—a consequence of the city's status as (i) Canada's largest metropolitan area and (ii) site of one of Canada's largest festivals: the Black summer festival known as Caribana—may be deemed to outweigh the negative aspects of life there.

Given Hamilton's negative image, the city's geographical proximity to Toronto and Buffalo--cities which are viewed more positively--helps to compound the desire of many Blacks to psychologically distance themselves from Hamilton.¹ Indeed, one reason typically cited by Blacks for the lack of an institutionally strong Black community in Hamilton is the city's proximity to Toronto and American cities such as Buffalo, New York. A Black man who is involved in a number of local Black voluntary organizations said the following:

I think it is a disadvantage, a disadvantage because Toronto is so close that anything that we need that we can't really get here we go get in Toronto. In the early days, for example, I would usually go to Toronto to pick up my fish, my yams and whatnot. And that was so because I got more display, I got more freshness, I got more quality and quantity. It still is the case that if you want really good Black entertainment you have got to go to Toronto. Right? If you want to see a really good Black play--for example, Sarafina [a play about Black life in South Africa] didn't come to Hamilton, so if you wanted to see it, you had to go to Toronto. So, in essence, closeness to Toronto has forced Hamilton to be underdeveloped. Toronto is so close. It is what, 40 minutes drive by car and I have left here and gone to Toronto....So, all in all, being so close to Toronto, forces us not to get our own things.

¹ Unlike the case in Hamilton, Blacks in Winnipeg, Manitoba--a similar size city which is relatively isolated in the sense that it is more than five hours' drive from any city up to half its size--concentrate their community building efforts within their city. Thus, for example, although the size of Winnipeg's Black population (which has a considerably shorter history than Hamilton's) is comparable to that of Hamilton, Winnipeg's Blacks own and operate two community centers while Hamiltonian Blacks have none. Furthermore, unlike the case in Hamilton where almost all African-born university students leave the city, often for other Canadian cities, within months after graduating, their counterparts in Winnipeg remain even when that decision limits them to underemployment as cab drivers and security guards. Thus, only a handful of the African-born students whom I met in Hamilton in 1986 are still in the city as of spring 1991. In contrast, virtually all the African-born students whom I met in Winnipeg during my stay in that city (1978-1979 and 1980-1985) are still in the city as of spring 1991; most of those who have left the city did so for reasons beyond their control: typically, the expiration of student visas and further studies elsewhere.

Local Blacks tend to state that a Black community does not exist in Hamilton; some even go as far as suggesting that the city does not need such a community since its existence will only make discrimination against Blacks easier to plan and implement. Some Black Hamiltonians contend that this city's Blacks need to look to their counterparts in Toronto and American cities for guidelines concerning how to cope adequately in North American society. Thus, some prominent members of the community are, at best, ambivalent about the need to pursue the building of a Black community in Hamilton. When a prominent Black Hamiltonian was asked for his views of the city's Black community he said the following:

It stinks. Never any good, but stinks now more than ever. I'm not too concerned with the people of color in Hamilton. They're too fickle. Instead of building, they break.

This man also said that he has not been involved in any Hamilton-based Black organization for at least 15 years and that, in his opinion, Hamilton's major Black festival, Cari-Cana, is a "waste of time because Toronto has a great one already." He made the following statement about Black festivals in North America:

Cari-Cana in Hamilton after the one in Toronto is not necessary. The Toronto one is world renown. Its the largest ethnic thing in Canada. People come from all over the place. They make their family holidays coincide with the festival. Why do Blacks concentrate on singing and dancing? The original Caribbean festival in North America was in Brooklyn. Now we have Toronto since 1967. And Montreal. There's also one in Oshawa and one in Pickering. So Blacks just go and wind their backsides....There are too many of these festivals. Two should be enough. The one in Hamilton is a waste of time because Toronto has a great one already.

A Caribbean-born Black professional who immigrated to Canada in 1974 and has lived and worked in both Toronto and Hamilton said the following concerning Hamilton's Black community:

I don't know much about the Black community here in Hamilton. I think I don't know much about them for two reasons....I think, first of all, my link is still Toronto-based. I still look out towards Toronto rather than look in to Hamilton. I'm sort of an immigrant in Hamilton. I'm here to tap into the resources and probably split so I don't really get involved....Secondly, I think that the Black community in Hamilton—I suspect that they are not well organized. They don't have a very strong voice, I think, because if they did I would know about them—I wouldn't have to go out and search for them.

Given the essentially lack of expressive commitment to Hamilton by the Black interviewees, it is not surprising that many of these Blacks are quite reluctant about getting involved with the city's formally organized Black community. The reasons typically given for this reluctance range from a shortage of time ("too busy commuting" and "must work hard to keep up with the mortgage") to the perceived lack of meaningful activities within the Hamilton Black community. A Caribbean-born Black male professional who has lived in Canada since the early 1960s made the following statement:

Unfortunately, being a Christian, to be honest, most of the organizations--and I mean the Black ones--music and dance is all. So I've never gone to any of the functions. When the kids put on a skit or play, we try to attend but other than that, I'm not really involved....Dance and fashion shows. Is that all we can come up with?...I think we can do better. I'm sure they can get out of it. I'm sure if we get off that, you'll see a lot more people--because I, for one, will get involved. What am I going for? Music? I don't go dancing....That's all we have--music and food. When you get to these functions, you have curry goat or something to the effect--or fashion.

The relative lack of expressive commitment to Hamilton that is prevalent among local Blacks is, to a very large extent, a by-product of their lack of such commitment to Canada as a whole. For, particularly among first generation Blacks, nostalgic feelings about the Tropics seem to militate against strong expressive commitment to Canada. The following statement from a Black professional is quite insightful in this respect:

I moved to Hamilton in 1973. I got my B.A. at Mac and then got into my M.A. and Ph.D. at the U of T. And then I decided 'You're already here, you might as well stay for a while'. But, for me, Canada is still not home. It is still not the place where I'd like to lie down and die. I'd like to lie down and die by mango trees, you know what I mean. You know, mango trees and sugar cane, and some good fish from the ocean, you know. This lake perch and apples, you know, is not my idea.

Similarly, a Caribbean-born Black man explained his immigration as well as that of other Caribbean and Third World nationals to Canada in the following way:

The decision to come to Canada wasn't really a choice of mine as such. I think a lot of West Indian people, a lot of African people, a lot of people from the Third World decided to go to the First World because that's where the wealth is going. You know, based upon international imperialism--the First World exploiting the Third World--you find that certain patterns are set up where the bigger the exploiter of your country, the more your people go to that country. People are actually following their wealth because when you walk down Main Street in any of the big towns or cities in Trinidad and Tobago, its like walking down Yonge Street: Bank of Nova Scotia, Royal Bank of Canada, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, and so on. Canada is a very high profile imperialist power in the Caribbean and, therefore, a lot of Caribbean people come to Canada simply because they are following their wealth....So, it goes back to an economic type of argument. So, I came here because my mom came here. And she came here to find a better life, she came here for a job....So, really, the choice wasn't mine and, maybe,

the choice wasn't hers. The choice was really based on economic imperatives.

From the preceding discussion, it can be seen that the most significant factor in the decision of foreign-born Blacks to immigrate to Hamilton is economic. This is really not surprising, especially since the economic factor has traditionally been prominent in the decision of various peoples, including Europeans, to immigrate to North America (Simmons, 1990:142-143). Nevertheless, as will be shown in Chapter VII, the nature of Black attachment to Hamilton undermines large-scale involvement by local Blacks in local Black voluntary organizations; consequently, the most popular means of organized collective action among local Blacks is through ad hoc committees and not voluntary organizations. Among the most prominent ad hoc committees during the late 1980s were the following: Committee 87, Black History Ad Hoc Committee, and a committee that was formed to address the concerns of many local Blacks with regard to the experiences of Blacks in Hamilton-Wentworth schools.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the results of observations and interviews with regard to some trends which shed light on the problems of and prospects for successful Black community building in Hamilton. Despite the national, religious, socio-economic, and other differences among Black Hamiltonians, one area of consensus among them is the issue of racism. Although local Blacks typically claim to have had no obvious personal experience with racism, they agree that racism is a fundamental aspect of the Black experience.

Moreover, primarily as a result of the subtle nature of racism in

contemporary Hamilton, local Blacks who experience personal racism typically react in nonviolent ways. There are two other things which can be said about the reaction of local Blacks to perceived racism. First, the response to racism tends to be on an individual basis for two central reasons: (a) The local Black community does not have the institutional infrastructure to deal with such matters and (b) Local Blacks do not conceive of the racism they encounter as strong enough to warrant risking much--e.g., establishing relevant institutions. Second, the individualistic nature of response undermines, or at least does not help, efforts at community building for at least two reasons: (a) local Blacks lose a potential ground for rallying together and (b) local Blacks who have experienced racism lose a potential ground for being locked into the local Black community.

While this chapter has dealt with the militating effects of racism on local Black community building, the next chapter will discuss the ways in which some factors internal to the local Black population undermine the early emergence of a cohesive local Black community.

CHAPTER V

CONSTRAINTS ON COMMUNITY BUILDING: SOME INTERNAL FACTORS

Introduction

This chapter seeks to understand, from the perspective of local Blacks, the contributions made by some factors within Hamilton's Black community to the problems of effective community building among local Blacks. As outlined in Chapter I, there are a number of factors internal to ethnic categories which facilitate their transformation into viable social groups. To reiterate, these factors include (1) common culture or customs (i.e., cultural homogeneity); (2) a sense of peoplehood (i.e., ethnic identity); (3) leadership; (4) institutions; (5) *gemeinschaft* or informal relations such as friendships; and (6) "race" (Isajiw, 1979:4 and Driedger, 1989:143). While these factors facilitate the emergence and maintenance of ethnic groups, their absence virtually dooms to failure attempts at community building.

Chapters VI and VII will examine the role of institutions while Chapter VIII will deal with the role of *gemeinschaft* relations in local Black community building. For its part, this chapter focuses on the first three characteristics¹: heterogeneity, ethnic identity, and leadership. It is argued (1) that ambiguity of group identity and problems of effective leadership are standard traits which Blacks share with other minority groups (Freire,

¹ The discussion is based primarily on interviewees' responses to a number of open-ended questions--particularly numbers 9 and 12; 1,2 and 3; and 4 and 14--listed as "General Interview Questions" in Appendix II.2.

1971:29) and (2) that the existence of these traits exacerbates the problems posed by the heterogeneity of the local Black population. In particular, this chapter maintains that while the local Black community possesses to some degree most of the characteristics listed above, certainly "race", it lacks the leadership necessary to use these characteristics in translating itself into a cohesive community.

Heterogeneity of the Population

Although Blacks are homogeneous in terms of physical characteristics as well as in their categorization by the general population as a people (Goffman, 1963:23 and Hewitt, [1976] 1991:149), the ability of the local Black population to become a cohesive community is restricted by its heterogeneity in terms of a number of factors, particularly (1) national origins (geographic-cultural heterogeneity), (2) educational and occupational (i.e., social class) background, and (3) residential dissimilarity.

These three factors are important for understanding local Black community building, for the difficulties in building Black communities in Canada are typically explained in terms of two major factors: geographic-cultural and social class differences among Blacks (Ramcharan, 1982:49). Where residential dissimilarity exists, it is typically seen as an outcome of the two factors mentioned above. For example, Winks (1971:464-465) notes that despite the creation of numerous voluntary associations intended to strengthen the Canadian Negroes' social and economic position, they did not emerge from the verbal phase of their activity until after World War II, when they began to see that the sources of strength upon which they had been

depending were ineffective without greater unity. When the search for unity came, it was directed as much toward seeking out an alliance with other minority groups within a province as toward a national Negro alliance. At first, Canadian Negroes in Montreal learned that they could expect more support from radical Jewish groups than from West Indians....The old divisions continued even among the Canadian-born, as in New Brunswick, where before the war the old-line Loyalist Negroes of Kingsclear, near Fredericton, looked down upon the fugitive-line Negroes who lived near the city, and refused to let their daughters marry "niggers."

Similarly, Barrett (1987:302) makes the following observation about Blacks in Nova Scotia:

In Nova Scotia alone, there were at least four distinct categories of Blacks: Loyalist blacks, Maroon blacks from Jamaica, Refugee blacks, and fugitive black slave descendants; the last named occupied the lowest rung even among other blacks. In recent decades, with a growing black population from the West Indies and the United States, the degree of fragmentation has been even greater, with considerable resentment among native-born blacks towards the sophisticated, highly educated West Indian immigrants...who tend to regard them as country bumpkins....

In the province of Quebec, the differences among Blacks is compounded by the existence of language differences within the Black population, especially since the language differences contribute to a geographical separation among Blacks—with the English speaking Blacks residing in English residential areas and their French speaking counterparts residing in French residential areas (Laferriere, 1982).

The three dimensions of heterogeneity that are crucial for understanding the nature of Black community building--nationality,

educational and occupational background, and residential dissimilarity--will be discussed under separate sub-headings.

Nationality

As outlined in Chapter III, there are three main categories of Blacks in Hamilton, defined in terms of geographic-cultural origins: (1) Caribbean nationals, (2) indigenous Canadians, and (3) African nationals. Both the Caribbean and African categories consist of Blacks from a number of different countries including Barbados; Dominica; Guyana; Jamaica; St. Vincent; Trinidad and Tobago; Ghana; Nigeria; and Sierra Leone.

The importance of geographic-cultural homogeneity in community building has been outlined by Qureshi and Qureshi (1983:140), with specific reference to Pakistani Canadians. And, in a recent study, Scheffel (1991:84) found that in spite of the religious homogeneity of his study group, an Alberta-based "conservative" branch of Eastern Christendom known as the Old Believers, community building was impeded by ethnic or tribal differences. Among local Blacks, one of the main consequences of the differences in national background relates to different orientations towards Canada: members of the old-line Black families recognize only Canada as "home" while members of the other categories of Blacks typically do not conceive of Canada in the same way. As one native-born "old timer" indicated,

These days we try to always stick together and to fight, if need be. You see, some of you can always return home if things get too rough here. Some of us have nowhere else to go.

As a result both of their orientation towards Canada and the experience of growing up in Canada where Blacks have historically been only a marginal group, native-born Black Canadians tend to be less willing to challenge the status quo than are members of the other categories of Blacks. A Caribbean-born man who has lived in Hamilton since the early 1970s made the following statement:

You see, there is a slight schism, I have always felt, between native born Blacks and immigrant Blacks. I think native born Blacks are more willing to accept the status quo. I think immigrant Blacks are more willing to try and change the status quo and that has brought a little bit of problem in some cases....Many of us coming in...have come in from our countries from positions of prominence, have known what it is to lead at very young ages. Because we were the first of that new breed of our people, we were given responsibility quite easily without much of a problem....We grew up in a Black society and we knew how to run things ourselves.

Given the importance of geographic-cultural homogeneity in successful community building, it is not surprising that general consensus exists among Hamiltonian Blacks about the lack of unity within their community. For example, an officer in Hamilton's major Black umbrella organization, the Afro-Canadian Caribbean Association (ACCA), said the following about her perceptions of the local Black community:

We are still, as a people, very, very much fragmented--in terms that, even from a social aspect, you find that there are the odd situations where people make friends with others--and that's fine. But, basically, if you get--if you go to a social event it tends to be people of like origin in terms of wherever it is that they came from, you know. So I don't see it as an insurmountable task. But its fairly difficult to try to break down.

A Caribbean-born man who is a member of a number of local Black voluntary organizations, made the following statement regarding the various organizations within the Black community:

Oh there are a whole mess of them, whole mess of organizations, some with two or three members....One of the issues is that when it comes down to it, it's like in the African system or the North American System with the Indians: each tribe is different. Each island is different, and I think that a lot of the groups that were formed were formed around island lines. Like the CCA [Canadian Cultural Association] is probably Trinidadian, okay; the ACCA [Afro-Caribbean Canadian Association] is heavily Jamaican; the Dominican is Dominican; the Ghanaian is Ghanaian; the Barbados is Barbadians. And they have a Jamaican Association as well, so that has also led to some problems, I think, because people identify with regions.

Similarly, a native-born Black woman made the following statement:

I think the biggest change in the Hamilton Black population over the years is the dramatic increase in population. Unfortunately, this increase has led to less unity among us. Everybody is now, first and foremost, a Jamaican, a Trinidadian, a Ghanaian, and what have you, before they are Black. Years ago, you were Black before you were anything else.

Black Hamiltonians typically indicated that a major reason for the lack of unity within the city's Black community is the cultural heterogeneity within and among the various nations from which most local Blacks originate. However, when asked to identify specific cultural differences that undermine the formation of a unified Black community, local Blacks tend to give vague responses. For instance, a Caribbean-born Black male professional who attended university in Montreal in the 1960s before moving to Hamilton in the 1970s said the following:

It is very intriguing talking to people from Jamaica. You meet some of the boosters. The first time you meet them they say,

"Oh, you're from the small islands." Well, I say, 'Where do you think you're from? The continent?' I just avoid an argument. You remain ignorant.

When he was asked to elaborate on the cultural differences between Jamaica and his birth country, he said the following:

They call their foods different from us and we have the same food. But they think they're right because they're so close to America and because they think they have access to Miami and they could fly to Miami....They have guns, marijuana, and all that crap. I think they believe that they are different. Similar foods, just different names.

Educational and Occupational Background

Another outstanding difference among the three categories of Blacks in Hamilton relates to educational and occupational backgrounds. As is the case with the general Black African population in Canada (Simmons, 1990:153), African-born Black Hamiltonians have the highest levels of education (defined in terms of the highest educational certificate earned). Indeed, it is rare to find an African family in which neither the husband nor the wife has at least an undergraduate degree. The common pattern is for at least one adult member of the family (usually the patriarch) to have at least one graduate degree. In this sense, the educational levels of Black Hamiltonians from some individual African nations, such as Ghana or Nigeria, is considerably higher than that of any other ethnic or national group in Hamilton. For, as Pineo (1987:38-39) has shown, the local ethnic (strictly speaking, national) group with the highest level of education is the Philippino in which 66 percent had "some university" education.

The basic reason for the high educational levels among African nationals is that most of these Blacks immigrated to Canada for the express

purpose of furthering their education, as compared to the Caribbean nationals who typically immigrated to Canada for purely economic reasons. It is a testament to the high levels of educational attainment among Black Hamiltonians of African origins that they are over-represented in the most prestigious professions, as compared to the other categories of Blacks. For example, three of the seven Black medical doctors in Hamilton are African-born, with the others being of Caribbean origins. And two of the four Black professors at McMaster University who are actively involved in the local Black community are African-born, while one is Caribbean- and the other Canadian-born. Nevertheless, the high educational achievements of African-born Black Hamiltonians does not necessarily correspond to high occupational and income levels for the group; for many of these Blacks are graduate students who not only consider their stay in Hamilton temporary, but typically do not have the immigration permits to engage in permanent full-time employment in Canada.

The Black Hamiltonians of Canadian origins are, for the most part, of lower educational and occupational backgrounds than both their African- and Caribbean-born counterparts. Indeed, many of these Blacks are retired senior citizens whose lives tend to revolve around activities at the Stewart Memorial Church (SMC) and the Prince Hall (Freemasons) and Eastern Star lodges.¹ The number of young Blacks in this category of Black Hamiltonians is very limited, most of them having moved--according to some of their relatives, because they could no longer cope with the racism in Hamilton--to

¹ A notable exception among these Blacks is Lincoln Alexander, Canada's first Black Member of Parliament and Ontario's first Black Lieutenant Governor.

Toronto and other Canadian centers. The few young Blacks in this category are typically engaged in blue collar occupations.

The differences in educational and occupational background among local Blacks often result in the formation of social cliques. For instance, a Caribbean-born Black pastor who occupies leadership positions in two major Black organizations in Hamilton said the following:

There are Black people. There are visible people who are Black, who have black skins. But there's no Black community. They're all divided. They're all in separate little associations. There's no common body. There's no community. Community means coming together under a common objective, common goal, basic respects for people—irrespective of whether they came from Nigeria, they came from Barbados, or Grenada, Guadelope, Antigua, St. Kitts. But we still have that insular, if you will, prejudice—that class prejudice. If because you went to—because you may have gone to McMaster and this other chap—his skin is black too but he didn't go to McMaster, then he's of a lower class than you and you bring that with you. And, therefore, you don't want to associate with him. And, if you do, you do it with some degree of contempt.

Residential Dissimilarity

An important consequence of the heterogeneity in nationality and social class among local Blacks is the residential dissimilarity of the local Black population. As indicated in Chapter III, apart from leading to an increase in the Black population, the point system immigration policy has encouraged the immigration to Hamilton of Blacks who are both educationally and occupationally better off than their native-born counterparts. It is due primarily to the increased affluence—along with the apparently increased acceptance—of Blacks in Hamilton that the Black

population is now scattered throughout the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area (that is, Hamilton-Wentworth, Burlington, and Grimsby). Observations indicate that although there are some small residential pockets of Blacks on the "East Mountain", there is no major concentration of Blacks in any area of the Hamilton CMA. Thus, none of the interviewees indicated that most of their neighbors are Black. In addition, the 1981 "index in dissimilarity of residential patterns" according to which 0 represents complete integration and 100 complete segregation shows that the Black population of Hamilton has a score of 49.6 (Ontario, 1985:32). As indicated in Chapter I, ethnic residential concentration is an important facilitator of ethnic group identification (Weinfeld, 1985:71).

The following statement by a native-born Black woman is very insightful with respect to the contributions of residential dispersion to the problems of successful community building among Blacks in contemporary Hamilton.

Another reason why we're not so united these days is because some of our people now have money. Everybody with money is now moving to the suburbs. You won't believe the number of Blacks who live in Burlington and Ancaster. Mind you, many of them work in Toronto--some of them are people who are moving out of Toronto because of the high cost of living there. Unfortunately, many of these Blacks buy this nonsense about Burlington and these other surrounding suburbs not being part of Hamilton.

A Black psychologist who has lived in Hamilton since 1973 made the following statement:

You see, everybody is in their little enclave and nobody wants to say, "Alright, we have got to come together for the common good"....We have never lived together in one spot like the

Chinese, like the Italians. We have never been able to say, "Okay, we live on this block here and if you don't do what we want, we'll make sure you're soon out of a job; if you do what we want, we can deliver you a block of votes. If you don't do what we want, we don't deliver that block of votes." That is power. We have not been able to do that because we have not had that power.

Similarly, a Caribbean-born Black man who moved to Hamilton in the early 1970s made the following statement in response to the question of whether or not he had noticed any changes in Hamilton over the years:

I have noticed in the last couple of years...that the community has grown—definitely grown. It has grown to the point now where it is really segregated. When I first moved to Hamilton, for example, you basically knew all the Black families in Hamilton to some extent, and when you partied, you knew where the party was because there was only a few people, right? I think that the other thing is that Black people have now moved out into the suburbs, you know. And we are getting into the two cats, a dog, you know, and two point five children syndrome.

The problems posed by the residential dispersion of ethnic communities have been examined in Chapter I. To reiterate, the possession of an ecological territory is a primary factor in successful community building (Driedger, 1985:159). Hughes and Kallen (1976:88) have noted that

In multi-ethnic societies, such as Canada, residential concentration of members of the same ethnic category at the level of the local community, is an important prerequisite for the transformation from ethnic category to ethnic group. For it is only when people categorized as alike by themselves and/or others, are able to interact continually with one another, that they can develop and maintain their own distinctive culture and social institutions.

As will be shown in Chapter VIII, one of the possible consequences of the residential dispersion among local Blacks is that friendships tend to be

superficial, for, as an interviewee lamented, in Canada it is generally not convenient to "just drop by" a friend's home.

The main point of the preceding discussion is that heterogeneity undermines community building. There is no attempt to suggest that heterogeneity renders community building impossible. Indeed, although one cannot credibly dispute the importance of social class differences in terms of the problems of Black community building, the view that the existence of these differences is a primary factor militating against successful community building (Barrett, 1987:290) can be refuted on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Theoretically, ethnicity and class refer to two distinct phenomena; thus, there is no theoretical reason why identification with one should lessen identification with the other (Van den Berghe, 1987:245-246). Empirically, such differences in and of themselves have not precluded the cohesiveness of other ethnic groups. For although occupational specialization is prevalent among ethnic groups (Herberg, 1989:228-229; Herman, 1978; and Richmond, 1972), each ethnic group nonetheless consists of individuals from many social classes--just as each social class consists of individuals from many ethnic groups. For instance, Herberg (1989:139) and Kalbach (1990:38) contend that ethnic residential concentration in Canadian cities is less a direct consequence of economic position than it is of both discrimination against minority groups and the desire of group members to create or maintain ethnic enclosures.

The view that the problems of Black community building result essentially from the cultural differences among Blacks can be refuted on at least two major grounds--especially since most of these Blacks are of

Caribbean origins. First, there is no clear evidence that the local Black community was cohesive at any time--even under conditions of obvious cultural homogeneity. For example, Henry (1965:5-6) makes the following observation concerning Hamiltonian Blacks:

[There is a] relative lack of social contact among many Hamilton Negroes. One interviewer in his notes regarding his efforts to find a selectee records that he spoke to one of the selectee's two brothers who said that the older brother knew the selectee quite well--"He might even know where he lives."

Second, at least in terms of both the elements of culture permitted to co-exist with the dominant culture in North America as well as those relevant to community building, there are more cultural similarities than cultural differences among Blacks.¹ This is a rather important point, for it presents a paradox: since most Canadian Blacks are of Caribbean origins, one would anticipate only minor cultural differences among them; at the same time, however, the relative recency of their immigration may predispose them to clinging on to their national identities.

Ambiguity of Black Identity

Sociologists, such as Burke (1980:19) and Rosenberg (1981:601), contend that the self comprises a number of identities which are related to one

¹ For example, not only are polygamous marriages illegal in Canada, but they are frowned upon by virtually all segments of the society. Thus, a Caribbean-born Black Moslem man who had received the sanction of his "legal wife" to marry a second woman had to settle for a co-habitation arrangement--apparently approved by both women.

In a Montreal, Quebec case with which a number of Black Hamiltonians are familiar, local policemen fatally shot a 26 year old Caribbean-born Black man, Presley Leslie, in a downtown bar, the Thunder Dome. According to eye-witnesses, the Black man was shot five times from a range of about two metres (six feet) because he engaged in one of the practices permitted in his native land: he fired two shots into the bar's ceiling to indicate that he particularly liked the song being played (Hamilton Spectator, April 10, 1990:A5).

another in a salience hierarchy. In this view, the salience of a particular identity is related directly to the social context in which one finds oneself. Thus, for example, in a religious setting one's religious identification (e.g., Christian, Jewish, or Moslem) tends to be more salient than one's identity as a student or as a Black person. Kuhn and McPartland's (1954) Twenty Statements Test, which requires respondents to write 20 different answers to the question "Who am I?", is based on the idea of identity salience.

As outlined in Chapter I, Isajiw (1975:132) argues that ethnic groups in Canada go through three phases in terms of their intergenerational quest for identity maintenance: (1) transplantation, (2) rejection, and (3) rediscovery. Since Blacks typically do not have the option of being fully integrated into the larger society (Driedger, 1985:171 and Richmond, 1990:364), Isajiw's (1975:132) scheme, which essentially relates each of the three phases to the first three generations, may have only limited applicability to the Black community. For example, while it is true that first generation Blacks in Hamilton are more likely than other Blacks to place Blackness lower than their national origins in their identity hierarchy, second generation Blacks typically do not rebel against their parents' ways of life. Indeed, virtually all the local Blacks who emphasize the importance of Afro-centricity--the idea that Africa in general and ancient African civilizations in particular ought to form the basis for the ways of life of all Blacks--are second generation Blacks.

One of the clearest patterns that emerged from conversations with Blacks in Hamilton relates to the question of ethnic/racial identity. Without any exceptions, Blackness was considerably lower in the identity hierarchy of foreign-born Blacks prior to their migrating to North America than it now is.

In addition, Blackness almost never occupies the most prominent position; it is invariably placed below identities based on geographical origins where these are available, such as in the case of immigrants. Other identities considered more significant than Blackness are those based on religion and social position. For example, an African-born Black businessman who has lived in Hamilton since the 1970s said the following:

I never see myself as Negro or whatever. As a matter of fact, even here in Canada I never look at myself as, you know, colored or anything. Never occurred to me. Honestly. I'm telling you the truth. What my philosophy is if I look at myself like colored or negro or whatever you call it, it more like will retard me from doing what I want to do. Like supposing I mind going to a crowd where I'm the only Black. I know they are all human beings and I'm a human being too. I never look, you know, and say, "Eh, my skin is black." No. Maybe because of my background or something. Honestly, it never occurred to me. I'm a human being. I'm a Nigerian.

According to McIntyre (1976:8-9), the relatively low degree of ethnic/racial group identification among Black Canadians is apparent in a widespread desire to be assimilated into mainstream society. This desire is typically accompanied by the delegation of "Blackness" to a secondary position in the identity hierarchy of Blacks in Canada. These issues were addressed by a student in a recent edition of The Voice, the official newsletter of the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association.

I am from a generation of English-born Canadian Blacks who, unlike myself, have little knowledge and less appreciation for Black History....Black Canadians of this generation find themselves primarily associating and identifying with whites....Our parents have produced a generation of pseudo-blacks. But then how does one qualify the authenticity of "blackness" or being black? Is blackness something that is ascribed like wealth or status or can it be achieved like greatness.

Is it merely a physical state or is it more psychological?...In fact [for Canadian Blacks] being black is only a secondary consideration because first and foremost they are "individuals" who are seeking success and the pursuit of happiness just like their white counterparts (The Voice, December, 1988:5).

Similarly, a Caribbean-born Black pastor who obtained graduate degrees from Britain and has lived in the Hamilton area since the early 1970s expressed his dissatisfaction with the use of the word "Black" in reference to the study group. He interrupted himself midway through his response to a question concerning whether or not he believed that a cohesive Black community exists in Hamilton with the following statement:

I don't like the word Black because just as there are many shades of pale so there are many shades of Black....Everybody says, "I'm Black, I'm Black". This Black consciousness only came about in the 1960s when Stokely Carmichael said, "Black is beautiful" and "Burn, baby burn" and that mentality got people of my ethnicity nowhere. I think we gain more from Martin Luther King and his approach in terms of justice, social advancement, economic achievement, and, indeed, academic achievement--more by his approach because it was a well thought out methodical approach, as opposed to the violent, belligerent type of aggressive approach.

Another example of the delegation of Blackness to a secondary position in the identity hierarchy of Black Hamiltonians is that of a Black woman in her early twenties whose family moved from Britain to Hamilton in the early 1970s. She made the following statement regarding her up-bringing:

We knew we were Jamaican and we were proud of that. But it wasn't a primary concern. You know, the main thing was that we're Canadian--uh Black. And you know, trying to be successful, go to school, and so on. But we didn't really divide it that way. And we really didn't pay an awful lot of attention to color or anything like that. You know, most of my friends were White--at that time....Color really didn't become a concern until much later on--in university and in the workforce.

The direct and indirect experience with various forms of racism in North America is an important factor in the rise of "blackness" in the identity hierarchy of Blacks in Canada (Ramcharan, 1982:103). For example, a Black woman who was born in Jamaica, educated in England, and moved to Hamilton in the 1960s said the following:

Most of the times I think of myself as--I think I'm more faithfully Black now than I was growing up, probably as a defense mechanism. I don't know, I never thought of it as I was growing up. Maybe I was protected too much by my parents and all that. And some of it is anger because I know that in the real world I am simply Black. It bothers me to no end that people make decisions on your intelligence and other things based on just the fact of the color of your skin.

Similarly, a Black psychologist who has lived in Canada since the early 1970s said the following in response to a question of how he thought of himself when he was growing up and whether he still thinks of himself in the same ways:

That was not a problem for me when I was growing up because I grew up in Trinidad which is a predominantly Black area. I saw myself as a human being. Period. The issue of race entered when I was in my teen-age years when, like in most African and Caribbean countries, it was commonplace for expatriates to be at the head of things....But outside of that it wasn't difficult to consider oneself as Black because we knew that most of the people you'd meet were Black and most of the people you'd associate with were Black....Now I think of myself as West Indian primarily. I think West Indian will come in very prominently. I think also Black will come in very prominently because we are in a North American context and you're quote unquote a visible minority. So I think Black will be prominent at this point; when we were growing up it wasn't a big issue....I think from the North American context, living in North America, it definitely has to be a much broader issue than simply being a Trinidadian or West Indian. I think when it comes down to other issues being West Indian becomes

important, but I think in the context of living in North America, blackness, generally speaking, is it. And this means, therefore, I've brothers from everywhere.

A Trinidadian-born Black social worker who has lived in Canada since the 1970s said the following:

Back home I thought of myself as a Trinidadian. Yes, as a Trinidadian as a kid and Black. Yes, a Black Trinidadian. I now think of myself first as a Moslem, secondly as an African, and thirdly as an African Moslem in a diaspora--in a racially hostile environment....In Canada...I became not merely a Black nationalist, but also I'm now much influenced by Marxist-Leninism....What I've come to realize in Canada is that there is a struggle of blackness.

Even those Blacks who indicated that they are philosophically opposed to a militant commitment to "blackness", nevertheless stated that they now see themselves as Black. Thus, a Caribbean-born Black man who attended university in Montreal in the 1960s said the following:

I identify myself as Black, simply Black--because I think every race has an identity....I know somewhere along the line our forefathers came from Africa. But it does not mean that I have to go around like an African--because I have my culture, how I was brought up in a West Indian environment. Yes, I realize that in the sixties everyone was talking about Afro. To me, if you think you are an African, that's fine. However, my culture is not African.

The fact that virtually all the interviewees placed Blackness outside of the forefront of their identity hierarchy is not surprising for three main reasons--apart from the fact that, as mentioned on the first page of this dissertation, the term "black" is sometimes used in a derogatory fashion in everyday life (Elliott and Fleras, 1992:68). First, the idea of referring to most people of African descent (the so-called Negroid race) as Black is relatively recent. Indeed, up till the 1960s "Blacks" were referred to as Negroes, a fact

that is reflected in some major American organizations, such as the United Negro College Fund. For most of the 1970s "Blacks" were referred to as Afro-Americans or Afro-Canadians in the United States and Canada respectively. Since the late 1980s it has become common in the United States to refer to Blacks as African Americans; however, this practice is not common in Canada--hence interviewees referred to themselves as "Blacks" and not "African Canadians".

The second reason for the relatively low position of Blackness in the identity hierarchy of the interviewees is that what is socially defined as "Black" by both the general population in North America and by North American Blacks themselves is quite different from what Caribbean and African nationals mean by "Black". Winkler (1987:210) addresses this issue in a recent book:

Now everyone here see dat I am a brown man except the American. To him, I am a black man. To the American a brown man, a red man, a sepia man, a chestnut man, a khaki man, is one and de same: him is a black man. But notice dis about Americans. Dey don't call brown horse black. Dey don't call brown dog black. Dey don't call brown house black. Is only brown man dey call black. Because over dere dey have more color for horse and house and dog dan dey have for man. For a man dey have only two color: white or black....But here in Jamaica we have our brown man, our dark brown man, our yellow man, our red man, our pink man--dat is you Chiny man--our Indian man, and our blueblack man! Because we don't see a man only in two color in Jamaica because God don't make man only in two color. God make man in at least thirty forty color, and here in Jamaica we see dem all.

Similarly, a retired native-born Black Hamiltonian who is actively involved in both the Stewart Memorial Church and the local Black lodge said the following:

People have taken me as White until they see my hair or my wife's features. We've had no desire to think of passing as anything. It's never entered my mind....There was a comical incident. We used to tease this old chap and his wife behind my school and they chased us a couple times. I'd go home and the girl across the street would say, "One of them lives in there!" The lady, she would come knock on our door and my sister would answer--she was browner than I--and the lady would say, "I'm sorry, I've got the wrong house", and I would be standing in the corridor laughing. We come in many colors. This is one advantage--that's why black is beautiful.

A third major factor undermining the emergence of a strong sense of ethnic identity among local Blacks is the fact that the social climate is not favorable to the existence of truly distinct ethnic communities in Canada (Spencer, 1990:266-267). Moreover, to the extent that ethnic communities exist, cleavage is typically based on nationality not on race. Indeed, even the Ukrainian ethnic group which is generally deemed to be at least moderately institutionally complete and cohesive (Driedger, 1989:151) has the problem of internal schisms and of only a small percentage of eligible members participating in the various ethnic institutions available to them (Krywulak, 1986:194-199). Thus, although Black Hamiltonians typically state that a unified Black community does not exist in their city, they sometimes point out that their community is more unified than that of any other "racial" group. For example, a Caribbean-born Black woman said the following:

Look at the White folks. Boy, oh boy. They are divided up into little fragments. The Greeks don't get along with their cousins, the Macedonians--not talking of getting along with the Italians, Jews, or other Whites. So, we are divided but not as much as the Whites or the Asians. You know the Chinese don't get along with anyone but themselves; they don't even get along with the Japanese. There's unity among Blacks. If you want to see unity

among Blacks, just go to the beauty shops. As you know, our people like to look good.

Case (1976:167-168) has discussed the consequences of the emphasis on national cleavages in Canada on Black community building. He contends that minor ethnic differences among Caribbean nationals become intensified through emigration from the Caribbean region. He notes that

Outside of the Caribbean we are subject to far more divisive pressures than within the region. In Canada, for example, organizations tend to exist along ethnic or racial lines. The West Indian of African origin finds that he has a brother from Canada and one from Africa. The racism of his childhood dies hard and often he is not too worried by the distance he creates between himself and his East Indian brother from the West Indies....In addition to the ethnic differences that become intensified through emigration from the Caribbean there is the lunatic attempt to perpetuate the absurd territorial loyalties that lead us to stereotype one another, to exclude one another and even to fight one another (Case, 1976:167-168).

Historically, ethnic cleavages in Canada have been based almost exclusively on the national (as opposed to the "racial", "ethnic", or, indeed, nation-state) origins of immigrants. For example, as Driedger (1985:157-158) has pointed out, the foundation for the official recognition of ethnic heterogeneity in Canada as outlined in the policy of Multiculturalism was laid by the various early European settlers who refused to assimilate into any one group. He credits the official recognition of ethnic heterogeneity in Canada on the national and linguistic cleavages of the French and the English, on the one hand, and the strong national cleavages among the various immigrants from the countries that constitute the nation-state known as the United Kingdom. For example, the Scots desired separation from the English who in turn desired separation from the Irish. Thus, even

British immigrants to Canada have historically not sought cleavages along purely ethnic lines (Herberg, 1989:22); that is, members of the four major ethnic groups in the United Kingdom--the Celts, Jutes, Angles, and Saxons--have historically not sought to form social groups on the basis of these ethnic (or tribal) backgrounds. Indeed, despite the fact that the three latter groups originally immigrated to the present-day United Kingdom from the area now known as Germany, national cleavages have successfully precluded the formation of, for instance, a Saxon ethnic group--a group which would necessarily include both some British and some German nationals.

Accordingly, some scholars, such as Spencer (1990:266-267), contend that not only is the goal of ethnic pluralism questionable, but it is virtually unattainable. Spencer (1990:266-267) discusses five necessary preconditions for sustaining a pluralistic society: tolerance, economic autonomy, legal autonomy, unambiguous membership, and discrimination. She points out that the criterion of tolerance can be met only when the various ethnic groups are sufficiently similar in terms of values and beliefs. In terms of economic autonomy she contends that while an ethnic group may achieve this goal quite readily, it will not necessarily make the group economically equal to an ethnic group which controls large corporations and industries. The criterion of legal autonomy is a way of ensuring that not only are ethnic groups able to maintain their own identity by having control over members' lives, but that they are able to legally make and enforce rules necessary for exerting such powers. The achievement of this criterion is, however, precluded by the fact that Canadian law is meant to apply universally to all Canadians. For its part, the criterion of unambiguous group membership is

precluded by the fact that not only is full membership in ethnic groups voluntary, but group boundaries tend not to be clear-cut. According to Spencer (1990:267), the fifth virtually unattainable precondition for the existence of an ethnically pluralistic society is that the patterns of discrimination on which group boundaries are invariably based are kept stable enough that they do not lead to inequality among the various ethnic groups.

As discussed in Chapter II (Methods), the ambiguity of Blackness poses some problems in terms of gathering accurate demographic data on Blacks. For example, in some cases Asians of Caribbean origins apparently regard themselves and are regarded by fellow Caribbean nationals as Blacks. Thus, a Black local public transit driver who was asked about the number of Black public transit drivers in Hamilton responded as follows:

...about 12, except the Indians. There are about 475 drivers. It could be more than that--close to 500. But you've got a lot of Indians there too, so that would make more of us. But let's say about 12 of us Black men--because some of the Indians don't think they are Black, you know. Some of them--you talk over their head. They're blacker than you but they don't think they're Black.

In terms of community building, the ambiguity of Black identity makes it difficult for local Blacks to rally around a common self-definition. As will be shown in the following section, this difficulty is compounded by the absence of effective leaders within the local Black community.

The Problem of Leadership

As Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz (1990:227) have pointed out, incorporation in an ethnic community depends on two main factors: (1) member's knowledge of and involvement in organizations or associations existing within the community and (2) member's relationship with community leaders. Thus an investigation of leadership within the Hamilton Black community is crucial in understanding the process of community formation among local Blacks.

Some Black Hamiltonians point out that members of their community are economically better off than ever before and that this factor is favorable to success in community building. Nevertheless, this optimism is greatly tampered by the perception that the leadership necessary for the realization of this dream may be hard to find. When asked to name those whom they consider to be the leaders of the local Black community, the interviewees typically responded in one of three ways: (1) they indicated that there are no local Black leaders; (2) they named persons whom they said claim to be leaders; and (3) they named persons whom they would like to see in leadership positions. For example, a Caribbean-born Black psychologist said the following:

It [the Hamilton Black community] looks like the dragon with the head off: that's the Hamilton community. It has absolutely no leaders. Yet, there is in-fighting when there is a tentative leadership. You see, an interesting fact about Hamilton life: we have not had what Toronto has had in some instances--fortunately, but unfortunately. The fortunate is that we haven't had the kind of catastrophes that solidifies the community; unfortunately, as a result of having that, we have no solidified community. For we have no leadership. We have a couple of people who would tell you that they're leaders. I know -- would

want to be considered a leader, but the...question applies: who gives you the leadership and under what conditions do you have it?

The problem of adequate leadership is typically explained in terms of three major factors: (1) lack of interest (apathy); (2) the reluctance of those already in leadership positions to relinquish such positions and (3) lack of adequate external pressure. The following statements are typical of the responses of Black Hamiltonians with regard to the nature of leadership within the local Black community. A Caribbean-born Black male professional who immigrated to Canada in the early 1960s and attended university in Montreal made the following statement:

We do have the problem of leadership...someone to lead, a good leader and one who would lead for at least two or three years and then put everything in motion. But if you lead for one year-you can't accomplish nothing in one year and this is our biggest problem, you see. If you are going to lead for at least three or four years and people involved have some view points, have some futuristic plans where you want the organization to go and then start channelling some of your resources in that area then get some good people. But I think that's our biggest problem because the qualified ones say 'Well, I don't want to stay with these turkeys.'

Another Caribbean-born Black professional said the following:

I think many of us do not contribute because whether we're here long-term, we still see ourselves as seasonal workers. I consider myself as a seasonal worker. I came in to do a job. I went to school, I lived on next to nothing to get what I wanted so that when I'm finished I'll be out of here. So why bother to get into a process that would require you spending more time here than is necessary? Many people I know consider themselves as seasonal workers.

The reluctance of some local Blacks to relinquish leadership positions to other local Blacks is a definite theme among young, educated Blacks. One of them made the following statement:

You go back to ten, twelve years ago, and the first set of Caribbean immigrants, I mean African immigrants really, came in here by way of the Caribbean and Africa--from the Commonwealth and from England. This society needed a working person and they got those. But they also got a couple of people, and I think like myself, who were students looking for advancement. We therefore, spent many years at institutions in a sense hidden away, okay....Okay, in the meantime, what this society did was it gave the high profile persons at the time the job of representing the community. Now, I think it was leadership created because of a vacuum. And they did a good job--at the time. Interestingly however, after that was done, when we came out of college we found--it was found that we had a more sophisticated community but a sophisticated community now that didn't necessarily accept the views of that working man any more....The problem is then, those individuals found it difficult to give up those positions to the new individuals coming.

Some of Hamilton's Black professionals consider the incidents of racism in the city too insignificant to warrant the risk of speaking out publicly and, thereby, compromising their "middle class" position which they often consider to be fragile--because, as one engineer put it, "miss one paycheque, and you're in deep trouble." Thus, when the writer suggested the pursuit of a leadership position to an African-born Black male professional who has lived in various North American cities since the 1960s and had mentioned his disenchantment with the absence of clear leadership within the Hamilton Black community he responded as follows:

I'm mostly focused on my professional work and that leaves me with very little time to get into any of these groups or become a member of any of the various associations--or at least play any

significant part....When your work deals mostly with science, it's very difficult. You can't just go home, forget about your work, and go and socialize. It's practically a twenty-four hour operation....After I graduated my main focus was to do something in my own field--to establish something of a recognition or reputation in my field. That meant really working hard and really, really focusing on what I was doing and that's left me with no time at all.

Indeed, even those Black Hamiltonians who are not middle class tend to be very preoccupied with their work lives. This emphasis on economic life is well acknowledged by local Blacks. The following statement from a Black woman in response to the question of what she believes constitutes the most fundamental problem faced by Black Hamiltonians is insightful in this respect:

I'm a little concerned that, as a people, we are still very--maybe just because we are immigrant people in general--but we seem to be caught up in material things, you know, to the extent that we don't have time for anything else. Unfortunately, you see, the only time we, as a people, seem to have time to get together is if we are being threatened somehow. As long as there is this air of "I'm doing well. I've got a nice home, got a job, I've got two cars" and that sort of thing, it doesn't really seem to concern us.

As indicated in Chapter I, an important trait of minority groups is the ineffectiveness of leaders. In general, this state of affairs is viewed primarily in terms of the tendency of leaders, like other members of the minority group, to have negative traits such as an inability to engage in direct confrontation with the dominant group (Freire, 1971:29 and Roberts, 1983:23). Thus, given the status of Blacks in Canada, it is not surprising that the problem of finding effective leaders within the Black communities in Canadian cities is well documented in the literature (Ramcharan, 1982 and Williams, 1983). According to Ramcharan (1982:49-50), this problem may be

blamed on two basic factors. First, the persistent "schisms and fragmentations" within the Black community--a consequence of the "insular nature of West Indians" which feeds and is fed by the existence in Canada of organizations which are based upon national cleavages. And, second, the prevailing attitude of intolerance of formal long-term authority and leadership among West Indians.

The local Black community is by no means unique in terms of the problem of finding widely accepted community leaders. For example, the points made above regarding the problems of finding effective Black leaders are similar to those made by Jansen (1978:322-323) concerning the Italian community in Toronto. Jansen (1978:322-323) found that members of the Italian community in Toronto tended to equate leaders with the "best known persons in the community", such as politicians and businessmen, and that they felt that there were no persons in the community interested in furthering communal interests. He observed that the factionalism within the local Italian community was so intense that those who headed the various community organizations tended to make derogatory remarks about one another. He noted that his ""key" informants quite often preferred giving comments about leadership such as: "There aren't any real leaders but self-appointed men taking the lead"; "You don't talk to Italians about leaders: each Italian speaks for himself--they're individualists"; and "Most leaders here further their own interests and not those of the community."" Quite interestingly, he also noted that "There may be many new leaders working "behind the scenes" without community recognition, but carrying out a competent job" (Jansen, 1978:322-323).

Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz's (1990:230-233) more recent study of ethnic identity in Toronto shows similar results. The authors measured respondents' relationship with ethnic leaders in terms of three criteria: (1) respondents' personal knowledge of leaders (2) respondents' personal contact with leaders, and (3) the degree to which the respondents are informed about the activities of the ethnic leaders. The study found that most respondents in each of the ethnic groups investigated scored less than 50% on each of the three criteria (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz (1990:230-231).

Although the Hamilton Black community is not unique in terms of the absence of effective leadership, this state of affairs nevertheless constitutes a major problem in terms of success in community building. For, as discussed in Chapter I, charismatic leadership is one of the major conditions that are favorable to the maintenance of ethnic identification (Driedger, 1989:147-148). Effective community leaders help to "effectively transform the present into a vision of the future" (Driedger, 1989:147); they help community members gather around a common identity based on factors such as ideologies and historical symbols—in spite of any differences within the group (Waugh, 1983).

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the results of observations and interviews with regard to some factors internal to the Black community which act as handicaps to successful Black community building in Hamilton. The major internal factors affecting the process of local Black community building examined are as follows: (1) heterogeneity of the Black population; (2) the

relative ambiguity of Black identity; and (3) the absence of effective leadership. The two latter factors are traits typical of minority groups; but these factors, particularly the absence of effective leadership, exacerbate the negative effects of the heterogeneity of the local Black community.

In spite of these problems, there is a strong possibility for the emergence of a viable Black community in Hamilton. For one thing, the experience of being Black outside of the Caribbean and most of Africa is such as to have produced, or at least brought to the fore, the relative importance of "Blackness" in the identity hierarchy of foreign-born Black Hamiltonians.

As will be shown in the next three chapters, in spite of the heterogeneity of the local Black population as well as the absence of major unifying factors such as charismatic leadership, Black identification is created and maintained by way of various forms of interaction. The next chapter deals with how local Black churches help to facilitate social interaction among local Blacks.

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNITY LIFE: THE BLACK CHURCHES

Introduction

This chapter assesses the critical social factors which led to the formation of, and those involved in rallying the commitment of some Blacks to and of other Blacks from, the ten Black churches in the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area. The central objective of this chapter is to investigate the role of the local Black churches in Black community building. This chapter contends that the principal contribution of the churches in this endeavor is in their offering local Blacks opportunities for regular interaction, for only two of these churches--Stewart Memorial Church and St. Paul's Ecumenical Church--are openly committed to a Black agenda.

The Black Church in the Black Community

The emergence of the Black church and the impact of the church on Black life in North America has received much scholarly attention (Frazier, 1968, Lincoln, 1984, and Shreve, 1983). As is shown in the other chapters, Blacks in Canada, like their counterparts elsewhere on this continent, developed organizations and institutions that are parallel to those of the larger society primarily because they were not allowed much opportunity to participate in the larger society. In particular, historically, in Canada as elsewhere in North America, the Black church is largely the direct product of social segregation imposed by social forces outside of the Black community.

For their church was virtually the only place where Blacks could participate with dignity, pride, and freedom (Shreve, 1983 and Winks, 1971).

According to Skinner (1976:20-21), one of the few "privileges" accorded to Black slaves was the permission to have "praying parties" on Sundays--with the hope that the slaves would be taught the virtues of dutiful obedience. To this end, a Biblical passage favored by many Whites was Ephesians 6:5--"Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh...." (King James Version) Skinner (1976:21) notes that

Out of the religious meetings in the slave camps developed what was known as the "ring shout." According to anthropologist Ernest Borneman, it was "a straight adaptation of African ceremonialism to Christian liturgy." Much of this practice survives today in some "shouting" churches in the black community.

It is therefore not surprising that the church is the oldest and most fundamental voluntary organization among North American Blacks (Frazier, 1968 and Shreve, 1983). Thus, the crucial role of the Black church among North American Blacks has been described in the following way:

The Blackman's pilgrimage in America was made less onerous because of his religion. His religion was the organizing principle around which his life was structured. His church was his school, his forum, his political arena, his social club, his art gallery, his conservatory of music. It was his lyceum and gymnasium as well as sanctorium. His religion was his fellowship with man, his audience with God. It was the peculiar sustaining force that gave him the strength to endure when endurance gave no promise, and the courage to be creative in the face of his own dehumanization (Lincoln, 1973).

Nevertheless, Black Churches emerged in Canada as a result of both factors "external" and those "internal" to the Black population (Winks, 1971). One external reason is that many White congregations encouraged separation for social reasons, notably, their desire to please their White peers whom they believed would not condone Black/White interactions. Other external reasons for segregation included a desire by some White congregations to forget their Black neighbors whom they believed were socially inept, enjoyed more enthusiastic sermons and music, and were doctrinally unsound.

As Winks (1971) has pointed out, some Blacks may have preferred separate churches for a number of internal reasons: they generally preferred more enthusiastic sermons and music, preachers who spoke in a vernacular they understood well, and the idea of not competing with more affluent Whites at the collection plates. Moreover, the fact that a natural path for leadership among American Blacks was the churches may have encouraged religiously and politically ambitious Canadian Blacks to seek their own churches; the fact that White churches generally denied Blacks access to leadership positions, such as those of bishop, deacon, and priest, may therefore have only accelerated the pace with which the Black churches were formed (Winks, 1971:338-339).

While there is general agreement that, historically, the primary impetus for the formation and continuity of Black churches is discrimination, there is no consensus as to the direction and nature of the impact of the church in Black communal life. Social scientists have traditionally held three main views of the Black church (and of the other Black voluntary organizations): the assimilation-isolation model; the compensatory model;

and the ethnic community model (Taylor, Thornton, and Chatters, 1987:125-126). The first of these models holds that by socially segregating its members, the Black church acts as an obstruction to the complete assimilation and integration of Blacks into the larger society. In this view, as Blacks achieve higher socioeconomic status and, consequently, become assimilated into the larger society, the traditional role of the Black church will cease to exist. The second model (the compensatory) holds that, like the Black community itself, the Black church is largely a product of discrimination and segregation and is, therefore, a form of maladaptation. According to this model, the Black church is a crucial voluntary organization primarily because it is often the only avenue through which Blacks can learn organizational skills and participate in a number of roles typically denied them in the larger society. Finally, the ethnic community model sees the Black church as crucial for enhancing individual self-worth and for building cohesive communities based on a sense of group identity and collective interest. Proponents of this model thus stress the role of the Black church as an institutional base during struggles against injustice.

As will be shown in this chapter, all of these models are quite tenable in the Hamilton Black community. For now, however, it is necessary to state that these models differ only in regard to the direction and character of the influence of the Black church, for there is a general consensus among social scientists on the central role of the Black church among North American Blacks (Taylor, Thornton, and Chatters, 1987:125-126).

The Churches

An Overview

As Table VI.1 (below) indicates, there are at present ten Black churches in Hamilton. The oldest of these churches is Stewart Memorial Church which was established in 1835 through the encouragement of Reverend Josiah Henson, an itinerant preacher who is believed to be the hero of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's fictional accounts of Uncle Tom's cabin (Hill, 1981:135). The Hamilton Church of God, which was established in 1971, is Hamilton's largest and third oldest Black church. The city's fourth oldest and second largest Black church is the Church of God of Prophecy which was established in 1973. Hamilton's fifth oldest Black church is the Hamilton East Seventh Day Adventist Church which was established in 1974. Most Black Hamiltonians who attend Black churches attend these four churches.

Moreover, these four churches belong to the category of Black churches which own the buildings in which they are situated, a category to which most Hamiltonian Black churches belong. One other Black church which owns the building in which it is housed is Faith Church of Jesus Christ which was established in 1970 and is, therefore, the city's second oldest existing Black church. The two other Black churches in this category are the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, which was established in 1980, and St. Paul's Ecumenical Church, which was established in 1984. The three Black churches not yet mentioned are Faith Christian Centre, which was started in 1973 as "house groups" and was formally established shortly thereafter; Faith Lighthouse,

which was established in 1988; and the Burlington Church of God, which was established in 1985. The three latter churches occupy rented premises.

Table VI.1

BLACK CHURCHES IN HAMILTON, Spring, 1991

<u>Name</u>	<u>Yr Established</u>	<u># Black Congregants</u>
Stewart Memorial Church	1835	70
Faith Church	1970	25
Hamilton Church of God	1971	130
Ch. of God of Prophecy	1973	100
Faith Christian Centre	1973	35
Ham East 7th Day	1974	60
Church of the Lord Jesus	1980	20
St. Paul's Ecumenical	1984	20
Burlington Church of God	1985	30
Faith Lighthouse	1988	15
TOTAL		<hr/> 505 <hr/>

With the exception of the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ (which is located in Winona) and the Burlington Church of God (which is located in a school building at 650 Walkers Line in Burlington), these churches are all located within the boundaries of the city of Hamilton. The two churches mentioned in the preceding sentence are located in the outlying suburbs of Winona and Burlington, respectively. Apart from the Hamilton Church of God which is located on Poplar Street across from Henderson Hospital on the escarpment (around where Little Africa was located), Faith Church of Jesus Christ which is located at 1855 Main Street East (around Stoney Creek), and Faith Lighthouse which is located in the Normanhurst Community Centre at

1621 Barton Street East, the churches situated in Hamilton proper are all located between James and Wentworth Streets in East Central Hamilton.

As is the case with the other Black voluntary organizations, the membership lists of these churches are generally misleading. For while many Blacks who attend meetings regularly do not seek formal membership--often on the grounds that church membership is not a precondition for access to heaven--many of those who become members rarely, if ever, attend meetings. Thus, for example, this writer was never able to find up to 50 persons (including children) in any of the services at a Black church which claims to have a membership of 250. It is, therefore, not surprising that the leaders of these churches are generally quite reluctant about stating what their official memberships are. For they fear that, since their services are open to the public, any investigator may attend a number of services and arrive at the conclusion that the church officials had lied about the membership. Given these problems, this writer asked church members about the number of persons who regularly attend services and then compared and contrasted the numbers offered with those estimated on the basis of observations. The numbers presented below are deemed to be reasonable estimates both by the church leaders and this writer.

About 70 persons attend the SMC, virtually all of whom are Black. About 25 persons, all of whom are Black, regularly attend Faith Church of Jesus Christ. The number of persons who attend the Hamilton Church of God and the Church of God of Prophecy are 130 and 100 respectively. Both St. Paul's and the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ are each attended by 40 persons. About 15 persons regularly attend Faith Lighthouse while about 70

persons regularly attend Faith Christian Centre. About 30 persons regularly attend the Burlington Church of God. Finally, about 100 persons regularly attend the Hamilton East Seventh Day Adventist Church, about 60 of whom are Black. Apart from St. Paul's, the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, and Faith Christian Centre in which about 50 percent of those who attend regularly are not Black, virtually every person who attends the other churches is Black.

Based on the estimates above, about 620 persons regularly attend Hamilton's ten Black churches, of whom 505 are Black. Although the total number of Blacks who regularly attend these Black churches is less than 20% of the Black population of the Hamilton CMA, it is, as will be shown later in this chapter, quite significant when one takes these churches' denominational affiliations and mode of worship into account.

The Categories of Black Churches

The Hamilton East Seventh Day Adventist Church is different from all the other Black churches in one readily identifiable way: like the other churches in its denomination, its main services are held on Saturdays and not on Sundays as is the case with virtually all Christian denominations. The congregation's mode of worship is similar to that of mainstream Baptist churches; it is semi-formal in the sense that it is less formal than those of the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, on the one hand, but more formal than those of the Pentecostal churches, on the other.

With the exception of St. Paul's, the newer Black churches are similar in at least three respects: informal style of worship, evangelical orientation,

and the relative lack of formal emphasis on a social gospel. In particular, the Black Pentecostal churches emphasize a strict distinction between religious and secular activities and place issues related to "the Black cause", such as Black History celebrations, in the realm of secular affairs. Nevertheless, as Table VI.2 (below) indicates, the number of Blacks who attend the local Black Pentecostal churches exceeds the number of Blacks who attend the local mainstream Pentecostal churches.¹ Moreover, most Hamiltonian Blacks who attend Black churches attend the Black Pentecostal churches. Thus, the number of Blacks who regularly attend these churches is about 355, the largest one--the Hamilton Church of God--having 130 regular congregants. These numbers may be contrasted with those of the mainstream Pentecostal Churches which are regularly attended by fewer than 200 Blacks--less than seven percent of the persons who regularly attend these churches.² Furthermore, the Pentecostal churches are the fastest growing churches in the local Black community and are dominated numerically by the youths (the 18 to 40 year olds), a group that is virtually absent from the SMC and St. Paul's.

¹ Table VI.2 does not contain an exhaustive list of the mainstream Pentecostal churches; it lists only those churches that have Black regular attenders. The mainstream Pentecostal churches listed may be classified into three categories, the first two of which are officially registered denominations: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, United Pentecostal, and "Independent".

² Given the official position that Blacks represent less than one percent of the Hamilton CMA population of 557,029 (Canada, 1986:1-1), it can be stated that, in spite of their limited numbers, Blacks are over-represented in the mainstream Pentecostal churches.

Table VI.2

BLACKS IN LOCAL PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES, Spring 1991

<u>Black Pentecostal Churches</u>		<u>Mainstream Pentecostal Churches</u>	
<u>NAME</u>	<u># OF BLACKS</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u># OF BLACKS</u>
Burl. Ch. of God	30	Bethel Tabernacle	80
Ch of God of Proph.	100	East Hamilton Pent.	10
Ch of the Lord Jesus	20	Faith Citadel	4
Faith Christian Ctr.	35	Glad Tidings	20
Faith Ch of Jesus	25	Mount Albion	8
Faith Lighthouse	15	People's Church	10
Hamilton Ch of God	130	Woodvale	4
		Word Faith	4
TOTAL			
	355		140

The observation that the churches which emphasize strict separation between religion and the social realm ("the world") experience more numerical growth than the churches which are more lenient in this regard is consistent with the literature (Tidball, 1984:52-53). Kelly (1977) distinguished between "strong" and "weak" religious groups on the basis of four criteria: degree of commitment, degree of discipline and missionary zeal, degree of absolute belief, and degree of conformity to the world. He noted that "strong" churches, that is, churches which score highly in the four criteria indicated above, tend to more readily attract congregants than weak churches (cited in Tidball, 1984:145). The reason for this apparently paradoxical situation is that strict adherence to these criteria "serves to keep the boundaries between member and non-member clear" (Tidball, 1984:52).

In spite of their similarities in three basic areas--informal style of worship, evangelical orientation, and the relative lack of formal emphasis on a social gospel--the Black Pentecostal churches are not necessarily similar doctrinally. For example, the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ whose doctrines are based on the teachings of a White American preacher, the late William Marrion Branham, rejects the generally held doctrine of water baptism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and, instead, baptizes only in the name of Jesus. This church holds another doctrine which is quite unpopular in most Christian circles: that although all sinners will be punished in hell, this punishment is not an eternal one. Given these doctrinal differences, doctrinal position--typically expressed in the form of denominational affiliation--is one factor that must be taken into account in order to provide an adequate explanation of why some Blacks (and non-Blacks) choose to associate with one of these churches instead of another and instead of a mainstream church.¹ This is an important point especially since some mainstream churches have very elaborate organizational networks and facilities which are designed to cater to most human needs, particularly as they are manifested in Canadian society.

¹ With the exception of the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Hamilton East Seventh Day Adventist Church which have some doctrines (discussed above) that are vividly different from that of most Christian churches, most members of the local Black churches contacted did not know any specific doctrinal differences between their church and other churches. Moreover, the written "statements of faith" obtained from a number of local pastors do not indicate any doctrinal differences among the Pentecostal churches. Thus, it is denominational affiliation, and not necessarily doctrinal position, which is crucial in terms of the choice of a church to attend.

Similarities Among the Ten Black Churches

The Black churches in Hamilton have at least three fundamental things in common: a rejection of their categorization as Black churches--a consequence of their desire to be fully integrated into mainstream society, a commitment to interacting with Blacks in Toronto and elsewhere, and the problem of finding a large number of committed members.

Rejection of Categorization as Black Churches

One of the most blatant ways in which the desire for integration into the larger society is manifested is in the insistence by congregants that the fact that most fellow congregants are Black is inconsequential. Thus, many officers of what have been classified as the Black churches of Hamilton do not agree with this categorization which, they contend, belies the fact that these churches are open to persons of all backgrounds--including national, ethnic and "racial" ones. For instance, a Black pastor made the following statement: We don't have such a thing where we cater for the Blacks, so to speak. We are an organization for everybody--it doesn't matter. When we go out evangelizing--giving out tracts, witnessing to people--we witness to everybody. We don't pick out Blacks. We're an organization that believes in evangelizing the world--every nation, all men. And, of course, we are open to every nation, color, or creed.

Links to Blacks Outside of Hamilton

Perhaps the most fundamental similarity among Hamilton's Black churches is that they provide those who attend relatively inexpensive links to

events and persons outside of the city. Each of these churches is inextricably linked to groups in Toronto; thus, frequent trips are made (usually by bus) to Toronto and "visitors" from that city are present in almost every service or event held in Hamilton. Trips to Buffalo, Rochester, and other American centers are also sometimes undertaken, particularly by the youth ("Young People's Groups") of these churches. Given this cosmopolitan orientation of Hamilton's Black churches, it is not surprising that some regular congregants claim either to be "based in Toronto" or to "know nothing" about Hamilton's Black community. In these terms, the cosmopolitan orientation of the local Black churches is a hinderance to effective Black community building in Hamilton.

The Problem of Membership

The problems experienced by the local Black churches in attracting and retaining members exist at two main levels: (1) the reluctance of some Blacks to associate with Black churches and (2) the tendency for some Blacks to attend these churches only until they believe that they are adequately adjusted to life in Hamilton.

The Reluctance to Attend Black Churches

Blacks who do not associate with the local Black churches seem to believe that, beyond their skin color, they do not have much in common with those who do. Some believe that the SMC, in particular, is an attempt by older Blacks to continue in a religious ghetto that has since been rendered unnecessary both by the existence of more effective Black organizations and

by the willingness of the larger society to assimilate Blacks. A statement from a Black McMaster University student illustrates this point quite vividly:

I think we shouldn't be stuck in Blackness. We should try to see people as people and not Black, White, or whatever. We do not need to isolate or alienate ourselves. To tell you the truth, I think Black churches have a chip on their shoulders. I think Black churches preach hatred which is very negative.

Some other Blacks who do not attend Black churches seem to believe that they differ from those who do essentially in terms of both their religious and socio-economic backgrounds. A Black African graduate student at McMaster University made the following comment:

I don't go to church these days. But if I did it definitely would be to an Anglican church since I was brought up in Ghana as an Anglican. I think the Black churches here are more or less for the down-and-out folks; that is, they are for the religiously disinherited. If you check these churches you'll find that there are hardly any young, well-educated people attending them. I know I won't have much in common with the people who attend Black churches so I don't bother myself attending any of them....If you check these churches you'll find out that they're places where people go to meet others who are in a position to empathize with them. Well, first, I don't even think of myself as a Canadian. Besides, I'm quite comfortable with my life as it is.

A young Black man of Caribbean origins made the following statement:

Whether or not one hears about such institutions [i.e. Black churches] depends upon one's needs and one's circles. I mostly hang around friends here at the university and family at home. I've heard about one Black church—I think a "Church of God" or so—on the mountain. But I've never heard about the Stewart Memorial Church. Anyway, I don't go to any church because I don't believe one gets salvation that way. I realize one reason many people go to church is to get support from others, but I already get support from my family.

Another reason why some Blacks do not attend the local Black churches is the perceived differences in world-views that may be credited to the age difference between them and the general adult population of some of these churches. These Blacks, who are typically college-age, tend to assume that Black churches are committed to a Black cause and that they attempt to prevent Blacks from assimilating into mainstream society. For example, a young Black man of Caribbean origins said the following:

Those of my age will find the talks about past blatant racism in such churches very negative, if not tiresome. Sure, racism exists today but it's very subtle and cannot be fought well by isolation. My choice is the Anglican church, in spite of its British roots.

The interview that pointed out most vividly the importance of age differences in the decision to not associate with the SMC, in particular, was with a third-year McMaster University student whose grandparents and parents attend the SMC when they are in the city. When asked why she does not regularly attend the SMC, she responded as follows:

That church is for my grandparents and not for me....There are no people of my age there, so I'd rather keep looking for a home church.

An important reason why many young Blacks do not regularly attend the SMC or, for that matter, any Canadian church (Black or otherwise), is because they do not consider Hamilton to be their "home". That is, these young Blacks see their stay in Hamilton as only temporary and, as such, try not to be involved in any family-oriented "Canadian" organizations. A young Black man who lives in Hamilton and was the secretary of a student's

group on the McMaster University campus was a good representative of this group when he insisted:

I only go to church when I'm with my parents back in Mississauga. Here in Hamilton I just do my school work and get together with my friends. I hope you're not trying to get me to attend that church [the SMC] because I already attend my parents' United Church at home.

A young Black man of Jamaican origins shared sentiments similar to those just mentioned:

Listen, man, I'm a Jamaican so why do I have to depend on any Canadian group for anything? Every night I go to bed I think of Jamaica. That's why I play lottery. Once I win first or second prize, I'll return to Jamaica. Even if I never win I must return to Jamaica for good one of these days. Oh yea, your question. I just go to church when something's going on. This here is Church. But I must return to be in Jamaica before I take church seriously.

Ex-Membership

The local Black churches tend to operate like a revolving door since Blacks, particularly newcomers to the city, typically attend a Black church for a number of months after which they either move to a mainstream church or attend no church at all. In general, ex-members of the Black churches cite two basic reasons for discontinuing their association. One of these reasons is that they do not like the way these churches are run. These ex-members cite the fact that services almost never begin on schedule, a situation which, they claim, makes precise time management virtually impossible. Another reason often cited by ex-members for discontinuing their association with the local Black churches is that "Black people gossip too much." They state that, unlike

in the White churches where interaction is rarely carried outside of more or less formally appointed settings (typically within the church premises). Blacks tend to regard fellow church members as literal family members ("brothers and sisters in the lord") and, as such, give themselves the licence to interfere in one another's private lives.

In addition to these two reasons, many ex-members of the Stewart Memorial Church (SMC) include as a reason for no longer associating with that church the point that they are not comfortable with the leadership of the church. They state that they are unhappy about two main things, one of which is the fact that the SMC's senior pastor is White. They also state that they are unhappy about the dominance of lodge members in the SMC's leadership ranks, a situation which, they insist, can only lead to non-Christian influences from the lodge on the church. A Black male professional who no longer attends the SMC regularly but "keeps in touch" with those who do said the following:

The problems with Stewart Memorial Church are enormous. First, I found that there was a general reluctance to hand over to the younger generation while I attended. Second, I also found that the directives of the present pastor did not necessarily represent Black issues. For example, a service dedicated to Robert Burn's birthday held little spiritual significance for me. Third, I found a lack of emphasis on current issues—the issues involving the younger Blacks.

In response to the question of the apparent irony of having a White pastor in a Black church, SMC members typically state that their pastor, Reverend Chisholm, is "not just a White man; he's a special person." They also sometimes relate the many problems that the church had with Black pastors who tried to use the church's "good name in the Hamilton business

community" to collect money from local businessmen to satisfy selfish ends.

An SMC officer put it as follows:

We have a White pastor. I'll tell you why. We were between ministers--and I've forgotten who it was who knew him--and they asked him if he'd come preach for us one Sunday. He came one Sunday and he's been with us for 15 years. He's a very clever man. He's got many degrees....As far as I'm concerned, having a White pastor is no problem because we had so many rascals in there....We've had a lot of ministers that we've had to shelter ourselves from. This man [Reverend Chisholm]--we've agreed on a certain payment and he doesn't want too much because he's got the other jobs as a padre at the hospital and so on....We're fortunate that way because we couldn't pay a full-time minister. Foster [a native-born Black Hamiltonian who is the assistant pastor] gets very little.

In response to the question of the possible negative influences of the lodge on the SMC, long-time members of the church contend that no such influences exist. They generally point out that while most long-time members of the SMC belong to the lodge, such membership is not a precondition for holding leadership positions in the church. The following statement from a long-time member of the SMC is quite illustrative of these points:


I've heard it said that--I remember one minister said to us: "I hear the Lodge runs the church". We said, 'no, it doesn't run the church; most of us happen to be in the Lodge'. I've told my men I don't like appearing in church too often in my regalia because those who aren't interested will say, "Oh, I'm not bothered about that". And, as you've been told, if you're not one you don't count, so to speak--you can't get in. Well, that's absolutely wrong, absolutely wrong. Reverend Chisholm [the pastor]--he's not a mason.

Differences Among the Ten Black Churches

In spite of the similarities outlined above, there are two basic categories of Black churches in Hamilton: the formal ones, exemplified by the SMC, and the informal, demonstrative ones, exemplified by the Hamilton Church of God. These churches differ essentially in terms of public commitment to a Black cause, appeal to outsiders for financial aid, and mode of worship.

Public Commitment to a Black Cause

St. Paul's Ecumenical church is more similar to the Stewart Memorial Church (SMC) than any of the other Black churches in some important ways. For one thing, both churches emphasize the social aspects of the gospel and are thus intricately involved with social service organizations. The SMC's involvement with mutual aid organizations—including a Black chapter of the Freemasonry Lodge that was established at Hamilton in 1852—is evidenced in two important ways. First, a plaque concerning the origins of the local Black lodge is strategically placed on the outside wall by the main entrance to the church building. Second, the church dedicates special services to the Lodges several times annually. For its part, St. Paul's social service emphasis is most clearly seen in its association with the Lincoln Alexander Community Centre (LACC) which, like the church itself, is administered by the Canadian Caribbean Christian Ecumenical Communion Incorporated, a voluntary organization which owns the facility in which both the church and the centre are based. Among many other things, the LACC and the church have, since January 1987, jointly sponsored events associated with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr's birthday. In 1988 Dexter King, one of Dr. King's sons, was the guest



speaker at the service conducted in the church with more than 600 people in attendance.

Hamilton's Black Pentecostal churches tend not to emphasize the social aspects of the gospel. Thus, events such as the birthday of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, jr (January 15) and Black History Month (February), which are celebrated by Blacks throughout North America, are, in general, mentioned only at the SMC and St. Paul's.

Dependence on Outsiders for Finances

Perhaps because of their direct involvement in social activities, the SMC and St. Paul's share a second common characteristic: they generally appeal to and depend to a large extent on non-members and non-adherents for their finances. Indeed, St. Paul's is presently seeking funds from various levels of government in order to meet the estimated \$1.5 million needed to renovate the 101 year old building in which the church has been located since its inception in 1984 (Hamilton Spectator, July 15, 1988: C1).

For its part, the SMC's historical dependence on the financial contributions of outsiders is revealed in its since-discontinued "visitors' night" program and in its Annual Turkey Dinner. The visitors' night program was introduced in the late 1930s when the SMC fell into hard times financially, with a leaky roof and a mortgage that was about to be foreclosed. The positive consequences of this predicament have been aptly summarized: This tragedy was the most important issue in the history of the 500 Negroes in this city. It seemed to weld together not only the whites and the coloured, but the coloured with the coloured (Hamilton Spectator, March 7, 1955).

The pressing financial needs of that time were met quite readily as a result of the co-operation of a number of individuals and groups in Hamilton. Specifically, under the guidance of Eric Bower, the then city treasurer, Hamilton service clubs--including the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Optimists, Zonta and Philos, and the Lincoln Fellowships--joined together to rescue the church (Hamilton Spectator, 1955). For many years afterwards service clubs in the Hamilton area devoted one Sunday night every month ("visitors' night") to help the church financially (Beattie, 1956:109). The contributions of these clubs to the SMC were much more than financial. A retired man who is a lifetime member of the church said the following:

We, as a choir, went to all these clubs--the Lions club, the Rotary--and we went to them every month and sang, with Reverend Holland. And these clubs all started to give us money too--and churches. And then, once a month, the church was full of different clubs--full right to the capacity. And this is what kept us organized.

While the SMC is no longer in the kind of financial straits that necessitated the "visitors' night" program, its annual turkey dinner, which is held around the American Thanksgiving weekend each November, has continued. Apart from being a major source of funds, this dinner is the primary means by which the SMC maintains its contacts with the larger society. Moreover, this dinner is a means by which the cohesiveness of the church is enhanced. The effectiveness of this medium is illustrated by a newspaper article (Hamilton Spectator December 1, 1986:C3) which bemoans the cancellation of the dinner for 1986 as a result of fire hazards in the SMC's basement where the dinners are usually held. (The dinner was replaced by a

smaller one held at a member's home.) Rev. Robert Foster, the assistant pastor of the SMC, made the following statement about the annual turkey dinner:

The dinner is very important to both the church and for many people in the Hamilton area. Apart from giving us the opportunity to raise funds, the dinner gives us the greatest opportunity to meet many of our friends and well-wishers in one place. You see, this annual dinner began as a way of commemorating the freedom gained by former slaves who left the United States for Canada by way of the Underground Railroad. That's why the dinners are held during the American Thanksgiving weekend in November. You see, there are many people who buy dinner tickets every year and don't even show up to eat the food they've paid for.

Mode of Worship

A third area of similarity between the SMC and St. Paul's is the mode of worship which is remarkably similar to that of "mainstream" Canadian churches such as the Methodist and Anglican. Both churches have very formal Sunday morning worship services which begin at 11 a.m. Those who attend these services are offered "programs" which are rarely deviated from. Services typically begin with organ preludes and contain items such as readings from both the new and old Testaments, hymns, "anthems", offerings, short sermons, and "final blessings and choral amens." About the only difference between services at the SMC and those at St. Paul's is due primarily to the presence of a choir—albeit a very small one of about 12 choristers—at the SMC and none at St. Paul's. Because of its choir, SMC services generally include at least one "Negro Spiritual" sung by the choir—a feature lacking at St. Paul's.

Apart from the Hamilton East Seventh Day Adventist Church, the other Black churches (the Pentecostal ones) are sharply different from the SMC and St. Paul's in some important ways. For one thing, unlike the latter churches, these churches practice the so-called shouting religion--with loud sermons, amens, hallelujahs, music emphasizing electric guitars and drums, and, in some cases, dancing. These churches typically have Sunday school classes scheduled for 10 a.m. and worship services scheduled for 11 a.m. on Sundays, both of which almost invariably begin several minutes after the scheduled times. In general, services in these churches are not program-based; in fact, churchgoers are not offered programs stating the "order of service"--the emphasis being on the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the "order" of the services is generally unpredictable. These churches may be appropriately classified as Pentecostal, for they emphasize the apostolic experience, including "speaking in tongues", as recorded in the second chapter of the New Testament book of Acts.¹

At least partly because of the emphasis on the Apostolic tradition, the Black Pentecostal churches tend to place much more importance on the necessity for obtaining personal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ than on catering to the social needs of those who attend. In some cases, the proselytizing ("witnessing") efforts of these churches can be quite intense. A young Black man indicated that he decided to give up the free music lessons

¹ The demonstrative practices of these churches is essentially a question of denominational affiliation and not necessarily one of maintaining Black cultural practices. Indeed, some local non-Black churches, such as Woodvale Pentecostal Church in West Hamilton and Faith Citadel in North Burlington, practice much more demonstrative styles of worship than any of the local Black churches. For example, at Faith Citadel some members dance and literally run around the main auditorium during the worship portion of the Sunday services.

offered to him by some members of a Black church because he felt that an unmentioned precondition for the continuation of these lessons was that he get "saved"—whether or not he attended that or any particular Black church.

Why People Attend the Black Churches

There are two basic reasons why both Blacks and non-Blacks attend the local Black churches: prior denominational affiliation and the relative ease of associating with fellow congregants, most of whom are Black immigrants.

Prior Denominational Affiliation

Reverend Clarke, the Black pastor of the Hamilton Church of God, explained the emergence of his church in the following way:

We started off from the scratch. I didn't have no credentials when we started. But I had a burden in my heart for souls in Hamilton. And I believed that, although there're other churches here in Hamilton, there was a need that we could fill....I travelled from England. When I came to Hamilton there was no Church of God. So I fellowshipped with other churches until, eventually, we decided there should be a Church of God in the city because the city is big enough. Other people, of course, came from different parts. And people kind of feel more comfortable in what they are acquainted with—just like a Baptist will look for Baptist churches and a Methodist will look for Methodist churches. So that was our aim. Not that other churches were not reaching out. Our main thing was to reach out to men who wanted to know the Lord. Our aim was to be a part of the hum of that reaching out.

The credibility of this pastor's statement can be seen in the fact that Blacks who attend mainstream churches rarely leave these churches for Black ones; the exception to this general rule is that of newcomers to the city who sometimes attend mainstream churches until they find a Black one in which

they are comfortable. One reason for this state of affairs is the fact that the Black churches in Hamilton do not cover the denominational spectrum patronized by Black Christians; for example, there is no Black Roman Catholic church in the city. The importance of this basic fact can be illustrated by discussing the religious affiliation of Blacks in Canada.

The degree of affiliation to a religious category (i.e., the degree of Religious Monopoly) stated by Blacks in the 1981 census was very low, as compared to that of other ethnic groups in Canada. Indeed, out of a total of 23 ethnic groups, Blacks and the Dutch tied for the last position--representing the ethnic groups with the lowest degree of Religious Monopoly (Herberg, 1989:175). For example, as of 1981 the religious group with the highest concentration of Blacks was the Roman Catholic church with which 22 percent of the Black population was affiliated. (This may be compared to the Portuguese who had the highest degree of Religious Monopoly with up to 96 percent of group members reporting affiliation to the Roman Catholic Church.) The Roman Catholic church is followed by the Anglican with 18 percent; the Baptist with 16 percent; a category of eight percent who reported no religious affiliation; a category of seven percent affiliated with non-Judeo-Christian groups (such as Islam); and a category of five percent who reported affiliation with the United Church (Herberg, 1989:149). Given these statistics, we can conclude that only a maximum 24 percent of the Canadian Black population reported affiliation with the various other religious groups, such as the Pentecostals, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Although the Religious Monopoly of the Roman Catholic church within the general population of Canada increased from 39.5 percent in 1931 to 46.5 percent in 1981, this increase is very slight when compared to the Black Canadian case where the degree of Roman Catholic Religious Monopoly increased by more than 350 percent—from six percent in 1931 to 22 percent in 1981 (Canadian World Almanac, 1987:425 and Herberg, 1989:149).¹ It is because of the pattern of the changes in the religious affiliation of Black Canadians—from a situation in which the plurality of Blacks (41%) in 1931 were Baptists to one in which the Baptist denomination has been replaced by the Catholic and the Anglican denominations—that Herberg (1989:172) contends that Canada's Black population is experiencing assimilation away from its traditional religion (Baptism). This argument is quite misleading because a more plausible reason for the changes in Black religious affiliation is that most of the post-1960 Black immigrants to Canada were either Roman Catholics or Anglicans in their Caribbean home countries (Cryderman, 1986:136). Since most immigrants tend to assert their ancestral religions upon arrival in Canada (Harney, 1978), it is not surprising that there has been no large-scale exodus of Hamilton's Black Roman Catholics, for example, from their denomination to Hamilton's Black churches. It is primarily in this

¹ As of the 1981 census, the second and the third ranking groups in terms of Religious Monopoly in Canada were the United Church and the Anglican church to which 15.6 percent and 10.1 percent, respectively, were affiliated. This ranking of Religious Monopoly in Canada has remained constant at least since 1931. The religious affiliation of other Canadians is spread among up to 27 other groups, and 7.3 percent of the population claimed no religious affiliation (Canadian World Almanac, 1987:425-426). It is noteworthy that the ranking of religious affiliation in the Hamilton CMA is congruent with the national pattern. Specifically, 33.6 percent (182, 170 persons) of Hamilton's population reported affiliation to the Catholic church while 18.3 percent (99, 275 persons) and 15.4 percent (83, 445 persons) reported affiliation to the United and Anglican churches respectively (Statistics Canada, Canada Handbook, 1986:50).

context that the number of Blacks who regularly attend Hamilton's Black churches (about 505) can be seen as quite significant.¹

The Relative Ease of Association

Although the SMC now plays a diminished role in the local Black community than it did in the past, the Blacks who were asked about their reasons for attending that church gave reasons that are congruent with some of the traditional reasons why Blacks attend Black churches. A man in his mid-sixties who was born in Hamilton and grew up at the SMC seemed to view the church as all-important for his world-view:

Being attached to this church means one thing to me....I know what it's like to go to work with a smile on my face....It doesn't matter if it snows, rains, or whatever--it's always a beautiful day to me. Everything for me is love. This is what this church has done for me....We live in a spot in Burlington where the neighbors took up a petition against us. They didn't want Blacks there....We've lived there for 24 years and never get close to our neighbors. We say hello but never get close....I feel that it's like my mother and father that's in the church. I feel comfortable being there. This is our church, the same as you'd call your country your country.

Similarly, a high-ranking official at the SMC made the following statement:

I've been going [to the SMC] all my 80 years. I went in my mother's and father's arms as a child, as a baby and I've been going there since. And it's an automatic thing that I think a lot of my church. I'm on the Board of Trustees and I have been on

¹ The fact that less than 20 percent of the local Black population is affiliated with the local Black churches may be compared to the case in the United States where up to 95 percent of the Black Christian population is affiliated with Black churches (Lincoln, 1984:69). The Hamiltonian situation is a reflection of two things. First, the color line may be less rigid in Canada than it is in the U.S. Second, historically, unlike their American counterparts, Blacks in the Caribbean (the birth place of most Hamiltonian Blacks) generally did not need to form independent churches since these countries offered "a more benign religious climate, and a considerably less rigid social structure" than the U.S. (Lincoln, 1984:62).

it for many years. And I'm there constantly....It has kept me together. Tomorrow there will be, probably, a couple of thousand Black people in churches. There will be 50 people in my church....At Stewart Memorial, if we had the numbers, we could have a beautiful building. The building is fine now. We're out of debt....It's not the best church in the city. But it's ours. It's ours and that is what makes me so proud....The church has done great things for me—to help me stay together and be fine, and be me, and proud of me.

A school teacher who is also an officer of the SMC said the following:

I believe in the strength of communities. The world itself is a community. But I think it's made up of small communities and each community has to be strong to benefit the whole community....I think people here are more honest with me. I really believe that.

A chorister said the following:

The other church I was at was just too dull. That's why I changed to Stewart memorial Church....The people didn't seem to be interested in you unless you're White like them. Besides, the music was quite dull there. Here the people are warm and the music reaches your soul.

While the music at the SMC may not be regarded as dull, it certainly is not as lively as that found in most Pentecostal churches, including predominantly White ones, which emphasize the use of drums, guitars, and, in many cases, hand clapping and "dancing in the Spirit". Indeed, what is significant about the music at the SMC is that the church choir generally sings two or three "Negro Spirituals" each Sunday morning, the stated purpose of which is to preserve the "cultural heritage of our fore-fathers." Thus, these choristers consider the church music to be lively at least partly because, as members of the choir, they are directly involved in the decision regarding what songs are

to be sung--decisions which are sometimes made in the backroom only minutes before the commencement of the worship services.

An important way of understanding the emergence and persistence of the post-1970 Black churches in Hamilton is by referring to the situation in turn-of-the-century Chicago when many Southern Blacks migrated there. For, like the case in Chicago, most of the post-1960 Black immigrants to Hamilton come from centers that are less economically developed than Canadian cities such as Hamilton (Cryderman, 1986:132). Consequently, they tend to feel alienated from the churches and other institutions of both the dominant group and of the native-born Blacks. It is essentially for this reason that these Black immigrants establish their own churches and voluntary associations.

Blacks who attend the post-1970 local Black churches generally state that they do not feel at home in White churches, including Pentecostal ones, because they do not find the White church-goers to be "friendly". Blacks typically say that Whites often make a point of asking them questions such as "where are you from?" which, the Blacks assert, presume that, because they are Black, they could not have been born in Canada. A Black man indicated that when he first came to Hamilton from Britain, he attended the White church which his sister had joined a few years earlier. He stated that he left his sister's church and began attending a Black one in the early 1970s because he saw the relationships between him and most of the members of his sister's White church as being too one-dimensional--restricted only to exchanging pleasantries during and immediately after attending church-related activities.

A conversation with a middle-aged woman yields information along the same lines as the one mentioned above.

I'm new in this town. In Toronto where I was living I attended a Black church. So when I moved to Hamilton I just asked people here for the address of a good Black church. That's why I'm here today....What attracts me to Black churches is that nobody looks down on anybody else. I feel right at home in Black churches. I feel right at home sitting here this morning.

Nevertheless, a number of local Blacks presently attend or had once attended mainstream White churches. Indeed, a number of Blacks occupy prominent positions—including those of senior pastor, deacon, and elder—in White churches. Based on this basic fact, one could arrive at the conclusion that Blacks are well assimilated into the mainstream religious life of Hamilton. However, interviews with these Blacks reveal that they typically do not feel completely at ease in these churches. The following statements illustrate this point. A young Black woman said the following:

Here in Hamilton, I haven't found a church that I'm comfortable with. Every now and then I go to ---[a mainstream church]. It's okay. But they don't really make you feel welcome. You're seen as a guest. Nobody invites you home.

Similarly, a young Black woman discussed her attempt to find a church in which she could fellowship on a regular basis. When asked what her home church was she responded as follows:

Several. I used to go to one around the corner from me but I soon found out that people didn't feel comfortable with me since I was the only Black person there. I found that people sitting next to me would rather do without hymn books than to have to share with me. When I left there I went to another church up somewhere. But that one was quite far; besides, the people were not friendly either. Right now I attend an Anglican church close to the university. There's at least one Black family

there. And there are lots of students there. Most of the older people are not exactly friendly--they don't even respond when you greet them--but I've decided to hang around there for now.

A Black professional who occupies a prominent position in a White church talked at length about how fellow congregants often contact him, and expect him to contact them, with regard to his official roles in his church, but not beyond that. He concluded the conversation in the following way:

I've been involved in -- for about 18 years now and, do you know, I can't say that I have any White friend there. Even among the officers, the only friend I have--the only person who regularly phones and drops in here and I do the same to him--is a fellow Black man. He's from a different island from me and he's a lot older than me. But he's Black and that seems to be the main thing we have that's different from other officers in the church.

Since local Blacks generally do not feel completely at ease in non-Black churches, it is not surprising that Spear's (1967:174-175) description of Black religious life in early 20th century Chicago presents a picture that is amazingly similar to the case in Hamilton today. He contends that:

Of all aspects of community life, religious activities were most profoundly changed by the migration. Before the war, the large, middle-class Baptist and Methodist churches had dominated Negro religious life in Chicago. Although they had not completely discarded the emotionalism of traditional Negro religion, these churches had moved toward a more decorous order of worship and a program of broad social concern. The migration, however, brought into the city thousands of Negroes accustomed to the informal, demonstrative, preacher-oriented churches of the rural South. Alienated by the formality of the middle-class churches, many of the newcomers organized small congregations that met in stores and houses and that maintained the old-time shouting religion.

Although with only one exception--St. Paul's Ecumenical Church--the post-1960 Black churches in Hamilton all separate their religion from direct social concerns and engage in the "informal, demonstrative" mode of worship which the Black Southern migrants to Chicago practised, it would be a gross mistake to equate the new Black Hamiltonians with the early 20th century Black migrants to Chicago. For, in contrast to their counterparts in turn-of-the-century Chicago, the new Black Hamiltonians are better off educationally and economically than are their native-born counterparts; thus, the new Black Hamiltonians are, in general, quite socially adept. It is essentially for this reason that, unlike their counterparts in turn-of-the-century Chicago who saw the Black migrants from the South as great liabilities, the old-line Black Hamiltonians tend to see the new Black immigrants as invaluable assets. For example, regarding the activities of a group of Hamiltonians who were trying in late 1986 to correct the apparent injustice against a Black vendor, Ms. Tillie Johnson, at the Hamilton Farmers' Market, a grandmother who grew up at the Stewart Memorial Church said the following:

We used to just talk about such things among ourselves. We usually didn't bother about making a public outcry. We figured we just didn't have the sort of power that comes with large numbers. You see, we've never had enough Black people around to stage a successful boycott. But, thank God, things are changing for good these days.

Indeed, a long-standing member of the SMC seems to go as far as basing her hope of the long-term viability of the church on the presence of young immigrant Blacks in the city. She made the following statement:

We think of the church as a home base for the Black community. It's a little unscientific the way we go about these

things. What we're concerned with is that we're serving our people, even if the numbers are small....They'll come. They're around. They're just laying back right now, you know. They're doing their thing. We all went through that--that's why we don't worry about this type of thing. And especially now that we have a lot of Black immigrants coming in. We never lose sight of the fact that we almost lost that church. I remember we were very scared. And even though things have opened up considerably for us in this society--with mixed marriages and so on--we still have to maintain our own culture. You see, in today's society everybody has to stand up and be counted.

Similarly, a middle-aged man who is an officer in the SMC seems to believe that the long-term viability of his church is dependent ultimately on the possibility that the present social situation which permits Blacks to readily associate outside of the Black community is only temporary. In other words, obvious discrimination against Blacks may once again become a reality--thus compelling young Blacks to return to Black Churches. According to this man, You can just find one of these young people who are gone for many years just come back--when there's a great need, when they lose the freedom to mix with Whites.

In contrast to the case in Hamilton where old-line Blacks welcome the relatively recent influx of other Blacks, Spear (1967:168) notes with regard to early 20th century Blacks in Chicago that

Not only did the more established Negroes find the newcomers' habits personally offensive but they felt that they diminished the status of all Negroes in the eyes of the White community. The old settlers began to formulate a myth that became an article of faith in later years. Discrimination, they argued, was minimal before the migration and it was the behavior of the newcomers that induced it.

It can be argued that it is primarily because the long-standing members of the SMC still see the church as an important Black institution in Hamilton that they whole-heartedly welcome the immigration of other Blacks to the city--despite the fact that most of the latter do not associate with the church. But while SMC members may count on the presence of the new Hamiltonian Blacks for the continued existence of their church, it is doubtful that this hope will materialize. For the SMC is decreasing in size (primarily because its aging population is not being replenished by younger Blacks) while the newer Black churches are increasing in size.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that, like many of the other earlier Black churches on this continent, Hamilton's oldest Black church, the Stewart Memorial Church, was established for both instrumental and expressive reasons. On the instrumental side, the SMC emerged in 1835 to fill a social, political, educational, and religious vacuum which existed in Hamilton's Black community essentially as a result of the intolerance by the city's White communities of interaction with their Black neighbors. And, on the expressive side, many Blacks preferred associating with other Blacks whom they believed would not consider their "emotional" mode of worship as intolerably crude (Shreve, 1983:13 and Winks, 1971:338-339).

Although the Black membership of the Black churches in Hamilton is less than 20 per cent of Hamilton's Black population, it is quite significant when placed in the proper context. For example, with the exception of the SMC and St. Paul's, Hamilton's Black churches are similar to the White

Pentecostal churches in terms of basic doctrine and style of worship; it is, therefore, quite significant that more Blacks attend these churches than attend the much more affluent White Pentecostal churches. In other words, when one, as it were, controls for doctrine and mode of worship, one finds that Blacks in Hamilton are more likely to attend Black churches than they are to attend White ones. Moreover, in general, the Blacks who attend White churches are not structurally assimilated into these churches. Thus, Blacks who attend White churches tend to be less likely to discuss intimate problems, such as marital difficulties, with their White pastors than they are to discuss such matters with either their Black friends or the Black pastors of the Black churches which they otherwise do not patronize.

Given the nature of Black involvement in both Black and mainstream churches in Hamilton, the question of the nature of Black involvement in the city's other Black voluntary organizations becomes quite immediate and relevant. This question constitutes the main thrust of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY LIFE: THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the institutional structure of Hamilton's Black community. The objective is to outline the range of organizations within the Hamilton Black community, for as discussed in Chapter I, one of the six most important facilitating conditions in terms of successful community building is the existence of a wide range of ethnic institutions (Gordon, 1964 and Driedger, 1989:144). Indeed, Breton (1964:204) argued that "institutionally complete" ethnic groups (that is, those ethnic groups which provide their members with a wide range of "institutions") tend to be more readily successful in attracting active memberships than those that are not institutionally complete.

The discussion in this chapter deals with four categories of organizations: umbrella organizations—including fraternal organizations; national associations; social service organizations; and businesses.¹ This chapter also discusses the nature of Black patronage of local Black businesses.

The "Umbrella" Organizations

There are no voluntary organizations in the city in which membership is open to all Blacks without regard to national, social, religious, educational,

¹ A fifth category of organizations, churches, was discussed in the preceding chapter because of its special status in the North American Black community.

or other affiliations. It was in an attempt to create a Black "umbrella" organization in Hamilton that a group of local Blacks formed an ad hoc committee, "Committee 87", in 1987. One of the main reasons for the failure of the proposed organization was the fear of some Blacks that membership in such an umbrella organization would serve only to alienate them from non-Black fellow nationals, for membership in the proposed organization was to have been limited to Black voluntary organizations. Strictly speaking, then, national cleavages held sway over what Manyoni (1986) refers to as "skinship".

At least in terms of the difficulties in forming a viable Black umbrella organization, the Hamilton Black population may be seen as a microcosm of its national counterpart. For example, Canada's only national Black umbrella organization, the National Black Coalition of Canada (NBCC), has been beset with critical problems, including internal ones, since its inception in 1969. The association has three major objectives. First, to help Blacks participate fully in and benefit fully from Canadian society. Second, to encourage a sense of "racial identity and solidarity" among all Blacks in Canada, in particular, and Blacks world wide, in general. And, third, to help rid Canadian society of racism and discrimination (McClain, 1979:55).

Although the NBCC receives funding from external sources, such as the federal government, this organization is not living up to its own stated goals (Barrett, 1987:290). For instance, the NBCC has not been a major force in the on-going tension between, in particular, the Metropolitan Toronto Police force and the Black community; indeed, the Toronto-based Jamaican Canadian Association has played much more of a leadership role than the

NBCC in this regard. In any event, although the NBCC has chapters in a number of Canadian cities, it does not have one in Hamilton; nor is the organization well-known in this city. Indeed, there are no local Blacks who are directly involved in this organization--despite its existence in Toronto. Thus, whatever its legacy is, the NBCC has not had much direct influence in Hamilton; nor has any twentieth century Canadian-based Black organization had a significant impact on the Hamilton Black community. The only possible exception in this regard is the Negro Citizenship Association, an organization which was formed in direct response to Canada's immigration policies which, at least up till the introduction of the "point system" policy in 1967, were overtly restrictive to Blacks and other visible minorities (Elliott and Fleras, 1992:240-241 and Moore, 1985).

The local Black umbrella organizations are discussed under a number of subheadings: women's organizations; ACCA and CCA; McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association; and fraternal organizations. These subheadings represent the categories of local Black organizations which are not based on national or religious cleavages.

Women's Organizations

There is no doubt that some of the Black organizations in Hamilton are open to all Blacks with little or no regard to their personal interests or affiliations. Thus, Black "umbrella" organizations exist in Hamilton; what does not exist in the city are organizations that are overtly committed to a Black cause and whose membership is restricted only to Blacks. The main possible exceptions in terms of exclusive Black membership are two women's

organizations: the Hamilton chapter of the Congress of Black Women, which was established in 1987, and the Hamilton-based Black Women's Small Business Association (BWSBA), which was established in 1985¹. However, although membership in these organizations supercedes various cleavages--including national, religious, and "cultural" ones--it is, nonetheless, limited only to women.

The Black Women's Small Business Association was established by nine Black women who desired to assist in building up the Hamilton Black community, in general, and Black youths, in particular. The main objective of this organization is to provide a forum for local Black women who are either business proprietors or who aspire to be so. As of spring 1990, the Black Women's Small Business Association had 20 members, eight of whom were honorary members. The major community outreach of this association is its yearly sponsorship to Hamilton of the Chicago-based Ebony Fashion Fair in an attempt to raise awareness of and funds for the treatment of sickle cell anaemia, a disease to which Blacks are quite susceptible.

Unlike the BWSBA which is fully independent (that is, the BWSBA is not an affiliate of any organization) and whose central goal is economic, the Hamilton Congress of Black Women is a chapter of a national organization which is committed to a broad range of issues. The Congress of Black Women was initiated in Toronto in 1973 at a meeting which comprised women from across Canada as well as from some American border cities such

¹ The discussion on the Congress of Black Women and the Black Women's Small Business Association is based on conversations with a number of Black women; telephone conversations with the latter association's president, Deedee Larocque, on June 6, 1990 and with a founding member of the Congress of Black Women, Flaurette Osborne, on February 24, 1991; and printed materials from the organizations.

as Buffalo and Detroit. Subsequent meetings, termed conferences, were held in various Canadian cities: Montreal (in 1974), Halifax (in 1976), Windsor (in 1977), and Winnipeg (in 1980). It was at the Winnipeg conference that the organization was launched. The establishment of the Congress of Black Women was predicated on the desire to make credible formal recommendations to the various levels of government with regards to the issues discussed at its conferences, the major issues of which are as follows: human rights, housing, health, child development, education, pensions, and racism.

Although the Black Women's Small Business Association seeks membership from Black women who operate or wish to operate their own businesses, its memberships are, nevertheless, also open to all Black professional women--with professionalism loosely defined to include unpaid labor such as child-rearing. Thus, in essence, despite what its name may suggest, this association is similar to the Congress of Black Women in at least one respect: it seeks membership from all Black women. This basic similarity does not seem to constitute a problem for these organizations because not only do they have somewhat different objectives, but Black Hamiltonian women tend not to conceive of these organizations as being in competition with each other. Indeed, although the local chapter of the Congress of Black Women was established in the fall of 1987, direct encouragement for this endeavor was formally given by BWSBA members at a BWSBA conference held at Mohawk College in Hamilton a year earlier. A founding member of the Congress of Black Women said the following:

The objectives and the aims of our organizations are entirely different. Their aims and objectives--their whole mission statement--are geared toward women who are in business or who plan to go into business.

ACCA and CCA

The most broadly-based organization in Hamilton is the Afro-Canadian Caribbean Association of Hamilton and Districts (ACCA) which was established in 1979. There are two types of memberships in ACCA--voting and non-voting--both of which are open to all Blacks in the Hamilton area. Moreover, memberships may be acquired by either individuals or by families (defined as husband-wife couples and their children under 18 years of age). Nevertheless, as of late 1989 there were only 120 families registered as members; thus, the total number of Blacks associated with the organization was officially estimated at about 400--less than 10 percent of most estimates of the Hamilton CMA's Black population.

One notable thing about ACCA is that it was formed with the purpose of uniting Blacks in the Hamilton area. The following statement from a Caribbean-born Black woman vividly illustrates this point:

I think originally it came to be formed because the people who were involved--the founding people--saw the need for an association that was outside the island or country of origin. Previous to that, most of the organizations that we saw around here were cabin associations: they were based on one island or one African country. It was always a Ghanaian association, a Nigerian association, or Jamaican, or Barbadian, or whatever. But I think they thought that, in terms of functioning in the society, not many people worry about your country of origin. You're Black, period. From that aspect they thought it would be a good idea to have an organization that was not too concerned

about your country of origin, you know, as long as you share the ideals of whatever they're trying to do.

There are two major problems which ACCA shares with the other Black voluntary organizations in Hamilton, one of which is that most of its registered members do not attend meetings regularly. An ACCA officer made the following statement:

For membership meetings, if you get twenty five to thirty five percent of the adult people, that would be considered good because a lot of people really don't attend....The only time we've got meetings where we've had sixty to seventy percent attendance is when there is something that people get riled about. A few years ago, the Spectator ran an article which was a little suspect in its depiction of Blacks and our people got so riled up that everybody was at the next meeting. We heard that the editor or managing editor of the Spectator was going to be at the meeting and that was one of the reasons why nearly everybody turned out--because everybody was so upset about it. But, in general, they'll find something else to do.

Similarly, a Caribbean-born Black psychologist who immigrated to Hamilton in 1973 and is a long-time member of ACCA said the following:

ACCA is one of the associations that everybody will have gone through. And so there are a lot of strong ties, a lot of people who belong and don't turn up and that sort of thing. Same for Stewart Memorial [Church]. I think the membership at Stewart Memorial, as compared to the others, would be fairly large, okay? But I think it is just like everything else: when people are not finding what they want when they come in, they are not going to be active members any more. But, yet, when they do stage a social event--in some cases their social events are very well attended.

He then tried to explain the reluctance of many local Blacks to regularly attend meetings primarily in terms of the perceived necessity to meet basic financial needs. He said the following:

Most of us work on the week-ends and all that sort of stuff. So you really can't meet people you know. They'll tell you, "you can't come tonight because I have got to go to bed early" and all that sort of stuff....I think for most of us who come in, we spend a lot of time climatizing ourselves, and, you know, you need at least seven years to climatize yourself. Most of us come here as full-fledged adults—I would say between 20 and 30. You spend seven years to climatize yourself and you are running close to 40. And there is not much you can do after that because a lot of Black work that you want to do is going to be done between your 25 and 35 to 37 age range. After that, you're settled in. I think that most of us immigrants feel the pinch there.

The second major problem which ACCA has in common with Hamilton's other Black voluntary organizations is the limited nature of its outreach to the Black community, a fact that is generally blamed on limited financial resources. As the following statement from an ACCA officer indicates, both the apathy among Blacks (as indicated by their reluctance to attend association meetings) and the limited outreach of these organizations may be by-products of the commitment of Blacks to meeting their economic needs and wants:

In lots of cases, when people are in need they come to us and we do what we can to help. Again, you can see there is no publicity, so the few people who are involved know and the rest don't know. We'd like to be involved with the students and so on. Unfortunately, we can't. It's going back to the problem of an old volunteer organization. Everybody works and the funds aren't available to have someone full-time who can make our presence felt. You know, it'd be marvellous if someone could really do that because I know one of the things we've talked about is just being able to contact new people in the city.

ACCA's president since its inception is Rev. Robert Foster, a Black native-born Hamiltonian (with no Caribbean ancestry) who is the assistant pastor of Hamilton's oldest Black organization, the Stewart Memorial

Church. Although Rev. Foster has an excellent reputation among fellow Blacks in Hamilton, many of these same Blacks contend that ACCA does not represent the interests of the city's general Black population. They contend that ACCA is dominated by Jamaicans and that, as such, it more or less represents the interests of Black Hamiltonians of Jamaican ancestry, if not only the interests of its members.

This writer did not find any evidence to substantiate the views regarding ACCA's bias. But one thing is certain: the presidency of ACCA is not endowed with much power. Indeed, as ACCA officers proudly point out, the organization is set up to be run by a 15 member board of directors of which the president, though chairman at board meetings, has equal powers as other board members. A member of ACCA said the following:

It's a fairly democratic situation in that it's governed by a board of directors. There're 15 people in the board of directors, and from that 15 there's a president, first and second vice presidents....They have meetings once a month and any decision is relayed from the board. So they are really the governing body. The president chairs it and all of that, but he really has no more power than the other 14 members.

ACCA's main stated goal is to unite the Black population of Hamilton, a goal which members seem to believe is best achieved by involving the city's Blacks in the construction of a community center.¹ To this end, banquets and other fund-raising events are regularly organized under the auspices of ACCA in an attempt to raise the funds necessary for constructing a

¹ The Hamilton Black community does not have a formal community center. The closest thing to such a center is the Lincoln Alexander Community Centre (LACC) which was established in 1984 and is located at 109 Smith Street in North East Hamilton. As will be shown when the LACC is discussed (under the sub-heading of "Social Service Organizations"), Black Hamiltonians typically do not conceive of the LACC as a Black community center.

community center. Through the means of donations and fund-raising events, the organization successfully purchased a parcel of land on Stone Church Road East (on the "mountain") from the city of Hamilton at the cost of \$50,000 (Hamilton Spectator, June 5, 1990:C5). Although this parcel of land was purchased in 1985, construction of the community center, which is expected to cost \$950,000, is scheduled to begin only in late summer 1990 and to be completed in the fall of 1991.¹ The proposed community center is to be named the Harriet Tubman Centre in honor of the U.S.-born abolitionist who was a leader of the Underground Railroad. The choice of name is also an attempt to emphasize the self-help theme of the proposed community center.

The choice of the "East Mountain" as the site for the proposed community center is quite interesting, for not only does there appear to be a concentration of Blacks in that area of the city, but the "Mountain" is one of the most desired places of residence for many Blacks in the Hamilton CMA. Indeed, Blacks often talk about how happy they are about living "up on the mountain" (not simply on the mountain) and how they dream about moving "up to Ancaster."² Thus, for Black Hamiltonians--as for the general Hamiltonian populace--living on the mountain is both a literal and a symbolic indication of one's physical and socio-economic station in life.

¹ Construction of the community center was not yet completed as of Fall, 1992.

² Conventional wisdom in the Hamilton area dictates that the municipalities of Ancaster, Dundas, and Burlington are not part of Hamilton and that they should, therefore, not be included in discussions about Hamilton. This writer finds this view to be fascinating only because it is a logical outcome of the prevalent negative view of Hamilton, for some persons who hold this view fail to apply the same reasoning to Toronto by insisting that Mississauga, to name only one city, is a part of Toronto. The view that the earlier mentioned communities are not a part of Hamilton can be rejected, primarily because this view is contrary to the official designation of these municipalities as integral parts of the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area (see Ontario, 1985), the geographical area about which this study is concerned.

One major outgrowth of ACCA is the Hamilton Vikings Domino Club which, apparently, was formed because some local Blacks believed that ACCA had become too staid and, therefore, irrelevant in terms of Black community building. Although, as its name implies, the principal objective of the Domino club is to advance the game of dominoes in the Hamilton area, the club also sponsors a number of dances every year. These dances are typically held in large halls, such as the Ukrainian Hall which is located at 170 Parkdale Avenue North, and feature out-of-town music groups. Like the case with ACCA, tickets to these dances are generally available at a number of local Black businesses—often the same businesses where tickets to ACCA-sponsored events may be obtained.

A local Black voluntary organization that is very similar to ACCA is the Caribbean Cultural Association of Hamilton. As its name suggests, the main purpose of this organization is the preservation of Caribbean culture and membership is open to all Hamiltonians of Caribbean ancestry. Nevertheless, all Hamiltonians, the Black ones in particular, are encouraged to participate in the various dances, athletic events, and educational symposiums sponsored by this organization.

McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association

With the exception of the Stewart Memorial Church and the Eastern Stars and Mount Olive lodge chapters (of which more shortly), the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association (affectionately termed the Afro-Club) is the oldest Black organization in Hamilton. This association was formed in the 1960s and is an outgrowth of the American-led Black power and civil rights

movements of that decade. Its basic aim has traditionally been to cater to the social, cultural, and political needs of Black students on the McMaster University campus.¹ Specifically, the stated purpose of this association is to maintain, support, teach, and express Black culture. In these terms, this association is arguably the only organization in Hamilton whose primary overt goal is to promote a Black cause. But this commitment to a Black agenda does not mean that membership and/or involvement in the association's activities is limited only to Blacks. Indeed, the association is open to anyone who wishes to learn about and discuss the world from a "Black perspective", a perspective which it refers to as a "unique thought" (International Enquirer, September 1989).

As a means of facilitating the attainment of its basic goal (catering to the needs of Black McMaster university students), the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association is organized into three "committees of interest"--the Christian, Education, and Social committees. The Christian committee, which is non-denominational, has the objective of discussing religion as a way of ensuring that students do not lose touch with the "faith of their childhood."

For its part, the Education committee is concerned with disseminating knowledge about Black history, literature, and everyday experiences. This

¹ Black students at Mohawk College in Hamilton established a similar organization during the 1989/90 academic year. Apart from the financial and organizational problems that result from its being in its infancy, the Mohawk Afro-Caribbean Association is confronted by two other crucial problems. First, unlike at the university where a significant number of the Black students have historically been International students from the Caribbean and Africa, virtually all Black students at Mohawk college are from the Hamilton area. And, second, unlike at the university where academic programs are structured so that students remain for three or more years, Mohawk college programs typically require students to remain for only one or two years.

committee organizes "rap sessions" in which all present are encouraged to participate in informal discussions which are generally based on themes such as "leadership". It also arranges for films and speakers on topics deemed interesting to members of the association and relevant to advancing the basic aim of the association. Thus, for example, during the past number of years this committee has arranged for films and speakers dealing with the topic of "Black History" to be presented on the McMaster University campus every february, a month celebrated as "Black History Mönth" by Blacks in, at least, the United States and Canada.

Finally, the social committee has the mandate of organizing dances and cultural shows, the latter of which are defined broadly in terms of events such as plays, fashion shows, music, and poetry presentations. Some Black students, typically non-members of the association, contend that the association places too much emphasis on activities organized by this committee. A McMaster University alumnus who was a member of the association said the following:

I know, in general, that the organization was much more radical when it began....It has become more and more and more and more conservative. Or, even worse, more and more and more ignorant of what it can do, what it is all about. And I think it's thanks to the eighties generation, you know, the nineties generation that they are now in which is further away from the turbulent sixties and is more forgetful of that history. People don't really have that sense of continuity. The organization today is very troubling. I think that, like many other Black organizations, they approach the struggle, they approach their activities, from a highly stereotypical point of view. For example, every year you must have a cultural show; every February you must have Black History Week; you must have one or two sports days in between; you must have a thousand parties. There is no real inventiveness within the organization.

Despite the reservations of some local Blacks as to the direction of the influence of the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association, the continued relevance of the association for both the local Black university students and the university community at large can be ascertained from the following statements.

...the organization has evolved and attained an indispensable status on campus. This association serves as a social support system to its members which comprises a unique and diversified group of African, West Indian and Afro-Caribbean students. The organization, by its very existence, also provides McMaster's community with an enriched cultural flavour which is but one of the factors in making McMaster the wonderful environment that it is.

Our base serves as a focal point for many socializing activities. It also provides an outlet for cultural exchange, sharing of ideas among members. Here we support each other academically, psychologically, socially and politically (The Voice, September 1988).

Similarly, the following editorial that was written by a Black student reveals that, at least for some students, this association is successful in achieving its stated goal.

...To me, the club's environment represented an inner metropolis, a kind of haven from the outside world where in order to get by you have to assimilate [sic] and in order to compete (being a Black woman), you have to accelerate at twice the pace....I've found refuge within the walls of this club (The Voice, 1988:1).

If nothing else, the two preceding statements show the aptness and continued relevance of Tavernier's (1976) observation that the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association helps to insulate many Black students from the larger society and, consequently, helps to create an environment conducive to

the emergence of a cohesive group that is based on a sense of common identity. Nevertheless, since the 1989/90 academic year the association has been reassigned from a strategically located office in Wentworth House to Room B118, a window-less office in the basement of the same building. Officers of the association contend that the assignment of this office to the association is a testament to the fact that the McMaster Students' Union executives who assigned the space have serious reservations about the continued relevance of the association.

The Fraternal Organizations

Hamilton's other primary Black "umbrella organizations" are two fraternal organizations: Mount Olive Lodge #1 (Masons) and the Order of the Eastern Star. Both of these fraternal organizations are intrinsically linked to the city's oldest Black organization, the Stewart Memorial Church; they are also older than any other Black organization in the city--except the SMC. The older of these fraternal organizations is the "Mount Olive Lodge #1, Free and Accepted Masons, Prince Hall Affiliation." Membership in this lodge, which was established in 1852 as a result of the refusal of the traditional Masons' lodge to accept membership from Blacks, is open through sponsorship to "all men of good character."¹ Its long-standing commitment is to assist in various community projects as well as to assist with youth programs. A 79 year old native-born Black Hamiltonian who is a long-time member of the Lodge said the following about the Masons' Lodge:

¹ At least partly because of the sponsorship requirement for membership, many Blacks view the Lodge as elitist. Be that as it may, according to an officer of the Lodge, its membership is only 60 because it would lose its effectiveness if it had more members than that.

The Lodge was formed December 27, 1852 and was called the Masonic Temple. A Lodge from New Jersey came here and set it up. We are older than a lot of American Lodges and were the first Black Lodge in Canada. At that time there was only about one White lodge that I know of. Black people couldn't be made Masons. The first black man, Prince Hall, was made a Mason in 1752 in a British army Lodge--he and 13 others. But they could not initiate any new ones. Well, I have no desire to sit with a White man. They say they don't recognize us, so we ended up with our own. We are not members of the Grand Registry of Canada, but we've been here as long. The Lodge is...based on Christianity; it is based on the building of King Solomon's Temple. David had a vision of God who said, "build a temple unto me." He was helped by Hiram, the master mason. It took seven years to build and it was never hampered during the daytime; it only rained at night. We don't solicit--as Masons. Our theme is that if a man experiences a desire, then we may meet with him. We hope that we are good men and we try to make good men better. We...assist in many scholarships, organ lessons, jobs. It's like the Shriners: we build playgrounds, hospitals, provide scholarships--NAACP [the U.S.-based National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] and the United Negro College Fund....We raise money or it comes out of our pockets. If you live the life of a Mason you are living a Christian life.

Hamilton's other Black fraternal organization is "Esther chapter #2, Order of Eastern Star, Prince Hall Affiliation." All members of the Eastern Star organization are female. This organization is the counterpart of the Black Masons' lodge and, as such, its conditions of membership as well as its objectives are similar to the former's.

The National Organizations


There are five national organizations within the Hamilton Black community, only one of which--the Ghanaian Association--represents an African nation. These organizations are (1) the Barbados, Canadian and

Friends (Hamilton) Association; (2) the Ghanaian Association Incorporated; (3) the Guyana-Canadian Cultural Association; (4) the Hamilton Dominica Association; and (5) the Jamaican Association. Given the fact that, among African nationals alone, the number of African nations from which Black Hamiltonians originate exceeds 10, it is clear that the national organizations do not exhaust the number of countries represented by the city's Blacks.

These Black national organizations represent at least two basic things: first, the relative size and, second, the degree of permanence of the various national groups within Hamilton's Black community. Thus, for example, the existence of a Ghanaian national organization corresponds to the facts that not only does the number of Ghanaian nationals in Hamilton exceed that of any other African country, but the number of Ghanaian professionals exceeds that of any other African country. For instance, virtually all Hamilton-based African-born self-employed professionals, such as physicians and physiotherapists, are Ghanaian.

Membership in the Hamilton-based Black national organizations is open specifically to all Hamiltonians who can trace their ancestry to the various nations represented. In addition, however, spouses of these nationals as well as "friends" of these nations are encouraged to seek membership. The fundamental goals of these organizations are quite similar: to preserve the culture, image, and identity of the nations represented; to make the larger society aware of the nations represented; and to encourage unity among nationals in the Hamilton area.

The activities of these organizations typically include dances, "house parties", and picnics. There are generally no obvious restrictions as to who



may attend these activities. Thus, there are typically persons from at least six different nationalities at each function sponsored by these organizations. Moreover, a number of Whites, usually spouses and friends of Hamilton-area Blacks, are invariably present at these functions.

Social Service Organizations

There are at least three Blacks who occupy the directorships of social service organizations in Hamilton. The three organizations are as follows: Just Phone; the Caribbean Scottish Society of Southern Ontario; and the Lincoln Alexander Community Centre. However, strictly speaking, only one of these organizations--the Lincoln Alexander Community Centre (LACC)--is openly committed to a Black cause.¹

The LACC was established in 1984 and is located at 109 Smith Street (at Barton Street) in North East Hamilton. This center is named after a native-born Hamiltonian who is also Canada's first Black Member of Parliament as well as Ontario's current and first Black Lieutenant Governor. The center is owned and operated by the Canadian Caribbean Christian Ecumenical Communion Incorporated (CCCEC Inc.) and is affiliated with St. Paul's

¹ The Just Phone agency was formed in 1987 and is geared towards counselling "street kids". In 1989 the executive director was accused of making sexual advances towards prospective employees. Although the accusations were found to be baseless by the local police force, they seemed to have formed the crux of the financial problems which plagued the agency (Hamilton Spectator, 1989:C3).

The Caribbean Scottish Society of Southern Ontario was founded by Mrs. Phillis Graham in 1989 and is named as a tribute to the founder's late husband who was Scotch. Its aim is to "provide a forum which will give youths a chance to channel their energies in positive undertakings, taking them away from crime and illicit use of drugs"--with an emphasis on new immigrants (Contrast, Oct. 25, 1989:39). The organization is based on a 100 acre farm, with the farmhouse transformed into a clubhouse where youths from nine to fourteen years of age are encouraged to develop their gifts and talents particularly in the arts.

Ecumenical Church with which it shares an address. The center is housed in what used to be the Sunday school wing and gymnasium of the former St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church complex while St. Paul's Ecumenical Church is housed in the main auditorium of the said complex. The complex was purchased by the CCCEC Inc. in 1984 for somewhat less than \$155,000--the Presbyterians having been forced to sell their church complex as a result of declining memberships (due primarily to the movement of many of the members to more affluent suburbs) and expensive maintenance costs (Hamilton Spectator, July 15, 1988:C1).

The basic aims and objectives of the LACC as stated in various pamphlets and other documents¹ are as follows:

Working and developing the community spirit. Co-operating with existing community programmes and services. Promot[ing] a better cultural and inter-ethnic understanding of various peoples. [Encouraging] persons to establish their own niche and make a worthwhile contribution to society, thereby avoiding the "Revolving Door Syndrome".

Thus, the LACC provides various recreational activities--such as basketball, volleyball, and ping-pong--as well as counselling services--such as marriage, family, immigration, and new-comer orientation--with a "focus on Caribbean people." It is a testament to the integrationist commitment of the LACC that it has successfully established a working relationship with two local mainstream service organizations: the Norman Lewis Recreation Centre and St. Matthew's House.

¹ Unlike the case with many Black organizations in Hamilton, the LACC and its sister organizations have an extensive amount of written records, to which this writer was given access.

Although the executive director of the LACC, Rev. J. Henderson Nurre, has offered the use of his community center to local Blacks, the latter do not conceive of the LACC as a Black community center. For example, supporters of the LACC recommend the center for events, such as dances, on the grounds that it is important for Blacks to patronize Black-run ventures and that using the LACC would help Black groups maximize the funds raised through these events. However, many Blacks object to the use of the LACC on the grounds that the center is not adequately equipped with, in particular, parking and washroom facilities. Thus, for instance, when the organizers of Hamilton's major Black-centered festival, the annual Cari-Can Festival, decided to hold the 1989 fund-raising Cari-Can dances at the LACC, at least one Black national organization openly showed its objection by holding a dance at a rented hall on the same night.

Nevertheless, according to LACC officers, the greatest problem confronting the center is that of inadequate funding. They state that much of the funds promised by and those anticipated from the various levels of government have not been received. Perhaps the most glaring way in which the LACC displays its financial problems is by operating with a limited number of personnel. Thus, for example, it is very rare that a telephone call to the center is answered directly; almost every telephone call is "answered" by a telephone answering machine. Moreover, it is extremely rare to find the center open during the daytime.¹

¹ The LACC and its associated organizations were closed in summer 1991 for various financial reasons, including financial mismanagement (*Hamilton Spectator*, August 14, 1991:B1-B3).

Similarities among the Organizations

There are two principal characteristics which the local Black organizations have in common with one another. One of these characteristics is that they orient many of their activities towards Toronto and other centers outside of Hamilton. Thus, in general, a measure of the importance of an event, such as a dance, is whether or not the band or disc jockey is based in Hamilton. The more important an event is considered to be, the more likely it is that those who provide the entertainment as well as any "special guest" speaker would be based outside of Hamilton. Thus, for instance, the "special guest of honor" at the November 1990 Independence celebrations organized by the Dominica Association of Hamilton was Dr. J. Bernard Yankey, a Dominican national who is the High Commissioner of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (O.E.C.S) to Canada. Similarly, the November 1990 Independence Dinner and Dance organized by the Barbados Canadians and Friends (Hamilton) Association was held "under the patronage" of Sir James Tudor, the High Commissioner of Barbados to Canada.

Another characteristic which the national organizations share with other local Black voluntary organizations is that only a small percentage of the official members attend regularly scheduled meetings. In general, a high percentage attend meetings only when there is a perceived crisis; since situations perceived in this way rarely occur in the Hamilton CMA, members often restrict direct participation in voluntary organizations to attending dances and similar social events. A member of the Hamilton Congress of Black Women said the following:

We've got a mailing list of 40 to 50 women. Well, last year we had a paid up membership of 15. I don't know what it is this year. I've received membership payments from only five people....You'll find that there's a core group of about five or six people. But if there's a workshop or some public activity you find people coming to the activity. But in terms of membership, that's very limited.

The officers of these Black organizations typically explain the apparent apathy of their members and others eligible for membership in terms of the stringent work schedules of these persons. Thus, an officer of the Dominica Association of Hamilton indicated that although her organization, which was founded in 1979, has about 100 members, there are usually only between 20 and 30 persons present at the typical meeting. She explained this situation in the following way:

Sometimes it's because of schedules--work schedules. So, when the husband attends the wife may not, and vice versa. In fact, sometimes both husbands and wives may stay away and somehow only their teen-age children would attend. But somehow we always get our message to all our people.

One major way by which participation is encouraged in local Black organizations is by engaging in activities which may be readily construed as entertainment. This fact explains the predominance of activities such as dinners and dances, trips to Toronto and surrounding areas, and picnics among local Black organizations. One other method by which participation is encouraged in some local Black organizations is by providing both formal and informal leadership opportunities to as many persons as possible. As mentioned earlier, the presidency of Hamilton's major umbrella organization, the Afro-Canadian Caribbean Association (ACCA), is not endowed with much power; that is, it is more or less a symbolic position.

Similarly, a member of the Hamilton Congress of Black Women said the following about her organization:

We sort of try to work collectively. We have a flat organization, instead of a hierarchical organization--so that more people would become involved. We find that when you have a hierarchical structure then everybody expects the president to do everything, so we're trying to get away from that.

The strategies aimed at encouraging Blacks to participate actively in local Black organizations have, at best, been successful to only a limited degree. The most common avenue for organized collective action among local Blacks is ad hoc committees, such as the Black History Month committee.¹ From the perspective of excessively busy and/or apathetic Blacks, the primary attraction of ad hoc committees is that, by definition, they have limited, typically predetermined, life spans. That is, one can participate in an ad hoc committee with the knowledge that one's commitment is for a specific purpose and a limited period of time.

The Businesses

Since Hamilton's Black population does not have a formal community center, a number of Black businesses serve some of the normal purposes of such a center. These businesses, which will be discussed in some detail under separate headings, may be classified into three categories: hair and beauty salons, provisionary stores, and nite clubs. What these categories of businesses have in common is that they provide Blacks with physical spaces

¹ This state of affairs may be related to the minority status of the Black community. For example, Wickberg (1981:174) observed that the Chinese communities in Canada formed and utilized ad hoc committees for their "most important lobbying attempts."

in which to interact freely. Thus, proprietors of Black-oriented businesses typically place their business cards on notice boards provided by and strategically located within these de facto community centers. These businesses are also used as venues in which Black voluntary organizations in the Hamilton and Toronto areas place flyers advertising events deemed to be of interest to the Hamilton Black community.

Two other categories of businesses--travel agencies and automobile garages--also serve as important de facto community centers. The most notable travel agencies in this regard are High Life and Moe's Travel Shoppe. The former is located on Main Street West in the downtown core and specializes on services to Africa while the latter (Moe's Travel Shoppe) is located on King Street East in the downtown area and specializes in services to the Caribbean. The two most significant automobile garages in terms of the points mentioned above are Lansdowne Auto, which is located on Cannon Street East in North Central Hamilton, and Concession Garage, which is located on Concession Street (around the location of the former "Little Africa") on the mountain.

The Hair and Beauty Salons

Since the most basic characteristic shared by virtually all Blacks is their physical features (Cryderman, 1986:125), the hair and beauty salons have the most universal appeal to the general Black populace, for, unlike the other businesses which cater to needs and wants that are culturally dependent, these salons cater to physical needs shared by the general Black populace. Put differently, since the provisionary stores deal primarily with tropical goods,

their main clientele consists of Caribbean and African Blacks; the old-line native-born Blacks typically do not have much need for these stores in terms of shopping. Similarly, the nite clubs cater primarily to a Caribbean clientele; thus, blues and jazz, the forms of musical expression to which the old-line Blacks can most readily relate, are not important components of these clubs' "hit parade". Talbot (1984:49) makes a very insightful observation about the importance of hair among Blacks:

Being one of the light-skinned ("high yellor") Talbots, my hair has been, in times past, the bane of my existence, but now, in my enlightened days, the badge of my identity. I'll bet you could measure individual black's degrees of radicalism in their lives with a dated record of their age and changing hairstyles.

Given the perceived need for Black barbers, hair dressers, and beauticians within the Hamilton Black community (see, e.g., Hamilton Spectator, September 1, 1987:C15), it is reasonable that the plurality of local Black businesses fall into this category. Specifically, there are 10 major Black hair and beauty salons in Hamilton which, listed alphabetically, are as follows: Angela's Hair Styling; Bill's Barber Shop; Culture Hair Design; Derma-Lax Clinique de Beaute; Ebony and Ivory; Excellence Unisex Salon; Lady Di's House of Hair Design and Aesthetics; Neville's; Salon Royale; and Val's Hair Villa. The services offered by these businesses include haircuts, curls, braids, weaves, and perms. Eight of these businesses are operated by women who cater to both males and females. There is no evidence of any reluctance of males and females to mix at these salons. However, "men talk" (conversations among men on matters such as relationships with women) occurs more often at the salons operated by men: Bill's and Neville's.

Apart from the similarities in the services offered as well as in their predominantly Black clientele, these businesses have at least two things in common. First, they provide venues for Blacks to have access to community newspapers, such as Share (which opened a bureau in Hamilton in October 1990 and devotes about two pages to events from the Hamilton area) and Contrast. In addition, these businesses provide Blacks opportunities for keeping abreast of the latest news and gossip. Blacks often visit one or more of these businesses for the various services offered before travelling to Europe, the Caribbean, or elsewhere--visits which often serve as opportunities for publicizing the particular circumstances that necessitate the intended trips. Some Blacks sometimes visit these salons simply to "hang out", to chat with whoever expresses the slightest interest. The discussions in these salons typically range from what pair of shoes to purchase to whom or when one should marry.

A testament to the importance of the hair and beauty salons is that many local Blacks commute to either Toronto or Buffalo, New York to get haircuts until they can locate a Black salon in Hamilton (Hamilton Spectator, September 1, 1987:C15). For there is a general perception that only Blacks can adequately cut and style Black people's hair. Thus, for instance, Blacks are quite comfortable about patronizing Excellence Unisex Salon, despite the fact that the salon's Black proprietor, Neltha Williams, has publicly stated that her training at Hamilton's Marvel Beauty School did not consist of any formal preparation on styling Black people's hair (Hamilton Spectator, September 1, 1987:C15). Excellence Unisex Salon is located downtown on 126 James Street North, a short walking distance from both the Stewart Memorial

Church and the Hamilton Eaton's Centre. The salon was established in June 1987 and, perhaps mostly because of its easily accessible location, is well known among local Blacks.

Arts and Crafts Stores

There are two principal places in Hamilton that are devoted primarily to Black arts and crafts: True Colours and the Gallery of Art and Sculpture. True Colours was established by a Black couple, Mr. and Mrs. De Lisser, in 1989 and is located at 497 Concession street on Hamilton mountain. In addition to arts and crafts, True Colours sells a variety of Black-oriented articles including books, magazines, records, videos, and beauty products.

The Gallery of Art and Sculpture was established by a Jamaican-born Black, Evelyn Myrie, in Windsor, Ontario in about 1980 and was subsequently moved to Hamilton around 1989. The gallery, which is located at 37 Grant Avenue in East Central Hamilton, features the work of Black African, American, and Caribbean artists and sculptors (Share, Jan. 3, 1991:17). Some of the art and sculpture from this gallery is displayed in such public places as the Hamilton Public Library in Jackson Square and in the Hamilton City Hall during Black-centered events such Black History celebrations each February.

Provisionary Stores

There are two main Black-owned provisional stores in Hamilton: Caribana Groceries and People's Grocery. Nevertheless, there are a number of Black-oriented provisional stores, including Manila Oriental Foods and Philippine International; indeed, all stores which sell tropical goods may be

considered Black-oriented, since Blacks actively seek after and patronize such businesses. The oldest and largest of Hamilton's Black-oriented provisionary stores is Caribana Groceries. The store was established in 1968 and, at that time, was located on York Street. When that property was expropriated, the store was moved to Jarvis Street. The latter location was burnt down so that the store was moved to 469 King Street East and then to its present site, 441 King Street East, where it has been located since 1975.

Nite Clubs/Restaurants

As of spring 1991, there were four Black nite clubs in Hamilton: Soul City, Club Afrique, Studio 31, and Club Santa Rosa. Soul City is located at 126 James Street North around Eaton's Centre in downtown Hamilton. Despite the possible difficulties with finding parking spaces around where this club is located, the club is almost always filled to capacity with patrons from as far away as Toronto and Niagara Falls. Although Soul City is owned by a Black man and most of its patrons are Black, at least two of its employees are White. One of these White employees, a woman, is the disc jockey. When some Black patrons were asked to comment on the fact that Soul City's disc jockey is a White woman, their typical response was that the race and sex of a disc jockey is of far less significance to them than is the music offered. Such is the importance of music that the fact that most of the patrons of Soul City are Jamaican nationals can be seen as much more a consequence of the emphasis on reggae music at the club than a reflection of the desire of other Blacks to avoid social interaction with Jamaican nationals.

It is also to the type of music emphasized at Club Afrique, Hamilton's other pre-1990 Black nite club (in this case, calypso), that one must ascribe the fact that the plurality of this club's patrons are Trinidadian nationals. This nite club, which is located at 570 Upper James Street on Hamilton mountain, also attracts patrons from as far away as Niagara Falls and Toronto. Indeed, as is the case with Soul City, the entertainment during almost every "special night", such as New Years eve, is provided by Torontonians. Like Soul City, Club Afrique provides Caribbean meals, such as patties and roti, to patrons at a cost.

Two Black restaurant/nite clubs were opened in Hamilton in 1990. The older of these, Studio 31, was opened in July and is located at 31 John Street North in downtown Hamilton. The other new club is Club Santa Rosa which is located at 797 Barton Street in the city's North East section. Like the two older clubs—Soul City and Club Afrique—these clubs offer their patrons both Caribbean music, such as Reggae and Soca, and Caribbean cuisine, such as roti and curried goat meat. However, only Studio 31 is open daily at 11 a.m.; the other clubs are open only at night.

In addition to the nite clubs, there are a number of small Black-owned restaurants in Hamilton. One such restaurant is Rose's Pepper Pot which is located on Tisdale street, across from Bill's Barber Shop, one of the many Black hair and beauty salons. Rose Washington, the proprietor of Rose's Pepper Pot, was born in Jamaica and immigrated to Hamilton in the late 1970s. Like the other Black restaurants, Rose's Pepper Pot specializes in Caribbean cuisine—foods such as curried goat and chicken, ox-tail, and dumplings.

Network Marketing

In essence, "network" (or "multi-level") marketing schemes offer individuals the opportunity of owning and operating businesses for a minimal amount of financial investment--often less than \$200 (two hundred dollars). In general, once the initial financial investment is made, the prospective entrepreneur ("distributor") is offered samples of the product, if any, and is then required to recruit others--beginning with relatives and close friends ("warm calls")--into the business. The recruitment process often involves convincing potential recruits of the virtues of the business at hand as well as urging them to attend regularly held "seminars" or "business meetings". Blacks involved in these businesses typically invite their relatives, friends, and acquaintances either to their homes or to "seminars" held by the business organizations in meeting rooms at places such as the downtown Holiday Inn and the Sheraton Hotel. The typical "seminar" deals with issues that are existentially relevant to local Blacks; for it consists primarily of testimonials from individuals who claim to have earned large sums of money--invariably more than three times what they earn or earned from salaried jobs--within a few months under unfavorable circumstances, such as being new residents of the province or city.

Listed alphabetically, the most popular network marketing businesses in the Hamilton Black community are as follows: (1) A.L. Williams; (2) AMWAY; (3) Life-Style Cookies; and (4) NSA Water/Air Purification Systems. Apart from the minimal amount of financial commitment required to become involved, an important attraction of network marketing businesses is that they generally inform prospective entrepreneurs that they

can make fantastic sums of money, typically more than \$100,000 within the first 12 months, primarily from introducing others into the business and secondarily from selling the products and services. Thus, although "blackness" is generally not emphasized by those attempting to recruit new "distributors,"¹ the combination of having a potential Black business mentor and a tremendously high rate of financial return is quite tempting, particularly to those Blacks who have grandiose dreams of quickly achieving financial independence and, in many cases, living in the tropics. This is not to say that, as compared to other ethnic categories, local Blacks are over-represented in network marketing businesses. Indeed, the largest number of Blacks present at any one of the ten "business meetings" attended was three.² Moreover, since some Blacks are involved in two or more of these businesses at the same time, it is quite likely that the total number of local Blacks actively involved in network marketing businesses is not more than 30—virtually all of whom make their living through full-time salaried jobs. Thus, notwithstanding the promise of quick wealth alluded to by the exponents of network marketing businesses, no Black Hamiltonian is known to have become wealthy as a result of these schemes. Indeed, the economic impact of these businesses in the local Black community is questionable. Nevertheless,

¹ The closest to a mention of "blackness" encountered was at an AMWAY "business meeting" at the home of a young Black man who had invited me to the meeting after we met each other a number of times at a Black church. After the testimonials, the Black man showed me a "rags to riches" *Ebony* magazine article about a North Carolina-based Black American family and indicated that he hoped I would give serious consideration to his offer of "sponsorship", "especially since AMWAY has been very good to our people."

² I attended these meetings for two reasons: to satisfy my curiosity about network marketing and to reciprocate the favor of some Blacks who, after offering me information about the Black community, invited me to attend these meetings as their prospective recruit. I attended meetings organized in regards to all the businesses mentioned above.

network marketing businesses are important in terms of community building since they offer Blacks opportunities to establish or renew ties with fellow Blacks on a significant common ground: the need to earn more money.

On Patronizing Black Businesses

Some Black business proprietors, notably the proprietor of one of the provisionary stores, complain that only an insignificant number of Blacks patronize their businesses. A Black woman who owns a provisionary store and restaurant said the following regarding the problems of running a Black-oriented business in Hamilton:

The thing is, you can't keep a posh place going here in Hamilton. This is not Toronto. In Toronto, there are lots more people--lots more Blacks, Whites, and what have you. In this store, for example, if you look carefully you'll see that I don't sell Black products as such. The reason is that our people are too few in this town and we already have one established Black grocery store on King street East [Caribana]. To repeat myself, if you want to do good business here in Hamilton the important thing is that you must not try to cater mostly to our people.

Virtually every Black person with whom this matter was discussed indicated that they did not "go out of the way" to patronize Black businesses; in other words, Black Hamiltonians typically patronize Black businesses only when these businesses provide either unique products/services or have the most competitive prices. A Black psychologist responded as follows when he was asked for his opinion on the business experiences of Black professionals in Hamilton:

I know about six or seven doctors. I know two psychologists, myself being one....What you find is that most of these guys now just live here: we don't work here. I don't work here, for

example. The other psychologist, I think he works in Oakville....So, again, it is not the place to which you really contribute during the week because you couldn't get a job here....Now my doctor is Black. As I said, I know about six or seven Black doctors. I think there might be a few more and they do a pretty good job. I like my doctor, for example, because when I go to him I can deal with him from a Black perspective, if you know what I mean. I can sit with the man and I can talk to the man and we can talk about conventional medicines, we can talk about home remedies and sometimes he does say, go home and get some rum, drink that and fix yourself up—which is what we did when we were home.

But there are some notable exceptions to this pattern of behavior. A Black man in his early thirties said the following:

I make it a duty that if a Black business provides a particular service that I need that the White community uses, I make it my duty to patronize the Black business. Why? Simply because I believe that the Black business depends upon me as a market, and it is my little nail in the coffin of White capitalism.

Although the Hamilton Black community possesses a number of organizations or institutions, it is not an "institutionally complete" community; for example, the community has no organizations which cater to the formal educational and political needs of local Blacks. A Black social worker discussed the problems in community building posed by the absence of an "institutionally complete" Black community in Hamilton:

In terms of our children, the presentation of Black culture is of high priority in a society that seems to try to reduce people to a lower common denominator of WASP culture—especially when the culture is very racist and means that, naturally, our children will learn to think of themselves in an anti-self manner. Therefore, it is extremely imperative that we have control of our own educational processes by which we can socialize our children in being Black and proud in being aware of their own history and how they could deal with problems the way their ancestors dealt with theirs. So, the educational institution is another institution that we should have. I think we need some

kind of political institution among us, some kind of democratically recognized system of leadership in our community who could speak on our behalf, who can rally our people, and so on. Right now, we lack something like that. We lack that kind of institution and, therefore, we are prone towards the leaders who are appointed over our people from the outside, leaders who can mislead us.

Conclusion

With regard to the institutional structure of the Hamilton Black community, it can be argued that, for the most part, the voluntary organizations cater only to specific subgroups within the Black population. Thus, for instance, some of these organizations are national organizations which are focused primarily on meeting the social needs of Hamiltonians with ancestral backgrounds from the nations represented. Moreover, due primarily to the ethnic and racial heterogeneity of the Caribbean nations from which most Hamiltonian Blacks originate, some members of these national organizations are not Black; nor are these organizations necessarily committed to a Black agenda. Furthermore, some of the Black voluntary organizations in Hamilton hardly exist other than on paper; many so-called members rarely, if ever, attend meetings.

Hamilton's Black-run businesses--typically, hair and beauty salons, provisionary stores and nite clubs--share two fundamental things with the city's Black voluntary organizations, the first of which is that they are small-scale. In addition, these businesses appeal only to limited segments of the Black population. As will be shown in the next chapter, although local Blacks tend not to participate to a considerable extent in formal organizations--

including churches--they, nevertheless, engage in regular informal interaction within the local Black community.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNITY LIFE: PATTERNS OF INTERACTION

Introduction

The major thrust of this chapter¹ is to analyze the nature of social interaction among Blacks in Hamilton, since interaction is the central means by which identity is created and maintained (Blumer, 1969; Cooley, [1958] 1978; and Shaffir, 1974:47). Since attendance at ethnic group functions, such as dances and picnics, is one of the major ways through which ethnic group identity is created and reinforced (Isajiw, 1981), this chapter deals with how local members of the black "race" learn and teach their counterparts how to become and/or remain Black. Thus, this chapter investigates the processes by which a Black identity and a Black "style of living" or "culture" (Burnet, [1979] 1983:238) are produced and maintained in Hamilton.

It is shown that in spite of factors such as the lack of clear leadership within Hamilton's Black community (see Chapter V), there is a great deal of informal social interaction among local Blacks. This interaction is expressed in six principal ways: (1) dinners and dances; (2) picnics; (3) the annual Carri-Can summer festival; (4) Martinsday Celebrations; (5) Black History Celebrations; and (6) house parties. Apart from food, music, conversation, and other components of the family environment, the six events mentioned above are the most important ways in which local Black children are

¹ A version of this chapter was presented at the 31st annual conference of the North East Anthropological Association held at Waterloo, Ontario in spring, 1991.

socialized into an awareness and appreciation of the Black experience. In this sense, virtually all Black residents of Hamilton participate in the local Black community.

Manifestations of Black Group Identification

Due to the hopes of older Blacks that their children and grandchildren would someday function as a cohesive community, the former category of Blacks typically desire that the latter be aware of and committed to "Blackness". The process of socializing Black children typically assumes three major forms: active instruction at home, passively through the home environment, and having children participate in various community events.

In his study of Blacks in the United States, Bonnett (1980:77) contends that "group identification is manifested through all the ways in which members of a minority group feel a sense of unity and take positive steps to express this feeling." The main ways in which group identification is manifested in interactions among local Blacks are food; music; "language"—by which is meant any "structured system of social meanings" (Onufrijchuk, 1988:4), including topics of conversation; dance; art exhibitions; and fashion shows. These elements of group identification comprise part of what are sometimes referred to as "symbolic ethnicity" (Bolaria and Li, [1985] 1988:40).

Music and Food

Music and food are common threads that run through virtually all aspects of group life among local Blacks. Asante ([1980] 1990) summarized the importance of music in the life of North American Blacks:

Perhaps it is in music that we have seen our most authentic sign of continuity. Unquestionably the spirituals which are synonymous with elegant art, the blues which speak our essential pathos, and jazz which suggests all the intricate ways we create and communicate are the legacies of our epic memory. They represent a continuous linkage with the rituals and arrangements of West Africa. Because music sits astride our traditions it will monitor our future.

Talbot (1984:61) posits that food may be one of the areas of commonality among the various categories of Blacks in Canada:

I think there are vestiges of a common heritage visible in our patterns of consumption. Take church picnics or family gatherings, for example. Summertime menus almost always...[include] fried chicken, baked ham, potato salad, baked beans, and if held at a private enough setting, watermelon....Certainly there is a down-south (U.S.) influence here and "we" know who did all the cookin' for "them" in "those days". As for African influence we might cite the emphasis on chicken and beans for protein.

Black food has its "roots in the slavery experience and the African tradition" (Bonnett, 1980:82). It is characterized by straightforward, natural ingredients--such as rice, chicken, and black-eyed peas--because, as a people, Blacks have historically not had the luxury of devoting time exclusively to attending to chores at home. Blacks, particularly Black women, have historically worked in and outside of the home. This tradition is still evident in contemporary Hamilton since the Black population is one of the few ethnic categories in which the labor force participation rate among women who are 15 years of age or older is "significantly" higher than the .526 rate for the local population (Pineo, 1987:23).¹

¹ This state of affairs sometimes leads to strain within Black families. Knox and Schacht (1991) have identified three sources of conflict in Black American marriages, which are applicable to Black marriages in Hamilton and the rest of Canada: more educated wives,

According to Bonnett (1980:81-82), not only did Blacks bring to the Americas "a tradition of how to make good food", but Blacks have had to make meals with simple ingredients and in very limited amounts of time because "during slavery the "Man" would work them in the fields from dawn till dusk and invariably they had other chores to perform after work in the fields." Such is the importance of Black food that some local Blacks travel to farms in the Hamilton area simply to buy the "right" types of chicken, goat meat, beef, and other food items. It is primarily the desire to obtain the "right" types of ingredients, by which is generally meant those items produced as a result of natural and not artificial processes, that fuels the Black patronage of Black-owned provisionary stores. For, unlike mainstream grocery stores such as Safeway and Dominion, not only do Black-owned stores generally import the "right" types of produce, but they import directly from the Tropics.

Language

In terms of "language", conversations among Blacks tend to focus on a number of general themes: how Whites love to "steal our music"; how Whites "don't think much of us Blacks"; how "we Blacks need to get our act together in order for these people [Whites] to respect us"; and how "it's too bad" that the West--particularly Britain and the United States--has "messed up our people." These themes generally form the bases around which specific conversations are carried out. For example, for many months after Black

greater occupational status of wives, and the fact that although Black wives contribute a larger share of the family income than their White counterparts, they nevertheless do most of the household chores. Quite notably, the authors identified "living in a White racist society" as the primary source of strain within Black families.

sprinter, Ben Johnson, lost his 1988 Olympic Gold Medal as a result of being disqualified for steroid use, the main evidence offered for the belief that Whites "do not think much" of Blacks was the fact that the mass media essentially stopped referring to Johnson as a Canadian and, instead, started referring to him as a Jamaican.¹ Similarly, for most of mid-1990, some Blacks cited as evidence of how "Whites love to steal" Black people's music the fact that Bonnie Raitt, a White woman, won four Grammy Awards as a Blues singer. And as from late 1990, the central evidence cited in regards to music (particularly among Blacks in their teens and twenties) was how Whites are "honoring" a White man, Vanilla Ice, for "stealing" Black music--in this case, Rap music. (The fact that the mass media indicated that a feud existed between Vanilla Ice and a popular Black musician, M.C. Hammer, provided much fuel for these discussions.) These conversations often occur in spite of the presence of a number of Whites--the presence of Whites being an accepted fact in most Black events; indeed, some Whites seem to be quite comfortable in showing how understanding they are of the Black experience.²

¹ Goyder (1990:107) notes that "The contradictions in public opinion regarding multiculturalism surfaced over the incident during the 1988 Olympics in which sprinter Ben Johnson lost his gold medal after failing a drug test for steroids. A cartoon in the Globe and Mail of 13 October 1988 expressed the latent racism among Canadians. Three successive captions read, "Canadian Wins Gold Medal," "Jamaican Canadian Accused of Steroid Use," "Jamaican Stripped of Gold Medal.""

² Some Blacks view the claim by some Whites that they are genuinely committed to a Black cause as clear evidence of paternalism which, these Blacks maintain, is a legacy of the enslavement and colonization of Blacks by Whites. Thus, one of the most popular slogans printed in t-shirts worn by some Blacks is as follows: "It's a Black Thing. You Won't Understand". This writer witnessed an occasion in which a White man confronted a Black man about what, the White man reasoned, were the unnecessary divisions "caused" between Blacks and "progressive Whites" as a direct result of belief in that slogan. When the Black man insisted that the slogan was a valid assessment of the issues, the White man asked what there was about the Black experience that no White person could understand, upon which the Black man responded as follows--while walking away from the White man: "The fact that you ask that question shows that you don't understand."

In short, conversations among local Blacks assume three basic forms: (1) talk about pressing problems; (2) talk about the past--in particular, nostalgic dreams about their ancestral homelands; and (3) attempts to understand problematic situations, such as the crises in police-Black relations in North America. Hewitt ([1976] 1991:220-227) contends that conversation or "talk" of the nature outlined above is crucial in sustaining social order.

Dance, Art Exhibitions, and Fashion Shows

The other aspects of ethnic culture that are quite common in social interactions among Black Hamiltonians are dances, art exhibitions, and fashion shows. These aspects of Black life are discussed in some detail later in this chapter--in a subsection entitled "Community Events." For now, we can note that most local Black businesses cater to these basic cultural needs. The cultural significance of these activities is vividly illustrated in the following statement made by a Black McMaster University student:

A lot of the Blacks on campus are from the West Indies and Africa, but a lot of them were not born there. They were born here, and may not be in touch with the culture at home. So I think it's a good opportunity just to sort of remind you of where you're from--you know, to put you in touch with your past. Like, somebody came here today and said "Oh, I haven't eaten curry chicken since the last time I went to visit my grandmother in Jamaica." So, yeah, maybe she'll go home and write to her grandmother tonight, maybe she'll think about it, maybe she'll wanna learn how to cook it, maybe she'll want to eventually cook it for her own children. So food helps us not to lose touch with what we have, you know. So I think it is important. I think food is important. I think music is important. I think all of it is important because there was a time when...we weren't given the opportunity to--like, we didn't bring--all we could bring was what we had in our heads. Like, we didn't bring any

material things with us....So I think it's important to generate a way whereby we can keep a feeling of what this is all about.

While group identification is dependent on interaction, its creation, maintenance, and transmission locally rely on two fundamental avenues: the home and events within the Black community.

Avenues for Transmitting Group Identification

The Home

The family helps to transmit group identification in two major ways: actively and/or passively. These methods of transmitting group identification are discussed below.

Actively

It is quite common for Black Hamiltonians to seek to inculcate in their children the necessity of being proud of their "racial" heritage by emphasizing prominent Black personalities such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Nelson Mandela. The following statement from a Caribbean-born man who was educated in Canada is quite illustrative of this trend of thought:

I'd make sure that my daughter understands what she is....I particularly don't want her to feel as though she has to compromise her blackness for anybody or for anything....There is a lot of Black literature for her to read and there is Black TV. On the TV shows, we try to emphasize the Black issues. We talk about them—Martin Luther King, and all these other people. We sort of emphasize, do a little bit of reading on that. For example, when Nelson Mandela was released, she had a class presentation to make and in her class presentation I laminated my newspaper, full page, where they had, "Nelson, 1965 to 1989" or whatever it was—listing about his life history and so on. I

laminated that for her and she took that to school as her project for the day. It is very, very important to me--extremely important, particularly since she will grow up in this society to be a Black woman, that she not compromise her blackness at all. Not in any way, shape, or form.

In terms of community building, the importance of identification with historical symbols is well underlined by Driedger (1989:145-146) who views such identification as an important facilitator of ethnic group consciousness.

Another way in which Black Hamiltonians try to ensure that their forebears do not lose sight of their Black heritage is by discouraging, or at least not encouraging ethnic/racial exogamy. This task is confronted both by example (most Blacks are married to fellow Blacks) and by conversations centering on the premise that, unlike mainstream White Canadians, Blacks place a great value on family life and, as such, take into account the wishes and welfare of their relatives in all major decisions. Without exceptions, the interviewees indicated that all things being equal, they would prefer that their children marry fellow Blacks. They typically stated that they would readily accept the marriage of their offspring to a non-Black person only under three main conditions: religious homogamy, love between the couple, and exceptional strength of character on the part of the non-Black person. The following statements are typical of the responses from interviewees when they asked what their marriage preferences are for their children. A British-born Black man said the following:

To be honest with you, I'd prefer if my kids marry their own kind--their own Canadian-born Blacks. This is especially true for my daughter who's only seven years old, because I don't want anybody mistreating her. I understand my own people. Therefore, I prefer them. But I have to be realistic. As a Christian, being Black is not enough. Therefore, if they can't

find a good, hard working Black Christian, then the best Christian--no matter the skin color--would have to do.

Similarly, a Caribbean-born Black man whose only child, a seven year old girl, was born in Canada, responded as follows when he was asked what his reaction would be should his daughter someday inform him that she had become engaged to a White man:

It would make no difference--she'll just have to find her own house, that's all. How quickly too! I guess you have to be prepared for that because it is a distinct possibility. I guess I would accept, because you can't fight love, they say. But in my personal heart of hearts, you know, maybe I would feel like I could stick a stick of dynamite up his behind....He had better be rich, man. But, I don't know on what basis I would accept it. I think he had better be an open minded, very good thinking, individual....But my preference would be for her to expand what is naturally her culture. If she chooses to go interracial, I guess I would wish her the best of luck. But my hope would be for that and I think it is the hope that most people have.

There is no doubt that the social pressure towards endogamy (marriage within ones social group) that is prevalent in the larger society (Knox and Schacht, 1991) has its counterpart in the Hamilton Black community. Furthermore, the societal tendency to tolerate otherwise unacceptable romantic unions when those involved in these unions are said to be in love (Trigg and Perlman, 1983) also exists in the local Black community.

Passively

Apart from the conscious effort at inculcating a sense of "blackness" in children, the task of socializing Blacks is also accomplished through the ordinary course of life within Black families. For instance, in general, Blacks patronize Tropical or Black-oriented foods, music, and mass media articles or

programs. Moreover, when Blacks visit or are visited by friends at home, these friends tend to be fellow Blacks and the conversations that take place during these visits tend to center on nostalgic dreams about the Tropics and/or the nature of the Black experience world wide. The following conversation with a 20 year old second generation Black woman is insightful in terms of revealing how socialization into Black consciousness may be achieved passively through the home environment:

[Do you think there's such a thing as Black culture?] Yes, we have different foods, beliefs and customs. Like my grandmother always used to say things like "Children should be seen and not heard. You should always stay quiet, keep your mouth shut when big people are talking". [You believe these things are different from what other people in Canada do?] Yes, definitely. [You said earlier you strive not to lose your Black heritage. How do you do this?] Well, I watch tv shows like Cosby Show and Different World. And at Caribana you watch different festivities. Also movies, documentaries, different types of foods, communicating with Black people--different things like that....My mom mostly cooks West Indian food, and so that's what I've grown up with.

The Media

As part of the last statement indicates, one of the major means by which a Black identity is created and maintained in contemporary Hamilton is the patronage of Black media and/or Black-oriented programs in mainstream media. Although there are no locally-based Black-oriented media organizations, Hamiltonian Blacks have access to and patronize a number of such organizations which are based in Toronto and Buffalo. The following statement from an interviewee in response to the question concerning whether or not he patronized any Black-oriented media illustrates

the role of the mass media in creating and maintaining a collective identity among Blacks in contemporary Hamilton:

Hamilton don't have no black media. Anything that would be accessible, you would access through Buffalo, or you go back to Toronto—I mean, Share and Contrast newspapers. I read a lot of my own newspapers from home, but all that is outside....For music, if I don't play my own, I tune into WBLK from Buffalo. I get a little tired of BLK because the music is basically the hip hop thing; but it is the best that you have. For literature, you can order, so most book stores will be willing to facilitate you by ordering an issue. True Colours [a Black-owned music and craft store located on Hamilton mountain] is now open. But True Colours does not have a very large display of literature where one could have really good choices. So again, you are back to Toronto, or you are back to Buffalo for a good display of literature. Particularly for my daughter, I know that now she is growing up and she is very curious, you want a few more things for her to read and that is making it a bit difficult. Now, I go down to New York to my sisters—you know, I was down there in the last two months twice—so that we can pick up some of their stuff.

Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz (1990:63-64) note that ethnic media (radio and television programs and the press) are "important means of ethnic-identity retention because they perform at least three significant functions for the ethnic community": (1) they help to keep members informed of events and community activities and, thus, facilitate participation within the ethnic community, (2) they provide ethnic members with a perspective on events taking place in the larger society, and (3) they "reinforce ethnic symbolism through artistic presentations that stimulate the ethnic consciousness and identity of those community members who are regularly exposed to them." It is a testament to the importance of the mass media in community building that the Black community in Canada, or at

least in southern Ontario, has historically been served by a number of Black-controlled newspapers. In this regard, the two dominant Black-controlled newspapers in the 19th century were the Voice of the Fugitive and the Provincial Freeman. Contemporaneously, the position of Canada's predominant Black newspapers is occupied by two Toronto-based weekly newspapers, Contrast and Share, the latter of which claims to be Canada's largest circulating ethnic newspaper. Both of these newspapers take it for granted that Blacks in Canada constitute a community. Thus, apart from reporting Black-oriented and other news events from a Black perspective, they also highlight events planned by Blacks in various cities across the country. These newspapers are generally available from a large number of Black businesses in various Canadian cities, including Hamilton. In addition to indigenous newspapers, Blacks in Hamilton are served by a Black-controlled half-hour weekly television program, "Up Front", which is produced in Toronto and telecast on Toronto's multicultural television channel. The program often highlights events planned by Blacks in various southern Ontario cities, including Hamilton.

Friendships

One of the factors that comprises ethnicity is personal ties, such as friendship networks; for "ethnic homogeneity of friendship networks" is vitally important for ethnic identity formation and retention (Weinfeld, 1985:74). Such is the importance of ethnic group friendships that individuals—including those who are second, third, and fourth generation North Americans—are more likely to choose close or intimate friends from within

their own ethnic group than randomly from the larger society (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz, 1990:56). Thus it is necessary to examine the nature of friendship ties within an ethnic community since it has a bearing on other aspects of ethnicity.

One major problem stated by virtually every Black Hamiltonian interviewed is that of forming long-term friendships. Although this difficulty could ordinarily be seen as evidence of racism against Blacks, this is not necessarily the case; in any event, local Blacks tend not to see this to be the case. Blacks typically see the problem of forming long-term friendships in Canada as a direct product of life in a complex industrial society which is less favorable to "gemeinschaft" relationships than are traditional societies. A Black woman said the following:

Even though I know many people, it's not the same kind of trust. Therefore, if I have something troubling me, I phone my family at home [in the Caribbean]. Friendship for these people is for convenience--to meet some type of purpose. People up here are not really friends in the way we define friendship. For us, friendship is a long-term thing. Out of so many people I know, I have only two friends--one of Polish descent and the other of Italian descent. Even the Black ones don't care. You'd usually assume that if someone's skin is similar to yours then you may remain friends. But it's not so at all. When you contact them, they tell you, "Oh, I'm very busy. I've got to run to Toronto." I think it has to do with the social system that produces a certain calibre of people....There are the Blacks who envy fellow Blacks. And there are the Whites, usually from the lower strata, who are looking for somebody to kick and find the Blacks or Indians to meet the criteria. For these reasons, I am very sceptical about getting involved with people in Canada.

Similarly, a Caribbean-born Black psychologist who immigrated to Canada in the early 1970s said the following:

In Canada friendship is extremely shallow, except for the one or two people that you do have that are very close to you. I think there might be a reason for them being extremely shallow: the fact that when you come to North America you pick up a level of distrust which you never had before. Everybody is out to con everybody else. And Black people are no different from white people in terms of some of the social fabrics. And so, you pick up quite easily that everybody is out to con everybody else. So you don't have very many friends....This is different from when you were at home.

This man went on to link the instrumental nature of friendships in Canada to both some of the police-related problems encountered by some Blacks and the fact that many Blacks maintain memberships in Black voluntary organizations without any clear intentions to attend meetings regularly.

I think why we get into so much problem with the law and...sometimes in terms of playing music hard and at night, is because we do these things so infrequently that at--maybe from a psychological point of view--you really vent out when you do get a couple of people together.

Although the instrumental nature of friendship among local Blacks may retard the pace of community building, the quest for a cohesive community is aided by the fact that virtually every Black Hamiltonian with whom the question of friendship was discussed indicated that the majority of their friends are Black. The only exception in this regard was a Black Moslem who stated that his religion was the most fundamental aspect of his life. But, even in this case, most of this man's friends were visible minorities.¹ He responded as follows when he was asked who most of the people with whom he exchanges home visits are:

¹ Qureshi and Qureshi (1983:140) note that since Pakistani Canadians typically select friends on the basis of shared assumptions, they "can draw on two aspects of identity held in common with other immigrants: one is religious, the other geographic-cultural."

Most of the people I visit at home largely would tend to be East Indian because they're Moslems and that's my ideological circle. I would say my close friends are sixty percent Moslems and forty percent African.

The typical reason given by Blacks for associating primarily with fellow Blacks is that they are more "comfortable" with this type of relationship; in other words, primordial ties are of considerable importance in the formation of social groups, including dyads, among Black Hamiltonians. For instance, a Montreal-educated Caribbean-born Black man who talked at length about what he considered to be the profound cultural differences among the various Caribbean islands nevertheless indicated that most of his friends are Black. He also mentioned that he is more likely to befriend a Black person than he is to befriend a non-Black person. According to him,

Most of my friends are Black. They are my friends not really because they are Black. I guess because you feel more comfortable with your own people in any culture. I feel more comfortable with you, in fact, than people in this culture because I can identify with you. Because you're Black, I feel comfortable.

Similarly, a Black female professional who moved from England to Hamilton in the late 1960s made the following statement:

In Canada, about 95 percent of my friends are Blacks. And I have school friends that I go out with that are second status--you know, from different countries that I keep in touch with. But, in general, it's kind of a refuge to be with a lot of Black people. I find it so anyway. I don't know about anyone else, but I find that, throughout school, once I had left Jamaica and went to school in England, I was the only Black kid in the class and sometimes in the whole school....I find that it's really very pleasant for me because I work in an all-White--about 99 percent White--environment. It's always a pleasure to come back into a situation where I have friends and people I can talk to without having to suspect, without having to think about their motives.

The fact that most of the interviewees associate primarily with fellow Blacks is quite consistent with the literature. But the tendency towards instrumental friendships in the local Black community undermines the quest for a cohesive Black community in a number of ways, an important one of which is that it makes it readily plausible for local Blacks to be ambivalent about their group identification.

Community Events

Another major avenue for the socialization of local Black children is by involving them in community events--either as direct participants in groups such as the Creole Dancers or as observers. An officer of the Afro-Caribbean Canadian Association of Hamilton and districts (ACCA) made the following statement regarding some of the activities of that voluntary organization:

We have an educational committee which is very active. One of the main things we have right now is a quiz show which has two parts or divisions. There is a junior quiz and a senior quiz and it's basically asking questions of teams and the people competing to get a trophy if they emerge as the winning team. It's been good in that in that it's been one of the few of our programs that's got the young people involved because they're interested. It's also a good way of us slipping a little bit of Black history without them feeling that it's being crammed down their throat. If they're educated without seeming to do it up front, then sometimes it works out better because it's a little bit more palatable.

The following conversation with a second generation boy in his early teens reveals how, through participating in Black organizations, some Black parents instil a sense a Blackness in their offspring without making these offsprings feel different from the larger society:

I know a Black group in Toronto, but I don't know the name. My dad is involved in it and he takes me along. [What do they do in the group?] We have picnics, we have meetings, and stuff like that. [Do you think it's important to be involved in a group like that?] Yes, because you're showing your Black heritage. [What do you mean by Black heritage?] Heritage is--like your family, what you should be communicating with because they're a part of you; it's what you are. [Is there anything that Black people do that's different from other people? I mean, what would you say is different about being Black?] Basically, just the color.

As was shown in Chapter VI, an important avenue through which Black identity is created, maintained, and transmitted is the Black church. McIntyre (1976:8-9) argues that because the Black community in Ontario lacks charismatic leadership and is not confronted by the types of overt civil injustices that its American counterpart faces, the Black Ontario response to the forces of the dominant society is to try to "melt". He contends that, because of this state of affairs, any chance for the survival of Black ethnicity in Ontario depends on the existence of a major counterforce, such as the Black church. He puts it this way:

The Afro-Canadian, having fled an institution that denied his soul, now [finds] himself and his descendants enmeshed in a society where, in Ontario at least, his Black heritage [is] deemed to be of little interest and of no real value. The response of the American Negro in similar circumstances is well known; far from suppressing his collective identity, he has taken active steps to assert his cultural profile. But the Black community in Ontario has never been particularly militant....[T]he winds of Pentecostalism constitute an effective antidote to the poison of socially and economically imposed acculturation. Whatever else it may be...modern Pentecostalism has shown itself in this instance to be a highly effective "culture carrier" (McIntyre, 1976:8-9).

In these terms, the preservation of Black ethnicity in Ontario is, for the most part, not dependent on the conscious efforts of Black leaders since Blacks in Canada seem to downplay their Black heritage. Rather, one of the primary vehicles for the preservation of Black ethnicity in Ontario and, indeed, in Canada as a whole, is the Black church. For while the Black church has the manifest role of catering to the spiritual needs of its members and adherents, it also caters to their social, recreational, educational, and other needs (Pinkney, 1969:107-118 and Shreve, 1983:13). Furthermore, research has shown that the church is often the main focus of collective life among ethnic groups in Canada (Burnet and Palmer, 1988:125; and Millett, 1983:261).

There are six main categories of community events that facilitate the creation, maintenance, and transmission of group identification within the Hamilton Black community: dinners and dances; picnics; the annual Carri-Can summer festival; Martinsday Celebrations; Black History Celebrations; and house parties.

Dinners and Dances

Virtually every Black voluntary organization in Hamilton holds at least one Dinner and Dance each year. The primary aims of these events are to raise community awareness of the respective organizations as well as to raise funds for the organizations. The typical dinner and dance is held in a rented hall and includes speeches from various guests of honor, some of whom are generally non-residents of the Hamilton CMA. The tickets to these events range from \$7 to \$50, depending on factors such as the cost of renting the hall and whether or not the event is catered. These events may be

divided into three categories: Independence Day Celebrations; Christmas and End-of-year Celebrations; and Other Dinners and Dances.

Independence Day Celebrations

The various local national organizations typically organize dinners and dances as a part of the Independence day celebrations for the particular countries that they represent. Thus, each November both the local Dominica and Barbados associations organize Independence day celebrations in which guests of honor include High Commissioners and the local mayor. These events are different from other events held in the local Black community in two basic ways. First, they invariably include high profile guests of honor, such as diplomats. Second, these events invariably include direct attempts to instil in Black children and outsiders (and stress to nationals) the importance of cherishing the cultures of the countries represented by these organizations.

Thus, the 1990 Independence day celebrations organized by the local Dominica Association to commemorate the 12th Independence anniversary of the Commonwealth of Dominica was different from the typical dinner and dance in Hamilton's Black community since it featured a cultural variety show, a domino tournament, a dance, and an Ottawa-based diplomat as guest speaker. Among the many highlights of the occasion, which was held at the Amalgamated Transit Union Hall in downtown Hamilton, were the various dances staged by the Creole Dancers--a group consisting of young daughters of Dominican nationals resident in the Hamilton area--and a folk song and folk poetry offered by "Rasmo", a Dominican-based poet. Although the association's president had indicated that only between 20 and 30 of the

association's 100 members attend the typical meeting, the event was attended by more than 250 persons.

The Independence celebrations held by the Barbados, Canadian and Friends (Hamilton) Association one week after the one held by the Dominica Association also served to show the significance of these celebrations for linking nationals to their ancestral homelands. As is typically the case, Barbadian nationals came to Hamilton from as far as London, Ontario on saturday and sunday, November 24 and 25, to celebrate the 24th Independence anniversary of their ancestral homelands.¹ The major event on saturday was a dinner/dance which was held in a ball room at the Holiday Inn in downtown Hamilton. Among the guests of honor were Reginald Taylor, the chairperson of the Central Regional Barbados Associations in Canada, and Gordon Bynor, the president of the National Council of Barbados Associations in Canada. The government of Barbados was represented by John Blackman and Nigel Harper who, respectively, are the Vice Consul and Counsellor at the Barbados High Commission in Ottawa. The major events on sunday included an Independence Day Church Service held at St. Bartholomew's Church on the Mountain and a Cultural Show held at Westdale High School Theatre. The cultural show featured, among other things, folksongs rendered by both youth and senior choirs, traditional storytelling, and dramatic sketches portraying life in traditional Barbados.

A commitment to Barbados was emphasized in three primary ways. First, in the numerous door prizes which were awarded on the basis of a

¹ According to Adelbert Parris, president of the Barbados, Canadian and Friends (Hamilton) Association, the celebrations were the 13th of their kind organized by the Association since the organization was formed in April 1978.

draw. The principal prize in this regard was a return trip to Barbados, compliments of Mississauga-based Marville Travel Ltd and Canadian Holidays. This prize was overtly a way of stressing to the audience the importance of maintaining the links to Barbados. Another way in which commitment to Barbados was encouraged was through the special recognition that was given to some members of the Association--as a means of emphasizing the relevance of striving to maintain a Barbadian way of life as re-interpreted to meet the exigencies of life in Canada. The third principal way in which a commitment to Barbados was encouraged was through a greeting read on behalf of the country's Prime Minister and a speech delivered by the Counsellor in the country's High Commission to Canada. The Counsellor urged Barbadians living in Canada to keep supporting their ancestral homeland:

I regard Barbadians living overseas--where ever they are--as a special class of citizens. In a real way you enjoy a dual nationality. You are here, not necessarily because you enjoy being here, but because Canada needs you. You have been doing a lot....But there's much more that you can do both on behalf of yourselves and on behalf of Canada....Barbados needs your support. I want to assure you that a lot has happened in Barbados since Independence. It is the only Caribbean country whose currency has never been devalued....In order for economic strength to continue, you must contribute.

The importance of activities such as national Independence Day celebrations in terms of local Black community building from the perspective of Black leaders was summarized very aptly by an officer of the Barbadian Association:

We're always trying to get our people together through sports, cultural events, and so on. This is one of the main ways by

which we get our people together. Even though we have about 100 registered members in this association, only about 20 or 30 people attend our regular meetings. This event always brings in much more than our full membership.

Christmas and End-of-Year Celebrations

Another category of dinners/dances are those that are held as part of the Christmas holiday celebrations each year. These events are generally held in rented premises and feature Christmas carols (usually sung to Caribbean rhythms) as well as Caribbean and/or African foods. Furthermore, as is typically the case with Christmas celebrations held by most other local ethnic groups, Santa Claus is usually played by one of the group members. The fact that Santa Claus is played by Black, and not White, men (as is almost invariably the case in local shopping malls) is quite significant since it helps to show that Blacks can accept the symbols of the general or mainstream society on strictly Black terms.

Some Christmas celebrations within the Hamilton Black community take the form of raising funds for the less fortunate members of the larger society. Such was the case with the celebrations organized by the Black Women's Small Business Association (BWSBA) in late 1990. The event included a food drive as well as a variety show which was held at Scott Park School in East Hamilton. The food drive was organized for the benefit of Hope Haven and Interval House, two Hamilton-based shelters for battered families (Share, Dec. 6, 1990:24).

These Christmas celebrations are crucial to the task of community building for at least four reasons. First, they offer local Blacks, including Black children, opportunities for associating almost exclusively with one another.

Second, they offer Blacks special opportunities for reasserting their group identification through "cultural" songs, dances, and foods. Third, fund-raising events--such as the ones organized by the BWSBA--help to assemble in one place a number of Black groups. For example, entertainers for the 1990 variety show included the following: Rufus "Baby" Crawford (an American-born Black who was a football player with the Hamilton Tiger Cats between 1979 and 1986 and is presently an actor and stand-up comedian), Tropix (a Hamilton-based Black band), and the ACAMBA Dancers/Singers (a group which operates under the auspices of ACCA, the local Black community's main umbrella organization). Finally, Black-sponsored variety shows typically offer local Black professional entertainers opportunities to share their talents with relatively large audiences.

Other Dinners and Dances

The oldest annual dinner in the Hamilton Black community is Stewart Memorial Church's annual Turkey Dinner, an event which is held every November in conjunction with the Thanksgiving Day celebrations in the United States. This Dinner was introduced to Hamilton by the Black "fugitives" and "Loyalists" who escaped to Hamilton in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Nevertheless, most of the persons who attend these dinners are not direct descendants of the Blacks mentioned above. Indeed, the Dinners are seen by many long-time Black residents of Hamilton as primarily occasions to maintain relationships with and celebrate the North American Black heritage and, secondarily, as opportunities to contribute financially to the continued survival of Hamilton's oldest Black organization:

Stewart Memorial Church. Since the annual Turkey Dinners are generally held in the church premises and the meals are supplied by church members, the tickets for these events are kept at a minimum. This is the only local Black event that has historically received regular coverage by the city's local newspapers.

Another Black dinner that is relatively inexpensive because it is not held in a rented hall and the food is provided by members and adherents is the Lincoln Alexander Community Centre's (LACC) annual Harvest Dinner and Dance. In November 1990, this event was attended by about 100 persons of various demographic and ethnic backgrounds--in line with the centre's commitment to fostering a multicultural environment. The LACC's annual Harvest Dinner and Dance is seen as a means to raise community awareness of the centre and its programs as well as an opportunity to raise some funds for the centre's numerous activities. The event also serves as an awards ceremony in recognition of various individuals and groups whose contributions to the Cari-Can festival are deemed to be outstanding.

Picnics

Informal social interaction among Black Hamiltonians is also expressed in the form of picnics held in the summer months by various groups in a number of public parks throughout the city. Virtually every Black organization in Hamilton holds at least one picnic each summer, the most widely advertised of which is the one organized by the Afro-Caribbean Canadian Association (ACCA). These events are almost always "pot-luck" in nature, with participants required to contribute at least enough food and

drinks to satisfy their own needs. While barbecued hamburgers, hotdogs, steaks, and chicken are quite common, traditional Caribbean and African foods (at least as they are prepared in Canada) are invariably the favorites, particularly among North American-born Blacks and Whites. Often those Blacks who opt for mainstream picnic foods, such as hamburgers and hotdogs, are said to have become Canadianized--generally a slightly derogatory term. It is rare that those who contribute traditional Caribbean and African foods, particularly if these foods are authentic and not make-dos based on the limits set by factors such as locally available ingredients and the culinary skills of the host, return home with any leftovers.

While virtually all the major picnics within the Hamilton Black community are organized by formal groups, such as churches and national organizations, there is at least one such picnic--the African Picnic--which is organized by an informal group consisting of friends and acquaintances. The African Picnic is held each summer at Confederation Park where, unlike the case with most other local parks, an admission fee is charged for each automobile driven into the park. Apart from the admission fee, an unusual thing about the choice of Confederation Park for these picnics is that the park is not easily accessible by public transit--unlike Gage Park, for example.

The choice of Confederation Park as the site for the African Picnic is significant, for it reflects the objective of the organizers to consistently attract African and other Blacks from all of the Golden Horseshoe area. This objective has been invariably met, in the sense that participants drive to the picnic from as far away as the following Ontario cities: London, Niagara Falls, Oshawa, and Toronto. Indeed, these picnics necessitate a larger congregation

of African-born Blacks than any other event in Hamilton. Moreover, the African Picnic is the only major event within the local Black community that is organized by a cross section of African-born Blacks. For, since the African-born Blacks have no umbrella organization based on identification with Africa, they are generally not formally represented as a group in Hamilton. Many Blacks attend the African Picnics both to renew friendships as well as to notify other Blacks--African-born Blacks, in particular--of various social events and business ventures in both their respective areas of residence in both North America and Africa.

Although picnics are typically organized by specific Black groups, such as churches and national associations, these events are nevertheless open to the public and not only to members of any particular groups. Specifically, Black-organized picnics are open to those who somehow obtain information about them, since they are generally not publicly advertised. Moreover, although these picnics are pot-luck events, there are generally no formal attempts made to certify that everyone present contributes some food and/or drinks. Thus, it is often possible (especially for young men who attend these picnics without female companions) to participate actively at these picnics without contributing any food or drink.

Apart from the avenues of food and music, the picnics within Hamilton's Black community link local Blacks to the culture of the Tropics in at least one other principal way: sporting events. The major sporting events emphasized in these picnics are cricket and soccer, unlike in picnics organized by many mainstream organizations where the major sporting events are football and baseball.

The Cari-Can Festival

The most widely-publicized Black-centered event in Hamilton is the annual Cari-Can festival which was started in 1984. This event, which is basically patterned after similar festivals in Toronto and Trinidad, is a presentation of music, visual arts, and street theater with a Caribbean focus; it is a veritable festival of the arts. The festival is based at the Lincoln Alexander Community Centre.

The Cari-Can festival, which is held in August (shortly after Toronto's Caribana festival), is sponsored through donations from a number of sources including the city of Hamilton and some local businesses. Information concerning the Cari-Can festival and the dances and other fund-raising activities related to it is made public through bill boards strategically located in major access motorways in the Hamilton metropolitan area. Such information is also widely disseminated through pamphlets which are distributed in places such as Gore Park in downtown Hamilton as well as in various locations in Toronto prior to and during the Caribana festival in that city. In addition, Hamilton's cable television station and some of the local radio stations provide some publicity.

The accommodationist and integrationist goals within the Hamilton Black community is perhaps most vividly shown in the Cari-Can festival. The most vivid manifestations of the accommodationist and integrationist bents of the Cari-Can festival relate to two areas. The first of these is in the name of the festival, which is an acronym for Caribbean Canadian festival. The organizers emphasize that the choice of name is indicative of their desire to show that while the festival is Caribbean-style, it gives equal weight to the

cultural expressions of all Canadians. The second manifestation of the ideological leanings of the Cari-Can festival is in the conscious efforts made to ensure that the festival's organizing committee consists of individuals from as many ethnocultural groups as possible. Thus, although the festival is essentially a Black event, its organizers attempt to ensure that the festival is, at least, perceived as a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural event. To this end, Cari-Can organizers insist that the Hamilton festival is different from Toronto's Caribana festival where organizers treat all non-Black performers as guests. In the Hamilton festival, non-Black performing groups, such as those comprising Natives and those comprising Latin Americans, are officially deemed to be of equal significance as their Black counterparts.

Although the number of Black Hamiltonians who participate in the Cari-Can festival far exceeds the number for any other Black event in Hamilton, the major Black voluntary organizations in the city typically do not participate officially. The non-involvement of the major Black voluntary organizations with the Cari-Can festival is indicative of personal, ideological, or other differences between the chairman of the Cari-Can organizing committee, Rev. Henderson Nurre, and the leaders of some of Hamilton's major voluntary organizations. But this state of affairs may also be a direct consequence of the factionalism existing within Hamilton's Black community. In any event, each of the leaders of the Black voluntary organizations with whom this issue was discussed pointed out that his/her organization's non-involvement with the Cari-Can festival is a consequence of extremely limited human and other resources. One of them put it as follows:

So far we haven't been involved with the Cari-Can festival. Ever since the It's Your Festival started--I guess we've been involved with the Folk Arts Council and with Your Festival in Gage Park for the past five or six years. It takes so much out of us that, generally, its almost all we can manage because after four or five days in the park you're so tired....It's going back to the problem of an old volunteer organization.

Martinsday Celebrations

Martinsday (January 15) is celebrated in Black communities across North America in honor of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, jr., the Black civil rights leader who was born on January 15, 1929 and was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee in 1968. Since 1986 most American states have observed January 15 as a civic holiday in honor of Dr. King; it is, therefore, typically the day in which Martinsday Celebrations are held in the United States. At least partly because January 15 is not a civic holiday in Canada, the Martinsday celebrations in the country's Black communities are generally less elaborate than those held in the United States.¹

There are three Martinsday celebrations in Hamilton, the major one of which is organized by the Lincoln Alexander Community Centre (LACC) in conjunction with its sister organization, St. Paul's Ecumenical Church. The celebrations, which generally attract up to 600 persons, are centered around a church service held at St. Paul's in which a guest speaker addresses the audience about the importance of carrying on Dr. King's dream. In 1987, the first year in which these events were officially held in Hamilton, the guest

¹ The major Martinsday celebrations in Canada are the ones held in Toronto where the number of participants is about 3,000 (Share, January 24, 1991:3). The Toronto celebrations, which are held at Harbourfront, consist of numerous activities including music, panel discussions, art exhibitions, poetry readings, and book displays.

speaker was Rosa Park, the Black woman who, in 1956, broke a law by refusing to sit at the back of a Selma, Alabama bus. Rosa Park is sometimes referred to as the mother of the American civil rights movement,¹ for it was her adamant stance that precipitated the famous bus boycott led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., an event which brought to the international limelight both the plight of American Blacks and Dr. King's non-violent civil rights movement. In 1988, the guest speaker at the local Martinsday celebration was Dexter King, one of Dr. King's sons.

The Stewart Memorial Church dedicates one sunday in mid-January to the memory of Dr. King. The special guests at the 1988 service were the members of the Afro-Canadian Caribbean Association of Hamilton and District--the Black community's primary umbrella organization. The service included a tribute to Dr. King made by a long-time member of the SMC as well as the singing of the Negro National Anthem, "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing."² The singing of this anthem is significant because the anthem emphasizes a number of issues which are crucial for success in Black community building. First, it stresses the importance of achieving unity among Blacks on the grounds that the similarity of physical characteristics has exposed Blacks to a number of significant common experiences. Second, it stresses the importance of rejoicing about freedom ("liberty"). Third, it emphasizes the necessity of utilizing fully the benefits gained from past hardships. Fourth, it stresses the importance of recognizing and taking

¹ For example, Reverend Jesse Jackson, Dr. King's associate in the 1960s who is the first Black Candidate for Presidential Nomination in the history of the United States, referred to Rosa Parks in this manner during the speech he delivered at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, Georgia in July 20, 1988 (Vital Speeches of the Day, August 15, 1988:649).

² See Appendix VIII.1 for the text of this anthem.

advantage of the opportunities now available to Blacks. Fifth, it emphasizes the importance of not being complacent. Sixth, it stresses the need for Blacks to depend on God--and not fellow human beings--and to see God as their only absolutely true and faithful guide and guardian. Finally, the Negro national anthem encourages Blacks to not see themselves as strangers even in North America where some members of the majority White population are unwilling to accept Blacks as equals.

The Te Deum Singers, a Hamilton-based Classical music choir, dedicates performances in mid-January to Dr. King's memory. Te Deum Singers is definitely not a Black group; indeed, there are no Black singers in the group. What makes these performances significant within the Black community is that they are generally credited to the efforts of the group's artistic director, Richard Birney-Smith, an American-born Black who immigrated to Canada in 1965 essentially in an attempt to escape from the externally imposed limitations of being Black in the United States.¹ The 1988 celebrations featured an internationally renown guest soloist, Laura English Robinson, a Black woman from the Southern United States; it also featured the Melrose Church Choir of Hamilton.

Apart from the church services, which are invariably educational experiences in the history of Black civil rights in North America, the Hamilton Martinsday celebrations have at least three major things in common. First, they all strive to show the relevance of Dr. King to people other than Blacks. The following statement from the program of the January

¹ Birney-Smith explained his decision to immigrate to Canada in these terms during a Te Deum Concert held at Christ's Church Cathedral on James Street South in downtown Hamilton on January 15, 1988. (See also McMaster University Courier, November 10, 1992:3.)

15 and 17, 1988 Te Deum Concerts is quite illustrative of the philosophy underlying these concerts:

This evening's programme is dedicated to the memory of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968).

But it is also dedicated to ideals that are larger than this one man. Martin Luther King was a black American man who became a hero to more than blacks or Christians or Americans or men. His life and death mirrored his passionate belief in freedom, peace, self-giving love and non-violence. His example has made him into a symbol of the best in all of us.

This programme is then really dedicated through him to all who have lived and died for freedom, peace, self-giving love and non-violence.

Second, as a result of the desire to show the importance of Dr. King's dream to all humanity, the Hamilton Martinsday celebrations all seek to work in co-operation with various local groups. For example, in 1988, not only were the celebrations at St. Paul's (January 24) announced at the Te Deum Concerts (January 15 and 17), but Richard Birney-Smith, Te Deum's artistic director and director of music at Melrose United Church, directed his church's choir at the event held at St. Paul's. Finally, these celebrations offer participants opportunities to meet and interact with one another as well as with various guests—including local politicians—at complimentary receptions.

Black History Celebrations

February is celebrated as Black History Month, particularly among Blacks in North America. In Toronto, the Black community has officially celebrated Black life every February since 1978 (Toronto Star, February 7, 1991:A24) with activities including art exhibitions, film shows, drama, dance, and lectures. Since the plurality, if not the majority, of Blacks live in the

Toronto CMA (see, e.g., Ontario, 1985:10-15), it is not surprising that the Toronto celebrations are much more extensive than those in other Canadian cities. It is a testament to the influential nature of the Toronto celebrations that the Toronto Star--Canada's largest circulating daily newspaper--devoted up to three pages, including the front page of its entertainment and current events section (What's On), to informing its readers of the 1991 events (see Toronto Star, February 15, 1991: D1, D3, and D14).

There are no month-long official Black History celebrations in Hamilton; at most, a number of local Black organizations officially sponsor events lasting for a few hours. For example, in February 15, 1991 the Hamilton Dominica Association sponsored a film ("Black Mothers, Black Daughters") at the Union Gas auditorium in downtown Hamilton while Stewart Memorial Church dedicated its morning service of February 17 to Black History. The Black Women's Small Business Association also celebrated Black History--at the Club Santa Rosa, a local Black restaurant/nite-club. For its part, the Hamilton Congress of Black Women celebrated Black History Month by responding to a request from the mayor of Hamilton to set up a display at City Hall as part of the mayor's declaration of 1991 as the year of racial harmony. The theme of the display, which was on from february 9 to february 22, was "Black Inventors and Scientists"; thus, the display consisted of pictures of various Black inventors, such as Elijah McCoy, and short biographical sketches. The fifth major Black History celebration held in Hamilton in 1991 was organized by the Black History Ad Hoc Committee, a group which comprises Blacks from a number of local Black organizations including the Congress of Black Women and the Hamilton Dominica

Association. The main activities at that event, which was held at the Union Gas auditorium on february 23, included a book display, an art display, African drumming, and traditional Dominican dances by the Creole Dancers. The guest speaker was Gary Warner, a Black professor and former associate dean of Humanities at McMaster University who, since 1990, has become the director of McMaster International.

The most elaborate local Black History celebrations are the week-long events organized by the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association. This association's Black History Week celebrations are held each February at a number of locations, including the International Students' lounge at Wentworth House, on the McMaster University campus. The celebrations consist of a number of activities including public speeches, art exhibitions, book displays, fashion shows, and video presentations featuring historically note-worthy Blacks such as Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, jr., and Nelson Mandela. An officer of the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association for the 1990/91 academic year said the following in response to the question of why the association commits so much of its resources to celebrating Black History each February:

I think it helps everybody on campus know that we have a distinct culture. They can come in here and look at our art. They can come in here and look at the type of foods that we eat, the types of books we have. It lets them know that we're not foreign. It gives them an idea of what our identity is. I think a lot of problems come from not knowing people....During Black History month there are lots of activities in Toronto and a lot of speakers come. For example, Marcus Garvey, Jr. is coming on saturday--to speak in Toronto. It makes you more aware of your history and your background....I think Black History month gives me an opportunity to look at my history because--like, I take history here at McMaster and they don't teach African

history. They don't teach us about Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King. I mean--in passing, yes. They look at their effects on White people and if they don't think there's much then they don't teach us anything about it. So Black History month gives me an opportunity to fill-in on my history, to find out where I stand in history, to find out who the people are that enable me to be where I am today.

Like the case with other Black events in Hamilton, the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association's Black History celebrations help to solidify the organization and to link it to the larger Black community. For example, funding for these celebrations come from a number of sources, including the McMaster Students' Union, donations from a number of individuals and Black businesses, and proceeds from dances and fashion shows. Part of the proceeds from a fashion show which was held on february 8, 1991 were donated to a scholarship fund for graduating Black and Caribbean students in Hamilton who are selected on the basis of a number of criteria notably "good grades, cultural awareness, extra-curricular activities, community activities, and financial need." The donation of monies to this scholarship fund reflects a commitment by the association to providing role models for Black students in local schools. This commitment led to the establishment in 1990 of a "mentorship program" whereby 13 to 18 year old Blacks who have difficulties meeting the demands of local schools are linked, typically one-on-one, with members of the association.

House Parties

Although the various events mentioned above are generally well attended, many Blacks interact primarily within particular social circles. Thus, it is quite possible for some Blacks to not meet newcomers to the city,

including old friends from overseas, for a number of years. The major way by which Black Hamiltonians arrange to meet persons with whom they could not otherwise spend much time is through house parties. The following statement from a Caribbean-born Black psychologist illustrates this point:

I had friends living in Hamilton from the same area that I had lived at home. They were living here for years and I didn't know they were here until I met one of the girls one night in a dance and she says she is living down the East end and I said how long? And she said "We have been living here almost three years". And we had been to the same school at home. How come? You see, there isn't a main shopping area for example, and by going down, I maybe could see you. We don't have that, or, we haven't had that....You know, I mean, what I have decided to do and what we do is: we decide, okay, we will take this garbage for part of the year. And because both my wife and I work for school boards we can travel a lot on the other seasons that we get. So what we do then is, okay, we won't have that giant thing of friends but then maybe you save some money and come summer or come Christmas or come March break, you take off and try and make that yours. So that way you sort of deal with that. But sometimes in the summer you find you can get a couple of people together for a barbecue or something, but that is basically it.

As the term suggests, house parties are social events which are held in various homes around the city. In general, house parties, like picnics, are not publicly advertised; information about them is typically obtainable only through informal face-to-face or telephone conversations. Guests are often not directly invited by the host or hostess; it is sufficient that a guest be invited by anyone who somehow obtains information about the party. Guests are typically not required to contribute drinks or food to these parties; indeed, some Blacks proudly point out that, unlike "White Canadians", they never ask their guests to contribute anything. Among African-born Blacks, in

particular, those who host house parties generally provide guests with home-made traditional meals--at least as far as locally obtainable ingredients would permit.

The reasons for organizing house parties range from a desire to renew acquaintances to celebrating the birth of a baby. Thus, for instance, during the World Cup soccer games in 1990, a number of Blacks held parties to celebrate the presence and victories of the Cameroonian team--the only African team that advanced beyond the first round of play.¹ Indeed, there are a number of Black Hamiltonians whose homes are open to friends and acquaintances most weekends. One of these couples organizes barbecue parties at least once each month during the summer. Despite the popularity of house parties in the local Black community, these events lack the over-crowding and rowdiness of some Toronto house parties. The primary reason for this difference is that, unlike in Toronto where house parties sometimes serve the instrumental purpose of raising funds for rent and living expenses, there is no evidence that any of the Hamilton parties serves such purposes.

When a house party is not organized around a major central theme--such as celebrating the birth of a baby or the purchase of a home--not only are guests generally not formally introduced to one another, but guests typically segregate themselves into a number of groups, each group of which may be involved in a different activity. In general, women form one or more groups and converse around the living room and kitchen; for their part, men form

¹ One of the World Cup of Soccer parties attended was organized around the game in which the Cameroonian team was eliminated. Some of the Blacks at that party indicated that they were no longer interested in the World Cup games since, they stated, the officials were excessively biased against Black players and teams. None of the parties was hosted by a Cameroonian; indeed, there appears to be no Cameroonian-born Black in Hamilton.

one or more groups and watch television, play games such as dominoes, or chat in the basement family room or (when the weather permits) in the backyard. Children invariably have free course of the home, particularly when the hosts have children of their own.

The house parties organized in light of major events, such as house purchases, are similar to other house parties, except that they typically include a brief period of about 30 minutes in which all guests are requested to be in one room--often the living room--and a master of ceremonies announces formally the reason for the social event. In some cases a brief "praise" or "dedication" service is conducted by an ordained minister (who may or may not be Black) and all guests are requested to join the hosts in thanking God for His blessings.

It is rare that food is not provided in a house party--even when the party is organized by a bachelor. Moreover, hosts typically see to it that they have more than enough food for the guests; thus, some hosts prepare more food as the number of guests increases. African-born Black hosts usually inform their guests of the nature of the ingredients used for preparing the foods and offer to provide mainstream foods--typically rice and chicken prepared without the usual African spices--to any guests who are not comfortable with African foods.

Interaction as a Boundary Marker

Blacks cling to the various manifestations of ethnic culture outlined above at least partly because these things help to differentiate them from non-Blacks; that is, these elements are group boundary markers. In addition to the

pull from within the Black community on fellow Blacks to participate in the various activities indicated above, Blacks are often pushed into these activities by forces external to the Black community. For example, not only do Blacks generally expect fellow Blacks to prefer reggae, blues, and other forms of traditionally "Black music" to "White music" such as Classical music, but Whites typically have the same expectation of Blacks. In some cases, Blacks who dislike stereotypically "Black things" or who like stereotypically "White things" go to great lengths to explain these preferences. For example, a Black professional who played only classical music on his stereo system throughout this writer's three or so hour visit at his home later explained his choice of music not in terms of a desire to play music which would allow easy conversation, but in terms of the identity of the composer whose music he featured: Beethoven. In an attempt to explain the apparent contradiction of his playing classical music ("White music") while stating that one of the main sources of the problems of community building within the local Black community is that too many Black professionals have "sold out to the middle class mainstream", he indicated that he generally could not "relate to" Classical music but liked Beethoven's music because he was confident that Beethoven was a Black man.

Thus, as is the case with other ethnic groups (Isajiw, 1979:25 and Burnet and Palmer, 1988:7), the Hamilton Black community has both internal and external boundaries--both of which are established and maintained by patterns of interaction. Although the most important boundary marker for the local Black community is skin color, other markers include speech patterns (accents and subjects of conversation), music, and food. While

having Black roots--that is, being of "Negroid" ancestry--is typically a necessary precondition for membership in the Black community, it is not a sufficient condition; one has to learn to be Black by being involved in "Black things".

Conclusion

Although an essentially instrumental commitment to Hamilton plays a vital role in making local Blacks, at best, ambivalent about committing themselves to establishing an institutionally strong Black community in the city, Black Hamiltonians regularly interact with one another in informal settings. These interactions help to create and reinforce group identity among local Blacks; that is, they are avenues by which local Blacks learn how to become and/or remain Black in the Canadian context. These informal interactions assume six major forms: dinners and dances; picnics; the annual Cari-Can summer festival; Martinsday Celebrations; Black History Celebrations; and house parties. These events generally focus on a number of cultural elements--primarily food, music, dance, art exhibitions, and fashion shows. Given the fact that Blacks in Toronto organize similar activities much more frequently and at much more elaborate levels than their Hamiltonian counterparts, it is significant that not only are the local events popular among local Blacks, but they attract Blacks from as far away as London, Ontario; Niagara Falls; and the greater Toronto area.

One major appeal of these activities is that they help to validate for Blacks the significance of the music and foods from the Tropics, the geographical area from which most Hamiltonian Blacks originate. Put

differently, these events serve as opportunities for Blacks to be openly Black conscious ("Afro-centric") without the risk of being perceived by other Canadians as resistant to the assimilative pull of the larger society. Another crucial reason for the popularity of these events is the fact that they do not require of regular participants the type of long-term commitment demanded by formal organizations, such as churches and national associations. It is for the latter reason that some Blacks who ordinarily claim that they are "based in Toronto" and that, as such, they do not socialize in Hamilton nevertheless regularly attend these events.

CHAPTER IX

BLACK COMMUNITY BUILDING: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Introduction

This chapter summarizes and assesses the chapters that precede it. It discusses a well-documented pattern of Black Canadian life: the lack of unity within the Black community (see, e.g., Barrett, 1987:290 and 302). This curiosity about Black life in Canada has been very aptly summarized: "While the common and visible differences in skin colour, which separate the immigrant from the host society, should be sufficient rationale for a united organization and leadership, different cultural traits, class, and national orientations apparently are stronger than the grounds for association" (Ramcharan, 1982:49). This chapter also assesses the prospects for successful community building among Blacks in Hamilton.

An Overview of the Issues

The general aim of this study was to provide an analysis of the social organization of Hamilton's Black population. Phrased in terms of simple questions, the central concerns of this study were: (1) What does it mean to be Black in contemporary Hamilton? and (2) What are the factors that facilitate the emergence of group identification within the highly heterogeneous Black population of Hamilton? The data suggest the following answers to the questions posed:

- (1) In addition to possessing the relevant phenotypical features, to be Black in contemporary Hamilton one has to interact with fellow Blacks--since interaction tends to result in group identification (Shaffir, 1974:47). The specific content of the interaction is of less consequence than the fact of interaction.
- (2) The emergence of group identification among Blacks in Hamilton is facilitated by three major factors:
 - (a) The continued existence of various channels of interaction.
 - (b) The continued existence of expressive attachments to certain cultural aspects--such as foods, music, and dances--of the Tropical ancestral homelands of most local Blacks. This attachment leads to the establishment and patronage of the businesses and voluntary organizations which cater to the related cultural need.
 - (c) The realization by most foreign-born Blacks that their North American born descendants do not share their enthusiasm about someday returning to their Tropical countries of birth.

The influence of these facilitating factors on interaction and, consequently, on the creation of group identification, among Hamiltonian Blacks is tampered by five main factors:

- (a) The subtle nature of racism in contemporary Hamilton.
- (b) The absence of effective leadership within the local Black community.
- (c) The heterogeneity of the local Black population--especially as reflected in differences in nationality as well as in the residential dissimilarity of the Black population.
- (d) The ambiguity of Black identity.
- (e) The geographical proximity of Hamilton to Toronto and American cities such as Niagara Falls and Buffalo.

Problems in Black Community Building

Although there are theoretical grounds for expecting to find cohesive Black communities in Canadian cities such as Hamilton (see Chapter I), this expectation is not substantiated by the empirical evidence. Indeed, the most categorical statement that is often made concerning the Black population of Hamilton is that it does not constitute a cohesive community. For example, a local Black pastor said the following:

The word community to me means a coming together of people in a communion for the purpose of a common objective. In my view, there is no Black community in Hamilton. But we're trying to do that now. In 1987 we started "Committee '87". And the endeavour of that group is to bring the Black people in Hamilton--that is, Caribbean, African, or whatever--under a common umbrella with a common goal of producing a community. You cannot find a Black community here as you'll find an Italian community.

The absence of cohesive Black communities is one of the most consistent findings of scholarly studies of Canadian Blacks (see, e.g., Hill, 1960; Austin, 1972; and Ramcharan, 1982). The general observation is that at least four distinct very loosely organized categories of Blacks exist in Canadian cities: the Canadian born, the American born, those of Caribbean origin, and those of African origin. Furthermore, subgroups are said to exist within each group; thus, for example, among those of Caribbean origin, "island loyalties" are said to undermine success in community building (Austin, 1972:84 and Case, 1976:168).

There is no doubt that local Black associations and nite clubs tend to cater to specific national groups. Nevertheless, the Black population in Hamilton can be treated as a community, for, as discussed in Chapter I, a

social group can be treated as a community whether or not it is cohesive, because the existence of cohesive communities implies the possible existence of non-cohesive ones. Thus, this study investigated the factors underlying the relatively weak social organization of Blacks in Hamilton. The problems of Black community building were placed into two broad categories: external and internal. The primary factor in the former category is racism (the legacy of stigmatization). In contrast, the main internal factor is the absence of effective leadership; this factor amplifies the effects of other internal shortcomings--such as the heterogeneity of the Black population and the ambiguity of Black identity. These external and internal constraints on local community building are reviewed in the subsections below.

External Factors

As discussed in Chapters III and IV, a crucial factor in explaining the problem of Black community building is the legacy of stigmatization--that is, the peculiar socio-historical experiences that contemporary Black Hamiltonians have inherited. Although most interviewees claim to have had no personal experiences with racial discrimination,¹ they almost invariably know of fellow Blacks who have; moreover, the interviewees typically indicated that they are not accepted as full-fledged Canadians. In addition, the incidents of police mistreatment of Blacks in various Canadian

¹ As indicated in Chapter I, racism has five main components: (1) ethnocentrism, (2) prejudice, (3) stereotypes, (4) social distance, and (5) discrimination (Kallen, 1982:25). There is at least one important explanation for why most interviewees could not pinpoint any incidents of racially motivated discrimination against them as individuals: wherever possible, the interviewees typically avoided situations where they believed they would encounter any form of racism (see Chapter IV, especially the section entitled "Reactions to Racism").

cities--including Toronto, Montreal, and Hamilton--are well known to local Blacks. The following statement by a Caribbean-born Black social worker in response to the question of what he believed to be the reasons for the difficulties of community formation among local Blacks underlines the role of racism in Black community building:

I think there are two reasons for it. I think the first reason is that the experience of slavery was one that was based upon the systematic dehumanization of our people and reducing them to chattels and therefore it was important to eliminate institutions, home-grown institutions, among the slaves. Secondly, I think it is due to an ideological straight-jacket which we find ourselves in. The Black nationalist type of movement was too caught up in cultural nationalism, was too caught up in being anti-White rather than being pro-creative.

Thus, although Blacks appear to be now more socially acceptable in Canadian society, there are nonetheless fertile instrumental and expressive grounds on which Black organizations may thrive. Thus, like their fore-runners, contemporary Black Hamiltonians have to reckon with racial discrimination--even if more subtle, covert forms. Since discrimination often provides the impetus for the formation of ethnic institutions (Isajiw, 1979 and Reitz, 1980:37), as happened among Blacks in 19th century Hamilton, it is reasonable to expect the continued existence of Black institutions in Hamilton.

Internal Factors

As discussed in Chapter V, there are three main factors internal to the Hamilton Black community which undermine the quest for a cohesive community: (1) absence of effective leaders; (2) heterogeneity of the

population; and (3) the ambiguous nature of Black identity. The most fundamental of these factors is leadership; for effective leadership can neutralize the negative effects of the other factors, just as ineffective leadership can exacerbate their negative effects (Driedger, 1989:147-148). Thus, the question of leadership will again be outlined below.

It is in the context of the historical oppression of Blacks that we can see the role of what Goffman (1963:4) calls a "tribal stigma of race" on the Black dilemmas of community building. From the perspective of stigmatization, a great need of Black Canadians is for charismatic leaders who would provide plausible counter definitions of reality and identity for them--much in the same way that Mahatma Gandhi did for the outcasts of Hinduism in India by giving them the designation of Harijans, that is, "children of God" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:167). But not only has Canada's Black community never produced a charismatic leader with enough clout to lead the community, but the nature of the social pressures placed on this community is not conducive to the production of such charismatic leaders (McIntyre, 1976).

As stated in Chapter V, the interviewees generally agreed on the absence of effective leadership in the local Black community and blamed this state of affairs on three main factors: (1) apathy of local Blacks, (2) lack of adequate external pressures and (3) the reluctance of the present ineffective leaders to relinquish their leadership positions. The situation among contemporary Black Hamiltonians is not new, for leadership in the local Black community has historically been provided by the church. Thus, Hamilton's oldest Black church, now known as Stewart Memorial Church, emerged in 1835 to fill a social, political, and religious vacuum which existed

in Hamilton's Black community essentially because of the intolerance by the city's White communities of interaction with their Black neighbors. It is in the context of the need for an organizing force within the Black community that we can best understand the primacy of the Black Church in Black communal life. For, as Durkheim (1965) has pointed out, religion, more than any other institution, helps to integrate individuals into the community; regulate their everyday activities; and empower their everyday activities with a special sense of meaning and purpose. Furthermore, the Black church provides for Blacks an opportunity for distancing themselves from the unfavorable statuses and roles to which they are subjected in the larger society. As Shreve (1983:14) puts it, the Black Church is the principal place where Blacks

could forget the menial, demeaning jobs during the week as maids, street cleaners, hodcarriers, cooks, cleaning women and janitors in a dominant and hostile White society. On Sunday in the church they become deacons, deaconess, the lead tenor or soprano in the choir, or superintendent of the Sunday School. In short, they become somebody, all brothers and sisters, sons and daughters of God.

Given the historical role of the church in Black communal life, it is not surprising that the higher the degree of perceived overt racism, the greater the influence of the Black church (Taylor, Thornton, and Chatters, 1987:125-126). But in the present era the religious heterogeneity of the local population drastically limits the potential influence of the Black churches. Moreover, the forms of overt racism which demanded the establishment of Black churches in 19th century Hamilton have since given way to other problems; for example, those related to finding suitable employment. In short, for the vast

majority of Black Hamiltonians--primarily Caribbean nationals who immigrated to Canada in the 1960s or later--the present-day Black churches are of little or no personal significance.

Thus, while the existence of Black churches, voluntary associations, and small-scale businesses is vital for the emergence of a cohesive Black community in Hamilton, it is by itself not a sufficient reason for the emergence of such a community. But there are four major grounds for expecting the quest for a cohesive local Black community to be successful in the long run: (1) past success in community building among local Blacks, (2) decreased sense of powerlessness, (3) a growing perception of Canada as home, and (4) the existence of institutions and other factors favorable to intra-group interaction. These issues will be discussed in the following section.

The Prospects for Successful Community-Building

Past Success

Despite the problems confronted by Black community builders in Hamilton, successful ethnogenesis has occurred within a segment of the local Black population. Observations of and conversations with local Blacks indicate that the descendants of the first groups of Blacks in Hamilton now constitute a more or less homogeneous social group. These Blacks are the descendants of ex-slaves in Canada; Black United Empire Loyalists from the United States; and run-away slaves from the United States who came here by way of the Underground Railroad. Although all native-born Black Hamiltonians with whom the issue of ethnic identity was discussed were

quite aware of their ancestral background, this knowledge did not have much salience for them. Basically, the native-born Black Hamiltonians who are descendants of the earliest group of Blacks in the city now constitute a relatively cohesive group which is organized around Stewart Memorial Church and the city's Black fraternal organizations.

Furthermore, those foreign-born Blacks who immigrated here before the mass immigration of the late-1960s and early 1970s are much more likely to be involved with the native-born Blacks and with the oldest Black organizations than are the latter arrivals. This is hardly surprising since the experiences and, thus, world-views, of the native-born old-line Black Hamiltonians are considerably different from those of their foreign-born counterparts. For members of the former group are much more likely to have had personal experiences with blatant forms of racial discrimination in Canada than are their foreign-born counterparts.¹ Moreover, unlike foreign-born Blacks, old-line (indigenous) Blacks typically do not have any obvious "roots" outside of Canada.

The successful ethnogenesis in the local Black community occurred at a time when the Black population was, for the most part, concentrated in an ecological territory in Hamilton's downtown core. As discussed in Chapter I (Theoretical Overview), the residential concentration of the members of a social category in an ecological territory is an important facilitating condition in successful community building, or the "transformation from ethnic category to ethnic group" (Hughes and Kallen, 1976:88). For ethnic enclaves

¹ For example, every old-line Black Hamiltonian interviewed recounted very vividly when Blacks were openly not permitted as guests in places such as the Royal Connaught Hotel in downtown Hamilton.

not only help to protect newcomers from the strangeness of a new society, but they also help to preserve and protect the old ways of life (Wirth, [1928] 1956).

Since both observations and the "index in dissimilarity of residential patterns" (according to which 0 represents complete integration and 100 complete segregation) of 49.6 (Ontario, 1985:32) show that Black Hamiltonians are not residentially segregated to a very large extent, the crucial question relates to assessing how the various conditions that facilitate the emergence and continuity of ethnic groups¹ reinforce one another in the Black population of Hamilton despite the absence of an ecological territory.

Decreased Sense of Powerlessness

An important legacy of Canada's attitudes and immigration policies towards Blacks is that they helped to produce Blacks who behaved like strangers or guests because they believed that was the way the White majority perceived them. For instance, a Caribbean-born Black man who attended a Montreal university in the 1960s said the following:

I remember when I was in Montreal and they had a big riot at the university. I took a course there. Some of the Black guys and some of my friends there asked me my opinion. I told them, "I think you guys are stupid to go around the university like that. You're breaking the law. You're looking for trouble." But it was the Black movement. Yes, you'll have the crisis. You're living in a White country and you will have to respect that.

¹ As outlined in Chapter I, the main factors in this regard are (1) common culture or customs (i.e., cultural homogeneity); (2) a sense of peoplehood (i.e., ethnic identity); (3) leadership; (4) institutions; (5) *gemeinschaft* or informal relations such as friendships; and (6) "race" (Isajiw, 1979:4 and Driedger, 1989:143).

This world-view among Blacks is now changing, particularly among the relatively recent immigrants who are well educated and quite articulate. Indeed, one major theme which emerged from conversations with Black Hamiltonians, particularly the indigenous ones, is that the recent influx of relatively highly educated Black immigrants to the city has helped to reduce their sense of powerlessness. For example, a retired native-born Black man said the following:

Things are getting better for us these days--that is, since the government started letting many Black people move in from the West Indies and Africa. We now have many Black professionals and all kinds of Black businesses. Right now a successful boycott is quite feasible.

Similarly, a Caribbean-born Black man who immigrated to Canada in the mid-1970s made the following statement:

I find the number of Black people increasing rapidly in this city. And they are tending to be more aware, you know, of their blackness and so on....So I think there is a high level increase and, also, the potential for political organization is increasing.

A native-born Black woman who has been actively involved in the area of "racial" equality for a number of decades, was a founding member of the Hamilton Mayor's Race Relations Committee, and, since 1990, has become a Race Relations Consultant, said the following:

The War [World War II] opened up the factories and the army call brought in a few more Blacks, so that there were at least 1000 Blacks in the city [in the 1950s]. Work did open up a little, but for many years Blacks still took the poorest jobs. Then by 1965 the Immigration department changed the immigration policy thus allowing people from the Third World for the first time to immigrate freely to Canada and stay long enough to make Citizenship papers....Education and much sacrifice by the Black parent has allowed Blacks to work at better jobs and positions,

but all of this came very hard. Even today if a Black applies for a certain position he has to be much better than a White or if he does get the job, he is usually treated in such a way that he soon learns that if he ever leaves it he will not be replaced by another Black as these "favors" only come along once in a great while. We as Blacks are finally learning that we must stick together and be prepared to stand up for our rights, and perhaps in a few years we will be treated like Canadians.

The combination of forces external to the Black population, such as discrimination, and the efforts of some Blacks in North America is now paving the way for the emergence of a Black community that is based on a sense of group identity and collective interest. For example, a Caribbean-born Black Hamiltonian who attended university in Montreal in the early 1960s said that, in his view, while racism still exists in Canada, Blacks must now take full advantage of the institutional frameworks for dealing with the problem of racism. He put it as follows:

We have to face the fact that we'll always be discriminated against—even with people who say they love you and you know that they are genuine people....I think that there are opportunities in Canada for Blacks. We have to utilize them to the best potential that we have. We can't just sit back and think that it would be given to us. Forget it. You have to go for it. We can get it....If I think that I've been judged unfairly or given an unfair chance, I would ask questions. There are lots of organizations in Toronto to call if you think you are being discriminated against--human rights organizations. So if you have a problem, you have the answer. In today's society, I don't think one can come out and say that they can't hire you because you're Black.

Growing Perception of Canada as Home

Even among those Blacks who were born outside of Canada there exists a growing perception that Canada may, after all, be "home". Consequently,

there are overt attempts to undermine the differences among Blacks in favor of their basic phenotypical similarity. There are a number of possible explanations for this new stance among local Blacks. First, the economic situation of their native countries is continuing to deteriorate. Since their primary reason for leaving their native land is economic, it does not seem reasonable to return there without being economically independent. Thus, for example, an African-born Black engineer in Hamilton said the following: My goal in life is to become president of Bell Canada. That's my goal in life. I know its almost impossible, but I'm going to keep trying. I'm going to do whatever it takes on my part to do it--luck or whatever is involved. But my goal right now, my ambition in life, is to become president of Bell Canada--or become president of a rival telecommunications corporation.

A second important reason why immigrant (i.e., first generation) local Blacks are now publicly expressing their wish to be considered more than guests in North America is that many of them have lived here long enough to have children and grandchildren who, typically, show no interest in returning to an ancestral homeland about which they have no substantial experiential knowledge. These first generation Blacks realize that while they may see the need to return to their native countries upon retirement from the paid labor force, their descendants are not likely to follow them there. Thus, they typically see it incumbent upon them, as patriarchs and matriarchs, to strive to make Canada a better place for their descendants than it was for them. The following statement from a Jamaican-born grandfather in Hamilton expresses these views quite cogently:

I still think of Jamaica as home. I mean, I never get it out of my system. I always hope that one day I'll go back and live there....But I've come to the conclusion that where I am now--this is home because I've got kids, I've got grandkids. And, although I may move to Jamaica and live there, I think I'd have to split my time--if that was to come to pass. I feel that I'd spend the winter months in the island and then come back here in the summer months and be with my grandkids and my kids. It's a family and you can't separate that now--because they don't have the same feelings as I do, you see. They weren't born there. And to them, this is home. So I have to acknowledge that....In life there are sacrifices and there are situations.

In the case of Hamilton's largest Black umbrella organization, the Afro-Caribbean Canadian Association (ACCA), one of the primary considerations of its founders was a recognition or, at least, a perception of Canada as home. An officer of the association indicated that while an important reason for forming the organization was to unite Black Hamiltonians because the founders believed that their White counterparts conceived of Blacks as a monolithic group, there was another vital rationale:

The other problem, of course, was that we had a lot of children here. I think for most of the children, even if you bring them up and give them some idea of their background, it's very difficult for them if they are born here and they grow up here to identify solely with wherever their parents came from--except in a small part of their heritage....I don't think a lot of us think that we're ever going to go back home, so that it was felt that you should make the best of whatever situations here, and make them work for you.

An African-born Black Hamiltonian who immigrated to Canada in the 1970s for post-secondary schooling and now operates a small local business indicated his belief that the time is right for Africans, and, in particular, Nigerians, living in Canada to "get involved in this society." According to him:

I've seen a lot of Nigerians who age very fast. In Toronto there are some who are doing well and others who are not doing well, but overall, it's a much richer society. Hamilton is still very conservative; its not up to date. But we must think seriously about making good in this country. This idea of rushing home to establish a business or mechanized farm without any substantial experience here is crazy. Buying land, including farmland, is one way to get involved in this society.

Intra-group Interaction

One consequence of the new perception of Canada as home is that Black Hamiltonians now tend to see a need to downplay the differences among them in favor of their basic phenotypical similarity. The various speeches given at the Thursday, March 15, 1990 meeting of the McMaster University Afro-Caribbean Association vividly illustrate this point. For example, the association's vice president-nominee said the following:

We need to break the cliquish attitude in the club. When a new person comes in we shouldn't care so much about how they're dressed or what they look like. The important thing for us should be that somebody is Black. We're a minority on this campus so we should try to hang around one another. If we see a new Black student on campus we should invite them to meet and study with us in the area of the library where we study.

The McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association is only one of many Hamilton-based Black voluntary organizations whose main objective is to short-circuit exclusive national alliances among local Blacks. Indeed, as indicated in Chapter VII, the basic rationale for all the Hamilton-based umbrella organizations is to unite local Blacks without regard to national alliances. And, as shown in Chapter VIII, activities organized by particular subgroups of local Blacks--e.g., the Barbados Association independence anniversary

celebrations--are typically patronized by a cross-section of the local Black population.

Thus, the "aloofness" of African nationals from fellow Blacks, which is a consistent finding of every major community study of Blacks in Canada done in the 1960s and 1970s (see, eg, Hill, 1960 and Austin, 1972), is not a glaring fact of life in contemporary Hamilton. For example, Professor Frederick Ofori, an African-born faculty member of the McMaster University Medical School, chairs an ad hoc committee that is concerned with the status of Blacks in the Hamilton school system. The aloofness of African nationals may have been primarily a by-product of the erstwhile transient nature of Africans in Canada. For up till at least the mid-1970s, the typical African in Canada was a student who expected to return to his or her home country to become a part of the elite as soon as possible after his or her studies. Today, the socio-economic realities of African countries are such that even those African nationals who are sponsored to Canada by their home governments cannot be certain that they would be gainfully employed should they return home upon completion of their studies.

The only local cases in which Africans appear to be aloof are with regard to the Black churches¹ and the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association.² The case of the local Black churches can be explained in terms of both prior denominational commitments in Africa and the fact that these churches tend

¹ Throughout the duration of the field research for this study--fall 1986 to spring 1991--the writer was aware of only five African-born Blacks who attended the local Black churches; and by spring 1991 only two were still attending these churches.

² The detachment of African nationals from the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association was essentially formalized with the establishment in late 1991 of the McMaster African Students' Association.

to appeal primarily to an occupational category to which African-born Blacks typically do not belong: the blue collar. The aloofness of African nationals from the McMaster Afro-Caribbean Association can also be readily explained without recourse to "Africanness" as a causal variable. This aloofness can be explained in three principal ways: first, not only do Black McMaster University students tend to view this association as an undergraduate organization, but, at least during the past five years, all the members of the organization have been undergraduates. Second, the overwhelming majority of African-born students at McMaster University are graduate students. Finally, one of the popular McMaster "traditions" is that graduate students maintain a comfortable social distance between themselves and undergraduates (see Talbot, 1984:81).

Although virtually all of the foreign-born Black Hamiltonians interviewed stated that returning to their countries of birth may not be a viable option, these Blacks do not necessarily think that Black community building in Hamilton is a worthwhile task. Many local Blacks are quite reluctant about identifying themselves with this city. Indeed, many Blacks who own homes and work full-time in Hamilton claim to be "based" in Toronto. These Blacks claim to be members of Black voluntary organizations and to do most of their shopping (including grocery shopping, in spite of the existence of provisionary stores in Hamilton that sell Tropical produce) and "socializing" in Toronto. Given the reluctance of local Blacks to identify publicly with Hamilton, it is not surprising that they often advocate that efforts at Black community building should be concentrated on Toronto.

Thus, Hamilton's proximity to Toronto and American cities with large Black populations is both an advantage and a disadvantage. This proximity is an advantage because it affords local Blacks the opportunity to enjoy amenities and participate in institutions that would otherwise not be available to them. At the same time, however, this proximity is a reason, or at least an excuse, for the reluctance of some Black Hamiltonians to participate in local voluntary organizations; in other words, this proximity is a factor undermining the emergence of a viable, "institutionally complete" Black community in Hamilton.

Summary and Conclusion

In terms of community building, the most categorical statement that can be made about Hamilton's Black population is that it is highly heterogeneous and is held together only by very loose, informal ties. Nevertheless, the process of ethnogenesis which began in the early 19th century was re-kindled in the aftermath of the immigration wave of the 1960s and 1970s.

The ethnogenesis of the 19th and early 20th centuries was quite successful. For, among the present-day Black "old-timers" in Hamilton, knowledge of the origins of their fore-parents has no obvious salience for them in terms of their patterns of association. This success in ethnogenesis may be credited to three basic factors. First, most of these Blacks are descendants of three categories of North American-born Blacks: ex-slaves in Canada; United Empire Loyalists; and "fugitives" from American slavery. That is, these categories of Blacks had a high degree of geographic-cultural

homogeneity. Second, this ethnogenesis occurred during a period of overt racial discrimination. Third, this ethnogenesis occurred during a period when Black Hamiltonians were concentrated in an ecological territory in the downtown area.

The majority of contemporary Black Hamiltonians are Caribbean-born immigrants who moved to the city after the introduction in 1967 of the "point system" immigration policy. This recency of Black immigration to Hamilton--primarily a direct consequence of systemic racism in Canada's pre-1967 immigration policies and, thus, a factor external to the Black community--is crucial for understanding the lack of overt unity within Hamilton's Black community. Other external factors undermining the quest for a cohesive Black community in Hamilton include: (1) the fact that other Canadian ethnic groups are based primarily on nationality and not on "race"; and (2) the fact that the socio-political climate is not favorable to the existence of cohesive ethnic communities (Spencer, 1990:266-267). Some factors internal to the local Black community also subvert attempts at local Black community building. The most crucial internal factors are (1) geographic-cultural heterogeneity, (2) residential dissimilarity, (3) ambiguity of Black identity and, in particular, (4) the absence of effective leadership.

These impediments to local Black community building are counterbalanced by internal factors which favor the emergence of a cohesive Black community in the city. The chief among these internal factors are as follows: (1) the existence of physical (skin color) and other differences between Blacks and other members of the larger society; (2) the existence of voluntary

and other Black organizations or institutions; and (3) the existence of patterns of social interaction.

APPENDIX INTRO.1

The Seven Assimilation Variables Developed by Gordon

	Subprocess or Condition	Type of Assimilation
1.	Change of cultural pattern to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation
2.	Large-scale entrance into pri group level of cliques, clubs, & institutions of host society	Structural assimilation
3.	Large-scale intermarriage with host society	Marital assimilation
4.	Devt of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assim.
5.	Absence of prejudice from host society	Attitudinal assim.
6.	Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional from host society assimilation
7.	Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation

Adapted from Gordon (1964:71) and Driedger (1989:43).

APPENDIX II.1

THE INTERVIEWEES

Of the forty core interviewees, 20 were asked only the questions in the first section of Appendix II.2 (those entitled "General Interview Questions"). These are the interviewees who are listed (by pseudonyms) below. The other 20 interviewees, who are officers of various local Black organizations, were asked questions from both sections of Appendix II.2.

Native-born Blacks

- Alfred: Has travelled extensively, including a trip to West Africa "to check my roots and to see where some of the slaves were traded." Was second Black to own a home in Burlington's prestigious Lakeshore Road. Was retired in the late 1980s.
- Donna: Was a founding member of Hamilton's Mayor's Race Relations Committee. Has been a race relations consultant since the late 1980s.
- Edwina: Operates a small service-oriented business and has been politically active in Hamilton for more than a decade.
- James: In his mid 40s. A graduate of McMaster University. An ex-member of the Stewart Memorial Church.
- Richard: Perhaps Hamilton's most distinguished athlete, having won numerous medals and prizes in the early 20th century. Actively involved in both the Stewart Memorial Church and the Black Lodge.

African-born Blacks

- Daniel: Moved to Hamilton to study at McMaster University in the late 1970s. Has a doctorate degree in Engineering. Is married to a fellow African national and is the father of three children.
- Dwayne: Moved to Canada for post-secondary schooling in the late 1970s. Is married to a White British-born immigrant to Canada, with whom he has a son. Says he had to start his own business because he could not find a suitable job in the Toronto/Hamilton area.
- Joseph: Moved to North America for post-secondary studies in the early 1960s. Has lived in various American and Canadian cities. Has lived in the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area since the 1970s. Has a doctorate degree and works outside of the Hamilton CMA.
- Gary: A businessman who completed his post-secondary education in Hamilton where he has lived in Hamilton since the 1970s. Is married to a Caribbean-born woman with whom he has two small children.
- Raymond: Moved to Hamilton in the early 1980s. Is married to a native-born Black, with whom he has an infant son. Has a graduate degree in Engineering. Insists that he is underemployed.

Caribbean-born Blacks

- Aaron: Moved to Britain in the 1950s and then to Hamilton in the early 1970s. Has three married children and a number of grandchildren.
- Angela: Moved to Canada as a student in the early 1980s. Is a graduate of McMaster University.
- Claude: Moved to Britain in the 1950s and to Hamilton in the 1960s. Works as a high school teacher in Metropolitan Toronto.
- Henry: Moved to New York city in the 1960s and to Hamilton in the 1970s. Works as a mechanic in Toronto.

- Jerry: Moved to Hamilton to pursue post-secondary studies in the early 1970s. Has degrees from both McMaster University and the University of Toronto. Has a doctorate degree in psychology and works as a school psychologist outside of the Hamilton CMA.
- Kayla: Moved with her family to Hamilton in the early 1970s. In her mid 20s. A graduate of Carleton University in Ottawa. Works in the Hamilton CMA.
- Kelsey: Moved with his mother to Canada in the early 1970s. In his early 30s. Is married to a fellow Caribbean national and is the father of three children. Is a social worker and works in Toronto.
- Kelvin: Moved to Canada as a student in the early 1960s. Was a student at Sir George Williams University in Montreal during the "Computer Centre Crisis" in the 1960s. Moved to Hamilton in the early 1970s. Is married and has a teen-aged son.
- Linda: Moved to Britain as a student in the 1970s and to Hamilton to further her education in the 1980s. Is a graduate of McMaster University.
- Moses: Moved to Britain in the 1950s and to Hamilton in the early 1960s. He is Hamilton's best known Black businessman—at least partly because he owns and operates the city's best known Black business: a provisionary store.

APPENDIX II.2

THE QUESTIONS

The questions listed in Appendix II.2 formed the core of the conversations with my respondents. Not only were these questions not always asked in the order in which they appear in the appendix, but they served only as the starting points for our conversations; follow-up questions were asked depending on the response to each question.

PART 1: GENERAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. When you were growing up, how did you think of yourself (e.g., Nigerian, Negro, etc.)?
2. How do you now usually think of yourself?
3. Tell me about how you started thinking of yourself the way you now do.
4. What problems, if any, do you think are faced by Blacks as a group in Canada and in the Hamilton area?
5. Have you personally experienced any problems here because of your skin color?
6. Do you maintain close ties with other Blacks in North America?
7. When you visit people at home, what ethnic/racial group are most of them?
8. What can you tell me about the ethnic/racial background of your three closest friends?
9. What can you tell me about the ethnic/racial background of your neighborhood?
10. How would you feel if your children associated primarily with Blacks?

11. I would like you to tell me about any Black-oriented media (i.e., radio stations, newspapers, etc.) with which you are familiar. Do you regularly patronize them?
12. I would like you to tell me what you know about the Black group in the Hamilton area. How have things changed over the years?
13. How have changes within the Black group here affected your personal social activities?
14. Who do you consider to be the leader or leaders of the Blacks in the Hamilton area?
15. I would like you to tell me about the organizations or associations in which you are involved. I would like to know, eg., what the histories and major activities of these organizations are.
16. How many members of these organizations are Black?
17. About how many years did you go to school full time? What approximately is your highest level of education?
18. Are you working at present?
19. To what ethnic group does your spouse belong?
20. Do you believe that participation in federal, provincial, and municipal elections is beneficial to Blacks here?
21. Do you believe that the various levels of government are responsive to the needs of Blacks here?
22. How regularly do you follow Canadian politics?
23. How regularly do you attend meetings relating to Canadian politics?
24. Do you regularly vote in municipal and other Canadian elections?

PART 2: QUESTIONS RE ORGANIZATIONS

1. What is the full name of your organization?
2. What is the full address and telephone number of your organization?
3. In what year was your organization established?
4. Does your organization have a constitution or an established policy?
5. What were the main purposes of your organization at the time of its founding?
6. What are the main purposes of your organization today?
7. What are the main offices in your organization and which members occupy them?
8. Does your organization own its own building?
9. Does your organization have its own publication?
10. Does your organization have any affiliate groups?
11. Is your organization an affiliate of any organization?
12. How many people belong to your organization?
13. What, approximately, is the age distribution of the membership?
14. How many members are Black?
15. How many of these Black members were born in Canada?
16. How many of these Black members are women?
17. Approximately how many members attend meetings regularly?
18. How many of these regulars are Black?

APPENDIX III.1

In the absence of institutionalized slavery, a system of indentured servitude existed in early 17th century United States. Under this system poor Whites could sell their services for a specified number of years after which they had to be set free. (Other categories of Whites--including religious dissenters, ex-convicts, and prostitutes--were forced into indentured servitude.) Although some Blacks were indentured servants, other Blacks held such servants (Skinner, 1976:13-14).

It was the economic necessity of maintaining cotton and tobacco plantations with a large, inexpensive labor force that led to the introduction of slavery in the United States. However, the decision to force all Blacks into slavery--instead of, e.g., all Native Peoples or all indentured servants--was based on four primary factors (Skinner, 1976:14-15). First, the Native Peoples generally made poor slaves because not only did they seem weak and sickly, but, due to their extensive knowledge of the country side, they very readily escaped from their "masters". Second, White indentured servants easily escaped and blended into the larger society. Third, White servants were more likely to be "Christianized" than were their Native or Black counterparts--a fact which was advantageous for White servants since it was difficult for a White "Christian" to justify enslaving a fellow White "Christian". Finally, White servants could apply to the powerful European governments of whom they typically were subjects.

The enslavement of Blacks was legitimized on three basic grounds: religious, economic, and political. At the religious level, advocates of slavery argued that it was divinely sanctioned and that Noah's descendants, the Canaanites, were Blacks and that, as such, the curse pronounced on them by Noah relegated Blacks to a condition of perpetual servitude (Skinner, 1976:20). At the economic level, it was argued that slavery was an inexpensive form of labor without which American businessmen could not compete with foreign businessmen (Skinner, 1976:23). On the political level, slavery was upheld by laws which regulated "both the behavior and the trading of slaves." These laws undermined important social institutions among Blacks. According to Skinner (1976:23-24),

Marriages between slaves were not recognized by the state, but many slave masters allowed people to get "married" by permitting them to live together....

Many slave plantations kept what was known as a "stud," a healthy male slave whose sole job was to impregnate healthy female slaves in order to breed healthy children. When the woman became pregnant, the man was moved to another quarter. Within a course of ten years, he could have sired a hundred children, but he was never allowed to be a father to any of them. Nor were most slave women allowed to raise their children past the milking stage. While the mothers worked in the fields, their children stayed in a nursery together.

APPENDIX VIII.1

NEGRO NATIONAL ANTHEM

LIFT EVERY VOICE

Lift ev'ry voice and sing, till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the har-mo-nies of lib-er-ty;
Let our rejoicing rise, high as the lis'ning skies,
Let it resound as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till vic-tory is won.

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us, thus far on the way
Thou who has by Thy might, led us into the light
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God where we met Thee
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee
Shadowed beneath Thy Hand, may we forever stand,
True to our God! True to our native land.

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