TRADE UNIONISM AND ACCULTURATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF URBAN INDIANS AND IMMIGRANT ITALIANS

by

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ABSTRACT

Trade unionism has rarely been considered as a factor in the processes of acculturation and social change. Yet in British Columbia, as in other parts of the world, many sub-cultures are becoming increasingly involved with trade unions. This thesis attempts to examine the relationship between union activity and acculturation. It also attempts to trace the effects of trade unions on ethnic communities and the effects of ethnic groups on trade unions. A number of hypotheses of various authors were tested. These hypotheses fell into four categories: (1) those which saw the trade union as breaking down the reluctance of some sub-cultures to commit themselves to the industrial workforce; (2) those which suggested the union replaces traditional social groupings; (3) those which posed a relationship between union and ethnic community leadership; and (4) those which felt trade unionism furthered the acculturative process.

The study was made on a comparative basis, giving it considerable cultural variation. Field work was conducted among two ethnic groups in the Vancouver area during the summer of 1962. The two groups are the Squamish Indians living on reserves in North Vancouver and the Italians living in the Queensborough district of New Westminster. Both groups possess

communities of a similar socio-economic level and through their employment, many members of both groups are trade unionists. Data on the problem outlined above were sought through interviews with members of the community and union officials and through participation in community and union activities. Pertinent documentary sources were also consulted.

Early in the field work, it became apparent that the Italians are much less active unionists than the Indians. Reasons for this variation were sought. The variations appear to be connected with the structures of the unions involved, the aspirations and values of the ethnic groups, the length of contact with the union, and other historical and cultural factors.

Data from the Indian community indicate that union activity, a form of acculturation in itself, tends to further other aspects of acculturation. To some extent, direct effects of union on community were discovered. Many of the Squamish band councillors, for example, are trade union officials and their union training is sometimes reflected at the council table. Furthermore it appears that the trade union acts as an institutionalized link which tends to integrate the Squamish unionists with a segment of White society sharing the same values, behavior patterns and norms.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Nature and Aim of the Study

Trade unions have rarely been evaluated as a factor in the process of acculturation or adaptation to social change. On the one hand, most studies of trade unions have been occupied with their impact on political and economic structures. Such studies of trade unions rarely centered on their effect on the individual or on a particular culture and, perhaps as a consequence, attracted little attention from social anthropologists. On the other hand, anthropologists in their growing awareness of the relationship between social institutions and acculturation have considered among other institutions, the church and the school. But little has been said about trade unions despite their increasing involvement with many cultures and sub-cultures, in British Columbia as in other parts of the world.

Industrial sociologists have made a start on the description and analysis of the relations between industrial unions and the outside community. In addition some studies have been made of the structures, power relationships and internal workings of the unions themselves.

Economists and political scientists have also made extensive examinations of certain aspects of unionism, sometimes with regard to a particular ethnic or cultural group. Jamieson and Gladstone, for example, have written on the general position of the British Columbia Indians in the fishing industry and their stand during the various strikes and organizational battles since the Nineteenth Century.[1]

Valuable as such work is, apparently no studies have been made which examine simultaneously:

(1) The effects, if any, of a relationship between a particular union and a particular ethnic community;

(2) The possible relationship between trade union activity and the acculturation or adaptation of a particular group or individual in work or social settings;

(3) The effect of an ethnic group, if any, on the organization or policy of the union.

This thesis represents an attempt to describe and analyse the possible relationships mentioned above. The writer is aware of the many limitations and inadequacies of the study and makes no claim that it is either comprehensive or conclusive. Its value, if any, probably lies more in the

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1 S. Jamieson and P. Gladstone, "Unionism in the Fishing Industry of British Columbia," Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science, vol. 16, 1950, pp. 1-11 and pp. 146-171. Also P. Gladstone, "Native Indians and the Fishing Industry of B. C.," Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science, vol. 19, 1955, pp. 20-34.

questions it raises than in the answers it provides. At best it could be considered a preliminary exploration of a relatively uncharted field.

Pertinent Literature and Hypotheses

Despite the lack of empirical studies, a number of hypotheses related to the subject are contained in the more recent writings of various authors. I have attempted to test these as well as some of my own. These hypotheses fall into four categories dealing with economic security, replacement of traditional groupings, union and community leadership, and acculturation.

* * *

For the purposes of this thesis, commitment to the industrial society (a concept which will be defined later) was considered as one aspect of acculturation. W. E. Moore views one of the barriers or antipathies to commitment as the reluctance to lose traditional forms that give security.

> Perhaps the most pervasive attitude of withdrawal from the industrial pattern, or of only limited, temporary or reluctant adherence to it, arises from the loss of traditional forms that give security. It is typical especially of the first impact of new economic patterns that they threaten or disrupt the previous social relationships, while not immediately supplying new security devices in their place.[2]

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2 W. E. Moore, Industrialization and Labor, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1951, p. 21.

W. H. Knowles, in a later publication edited by Moore and Feldman, states that union security can overcome the aforementioned barrier.

> Membership in an industrial primary group, which is in turn federated with other union groups, may serve as a substitute for membership in the extended family, tribe, or peasant village. Trade unionism, a form of modern tribalism, aids in securing commitment to the industrial work force. The certainty of job tenure through seniority, together with health and welfare plans, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions, replaces the security of the shared poverty of the tribe and extended family.[3]

Similarly, J. S. Slotkin sees the union as "an institutionalized means of adjusting to the existing industrial situation."[4] To overcome the loss of security, the union attempts to obtain job and social security, higher wages and better working conditions. While striving for financial security for the employee, the union aids commitment for "to be effective, it adopts, or accommodates to, industrial customs even when engaged in opposition to employers. Therefore union members, in carrying on their union activities, learn to adjust to industrialism and its ramifications."[5]

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3 W. H. Knowles, "Industrial Conflict and Unions," in W. E. Moore and A. S. Feldman, ed., Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1960, p. 307.

4 J. S. Slotkin, From Field to Factory, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1960, p. 119.

5 Loc. cit.

* * *

Related to the above hypotheses are those which see the union as replacing traditional groupings, not only in the matter of economic security, but in their social aspects as well. According to Slotkin:

> For employees subject to social disorganization, and particularly for migrant workers, the union may function as a substitute for some or most traditional groups. Thus it helps the employee adjust within the context of the existing industrial situation.[6]

C. W. M. Hart, on the basis of fieldwork in Windsor, Ontario, sees the union as a social institution struggling with older institutions, such as church and social groupings, for the "guidance and governance of the whole man."[7] Moore believes that for some workers the very existence of the union provides a sense of "belonging" and of social participation. He adds:

> . . . it appears probable that careful study would reveal an inverse relationship between the intensity of union activity and the extent of participation in the more traditional forms of familial and neighborhood life and types of voluntary associations. It is certainly true that at least some "minority" groups have become especially staunch union members.[8]

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6 Loc. cit.

7 C. W. M. Hart, "Industrial Relations Research and Social Theory," Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science, vol. 15, 1949, p. 53.

8 W. E. Moore, Industrial Relations and the Social Order, New York, Macmillan, 1951, p. 314.

In a general survey of unionism among the Indians of British Columbia, Jamieson suggests possible social effects.

> Apart from purely economic considerations, a review of the record to date would seem to indicate that, to the limited extent that unions have had an impact on Indians, and Indians have participated in union affairs, there has been some "social gain" (for want of a better term). Trade unionism has been one of the few contexts in which native Indians in British Columbia have had the opportunity (and one which on various occasions they have used) to participate on a fully equal basis with whites and to share equally in losses as well as gains.[9]

* * *

A third group of hypotheses examined were those which dealt with the relationship between union leadership and community activity. On the basis of earlier fieldwork the author proposed there was a linkage between union activity and Indian leadership of a particular type. The hypothesis suggested that participation in trade unionism developed leaders among the Indians who, in both union and community activity, could "get things done" in the sense normally implied by the larger Canadian society.

Slotkin sees union leadership as a new avenue for attaining status:

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9 S. Jamieson, "Native Indians and the Trade Union Movement in B. C.," Human Organization, vol. 20, no. 4, 1961-62, p. 224.

> The hierarchical union organization contains a new set of roles with varying degrees of rank and accompanying prestige. Consequently people who have been unable to obtain satisfactory prestige in their traditional groups (particularly under conditions of cultural and social disorganization) have an opportunity to do so as union officers. Here is another means of adjusting within the context of the existing industrial situation.[10]

* * *

Finally, for the sake of testing it was assumed that union activity was connected with the acculturative process although not necessarily in a causal role. Slotkin also suggests that the "union itself was invented in Western society, and its adoption by other societies seems to be the result of diffusion rather than independent invention. Therefore unionization in the latter societies is an acculturation phenomenon . . ."[11]

Admittedly many of the above hypotheses were developed for application to so-called "under-developed" societies as a whole. This thesis deals, instead, with subcultures within an industrial society and the unions studied were not confined to the ethnic groups in question. Nevertheless a common feature of both types of situation is that the groups involved are undergoing social change. Consequently the hypotheses were considered useful.

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10 J. S. Slotkin, op. cit., p. 120.

11 Loc. cit.

The Groups and the Unions

The larger methodological view of the study was that an examination of the problems and hypotheses mentioned above would be more rewarding if it were made on a comparative basis. For this reason an indigenous group and an immigrant group were chosen, giving the study considerable cultural variation. As well as union membership, it was important that the groups have some form of community organization so that the relations, if any, between union and community could be more readily observed. On the basis of these criteria, the groups chosen were the Indians of the Squamish Band living in North Vancouver and the Italian immigrants resident in the Queensborough district of New Westminster.

The North Vancouver Squamish: This group bears considerable resemblance to the populations of "underdeveloped" countries in that it has been undergoing a transformation from a tribal culture to a sub-culture of a modern industrial society for the best part of a century. The group lives on two reserves in North Vancouver which for most purposes are incorporated into the surrounding White residential and industrial areas. Most of these Indians are nominal Catholics. Many of the children attend integrated schools, and change has taken place in countless other ways. Interaction with the surrounding White society is considerable although varied in scope and intensity among groups and individuals on the reserve. Still, through cultural factors and historical

peculiarities reflected in the Indian Act, the group remains a distinct entity. The majority of the steady workers are longshoremen and most are also members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Other band members are also members of the International Woodworkers of America, the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, or other unions.

The Queensborough Italians: Like the North Vancouver Squamish this group has undergone considerable social change. But while the change among the Indians was brought about largely by the arrival of White immigrants, the change for the Italians was induced by their departure from their homeland. The Queensborough Italians are largely Catholic and live in the same type of area as do the North Vancouver Squamish. Such similarities reduce the number of variables between the two groups, easing somewhat the problem of isolating significant differences and facilitating comparative analysis. While interacting with the society surrounding them in Queensborough, the Italians, through common cultural background, common language, and conscious organization, maintain a distinct community. The men, who make up the largest single ethnic group in some of the nearby mills, belong to the International Woodworkers of America. A few members of the community hold other jobs, or are independent tradesmen or shop-owners.

In short, both groups are ethnically and geographically isolated; their position in the larger society is essentially working-class, and this position exposes them to trade unionism.

Methods

The fieldwork might be considered as having fallen into three categories:

(1) Observation and Participation: For the Indians this included attendance at council and band meetings, a survey of housing and other conditions on the reserves, observation at beer parlors and other recreational activities, attendance at union activities and observation at the union hiring hall.

For the Italians, opportunities for observation were less than for the Indians. However, I was able to attend the annual banquet of the Italian Mutual Aid Society, be present at weekend bocce gatherings and certain informal house gatherings, and to survey the Queensborough area. Union meetings, at least of the local, were not useful as far as the Italians were concerned because most do not attend them.

Because of the general nature of the urban community, there are few occasions when the community as a whole, or even a large segment of it, can be observed in action. During the day the men are absent at their jobs, the community is

comparatively deserted; at night, the men are scattered at their various recreations or inside their homes. Even were it possible to have had some form of continuing observation and participation, the nature of the subject under study is such that the method is only of limited value. Consequently the bulk of the fieldwork was dependent on interviews.

(2) Intensive interviews: These interviews took place with the men in both communities who were in a position to have knowledge of particular relevance to the study. These included band members who were also union officials, Squamish Band councillors, Italian Mutual Aid Society executive members and high-ranking officials of both unions. The men interviewed in this intensive manner were often those who, in addition to their knowledge of the central subject matter of the study, possessed a fairly clear understanding of the general structure of their communities, attitudes and events. Therefore interviews with such informants required repeated visits throughout the summer both for general background information and for further data on new facets of the study that emerged as the fieldwork progressed. In cases where the generalizations about events, attitudes or habits, expressed in these interviews were felt to be central to the study, steps were taken to check their validity by random interviewing and observation. The information from these interviews often provided the stimulus for specific questions asked in the random interviews.

(3) Random interviews: These interviews were designed to get a range or pattern of attitudes on a variety of subjects such as unions and work preferences. As mentioned above, the interviews provided numerical depth and acted as a check on observations made in the intensive interviews. For a number of reasons, primarily connected with establishing rapport with the informants, formal questionnaires, either written or verbally administered, were not felt to be useful and were not employed. An informal interview schedule was kept in mind at all times and was presented in various forms depending upon the individual interviewed and the circumstances under which the interview took place. In addition to basic questions about union activity and attitudes towards the union, specific personal information was sought and further exploration devoted to areas of personal variation within categories such as unionists and councillors. Where the situation permitted, notes were made during the interviews, while they were made soon after if it was felt that the interview would be interrupted by the note-taking.

Because of certain difficulties which will be pointed out later the number of individuals interviewed represented a low return in proportion to the number of hours devoted to arranging and carrying out interviews. Among the Squamish I talked to about thirty-five persons with varying degrees of time and intensity; among the Italians, about twenty. The groups themselves, however, are relatively small.

The study was not intended to be, nor makes no claim to being, statistical. The main purpose of the interviews was to isolate ranges of attitudes or habits for the purpose of abstracting patterns which could be used to analyse the two situations. For the Italians, the consistency of the interviews combined with other information leads me to be relatively satisfied as to the validity of the findings. Much the same is true for the Indian unionists. But the reserve as a whole is, for a number of reasons, a more complex situation and the range of attitudes and values of the non-unionized reserve members, which are useful for comparative purposes, have been less satisfactorily established.

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As well as the fieldwork mentioned above, written sources have been consulted which pertain directly to either group. These include theses, ethnographies, and certain statistics. In the case of the Squamish Band it would be invaluable if the growth of unionism and its effects on individuals and the band could be traced in considerable historical detail. However a survey of government reports, old newspapers, and other documents yielded little information of value. Records or minutes of the early waterfront unions might also provide information of utility for the study. If such documentation exists, which appears doubtful, it would call for an independent study which was not within the

scope of the present work. Such historical information as is contained in the study was constructed from scattered and usually sketchy references filled in with data provided by informants.

* * *

Certain difficulties were inherent in such a study. It was not meant to be a community study but it became increasingly evident that considerable understanding of the communities was a very important aspect. This gave rise to complications caused by the highly variable interaction of urban communities with the surrounding society. As mentioned earlier, there was a lack of community activity which made observation difficult and relatively ineffective. There were difficulties in arranging interviews on a regular basis. Another problem was how to arrange interviews. The telephone was of limited use, especially when trying to introduce oneself and explain the information sought to Italians whose English was limited. Yet without a prior arrangement, a trip might be wasted. Similar problems were even encountered merely arriving unintroduced at the door of a prospective informant's house. The most effective way was to be introduced by another member of the group but this was not always possible. During the earlier part of the summer, I divided my attention between the two groups. Later, to overcome some of the problems mentioned above and to absorb myself with the group as much

possible, I spent a full month with each group in turn, going to the particular area almost daily and talking to whoever was available. It would have been more satisfactory to spend the period living full-time with the groups but at the time this was financially impossible.

Certain theoretical problems should also be mentioned briefly. Most of the effects of unionism, for example, are not directly observable, if they exist at all, and this leaves the study with a dearth of concrete data. Further, the role of the union and the role of the workplace are often inseparable. Consequently there are difficulties as to what to classify within the realm of work activity and what to classify within the realm of union activity.

Finally there is the problem associated with most acculturation studies of this type; that is how to describe or isolate the particular sub-culture of the surrounding society (or possibly, numerous sub-cultures) to which the groups or individuals are becoming acculturated. For example, there is an obvious danger in saying that Indian union members have the same range of values and habits as their fellow union members without data on what values and habits are possessed by the other unionists. This problem can be overcome in part by the knowledge that the group is being acculturated away from its traditional culture. But it does not deal with the problem of isolating influences.

Definitions

Acculturation is a term which has been put to a great many ambiguous uses.[12] In this study the term is used to describe the process of acquiring the culture of the larger society (i.e. Canadian society) or some sub-culture of it (e.g. working class). Assimilation is an end point in the process involving the loss of group or cultural identity. Integration is a similar word although not necessarily implying the loss of cultural identity. Rather it indicates social, political or economic union with some section of the larger society and here also implies acceptance on the part of the larger society.[13]

Adaptation and adjustment are terms applying to the alteration in institutions or in habits and actions of individuals. Unless otherwise specified these terms imply a change toward successful meeting of new conditions.

Commitment as a concept has been dealt with fully by Moore and Feldman.[14] Here it is sufficient to say that it

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12 Perhaps the best review of these uses is Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," in Kroeber, A. L., Anthropology Today, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 621-641.

13 Many of the definitions are modified from H. B. Hawthorn, C. S. Belshaw, and S. Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1958, p. 13.

14 W. E. Moore and A. S. Feldman, Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1960, Chap. 1.

involves the "performance and acceptance of the behaviors appropriate to the industrial way of life. The concept is thus concerned with overt action and with norms. The fully committed worker, in other words, has internalized the norms of the new productive organization and social system."[15] Moore and Feldman point out that the phrase "appropriate to an industrial way of life" includes more than the production of goods and services which acquire economic value by moving through the market. For example, "adjustment to new residential patterns, ways of assigning status, political orientations, and social goals are critically involved."[16]

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15 Ibid, p. 1.

16 Ibid., p. 2.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH VANCOUVER SQUAMISH

The Reserves

In 1962 the population of the Squamish Band, a Coast Salish group, reached 920.[1] Thus the band's size has almost tripled since 1896-97 when the agency superintendent reported it as 347.[2] The band owns twenty-eight reserves scattered in North Vancouver, near Squamish, and in the Howe Sound area. Although the reserves with the largest acreage are located near Squamish, the majority of the band's population lives on two reserves in North Vancouver. These are the Mission (Number One) Reserve and the Capilano (Number Five) Reserve. It was among the occupants of these reserves that fieldwork was conducted.

Mission Reserve, which received its name from the mission established there by the Order of Oblates of Mary Immaculate, is only thirty-eight acres in area and yet contains the largest segment of the Squamish Band population. According to an Indian Affairs Branch census of 1961, there were 378 persons living on the reserve and the figure would be somewhat

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1 Indian Affairs Branch figures.

2 Canada, Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, 1896-97, p. 68.

higher today. The reserve is on the North Shore of Burrard Inlet, directly facing the main port facilities of the Vancouver harbor. Its waterfront boundary is flanked by sawmills, wharves and drydocks, while on its other three sides it is enclosed by White working class houses, apartment buildings and commercial enterprises. Through the reserve passes the Pacific Great Eastern Railway and a main traffic artery leading to the center of the City of North Vancouver, less than a mile away.

One-and-a-half miles west of Mission Reserve is Capilano Reserve, 293.5 acres in area. This reserve has the second largest Squamish population which was, according to the 1961 figures, 225 persons. The Capilano Reserve is bounded in the south by Burrard Inlet and in the north by an arterial road. Sparsely populated in comparison to Mission Reserve, its residential areas in part adjoin a White middle-class residential district. In addition, much of the reserve is rented to large commercial enterprises and industries, such as the Park Royal shopping center. Located within an industrial area, and adjacent to the harbor, the land is of extremely high value.

Because of their location and size, the two reserves can be considered for many purposes, as a mere extension of the urban, suburban and industrial areas by which they are surrounded. Their water and electricity supply, fire and police services are provided by contract with the adjacent

municipalities. The geographical position of these reserves has made the residents urban dwellers although adjustment to this situation is not yet complete.

The population of these two reserves, then, is today somewhat over 670, probably close to 700, while the rest of the band's members live on the reserves near Squamish or off the reserve. The following table, based on 1961 figures, illustrates the age and sex distribution of the population of the two reserves.

TABLE I

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF SQUAMISH NORTH SHORE RESERVES[3]

	Under 16	16-20	21-65	Over 65
Male	149	36	122	8
Female	152	21	102	11

Economic Activity

Subsistence economic activity, within the confines of the reserves, is virtually impossible. Their urban location, their sparse resources, and their high population combine to create a situation whereby a living must be made outside the

3 Indian Affairs Branch Census, 1961.

reserve. In earlier days, Capilano was a fishing station but the salmon population of the stream has diminished to the point of uselessness in terms of food supply. In addition, most of the band members who originally lived on the larger reserves near Squamish, where some degree of self-sustenance was possible, have migrated to the urban reserves in North Vancouver. They did this because they claimed they could not "make a living" in the Squamish area. This claim, in itself, might be considered an index of acculturation because a "living" in the terms of the migrants was probably based on post-contact standards with newly-created needs and desires. In any event, the situation on the two reserves today is such that the inhabitants are intimately involved with the cash economy of the society around them, and their economic activity is primarily as wage-labor in various relatively unskilled jobs.

The work force of the North Shore reserves is very heavily concentrated in three fields: longshoring, millwork and general labor. This concentration can be seen in the occupational survey shown in Table II.

Table II is not exhaustive; it does not, for example, include male workers under the age of 21. However it provides a fairly accurate occupational cross-section which would not be significantly altered by the inclusion of the perhaps thirty members of the work force who have been missed in the survey.

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONAL SURVEY OF SQUAMISH MALES[4]

Occupation	Mission Reserve	Capilano Reserve	Total
Longshoremen	21	12	33
Laborers	20	11	31
Millworkers	16	4	20
Retired	7	5	12
Fishermen	2	3	5
Unemployed	1	4	5
Shipyard Workers	3	0	3
Longshoring Foremen	0	2	2
Loggers.	0	2	2
Seamen	1	0	1
Painters	1	0	1
Caretakers	1	0	1
Business Agents	1	0	1
Bakers	1	0	1
Cannery Workers	0	1	1
Total	75	44	119

Another point must be made about Table II. A large number classed themselves as laborers while a very small number

4 Based on field data and information from voters' lists.

classed themselves as unemployed. The labor category would include a number of men who hold steady employment, for example, at a cement plant located on land leased from the band. Yet a large proportion, probably half, of the men who class themselves as laborers would work only intermittently at a variety of unskilled jobs, and for much of the year might be classed as unemployed.

Including the retired and unemployed, only fifteen occupational categories appear in the survey. By way of comparison, the number of occupational categories among the slightly larger number of Whites who shared an electoral poll with the residents of Capilano Reserve was approximately forty. Many of these were white-collar occupations. Some band members, such as an X-ray technician and a male nurse, who would increase the occupational diversity of the reserves somewhat, are living away from the reserves.

Most women gave their occupation as housewives, although some work as secretaries and domestic help. In addition, about twenty of the housewives work in the canneries during the fishing season and often earn a significant part of the family income. Berry picking in Washington provides casual labor for thirty to forty band members, consisting mainly of widows and teenage boys and girls.

A number of interesting points emerge from the survey:

(1) Longshoring is the most important single source of employment for the males of the band, accounting for one-third

of the jobs held by the men of the two reserves. Consequently, the main economic pursuit is regulated by a powerful international union.

(2) Almost all the occupational categories of the band are subject to varying degrees of union involvement and control. This includes the women's cannery work during which time they are members of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union.

(3) Perhaps more important is the fact that virtually all sources of steady employment, notably longshoring and millwork, are highly unionized. In short, for the steadily employed North Shore Indian, trade unionism forms an institutionalized segment of his working life.

The confinement of the work force mainly to a number of unskilled laboring jobs is in part determined by external factors such as lack of education or possibly racial discrimination in certain jobs. However it also appears to be determined largely by conscious preference on the part of the band members; that is, for outdoor work and sometimes for seasonal or cyclical work. This preference may be in part a carry-over from pre-industrial work conditions when the North Coast Indians interspersed periods of intense outdoor seasonal activity with long periods of social activity.

Another source of revenue for some band members is relief. Last year the band had a relief expenditure of some $30,000, which went partly to the aged, widows and unmarried

mothers and disabled men. In addition, there are a number of able-bodied men who are on more or less continual relief as well as a number of married teenagers. Whether the teenagers' work patterns are similar to those of a comparable group of non-Indian teenagers is difficult to estimate. The preferences mentioned above possibly play a part here too. In any event when Eaton's Stores, which leases part of Capilano Reserve, offered to interview younger band members regarding job possibilities, little interest was expressed. This group usually attends the annual berry harvest in Washington.

There is only one business enterprise operated by a band member. That is a souvenir and refreshment stand and tent camp run by a longshoring foreman in his off-work hours. Interest in business projects is occasionally expressed by other men.

Formal Institutions

The Squamish Band Council began in 1916 when sixteen small but closely related Salish bands amalgamated to form the Squamish Band.[5] At that time the sixteen men recognized as chiefs of the various bands under the old Indian Act became the first councillors. For some years, in the event of a

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5 The fullest treatment of the council's development is provided by B. L. Verma, The Squamish: A Study of Changing Political Organization, unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1954.

chief's death, a successor was appointed on a hereditary basis. When the Indian Act was revised in 1951 the band council remained as one "chosen by the custom of the band" rather than a council elected by the procedure laid down in section 73 of the Act.[6] However the administration still treats the council in much the same way as those chosen under section 73. Today the council still consists of sixteen men and a secretary although any vacancies are now filled by election, supposedly for life. Only three hereditary chiefs remain on the council. All council positions are unpaid.

Technically, the council has considerable jurisdiction. Among other things it has power to: Admit individuals to or expel them from band membership; maintain roads, bridges, and ditches; construct, maintain and allot buildings; allot land to members; authorize expenditure of capital and revenue monies; adjust sale, lease or lending contracts; make by-laws for defined purposes of local government; and raise money by by-law. In fact, the council's authority is limited by the fact that its decisions still require the approval of the federal government acting through the Indian Affairs Branch. Often the council is merely asked to approve a decision taken by the branch. However, the council dealt with a budget of $82,000 in 1962 and allocated revenue of a similar amount. The band's capital fund is currently $191,000.

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6 Further analysis of the two types of council is presented in H. B. Hawthorn, C. S. Belshaw, and S. Jamieson, op. cit. pp. 445-49.

St. Paul's Church was originally built on Mission Reserve in 1866 and has been replaced and expanded since that time. Father Paul Darieu, who worked among the Squamish for some thirty years until his death in 1899, is reported to have exerted a great deal of influence on Squamish life, appointing watchmen to police his parish and even arranging marriages. After Bishop Darieu's death the control of the priests apparently lessened and from 1912 to 1921 there was no resident priest on the reserve. Father Bellot recalls his taking over the parish in 1921.

> . . . the task proved to be a very ungrateful and arduous one. The authority of the chiefs challenged and almost gone, the new generation free and insubordinate, the bad example of their surroundings, the admission among them of mixed blood, and the influence of a few renegades, all lessened the influence of the priest and rendered his work strenuous.7

It is interesting to note that this period of decline in the influence of the priests was, as will be seen in more detail later, a period of growth in the influence of trade unionism among the Squamish. In any event, today most of the reserve members are nominal Catholics, although attendance at mass is very low, averaging about thirty-five adults a week. At one time the church was prominent in organizing sports and other activities but at the moment these appear to be handled by other institutions. For some years, a Shaker Church also

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7 E. C. Bellot, unpublished manuscript, undated, cited in Verma, B. L., op. cit., pp. 112-13.

had a small number of adherents on the reserves but with the death of its last member in recent years, the church now appears to be defunct.

There are two schools which the children of the reserves attend. One is the St. Paul's Indian School, that was founded on the reserve in 1898. It acts as a day school for most of the younger children of the reserves as well as a boarding school for certain out-of-town Indian children or children from broken homes. In addition, there is the integrated St. Thomas Aquinas High School which Catholic children from the reserves and the surrounding White districts attend. Until this school was opened, according to informants, Indians who wished their children to attend high school had to pay to send them to the North Vancouver public high schools.

The changing nature of Squamish life is such that more traditional methods of social control no longer apply. Most formal institutions of social control are outside the reserve. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police make nightly patrols of the reserve and the residents of the reserve are liable to be tried before the local police or stipendiary magistrates for various offences. The varying degrees of acculturation and differing sets of values which have developed make a system of social control based on adherence to a common culture untenable.

Community Activity

Today there are almost no activities in which there

is participation of most of the population at any one time. The nature of employment and the type and degree of contact with the surrounding White areas, combined with the general nature of urban living, leads more to diversity and fragmentation of the activities of the Indian community rather than cohesion. There are but a few occasions in which a sizeable portion of the population participates.

One occasion is the annual weekend fair called, by its organizers, a "potlatch." It consists of a mixture of White and Indian festive practices, carnival rides and some Indian dancing. Many Indians wear costumes, mostly of the Plains Indian type. Food is sold; hot dogs and soda pop and even barbecued salmon. Men of several reserves in the area compete in canoe races, and a beauty queen is chosen. Many Whites attend this carnival. Also Salish Indians from Vancouver Island and Washington participate in the canoe races and, to an extent, these events may maintain former inter-village ties.

For a fairly sizeable segment of the reserves, the annual berry harvest in Washington is certainly a group activity and in a sense could be considered a community activity. As mentioned earlier, those who go are mainly widows, teenagers, some married women and unemployed men. For some, berry-picking undoubtedly adds a fair amount to the annual income; but for most the harvest is more of an excursion in which they probably no more than break even financially.

It provides an annual opportunity for the older people to visit friends and relatives, and for the young, a chance for excitement and sexual adventure. A considerable portion of marriages, both into and out of the band, result from meetings at the harvest. The attitude of most participants would probably be summed up by the statement of one teenager: "It's good to get away."

In theory, the adults of the band are supposed to meet once a year to vote approval or rejection of certain matters of community interest. Such matters might include authorizing the council to proceed with negotiations for rental of certain areas of the reserves; admittance of new members to the band; or election of new councillors. In practice, a quorum (one-half the adult population) is rarely achieved despite the fact that the annual distribution normally takes place at the same time. The band meeting will be further dealt with later.

Finally there are a number of organizations within the community which have only a limited participation by any segment of the community. Usually such organizations are the inspirations of single individuals or, at most, a few individuals and the relative activity or inactivity of these organizations is dependent on the particular individuals. Such organizations have included, at various times, a Ladies Goodwill Club, an orchestra and various athletic organizations.

Group Acculturation

The Squamish, as a group, have been exposed to a great number of acculturative influences for more than seven decades. Among such influences are cash employment, education, religion, residential proximity to Whites, and military service. At a certain broad level, a general state of acculturation can be discerned for the whole band. This state can be seen in:

(1) Clothing: All band members wear Western clothing, many the latest styles for their class or age-group. Only one or two old people wear clothing which appears unusual in Canadian society; for example, peasant-type shawls or "tasteless" gaudy male shirts.

(2) Food: M. E. Spiro has suggested that culinary habits are the most resistant to change.[8] Be that as it may, Squamish diet, eating habits and methods of food preparation are today indistinguishable from those of the surrounding society. Food is generally bought at local department stores. Fish has disappeared as a staple food and some older band members complain that the younger Squamish housewives "don't even know how to cook a salmon."

(3) Language: Virtually all band members speak English as their everyday tongue. An interpreter is still sometimes utilized at band meetings to translate for older

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8 Melford E. Spiro, "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups," American Anthropologist, vol. 57, 1955, p. 1249.

people but when this happens comments such as "What the hell is he talking about" are often heard from younger people. One informant told me that only seven men in the forty-and-under age group still knew the Squamish dialect. Children on the rare occasions that their parents use the dialect make jokes about them "speaking Chinese."

(4) Indian names: Some members of the reserve still possess Indian names, although little stress is put on them except by a few old people. Passing on of the names seems to be dying out. Louis Miranda recalls how he gave his Indian name to his son some years ago at a ceremony at Musqueam reserve and "he took it to please me. But it means nothing to him and he doesn't use it."

(5) Religion and Traditional Ceremonies: It was pointed out earlier that most of the reserve members are now nominally Catholic. Some of the older people, such as Chief Mathias Joe, were once initiated as spirit dancers and probably still believe in its power. Today the only dancing they do is as a tourist attraction at various occasions. Some middle-aged men make analytical comments about the old dancing. "I don't know what happened but it really seemed to take hold of them," or "It seems to have no place in modern society. You might say it was barbaric but it was no more foolish than modern dancing." Apparently no other traditional ceremonies are carried out on the Squamish reserves today. One highly acculturated longshoreman, who witnessed a potlatch as a boy

of ten, said: "It was a way of sort of keeping up with the Joneses. It was pretty good entertainment on the long winter nights."[9] Most young people on the reserve have only the vaguest knowledge about traditional ceremonies. The Squamish have not taken part in the resurgence of spirit dancing among the Coast Salish.

(6) Housing: All houses on the reserve are of the Western type although the style, quality and maintenance varies widely. A program to improve housing on the reserve has been in operation for a number of years. More will be said later in regard to housing as a measure of acculturation.

(7) Other Material Goods: Such objects as cars, television sets, radios and other appliances are in general use throughout the reserves and by most Squamish are considered necessities.

(8) Family Size: The size of the nuclear families on the reserves is generally quite large, most couples having between four and ten children. It is dubious whether to class this an index of acculturation to Catholic values, to working class family patterns; or rather as a continuation of traditional values.

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9 For analysis of Salish potlatch see Wayne Suttles, "Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish," American Anthropologist, vol. 62, no. 2, 1960, pp. 296-305.

Personal Acculturation

The broad range of acculturative phenomena outlined above applies with comparatively little variation to the whole Squamish group. However the range of individual or personal variability and differentiation in acculturation is much greater in regard to such phenomena as: attitudes to work and steady employment, antagonism to Whites, drinking habits, entrepreneurial interest, recreational activity, political activity, and degree and type of participation in the larger society.

The possible relationship between work and union activity and acculturation can be postulated on the basis of an examination of the patterns of variation in regard to such phenomena. These variations will be dealt with in a later chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

History of Vancouver Waterfront Unionism

Union activity on the Vancouver waterfront has a long and often troubled past dating back to the 1880s. It is a history of strength and weakness in which unions rose, fell and were replaced by other unions; a history sometimes marked by violent strikes and lock-outs, sometimes by inter-union rivalry. Yet unionism gradually accumulated a series of hard-won benefits for the longshoremen and has arrived at a position of exceptional strength on the waterfront today. At this point no great detail need be provided of this history for it will be dealt with, as it affected and involved the Squamish Band, in some depth later. Here it is sufficient to point out that in 1942 the deepsea longshoremen of Vancouver united in one organization, affiliated with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and ILWU Local 501, emerged as the sole bargaining agent for deepsea waterfront labor of the port.

Aside from obtaining better wages and working conditions, one of the prime policies and effects of the increasingly-stronger waterfront unions was the gradual but

continual decasualization of the industry. This process has reached its peak in the present union with its union hiring hall agreement in which the local union decides who will be hired. One postulate of this thesis is that, while changing the casual nature of the industry, the union in all its aspects has increasingly committed and adapted some of the Squamish to the modern industrial situation.

Structure of the Union

Affiliated with the international office at San Francisco, the local is administered by a paid executive elected annually from the membership. Ten non-paid executive members are also elected to serve on various committees.

The officials of the local bargain collectively with the employers' association, the B. C. Shipping Federation, for wages and fringe benefits. Representatives of the international office usually assist the local officials in their negotiations.

Local 501 is the parent body for smaller ILWU locals in the port representing other waterfront workers.

Economic Aspects of the Union

(1) Control of access to waterfront employment: All cargo handlers for deepsea ships are hired through the union's

hiring hall on Dunlevy Street.[1] Through an elaborate dispatching system the available union men get first choice for work, the senior non-union men the next choice and then the men on the lower seniority boards. Basic pay is $2.94 an hour.

(2) Membership: It is a policy of the union to attempt to ensure full employment for its members. Consequently the number of working union members is held at 600 (although the total including sick and disabled members is 800). About thirty new members are admitted to the union each year to make up for retirements and deaths.

Because of the union-controlled hiring procedure, the advantages of union membership are obvious. New members are admitted to the union on the basis of selection by the membership and grievance committee. Criteria used for selection include: seniority, consistency and dependability in showing up for work opportunities, competency, and support of the union. At the present time it would take approximately three years of steady waterfront work to obtain membership in the union. The system, described by union officials as "the fairest we can get," has not always been applied in the same way, although seniority has been recognized as a criteria of membership for a number of years. In earlier times membership was apparently determined in part by "who you knew."

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1 With some qualifications the system is essentially that described by C. P. Larrowe, Shape-Up and Hiring Hall, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955.

Sometimes preference was given in membership to longshoremen's sons which may partially account for the Squamish's continuing membership in the industry.

(3) Rating: The union provides formal recognition of job differentiation. A longshoreman may have a rating for a number of different jobs such as winch driver or hatch tender in addition to stevedoring so that the particular job he may perform on any given day varies with the demand. The union rates the men for the various jobs although a winch driver's rating is worked out in conjunction with management. Most of the jobs carry no pay differential. Roughly half the union men work in permanent gangs and perform the same jobs daily. In the gangs an attempt is made to give the older or injured men the easier jobs such as handling the slings, a form of age-graded division of labor. Dock work is also given to the older union men.

(4) Benefits other than wages include a pension at sixty-five ($3.30 a week for every year of service); MSA; sick benefit payments ($40 a week up to twenty-six weeks) and two weeks of paid holidays.

Union Activity

Members of the local are expected to attend the nine monthly meetings held each year and are fined $1 for missing the first two meetings and $5 for the third consecutive meeting.

The local generally has a very high turnout, forty to fifty per cent, at the meetings. Fines are also levied on gang members who did not come to work if they failed to notify the dispatcher in time, for drinking on the job, and for working double shifts. Part of a longshoreman's union duties are, of course, undertaking picket action in the case of a strike and failure to do so can result in expulsion. The local has no officials, such as shop stewards, ranking lower than the elected officials mentioned earlier.

Non-economic Aspects of the ILWU

(1) Formal social activities: The union has dances, a baseball team, a golf tournament and other social activities. At one time the longshoremen's picnic on Bowen Island was the main social activity of the year but it has been cancelled in recent years. In addition the local has a pensioners' club and a ladies' auxiliary.

(2) Informal social aspects: The union hiring hall, in itself, provides considerable social activity.[2] Here casuals and spareboard men wait for work opportunities while they are "in the barn (off work temporarily)." In the hall there is

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2 The lack of a decent hiring hall was a source of discontent among Manchester longshoremen, according to a study by Liverpool University, Department of Social Science, The Dock Worker, Liverpool University Press, 1956.

the camaraderie of male society. Pensioners often return to the hall to talk of old times and play cards. Groups play gin rummy and poker, or hold bull sessions. It appears likely that the social aspects of the hall play a considerable part in the indoctrination of young longshoremen. The negative aspect of the hall was pointed out by the local's business agent.

> It's the worst place in the world for a kid when things are slow. When it's busy, longshoring is the best job there is. But when it's slow I try and shoo the kids away from here. There's nothing to do but play cards or go to the beer parlor or go to the beach--and you can't go to the beach very often. It's not good for the kids to sit around waiting all the time. It's easy to get drinking if they're inclined that way.

Conclusion

The local could be viewed as a social system with methods of social control which tend to orient the individual to the standards and values of industrial society which it then maintains. There are formal and informal inducements for positive behavior such as economic security with considerable freedom, and work with friends. Fines and expulsion are the negative sanctions of the union.

Because of the relatively small membership and the nature of longshoremen's work wherein most union members would probably work together at one time or another, and also the factors mentioned above, the local tends to have a high degree of cohesion.

CHAPTER IV

THE SQUAMISH IN WATERFRONT UNIONISM

History of the Band in Union Activity

Time has obscured the exact beginnings of Squamish involvement with longshoring but it appears that by the early 1870s the occupation was already assuming considerable economic importance to the band. For example, Indian superintendent James Lenihan reported in 1878 that of a total annual cash income of $154,162 for the Indians of the Fraser Superintendency, $38,000 was earned in the "sawmills and lumbershanties, loading ships and as deck hands on steamers (my emphasis)."[1] Much of such monies undoubtedly went to Squamish men who had settled at the Mission Reserve or around the early sawmills in the Vancouver area such as Moodyville or Hastings Sawmill.

According to older informants, there was a strict division of labor on the waterfront which carried over into the Twentieth Century; the Indians handled lumber and timbers while the Whites handled general cargo. The exact reason for the division is difficult to determine, although it was probably due mainly to the fact that lumber-handling was the

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1 Canada, Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, 1878, p. 68.

hardest and most dangerous of all longshore work. Evidently a few Whites also loaded lumber but apparently no Indians were used to handle general cargo, possibly because White shippers feared the Indians might pilfer cargo.

In any event many Squamish members fitted easily into the new pursuit. As one retired longshoreman put it: "That (longshoring) is one thing the Indian took to right off. They couldn't read or write but they could measure those timbers by eye and fit them into the ships better than the White Man." Many Indian longshoremen, particularly the older ones, still manifest the belief that the Indian is greatly superior to the White in longshoring skill and many tales are told of how the Indians had to take over difficult operations when the Whites could not handle them. (This attitude probably has a basis in fact, in that longshoring has often attracted the least competent members of White society, while attracting the most capable members of Squamish society.)

The number of ships which loaded in Burrard Inlet in these early days was, of course, very low. In 1866, for example, only five ships sailed from the harbor carrying lumber.[2] However, each piece of lumber had to be laboriously fitted into the hold by hand, and consequently it took perhaps a month to load a single ship. Combined with work in the

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2 F. W. Howay, "Early Shipping in Burrard Inlet," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, vol. 1, 1937, pp. 1-20.

sawmills, certain Indians worked a considerable part of the year. As lumber exports increased, the number of Indians employed casually apparently also increased, providing a source of cash without interfering with the traditional "work rhythm."[3] Many of the dominant families on the reserves today received their present surnames as a result of the intermarriage which took place in the contact of the sawmill areas.

Like the initial involvement of the Indians in longshoring, the early history of waterfront unionism in the Vancouver area is plagued by lack of documentation, and can only be pieced together by occasional written references and the recollections of informants. In 1888, a longshoring union was begun in Vancouver, associated with the Knights of Labor, an early labor federation.[4] In 1896, this union reformed into the independent Stevedores Union with eighty members and after emerging victorious in one strike was smashed in another in 1903. No information is available on whether the Squamish were involved in these first attempts or not. But in 1906, the Lumber Handlers Union, No. 526 of the Industrial Workers of the World, began, composed largely of Indians. Meetings

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3 See Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 89.

4 Much of the information on early unions is from William Bennett, Builders of British Columbia, Vancouver, Broadway Printers, 1937. Despite its partisan bias, the book appears to provide a factual historical framework.

were held in a hall on the reserve.[5] In 1912 Local 38-52 of the International Longshoremen's Association, with its headquarters on the Atlantic seaboard was formed in Vancouver.[6] The Indians became involved with it. Louis Miranda recalls:

> The Indians used to handle nothing but lumber and the Whites, the general cargo. Sometimes they'd be working in the next hatch to each other and they'd get talking. That's how some Indians learned English and that kind of talk led up to the formation of the ILA.

Hence on July 12, 1913, a second ILA charter was issued to form Local 38-57, apparently composed mainly of lumber-handling Indians. The local's first president was Squamish Band member William Nahanee. The executive also had some White members over the next few years although Ed Nahanee, son of the first president and present business agent for the Native Brotherhood of B. C., was vice-president of the local in 1915. For some reason the two ILA locals were amalgamated in 1916, and successfully struck for higher wages the following year.

During the boom of the First World War two ILA auxiliary locals were formed and then disbanded in 1919 with the advent of an independent waterfront union. The Squamish longshoremen continued as members of the original ILA local

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5 According to Hal Griffen, "Natives Played Important Part in Early Labor Struggles," The Fisherman, Vancouver, December 14, 1962, p. 16.

6 From 1911 on, union formations and disbandments are noted in the Canada, Department of Labour, Annual Report on Labour Organization in Canada, Ottawa.

but apparently did not hold executive office, at least those of the president or secretary, in the years up to 1923.

In 1923, the ILA and its affiliated local, the Waterfront Freight Handlers, went on strike for, among other things, a five-cent increase for handling lumber. The Shipping Federation, after acceding to certain demands, refused the lumber handling increase and enlisted strikebreakers from the ranks of the unemployed in Vancouver as well as importing some from Seattle. Although protests continued throughout the last three months of the year, the strike was quickly broken.

"In ten days it was all over," according to Ed Nahanee, "We lost our jobs and everything."

The remnants of the broken ILA, which had its charter officially revoked in 1924, formed into two unions, the Independent Lumber Handlers' Association and the Independent Waterfront Freight Handlers, which attempted to operate in opposition to the newly-formed employer-sponsored union, the Vancouver and District Waterfront Workers' Association ("fink hall," as it was known by the beaten strikers). The Independent Lumber Handlers' Association was reformed and was initially dominated by Indian longshoremen, William Nahanee being its first president while another Squamish Band member, N. Nahu, was secretary. Several other band members served on the executive for brief periods. But most Indian longshoremen failed to keep up their dues, perhaps because the ILHA was

ineffective in regaining employment for them. In any event, the same year many of the former Indian longshoremen left their North Vancouver homes and returned to the reserves near Squamish to exist by hunting and fishing, the only way they felt was open to them.

But in 1935, the Waterfront Workers Association which had started as a company union, launched another strike. The Indians formed a new organization, the North Vancouver Longshoremen's Association, which combined with a newly-formed Longshoremen's Association in Vancouver to break the strike. The NVLA had eighty-two members, fifty-five of them Indians. Its first president was Frank Baker and its secretary, Gus Band, both Squamish men.

Tim Moody, who was active in the NVLA and the present union, for a great number of years, recalls how his father brought him and his elder brother to North Vancouver from Squamish at the time of the strike. After his father had been forced to return to Squamish by the 1923 strike, the family lived by hunting and fishing with a cash income of $4.86 a month in relief from band funds. For other money, the men fished all day from dugout canoes in Howe Sound and attempted to sell the catch to residents of Woodfibre and Britannia Beach. Jobs were hard to come by because "citizens" were given preference. Hence, in 1935, the strike presented itself as the moment of opportunity. During the strike, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were often in attendance at the

reserve to prevent the violence which was associated with most waterfront disputes. The North Vancouver Longshoremen's Association was successful in re-establishing the band solidly in longshoring.

Says Tim Moody:

> Some would call us strikebreakers. But that is a matter of opinion. The men whose jobs we took were those who broke the strike in 1923.
>
> It was a case of need. We found it necessary to retain these positions. My father said that my grandfather had been a longshoreman and we had to hang onto what he had started. It was all we had.

The two new longshoring associations continued for a number of years while the International Longshoremen's Association made a brief reappearance without gaining support of all the longshoremen. Finally in 1942 all the longshoremen's associations amalgamated and a general meeting was held to decide on international affiliation. Tim Moody, then acting-secretary of the NVLA, and Joe Jerome, a Tsimshian Indian who married a Squamish woman and lived in North Vancouver, advocated joining the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Tim Moody told the meeting of the difficulties ILWU president Harry Bridges had overcome in organizing the Pacific Coast and of the benefits the union had achieved in the U. S. ports. The membership voted strongly in favor of joining the ILWU and received a charter as Local 501, the first ILWU local in Canada.

Joe Jerome and Tim Moody were both elected to the new ILWU executive. Jerome was re-elected nine times and Moody, eleven. Both men retired from union executive work of their own will. About 1946, Moody was asked to become a paid organizer for the union but he refused in the belief that an Indian might not be as effective in organizing Whites and also because of the pressures of his activity with the Native Brotherhood of B. C.

Since its advent, Local 501 has gradually attained the strength and position and acquired the benefits described in the preceding chapter.

Present Squamish Longshoring Activity

It was mentioned in Chapter II that longshoring presently provides work for about forty-five band members, including those under twenty-one. Of these, about twenty-five are members of the union while the rest, for one reason or another, have not yet attained that status. Indeed some of the younger men presently trying to build up seniority for entry to the union represent the fourth generation of certain families to follow this occupation.

Squamish longshoremen hold virtually all the positions which come under union classification. An indication of successful adaptation to the industry is the fact that seven of the forty permanent gang bosses are Indian, although not all are from the Squamish band. Gang bosses or hatch tenders are

chosen on the basis of their ability to get along with the men as well as their ability to handle the job, and the mixed ethnic composition of the permanent gangs, despite the fact a member can transfer at any time, displays the satisfaction of the non-Indians with the job the Indian gang bosses perform. In addition, gangs are made up of men who prefer to work together and again the Squamish longshoremen, many of whom are members of such gangs, apparently have been favorably accepted.

Finally, there are two band members who have become foremen for stevedoring companies. In this position, the Indian foreman often has several Whites working under his authority. Many Indian longshoremen feel Indian foremen are better liked because they are more easy-going. "They tell a man what to do and then let him do it," explained one longshoreman. "They are not always staring over his shoulder or running around like a chicken with its head cut off." Whatever the merits of this argument, the companies apparently are satisfied with the work the Indian foremen get from the men. Other Indians have been foremen and at least one band member, until he retired a few years ago, was a superintendent, a position which entails responsibility for the entire operation of loading or unloading a ship.

Effects of Union Policies on the Squamish

Decasualization of the waterfront, it was pointed out in the preceding chapter, has been one of the main policies

of the ILWU, a policy which in large measure has reached its objective. To an extent this was merely an extension of the policies of earlier unions. Rotation of employment, for example, was achieved by an earlier union. A retired longshoreman remembers that the gangs used to go down to the ships en masse and then the bosses picked the gangs they wanted. "I worked with a Scotch gang boss who got picked every time. Then the union (he thinks it was the IIHA at that time) got the system changed. We all realized that it was only fair even though it was pure gravy for our gang before." Seniority apparently played some part in obtaining employment even before the advent of the present union.

However with the control over access to waterfront employment won in closed-shop and union hiring hall agreements, the ILWU placed far greater stress on seniority and regularity for admission to the union and on rotation of employment. Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson state:

> This system created friction between Indians and union for several years. For decades Indians have been employed intermittently at longshoring, leaving when the fishing season began. When the seniority and rotation system was applied by the union, however, Indians lost seniority when they quit and would enter again at the bottom of the list when they returned from fishing . . . . From the hundreds of Indians who used to be employed at longshoring in the course of a year or so, the number has narrowed down to the present seventy-two (i.e. for the entire province).7

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7 Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 162.

In the case of the Squamish it does not appear that the particular union moves mentioned above affected the band's longshoremen to such a great extent. Older informants feel that the number of band members employed in longshoring has remained relatively constant for many years and the membership figures for the North Vancouver Longshoremen's Association of 1935 seem to bear them out. The importance of longshoring in the Squamish view has already been mentioned in regard to the strike in 1935. By the time the ILWU took over, most of the Squamish longshoremen regarded the occupation as their most important economic interest, and many worked full-time at it.

Some longshoremen also went fishing in the summer but after the war the number of Squamish men who did this became less and less. According to these men, union members were allowed leaves of absence without loss of seniority. However in 1953 the union instituted a new policy which, for most Squamish longshoremen, cemented commitment to the occupation. Leaves of absence were limited to ninety days without loss of newly-established pension benefits and seniority rights. At this time only about six Squamish longshoremen still fished in the summer while the others had already dropped out because of diminishing returns from fishing. There was some dissension from these few, but with one exception the men all decided to devote full-time to

longshoring. "It was murder at first," recalls one longshoreman who gave up fishing. "But now we've got no squawks. I wanted to live here in town and it was getting too hard to make any money fishing." In the case of the one exception, the man overstayed his leave, failed to pay his dues, and apparently lost his union privileges. Tim Moody took his case before the executive and the man was reinstated. But the next year he overstayed his leave again and Moody did not feel he could raise the matter again.

Today virtually all the union longshoremen work full-time at the occupation and avoid taking time off except for their two-week holiday. The move of the union which, in a sense, coerced them into full commitment to longshoring probably would have created more resentment but for the Indians' increasing acculturation, their years of close contact with the union, their increasing involvement with urban living and steady employment, and their desire for the pension plan.

Effects of the Squamish on the Union

In the earlier days of waterfront unionism, a concerted effort on the part of the Squamish longshoremen, representing a sizeable portion of the waterfront labor force at that time, could have had considerable influence in shaping union policies or in preventing their application. For

example, the actions of the Indian unionists in the strike of 1935 certainly affected its outcome. Furthermore the efforts of the Indian union leaders who urged the general membership to affiliate with the ILWU in 1942 probably played some part in settling the outcome.

Today the influence of the Indians, as a cultural unit, in union affairs has diminished. The Squamish represent only a small minority of the union membership and even acting as a tightly knit pressure group, they could not prevail in opposition to the majority. More important, however, is that the Indians are now involved with the union as individuals and such influence as they have is on an individual basis. Further, they appear to share the views of their White fellow-unionists.

Union Participation

In speaking of the union participation of a member, Indian or otherwise, we are faced with a multitude of activities, some of which can be labelled as union activity. According to Sayles and Strauss:

> By participation we mean expenditure of time on union affairs. Participation is more than emotional involvement in unionism: it is doing. There are many degrees of doing, ranging in scope from voting in elections to running for office. Attending union meetings, paying dues, reading union newspapers, filing grievances, going on strike, bringing the family to picnics--all these can be classified as forms of union activity.[8]

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8 L. R. Sayles and G. Strauss, The Local Union: Its Place in the Industrial Plant, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953, p. 191.

The ILWU business agent bases his judgement of unionism on attendance at meetings, understanding of the contract, support of strikes as well as other forms of interest and activity. On the basis of such criteria he thinks the Indians are "good unionists."

Squamish attendance at meetings, according to union officials, averages that of other groups. Most Indians do in fact go to all or many of the monthly union meetings. The high attendance at Local 501 meetings has already been pointed out. Unfortunately, it is impossible in the case of either Whites or Indians to determine whether attendance is stimulated by the fines, personal interest, or both. Sayles and Strauss claim that some locals in retail and clothing industries provide fines for failure to attend a minimum of meetings and "when this is enforced, attendance does increase phenomenally."[9] However the compact nature of ILWU local, and the exclusiveness and importance of membership probably also influences attendance.

Regardless of why the majority of members attend the meetings, there are some Indians who occasionally take the floor to speak on such issues as the contract negotiations, admission of new members to the union, or specific working conditions.

In the words of the business agent:

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9 Ibid., p. 172.

> There are 40 or 50 members who do all the work. The rest come to meetings and sit there. Some of them might want to say something but be afraid to. It's the same with the Indians.

There are four or five Squamish longshoremen who are relatively outspoken during the ILWU meetings. If the business agent is right in his estimate of general participation in discussion then the Indians have the same or a slightly higher ratio of speakers in proportion to their numbers than the union as a whole.

Support of strikes has always been strong among the Indians as evidenced by the loss of their jobs in 1923. During the last strike in 1958, all members of the Squamish longshoremen reported faithfully for picket duty. One White longshoreman was expelled from the union for failing to show up on the picket line, but no incident of this kind has happened with the Indians. Individual Indian longshoremen who were interviewed indicated that they realized they had to support the union to maintain conditions that have already been achieved. Although it is only hearsay, one Indian informant told me that some White longshoremen complained about going on strike last time but that no Indians did so. Generally Indian support for strikes can be considered as relatively enthusiastic.

One of the most easily measured criteria for union participation is, of course, the actual holding of an official union position. In discussing the general structure of the union, it was pointed out that there were relatively few

offices in comparison to many unions. Yet some of these positions are paid full-time jobs, others are not. At the moment no Squamish Band longshoremen are members of the Local 501 executive. Although many executive positions are time-consuming there is no lack of men willing to fill them. Still I do not think that it can be argued that there are no Squamish Band members on the executive because they cannot meet the competition for the positions. Considering the favorable disposition of their fellow unionists towards the Indians, an effort by a Squamish longshoreman to be elected would be reasonably sure of success. In fact, there is one member of the executive who is considered an Indian by the rest of the executive and probably most of the membership. Actually he is one of many Portuguese-Indians in North Vancouver, whose mother was a Squamish woman and his father, an old-time longshoreman.

The key point is that the Squamish have made no effort to elect one of their own men since Tim Moody retired a number of years ago. The reasons for this may be interpreted variously. Older longshoremen who were involved in early union struggles blame the younger longshoremen. For example, Tim Moody says:

> Maybe they've had it too soft. They don't have to work as hard as we did. They're willing to let others do it (union work). And there are men who are better qualified, there are some men in there who have university educations.

On the other hand, the situation might be interpreted as indicating that the Indians, who once had active ethnic leadership in the union, have become integrated with and identify with the union as a whole to the point where they no longer think that their ethnic position in the union needs special defence. The data presented so far indicate the Indians participate in the union in an average manner; later it will be pointed out that the Indians are favorably disposed towards the union and to a considerable degree have overcome distrust of the White Man, as such. In respect to the union at least, there apparently is a tendency for the Indians to think in terms of workers against management and ethnic considerations no longer seem to play a part in their choice of union leaders.

Attitudes towards the Union

The attitudes of the Squamish longshoremen towards the union range from friendly apathy to marked enthusiasm. Typical statements were: "We've got no squawks," "It's doing a good job," or "It's strengthened our hand in the whole port."

Informants were asked what they thought was the most important function or benefit of the union. The answers dealt with a range of conditions, never specifically with high wages. Among the examples:

"The main thing about the union, and sometimes the White Man forgets this, is job security."

"You can take a day off whenever you want, you just pick up the telephone."

"It gives us bargaining strength that helps get better conditions and that helps our people and our families."

The range of opinions is much the same as the one depicted by the local's business agent in regard to the membership as a whole. Conditions, including hours, pensions, and welfare, are the main concerns of the average unionist. "If I called a strike vote strictly for higher wages I wouldn't get 15 per cent to back me up," he said, "But if we feel conditions are wrong and can explain it to the boys, we'll get support."

Even in a case where the union acted against a band member, the Indian longshoremen did not appear to be angered or feel there had been discrimination. The member in question lost his job as a water carrier on the docks because he consistently failed to pay his union dues. Other Indians merely commented that "he was given plenty of warning." (Although this appears to be a minor point, it will be seen later that equally trivial cases among the Italians give rise to resentful commentary).

Finally, union officials and Squamish longshoremen are equally emphatic that no discrimination exists in the union. The ILWU has an anti-discrimination clause written into its charter and the distribution of jobs, the large number of Indian gang bosses and the former Indian union

officials certainly provide evidence that there is no discrimination on the part of the union and even on the part of most individual members. (Of course, this statement does not suggest that no longshoremen are racially prejudiced.) Some Indians see the union as an agent in breaking down prejudice. "It works both ways," said one longshoreman. "Once he's in the union there is no more Indian. They're all the same in there." This view is naturally over-simplified and over-idealistic. But, as far as the union is concerned, the statement of another Indian longshoreman is valid: "You keep your nose clean, mind the rules and you're treated like everyone else." Only one hint of discrimination was ever made to me about the union and in fact it was a case where the complaint was that Indian boys were not given preferential treatment in hiring rather than just equal treatment.

The Squamish in Social Aspects of the Union

Squamish longshoremen have taken a considerable part in the formal social activities of the union. Many of the men, for example, attend the union dances; some play in the annual golf tournament and several were active on the union baseball teams of earlier days. (In 1923, an Indian longshoremen's team, called for the union, the Squamish I.L.A., became the first champions of the newly-formed North Shore Baseball League. The union teams also played football and indoor baseball.) In the days when the Longshoremen's Picnic was held

at Bowen Island and Christmas parties were held, White and Indian families intermingled freely. An occasional intermarriage between children of White and Indian longshoremen can be traced to meetings at such functions. In recent years, unions in general seem to have slackened their social functions (e.g. the I. W. A.) and this appears to be happening in the case of the longshoremen's union as well.

The wives of the Indian longshoremen apparently take no part in the activities of the ladies' auxiliary of the ILWU. One reason that is offered is that the distance from the North Shore is too great and another is that looking after their families consumes too much time. There are probably other reasons but the matter was not pursued.

In Chapter III the union hiring hall was suggested as one source of informal social activity in the union. A further suggestion is that the congenial atmosphere of the hall may account in part for the continuing concentration of Indians in longshoring. Many young Indians show considerable timidity and reluctance in job hunting (illustrated by the fact that so much of band relief goes to married teenagers). This situation may stem from unfamiliarity with the means of getting a job as well as real or imagined "discrimination." In any event the means of obtaining work "on the beach" is well known to most men on the reserve. For the young Indian, the hiring hall provides an opportunity to spend time with his friends whether he obtains work or not. At the hall the Indian

boys appear to stick together at first. But they are exposed to and gradually drawn into inter-ethnic social contact. Many Indians can be seen playing cards with other Indians and/or Whites.

Many of the middle-aged longshoremen are not exposed to the social aspects of the hall as frequently because members of permanent gangs do not have to report to the hall for dispatching. However most of them meet while picking up pay cheques at the hall. A few Indian pensioners, like the Whites, make occasional trips to the hall to keep in touch with what is going on.

Inter-ethnic friendships, starting on the job, are maintained and extended in after-work beer parlor sessions. The monthly union meeting reinforces this type of social interaction and provides an opportunity for contact between fellow members who have not met on the job for a time. Particularly those Indians who have served on the union executive view union activity, the monthly meetings and the executive meetings, as definitely extending inter-ethnic social bonds.

The various social aspects of the union appear to strengthen the cohesiveness of the union brought about by its structure, its functions and the general nature of longshoring. For the Indians these aspects might tend to break down ethnic barriers and create a sense of identification with the union or with fellow-unionists.

Other Squamish Union Officials

Many Squamish band members, as was demonstrated in Chapter II, are exposed to other trade unions through their particular jobs. The historical contact with these unions is not as long nor as intimate as that with the longshoring unions, and it is not the intention of this study to examine the other unions in the same amount of detail. However it is valuable to examine the cases of those individuals who have held official positions in these unions.

In 1946, Jim Nahanee became the first Indian ever hired in a certain North Shore mill. Within a year he became a shop steward for the International Woodworkers of America and later became the plant chairman, holding one or other of these positions for ten years. He recalls that the mill was reluctant to hire Indians. "I always did my best for the company," he said. "You just had to work a little bit harder to make up for the bad reputation the Indians had." Yet he was also active in union work because "it just seemed like a real good union to me." Before he left the mill for another job recently, five more band members had been hired.

Percy Paull, is one of three band members employed at Burrard Drydock and consequently is a member of the Boilermakers Union. About a year ago he was elected head shop steward for the labor department which, with the exception of himself, is made up of about fifty Whites. As he put it:

"My fellow workers honored me." In this position he handles the grievances of the men and sits on the labor-management production committee at the drydock. He has little interest in union activity above the plant level because the leaders "are all Communists." He took part in certain Boilermakers Union activities such as a public-speaking course because "I wanted to learn to debate," but quit "because the course was just Communist propaganda." However in a former mill job, as an IWA member, he "never missed a meeting."

Such isolated cases suggest that intense union activity might be connected with a minority position in the work force, which possible declines as security is found. A similar case in regard to the Italians will be presented subsequently.

CHAPTER V

UNIONISM AND THE RESERVES

The Squamish Band Council

Of the seventeen men, including the secretary, who constitute the band council, at least thirteen are now, or have been, union members. This, in itself, is a fact of minor significance when it is considered that sixty-five to seventy per cent of the work force is involved in unionized occupations. The proportion of unionists to non-unionists on the council is only slightly higher than the ratio among the male population of the reserve as a whole.

When the question of actual participation in the deliberations of the council is examined, the data are somewhat more interesting. It should be pointed out here that the council rarely convenes with any more than the barest quorum, that is eight councillors and the secretary. However, this does not necessarily imply that all those who do not attend lack interest in the affairs of the band. The question of why certain councillors accepted the position in the first place is a complex one but will not be dealt with here. Some councillors began their duties with vigor only to withdraw later when family rivalries or other bitter disputes arose at

the council table. Despite such factors, there remains a core of councillors, seven in number, including the secretary who attend the meetings so faithfully that the council is enabled to carry on its business. Of these eight men, seven are now union members, or have been in the past. Four have been union officers at various times, a fifth is an actively participating member of the ILWU. The only man in this group who has not been a union member is the son of a former union official and the brother of another. Conversely, none of those who do not attend council meetings are union officials. Hence there appears to be a relationship between intensive union activity and intensive community activity, the significance of which will be examined in the next section.

It has been generally accepted that the Squamish council is one of the most effective Indian band councils in British Columbia. Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, for example, state:

> In the Squamish Band (North Vancouver) the council is a highly capable organization, although it has not come under section 73. It has an efficient secretary, and a number of sub-committees which deal with specific problems.[1]

As well as handling the annual budget, the sub-committees mentioned above have pushed forward a considerable housing program while other committees deal with relief and

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1 Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 464.

welfare. Most of these councillors possess a fairly high degree of verbal and administrative sophistication in dealing with the procedure and business of the council. It can be seen that union activity, particularly at the executive level, might provide useful training for council work. Statements of the union official-councillors which will be presented later indicate that they feel this is indeed the case.

Specific references to union training occasionally appear in council meetings. At one meeting during the summer the Indian superintendent, who wields considerable, although generally subtle, control over the proceedings of the council, pressed for a decision on a land rental contract. Without giving the council advance notice, he read a ten to fifteen page second draft of a contract, all in legal parlance, involving many thousands of dollars; a proposal for a further land rental; and accompanying letters between the legal departments of the company involved and the Indian Affairs Branch. He then said the contract had been approved by the branch's lawyers and pressed for a favorable vote. One councillor, the Boilermakers' shop steward, complained that the council should be given a written agenda of proposed business in advance as well as pertinent legal documents "the same as we do on our labor-management committee at work." In this way, he claimed, the councillors could be better prepared and seek outside legal advice if necessary. The

superintendent retorted that the branch had the best legal advice in Canada and that if it was not acceptable to the Indians " . . . we'd better get the hell out of the business." The councillor did not put his proposal into a formal motion and it was never brought to a vote. It should be pointed out that the councillor raised the issue in the midst of a heated discussion on the land rental contracts. At that point, most of the other councillors were in favor of approving the contracts and were anxious to avoid any action which might delay an increase in band revenue. Had the proposal been put as a formal motion on a general principle at another time, it might have passed. In addition to legitimate differences of opinion, the council has factional elements which diminish its effectiveness. These factions are alleged to be based on three kin groups but, at least in part, they result from personality clashes. Such factionalism adds a complicating element to the study but it accounts in part for the power of the superintendent.

Authority and Influence

As the preceding section has indicated there are various sources of influence and authority connected with the reserves. The superintendent certainly wields authority and the factions apparently exert some degree of influence on the affairs of the community. It is not the purpose of this study to examine all the varying types of authority and

influence on the reserves. Here it is sufficient to point out that the men elected to the council are probably not the only, or even the most, influential men on the reserves. Certainly no councillor enjoys the unqualified support of the entire community but inasmuch as most councillors appear to have popularity and support among large segments of the community, they could be considered both formal and informal authorities. It remains to examine the relationship between official position in the community and official position in the union. In Chapter I it was hypothesized that union participation developed leadership which was then applied to community activity. The hypothesis implied that union activity awakened the interest in community activity. On the other hand, Slotkin suggested union roles were something of a replacement for community roles.

The duplicate roles of the union official-councillors have already been pointed out. After interviewing all the Squamish union officials it became evident that their interest in union activity was subsequent to, or simultaneous with, their interest and participation in community affairs. Their statements include:

> I think the army smartened me up a lot. It got me over my shyness so that when I got out I wasn't afraid to speak up. When I got back I wanted to do something for the old people on the reserve. And then I got wrapped up in union work and I've been interested in this type of thing ever since.
>
> (Jim Nahanee, band secretary, and former shop steward and plant chairman for the IWA.)

> I was always one for standing up in a crowd and saying my piece. I remember my grandfather saying: 'You are of nobility. Work with your people and do right by them.'
>
> When you're hemmed in by industries and other ethnic groups, most of whom get priority in jobs and rights of citizenship, then you've got to bang away a little harder to make things better.
>
> (Tim Moody, councillor, a former executive member of the ILWU and the Native Brotherhood of B. C.)

Others gave similar, though less succinct, statements regarding the origins of their interests in trade union activity.

On the basis of such data, the hypothesis might be restated thus: Intensive union activity or leadership is often linked with, and perhaps developed from, intensive community activity or leadership. However such union activity might in turn affect the nature and content of the community activity or leadership.

Views of Union Effects

As far as actual work on the band council is concerned, some councillors credit trade union activity with providing knowledge of certain administrative methods such as parliamentary procedures. One councillor claimed that participation in trade union debates taught him to weigh an issue on its merits and that disagreement was not a cause for personal antagonism. (The fear of speaking against another

member does seem to affect the council and some councillors claim they do not participate in the council because they cannot tolerate the "hard feelings" generated by debate. On the other hand, many council debates are of a more personal nature than union debates.) In addition, councillors' work on union executive committees is also seen a helpful experience.

Among the unionized councillors and, to a lesser extent, other unionized band members, there is the feeling that union participation has developed independence from the Indian Affairs Branch or at least provided methods of coping with it. "Those Indians in the Interior run and hide when the agent speaks to them," said Ed Nahanee. "But our people have learned how to negotiate. They know how to hang tough." Or, according to a millworker: "The union showed me the need for unity. Without it, it would be dog eat dog on the job. This is something we're learning here on the reserve too."

Unionism is also often credited with training the Indian, or at least those on the council, to demand a fuller accounting of his affairs from the superintendent. "They've (union officials) got to keep minutes and give full details of negotiations. You go to meetings every month and you see how things work."

Related to this is the belief that participation in union meetings overcomes the fear of speaking out in public and, in terms of the community, speaking up to the Indian

Affairs Branch. "When you first stand up and talk into the mike (at the union meetings) you're a little scared. A few guys will say you're crazy but others will listen and might agree with you. After that you're not afraid to speak up," said one unionist. And another: "The union gave me a backbone. It taught me how to argue. I've learned to listen to the last and beat a man at his own argument."[2]

Finally, several individuals expressed the opinion, not only that unionism had promoted hard-dealing collective action in relation to the department, but that the Indian Affairs Branch "doesn't like it."

An official of the Indian Affairs Branch, from a rather peculiar point of view, provided evidence which tended to confirm the opinions of the Squamish unionists. According

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2 A similar illustration of a change wrought by unionism in traditional modes of expressing opinion is presented by Manning Nash, Machine Age Maya, American Anthropological Association Memoir 87, 1958, p. 83. Nash found in the union meetings at Cantel "Individuals actually made clear-cut statements of opposition to each other. In group discussion in other circumstances, this is consciously avoided. If an individual holds an opposing view from another, he states his view as a kind of monologue, not taking up the argument of his opponent. And then he is done--without rebuttal, without defence of his idea, and without attempt at formal refutation of another's argument. . . . The union meeting was essentially different. Debate was against another's point of view and tried to show the weaknesses in someone else's argument, and the issue usually underwent some modification through the expression of different and opposed viewpoints in an atmosphere of spirited debate and argument."

to him, the Squamish were "more cunning" than Indians in other parts of the province. "They don't trust us as much as the Indian in the backwoods," he claimed. With regard to the Squamish councillors who are also union officials, he suggested that "some of it rubs off on them. But they revert when they get to the council table." By this remark he implied that the personal or factional differences among the councillors, which sometimes result in delays or inaction, were a "reversion" to intrinsically "Indian" behavior.

It is difficult to evaluate the views presented in the above section. Generally I think they are accurate to a large degree, despite the fact that these opinions sometimes appear to be contradicted by actions. Firstly the band council is comparatively effective and the procedure and committee work to which the councillors are exposed in trade union work undoubtedly help to make it so. Secondly there is a considerable number of unionists who show no hesitancy in speaking out on matters of concern to the community or in demanding information from the superintendent. Naturally the importance and cogency of the messages are subject to considerable individual variation. Thirdly, as will be demonstrated shortly, there have been occasions when most of the community acted in unity in regard to such matters as land disputes. Fourthly the Indian Affairs Branch officials note some distinctions although they do not attempt to isolate their source. Trade unionism might indeed act as a model for, and influence, such attitudes and actions.

On the other hand, certain incidents have been presented which display factionalism and lack of unified action among the councillors. These do not necessarily invalidate the statements about the effectiveness of union training. Trade union activity may increase an individual's familiarity with the procedure of debate and formal meetings. It may increase his readiness to vocalize his thoughts. But it does not necessarily improve the quality of his argument. Furthermore differences of opinion, factions, and personality clashes are not confined to the Squamish Band Council. These exist in trade unions as in any other organization. These disruptive elements however may be accentuated in the band council meetings by the nature of some of the issues. Often the issues are of a much more personal nature than those encountered in union meetings, dealing with such matters, for instance, as a particular individual's claim to a piece of land or an application for a band loan to build a house.

General Meeting of the Band

At the end of August, a general meeting of the band was held which I was able to attend. The quorum (one-half the adult members of the band) necessary for the meeting was not reached. In this case approximately 110 attended the meeting, while some 165 were needed for the official quorum. Only a handful of people came from Squamish despite the fact that

special buses were sent to bring them. However the lack of a quorum is apparently a chronic situation with the general meetings and it was decided to proceed with such business as could be handled without the necessary number.

It was of particular interest to see whether the union men as a whole attended in greater numbers and participated more (or perhaps less) in proportion to their numbers than non-union men. Unfortunately, the proportional attendance could not be determined with any degree of accuracy. Most of the men present were unionists, while very few non-unionists apparently were present. It could, of course, be argued that the unionists would be more strongly represented because more live on the reserves near the community hall where the meeting was held.

In any event, fifteen people spoke from the floor for varying lengths of time. Of these, thirteen actually dealt with the issues before the meeting. Nine were active or former unionists and one, a longshoreman's wife. Two of the others were family members of union officials, and the final speaker, a hereditary chief. These figures suggest some validity in the view that union activity promotes ability to "speak out."

The Trade Union as a Means of Dealing with the Larger Society

There is no evidence that the band has ever formally attempted to enlist the support of any union, as an additional

pressure group, with regard to disputes with the Indian Affairs Branch, other government agencies, or private corporations. Some band members are aware of resolutions passed by union bodies such as the Canadian Labor Congress, designed to improve the position of the Indians in general. But apparently no action has been taken which dealt specifically with the Squamish Band. (This point was investigated mainly because of previous experience with the chief of the Sheshaht Band in Alberni, himself a longshoreman and active unionist, who developed the technique of having a White delegate from the local trades and labor council sit in on important meetings with the Indian superintendent. By this device he believed he obtained a more favorable hearing.)

However, there are indications that unions are occasionally considered by Squamish band members as instruments to accomplish certain ends, particularly with reference to the various bureaucratic aspects of the larger society. For example, one councillor claimed he was going to have his union take up with the Workmen's Compensation Board the case of a non-union band member who was hurt on the job and was encountering difficulty in getting a settlement. (Whether or not the union would have done anything is another matter. The case was settled satisfactorily without such action.)

In addition, an organization was formed two years ago on the reserve called the Progressive Sons and Daughters of the Squamish Band. Some of its functions and accomplishments

are rather obscure, but it was instigated and organized by active union men and women cannery workers, members of the militant United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union. One of its main purposes, apparently, was to lend collective backing to the council in its fight with the National Harbour Board over foreshore rights, although at the time some councillors interpreted the movement as a gesture of non-confidence in their actions. The group made use of petitions, sought newspaper publicity, and staged a protest demonstration, all of which tactics are familiar to trade unionists, though not necessarily confined to them.

Values and Attitudes

In hypothesizing the trade union as a possible acculturative influence, the values and attitudes of individuals, manifested in their speech and actions, must provide the evidence. The proof, as it were, would lie in a neat dichotomy between the values and attitudes of unionists and those of non-unionists. However, the lengthy historical contact with unionism has created the situation where many men on the reserve who are not trade union members themselves are sons and brothers of men who are. If, in fact, trade union participation did exert an acculturative influence, it is unlikely that this category of non-union men would escape its effect. There are other factors to be considered besides whether a man is a unionist or not: Whether he is married or

single, the type of union he is in, and so on. Is his attitude influenced because he is a steady worker or because he is a trade unionist? Was he acculturated by being a trade unionist, or did he become a trade unionist because he was acculturated? These are large problems, but within the scope of this study, the examination must be made between unionists and non-unionists.

Housing: A survey of housing on the reserve as an index of value, would indicate differential acculturation. Certainly a larger proportion of the best, and most elaborate, homes on the reserve are owned by unionists as opposed to non-unionists. Many of these might be classed as middle class homes, with lawns and gardens. On the other hand, some of the least elaborate and least well-cared-for homes on the reserve are owned by particularly active unionists. This does not necessarily imply a lower degree of acculturation. Where one acculturated individual may seek status through the appearance of his home, the particularly active unionist may seek it through his community and union activity. The question is further complicated by the fact that the most active unionists are band councillors as well, and in at least two cases, the unionists' lack of a better home, which could be obtained through a band loan, is connected with the wish to avoid appearing to use their council positions to their own advantage.

Church: It was mentioned earlier that church attendance was quite low. This applies equally to the unionists and might be regarded as evidence of acculturation to the general secular nature of the larger society. One churchgoer charged that the longshoremen were "too sick from drinking" to go to church on Sunday, but there is little factual basis for such a claim. One longshoreman offered this explanation: "I prefer to sleep late. But I should go for the kids. They're always at me to go." Among the unionists there is often an emphasis on the separation, as it were, of church and state. One union official, speaking of the priests in relation to the Indians in the Fraser Valley, said:

> To some extent they (the priests) have been keeping their people from progressing. I guess they're afraid of losing their congregation. But we keep the clergy out of our affairs here.

Education: Most unionists apparently regard education as a "good thing" in itself. Several when commenting on the condition of the B. C. Indians in general, have noted the failure of the Interior people to see the need for education. Many unionists complain of not receiving sufficient education themselves and some have taken steps, often at considerable financial outlay, to give their children a high school education. Considerable pride is demonstrated in their children's educational accomplishments (e.g. One man whose daughter went to school in the U. S. to become a stewardess, another whose grandson was going to West Point). Yet it would

appear the emphasis on education is as much to prove equality with the Whites as for aspirations for class mobility. Whether through external factors the Squamish unionist has become completely identified with the working class, I do not know. Yet even among the most acculturated unionists, little emphasis is placed on the concept of a son "doing better" than his father or motivation towards white-collar or professional status.

Work: Many unionists display middle class attitudes regarding the positive value of "hard work," "initiative" and "progress." Yet such attitudes appear to be tempered by other considerations in regard to the chronic reliefers on the reserve. "Maybe they (reliefers) are poor mixers or a little slow," said one unionist. "They're certainly not normal." Little social pressure is put on such men to find work, perhaps because the large depletion of the band fund through relief is not generally realized. On the other hand many of the councillors talk about various actions to make the reliefers "get out and hustle a job."

Discrimination: Attitudes as to the amount of discrimination against Indians in general are variable among the unionists. For the most part they do not feel it is particularly strong, and many feel they enjoy complete equality at least among the working class. On the other hand, many reliefers blame discrimination for their plight, claiming they cannot get work on this account. "Too many Indians are

using that as a crutch," said the council secretary, "It's just an excuse. They don't try hard enough. The Indian does not push himself forward and this is not a good thing."

Among the unionists, their high status and position of equality in the unions appears, to some extent, to have broken down hostility to the "White Man," in general, and focused it instead on specific institutions or individuals.

Other Activities

Many activities of trade unionists at work or in the formal management of reserve affairs have already been mentioned. It is impossible to deal with every type of activity in which unionists become involved, but a sampling provides interesting data.

Other Indian Organizations: Some band members, active in both community and union affairs, have also taken an active part in such Indian organizations as the Native Brotherhood of B. C. The present business agent of the Brotherhood is a band member who took a considerable part in the early longshoring unions. The role of Councillor Tim Moody and his connection with the union executive and the Brotherhood has already been mentioned. The band's first union leader, William Nahanee, was also active in the Allied Tribes of B. C., and the late Andrew Paull, once a member of the longshoremen's union, was the driving force in British Columbia behind the North American Indian Brotherhood.

Political Activity: One councillor, a shop steward, was an active Liberal party worker in recent federal and provincial elections. He obviously cherishes political ambitions himself. Further he claims to have gotten some forty band members to attend political meetings and join the party. This claim, however, has not been verified. Despite warnings by some members of the reserve that the extension of the federal vote to the Indians was the "thin edge of the wedge" to break up the reserves, voting was considerable.[3] The only comparative material on Indian voting which I have available is for an Okanagan Indian poll where the percentage turn out was very low. To the extent that political participation can be considered as evidence of acculturation, the results indicate a fair degree of acculturation of the reserves in addition to the particularly active political role of the trade union official.

Business Activity: It has been pointed out that there is only one individual from the reserves who operates a business enterprise. This is a man, presently employed as a longshoring foreman, who is attempting to build a tourist camp, souvenir stand and small restaurant on one of the reserves near Squamish. To accomplish this he has borrowed capital from

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3 The exact number of Indian voters cannot be determined because the Mission reserve, originally a separate poll, was amalgamated with surrounding polls after a candidate claimed the "segregation" was unfair.

the band, and visualizes the growth of his enterprise in a series of stages from a mere tent camp to a full-scale summer camp with cottages and other facilities. It may be significant that this man is one who has worked his way through the ranks of longshoring to the lowest echelon of management. In addition he owns the most elaborate home of the reserve (a split-level bungalow), has two cars, and is chairman of the band council. He is sometimes maligned by the same unionists who speak favorably about "initiative" and accused of being the "agent's man," corrupt or stupid. These charges, it would appear, stem more from personal or family jealousies than differing value systems. One might hypothesize that in any group there are a number of individuals of energy and "initiative." In this particular group, focused as it is mainly on a wage-earning working-class model, most of such men have devoted their energies to union participation and activity.

Sports: This is an area which appears to be one of fairly rapid acculturation for most of the band, but particularly the trade unionists, and several types of sports were taken up many years ago. The early participation of the Indians on the International Longshoremen's Association teams has already been mentioned; this undoubtedly contributed to the development of inter-ethnic social activity. Today, as might be expected from shared on-the-job interests, many band members are avid football fans. To some extent such interests are

shared by non-unionists, but preference for certain athletics such as bowling and golf seems to be held only by some of the more acculturated steady workers. Development of enthusiasm for such activities may stem from contact with fellow workers and participation in union sports. It appears that participation in the inter-ethnic social activities and sports overcomes reluctance to participate with Whites in other social areas. A few longshoremen bowl on mixed ethnic teams in the North Vancouver bowling league. Others golf; some are ardent sports fishermen.

Drinking: Some people on the reserve, teetotalers themselves, have adopted the popular stereotype of the Indian as someone "who can't hold liquor," and are prone to label almost any Indian who drinks as an "alcoholic." They recite alarming stories about the increase in youthful drinking, and indeed this may be indicative of acculturation to a trend in the larger society. Another hearsay story on the reserve is that many of the earlier longshoremen were members of a special chapter of the Alcoholics Anonymous. If such is the case, the cure has been remarkably successful with the individuals mentioned. My own observation, particularly of longshoremen on the waterfront, is that the Indian longshoremen's drinking habits are virtually the same as those of their fellow workers and unionists. Most drink a few beers after work, often in mixed groups with White workers, and then the married men go home for dinner, while some of the single men

stay on. Naturally the waterfront attracts a varied lot of men, many of whom might be considered problem drinkers. Such men are rarely union men, because they work too infrequently to build up the seniority necessary for admission to the union. Two or three of the chronic relief cases on the reserve are such men who, in the words of the other Indian longshoremen, "couldn't make it on the beach." On the other hand, union longshoremen and their wives can frequently be seen drinking on a Saturday night in the North Vancouver beer parlor. Their drinking pattern is of a sociable nature, comparable to the Whites around them, and not of the type which might be considered "escapist."

It can be seen from the above discussion that unionists are often active in many other areas. Particularly notable is the degree of activity in other organizations in which Indian union officials engage. Moore's hypothesis, outlined in the introductory chapter, suggesting an inverse relationship between union and "more traditional forms of familial and neighborhood life and types of voluntary associations" does not seem to be borne out here. Admittedly extensive trade union participation cuts down activity within the nuclear family, often markedly. "I was so busy I hardly ever saw my family and my wife just couldn't understand," recalls one Indian union leader, "One time I had to go away for a convention and she said she wouldn't be here when I got back. Sure enough she wasn't." (The problem has since been resolved.)

However, the following table gives an indication of the other organizations to which four Indian trade union officials belong:

TABLE III

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY OF FOUR SQUAMISH UNION OFFICIALS

	Band Council	Indian	Political	Community	Sports
Number of officials	3	2	1	4	2

The pattern displayed here is apparently a common one for trade union officials. Sayles and Strauss, for example, found:

> Thus, in line with earlier observations about their (union officials) high activity level, a heavy proportion of them are active members of outside community organizations.[4]

Enfranchisement, Integration and Assimilation

In assuming that unionism is an acculturative process, it would appear logical that the end point would be assimilation, which might be symbolized by the severing of all ties with the reserve and enfranchisement. The advantages and

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4 Sayles and Strauss, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

disadvantages of enfranchisement have been thoroughly examined in The Indians of British Columbia[5] and the only comment that need be made is that with the extension of full liquor rights to the Indians, all advantages have virtually disappeared. However the cases of two Indian longshoremen, both union members, were examined to see if there was any connection between their union participation and their enfranchisement. Neither case suggested any relationship. The first man, who was particularly active in the early days of the union, had attempted to transfer to the Squamish Band from Port Simpson. When he was unable to, he became enfranchised and settled near the reserve. In the second instance, the longshoreman, a veteran and an inactive unionist, became enfranchised when he married a White woman who apparently did not want to live on the reserve.

Certain evidence has been presented which indicates that unionism might be linked with an acculturative process; that it tends to break down ethnic hostilities and widen allegiances; and that it can be considered as an adaptive institution to a degree, notably in leadership. However, there is nothing in the attitudes of unionists to suggest the reserves would ever integrate if this meant breaking up the reserves. Indeed many of the most acculturated individuals are the most outspoken in favor of continuing the system. In the words of one councillor:

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5 Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, op. cit., pp. 481-484.

I am integrated. I work with the White Man and am in the union with him. I have my own (long-shoring) gang. The wife and I bowl in the neighborhood league. There are our trophies (indicating an array on the television set). A White Man just asked us to be on his team in the winter ten-pin league.

But we'll always be Indians and there are a few around, just a few, who will always let you know about it. Here we have free rent and free water and everything the White Man has. We're not going to give this up and try to move into districts where they sign petitions about you like they do with the Chinese and Niggers.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUEENSBOROUGH ITALIANS

The Physical Community and Its Demography

Queensborough, in a sense, is an island within the City of New Westminster. The district lies on the eastern tip of Lulu Island, a piece of land the shape of a turkey's head bounded on the north and south by the branching arms of the Fraser River, and in the west by the city limits of New Westminster. It is a geographical isolate connected only by a single toll bridge to the city of which it is a part. Access to the west is provided by the Westminster Highway which runs through some miles of farmland and peat bogs. In the author's opinion, the isolation of the district tends to increase the interdependence of the relatively small numbers of Italians in Queensborough, cut off as they are from the far larger body of Italians in Vancouver.

Queensborough, for the most part, is a working class residential district varied in places through the presence of a few very small farms. A few sawmills dot the north arm of the river while the bank of the south arm provides a mooring for fishboats. A paper products plant and a closed foundry also mark the Queensborough landscape. In short, the district,

mixed industrial and residential, is much the same as that in which the Squamish reside.

The district is segmented on an ethnic basis between Slovaks, Japanese, East Indians, Italians, Germans, and Anglo-Saxon Canadians. Some groups, such as the Italians, have a high degree of ethnic organization; on the other hand, the Anglo-Saxons possibly have none. The ethnic organizations in Queensborough include the Italian Mutual Aid Society, the Slovak community hall and old people's home, and the Sikh Temple. It is within the context of such segmentation that the Italian "community" exists.

As far as can be determined, the present Italian population of Queensborough is approximately seventy to eighty families, perhaps 300 persons in all. This would represent about ten per cent of the total population of the district.

Virtually all the Italian families in Queensborough are from Veneto in Northern Italy, the province in which Venice is located. The only exceptions which could be discovered were three families from Southern Italy, two from Sardinia, and one from Sicily. Italian settlement in Queensborough began as early as the 1920s and continued in a small way up to the Second World War. The vast majority, however, arrived in the post-war immigration boom and the Italian population reached a peak of more than eighty families plus several single men in 1958. In recent years, due mainly to the decrease in employment in the area, some families have moved to other parts of Canada

and others have returned to Italy. It can be seen that the Italian community in Queensborough is to a large extent based on a common locality of origin and indeed this is the basis on which most of the Italian groups in the City of Vancouver are organized.

Economic Activity

The majority of Italians in Queensborough are millworkers. In one sawmill (formerly two, until one closed down last year) the Italians make up the largest single ethnic group, as such, although they do not represent a majority of the mill's work force of 200 men. The Italians hold a variety of positions in the mill, varying from unskilled to semi-skilled. A condition of their employment on a continuing basis is membership in the International Woodworkers of America, and consequently most of the Queensborough Italian men are union members. In addition, an Italian has risen through the ranks and is now a shift foreman at the mill.

Other Italians hold similar unskilled work in the area. A few for example, are truck drivers for local construction firms or building materials plants. Until the recent economic decline, a number of Italians worked in various laboring jobs at Annacis Island but at the moment this source of employment is apparently exhausted. One single man is a welder and another a mechanic for industries across the river in New Westminster proper.

A few Italians are independent tradesmen running their own small businesses, such as plumbing, plastering or contracting firms. Four of the six grocery stores in the district are Italians-owned. One of these, a small supermarket, is Queensborough's largest store. The owner of the supermarket conducts other entrepreneurial activities. Each year, for instance, he goes to California, bids on a grape crop, hires Mexican labor to pick it, and imports the crop to Queensborough to produce the wine required by the community. In addition, he has made bank-rate loans to several Italians enabling them to build or purchase houses.

No Italian can remain unemployed for long in Queensborough. There are stop gap measures, but the community generally has no means of supporting unemployed members. (They are, of course, entitled to the standard unemployment insurance providing they can meet the requirements.) But it is generally accepted that a long lay-off means a man must move elsewhere or even return to Italy. Even when immigrants first arrive in the community and stay with kin, unrelenting pressure is put on them until they find work. In this sense, then, the Italian community differs from that of the North Vancouver Squamish. Here there is nothing comparable to the band relief, free rent, and free food hampers, which the Squamish can fall back on. Hence unlike the North Shore reserves, no dichotomy can be made between steady workers and sporadic or non-workers.

Formal Associations

The Italian Mutual Aid Society: This organization was founded, and granted a franchise under the B. C. Societies Act, in 1929; its membership totalled about twelve at that time. Apparently the instigator and first president of the society was a Yugoslav, who was the original owner of the store since bought and developed into a supermarket by the Italian businessman mentioned earlier. His exact reason for encouraging the Italians in the formation of the society is unknown, although it has been suggested that it might have been to secure Italian patronage at his store. In any event construction of a small hall was begun in 1930, with the use of volunteer labor, and it was completed in 1933.

During the Second World War the society almost became defunct. Some of the members, according to informants, who were not Canadian citizens were moved away from the area. In post-war years the influx of immigrants revitalized the society. In 1958-60, it reached its peak membership, nearly eighty members plus a women's auxiliary of an equivalent size. Presently, the membership is sixty-eight men plus the ladies' auxiliary. A handful of members are from the Fraser Valley, New Westminster, or Vancouver, but the society is essentially composed of Queensborough residents and the majority of Italian families in the district are represented in the society.

Construction of a new ROMA HALL was begun in 1958 when it was decided that the old hall was inadequate and that

its maintenance costs outweighed its value. At that time the resources of the community were mobilized on a scale which, in proportion to the small population, serves to illustrate the considerable strength of the ties based on Italian ethnicity. Some $25,000 was raised through direct donations, "safety notes," and other loans. Only wiring, roofing and flooring were installed by contract. The rest was done by the members in their off-hours who worked according to a carefully organized schedule for a period totalling about a year. When ROMA HALL was formally opened on December 17, 1960, its insured value was $70,000. An interesting point is that of the many Italian societies in Vancouver area, the Queensborough group is the only one to possess its own hall. It appears that the relative geographical isolation of Queensborough increases the cohesion of the community. Further evidence for this suggestion is provided by the fact that the relatively isolated Italian communities in Trail and Powell River both own new halls. Another suggestion is that when the populations of such ethnic communities reach a certain size, the divisive forces outweigh the unifying forces.

When the new immigrants began to flow into the community, there was some friction between them and the older Italians. As one post-war arrival put it:

> They thought we were dumber than we were. They were kind to us but they had a feeling of superiority. They thought things were the same in Italy as when they left, that we wouldn't even know what an electric light was. They hadn't had as much education as we had and couldn't understand that things had changed.

Another problem was that the new arrivals spoke a different Italian than the early immigrants who had, in the intervening years, altered some words and substituted many English ones. During the friction of this post-war contact many of the second-generation Italian-Canadians dropped out of the society. Most of such hostility has since been alleviated and the society now apparently functions fairly smoothly.

The honorary president of the society is the super-market owner while the president of the executive committee is the foreman at the mill. The vice-president is a mill-worker who studies English at night school in the hope of getting a position with the Italian airline in Vancouver. Once a month the executive committee meets to make decisions of concern to the society while there is also a monthly general meeting to obtain approval of certain decisions. Business is conducted in Italian.

Among the areas in which the society functions are:

(1) Sickness: Every members pays $2 a month in dues. If a member becomes fairly sick he is given one dollar a day out of the society treasury, up to $30. If he is in hospital he is also visited by members of the society who bring gifts worth up to five dollars. "It's not the money," said the society president, "What good is $30? They (the members) like the feeling of security they get from belonging to the society."

(2) Death: If a member dies, $25 worth of flowers is sent to his funeral and one dollar is donated by each member to the bereaved family.

(3) Social Activity: In addition to the monthly meetings, there are at least two major banquets a year and several social evenings when wives and children attend and bingo and cards are played. There are dances each year and an annual picnic, usually held at a member's farm in the Fraser Valley. The annual banquet is the society's main social event, however, usually coinciding with the anniversary of Italian unification. Most of the members and many non-members attend. Guests include New Westminster civic dignitaries as well as the Italian consul and Italians from Vancouver who have been successful in different lines of endeavor. A huge Italian meal is served, much wine is consumed, and singing and dancing proceeds far into the night.

(4) Women's Auxiliary: This organization operates separately but cooperates closely with the men's society in staging various events. When a member of the auxiliary has a baby, a certain amount of money is presented to her.

(5) Weddings: The hall is provided for wedding receptions for the society's members.

(6) Old Age and Unemployment: The society attempts to provide some assistance in the case of extreme need but the limited funds have curtailed this aspect.

(7) Library: The society is building a small library of Italian and English books for its members.

(8) Social Control: This is practised by the society in a sense and a particular effort is made to involve new immigrants, particularly in their first year in Canada. "When they don't know much English the friends they make might be the wrong ones, the English words they learn are the wrong ones. They drive around in big cars and might get in trouble. The society tries to give them a place for recreation, away from the streets, to have a good time, to sing and to dance." In addition, the society has an arrangement with the New Westminster police whereby if an Italian boy is arrested, the society is notified and attempts to help him.

It can readily be seen that the society attempts to, and does, play some part in the various rites de passage, as well as other occasions of both jubilation and tribulation, in the lives of the Italian residents of Queensborough. Although the material contribution the society can make to any particular member is small, almost insignificant, it is generally felt the society restores some of the psychological security lost by the immigrants when they left Italy. The society is formal manifestation of various ties based on Italian ethnicity. According to one Italian millworker:

> It is more for moral help. There the people know they have friends. We try to have some money to help those in need, especially the

old people. Often they don't even have a pension.

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The Church of the Holy Ghost: This is the Catholic Church in Queensborough and it could be considered an Italian institution although it does not maintain formal exclusiveness. Most of the Italians in Queensborough attend the church and make up the bulk of the congregation since the Slovaks in the district switched to a new Catholic church which opened recently across the river. The priest, Father Lawrence, is Italian-born himself and came to Queensborough after serving in various areas in the U. S. The Sunday mass, therefore, represents one more occasion for the Italians of the district to meet and their ethnic bonds are maintained rather than broken down by their participation in the church. However some informants feel that the church is not as "important" (and by this they apparently mean it is not as active in as many spheres) as it was in Italy.

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The Parish School: Most of the Italians send their children to the parish school until they are in Grade Three. Although this might reinforce Catholicism, it is dubious whether the practice contributes to the maintenance of Italian ethnic ties within the community and, in fact, it probably has

the opposite effect. However my knowledge of the school is too limited to generalize with any confidence as to what its effect might be.

* * *

The Soccer Team: Soccer is undoubtedly the favorite sport of the Italians and Queensborough has a team in the second division which was organized largely on their initiative. The team consists primarily of Italian players, and was in its formative years financed by donations from the Italian community. Later it was sponsored by an Italian commercial firm in Vancouver. For a number of years the Sunday afternoon games of the team provided another activity which reinforced Italian ethnicity because, in addition to the Italians active as players or organizers of the team, most of the other Italian men turned out to watch the games. Last season, the team's importance in this respect diminished somewhat for a number of reasons, mainly the rescheduling of the games to Saturday morning when many of the Italian millworkers were unable to attend.

Other Associations

Kin Groupings: It was mentioned earlier that most of the Italians are from Veneto in Northern Italy. The earliest Italian immigrants were railway laborers who bought small farms in the district. Later, other immigrants came to

Queensborough, often with friends, settled, and then sent back for brothers, cousins or fiancees. Sometimes they actually financed the relative's passage; other times they merely provided encouragement and a place for the relative to stay upon arrival. One post-war immigrant is able to claim responsibility for the arrival of thirty individuals, including children. In a few cases the gap between the first arrival and the arrival of the relative was as much as twenty years. For example, the owner of the supermarket sponsored his brother's migration to Queensborough when the brother decided there was no future in Italy during the immediate post-war years.

In addition, a considerable number of marriages have taken place between Italian families since their arrival in Queensborough, serving to unite kin groups. Or some Italians who arrived in Queensborough more or less by accident have married into the larger families. Consequently large sectors of the community are now related, affinally or consanguineally.

Residential mobility in the community has been prevented in part by a patrilineal extended family system with patri-local residence practised by some of the earlier immigrants. These particular examples were men who had bought small farms in Queensborough in the 1920s. When their sons married, the newlyweds were given a piece of land, and sometimes a house, on the father's holding. Today, through this system, there are several nuclear families of the same surname

on a single Queensborough street. This system, however, was exceptional. Few members of the community (and none of the post-war immigrants) were able to practise it, most families being confined to single house lots.

Also residential mobility has been restricted by other aspects of ethnicity, particularly the desire of Italian women to remain close to kinfolk and Italian-speaking friends. The Italian women, confined to their homes, are exposed only infrequently to English-speaking people and consequently learn English even more slowly than the men or perhaps not at all. The following example is typical:

> Even after four or five years most of them (Italian wives) don't know English. Take my own case. When I was thinking about buying some property I wanted to build on a hill downtown (across the river in New Westminster). It's too flat here (in Queensborough) and there are no sewers. But my wife didn't want to be far from her Momma and Auntie, and she started moaning around. So here we are (one-half block away from the wife's mother's house).

* * *

Social Groupings: The Italians of Queensborough maintain a high degree of informal social contact. This is largely, but not entirely, confined to other Italians. Such social groupings may be based on relatives or friends of the wives. One Italian shop steward, who does not live in Queensborough, presented a rather extreme case of wife-oriented social life. Because of her language problem, he said, the

only social activities in which they participate together are with the friends of his wife. Thirty families from her Northern Italian village of 3,000 people live in the East Hastings district.

Such groups may also be based on friends of the men, either with non-Italian friends made at work or other Italians. Virtually every night the Italian family in Queensborough is being visited or visiting another family. Women visit alone in the daytime when they can take the children and a gathering of eighteen to twenty men in a home at night to play cards and drink wine is not uncommon. On summer weekends the men gather to play bocce (Italian bowling) or go fishing. It is difficult to say whether such social contact occurs with greater frequency than among comparable working-class Canadian families, although it is certainly my impression that it does. In any event, these informal social groups often form the basis for cooperative efforts.

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Cooperative Work Groups: Most Italians possess a trade or some form of manual skill, although they might not be using it in their Canadian employment. Consequently the social groupings mentioned above sometimes translate their friendship and ethnic ties into tangible achievements. Most notable are the houses which have been built in their spare time by these groups of friends who combine their various skills and labor.

Hence a number of immigrants now own houses, a few years after their arrival, which they normally would not have been able to purchase for many years. There was no overall planning for such cooperative efforts but in 1958 about seven houses were built in this way. The men worked evenings and Sundays on these houses while on Saturday mornings they put in their volunteer time on the construction of the community hall.

Group Acculturation

This comparative study becomes further complicated when the question of Italian acculturation is raised. The Squamish Band has been involved in a shift from a tribal culture to an industrial culture. On the other hand, the Northern Italian comes from an industrial background which parallels or perhaps precedes Canada's. Consequently what might be classed as evidence of acculturation for the Squamish Indian might be considered cultural continuity for the Queensborough Italian. The difficulty of noting change from Italian to Canadian culture is increased by the lack of background material on the culture which the Italians left. And the culture of Northern Italy itself has been in a process of change between the arrival of the first Italian immigrants in Queensborough and the arrival of the post-war group. Today the Northern Italian kinship system, values and aspirations, apparently tends towards a common pattern for industrial cultures and there are less overt differences from Canadian

society than might be noted in Southern Italian society.

On the other hand, the Queensborough Italians are presently at a stage of acculturation in language, for example, which the Squamish might have been at a generation or more ago. In short, the two groups are not directly comparable as far as the acculturation process is concerned. With these limitations noted, the general state of acculturation of the Italians can be presented.

Clothing: For the most part the clothing worn by Queensborough Italians is the same as that of working-class Canadians. However on important social occasions, such as the annual banquet of the Mutual Aid Society, most of the men wear Italian-style suits and shoes. This includes men who have been here a considerable number of years, indicating that when new dress clothes are bought they must either be imported from Italy or made by Italian-style tailors. In a sense, the formal dress habits could be interpreted as an index of maintenance of ethnic distinction; although, on the other hand, European clothing styles often set the trend for North America.

Food: The diet of the Queensborough immigrants is still primarily Italian. Much of the food is fairly standard fare in Canada but there is a greater emphasis on various forms of pasta (macaroni, sphaghetti, etc.), garlic, salami, and cheeses, and this is reflected in the food supplies carried by the local stores. Also wine is still the most important beverage and is consumed with meals and at most other occasions.

The grapes which are imported from California by the supermarket represent a considerable household expenditure as each family makes between 100 and 200 gallons of wine each year.

Language: The Italian tongue is probably the central ethnic feature of the Italian community in Queensborough and accounts in large measure for the organization and residential cohesion of the community. Language, then, is an area in which little acculturation has taken place. The majority of Italians still use the Italian language more than any other. The point has already been raised about the relation between residential immobility and the difficulty Italian women have in learning English. This difficulty applies, although to a lesser extent, to the men and there are a few who have been in Canada for twenty-five to thirty years and still know only the most rudimentary English. On the other hand, several of the men speak good English and most of the post-war immigrants know far better English than they think they do. My knowledge of Italian is too limited to estimate whether it is more difficult for an Italian-speaking person to learn English than the speaker of any other foreign language. But it is obvious that the main difficulty is psychological. In interviewing Italians there is little difficulty in understanding their meaning and one is often impressed by the vivid descriptions they give of their feelings. Yet throughout any conversation they constantly apologize for their "poor English."

The question of language is stressed here because it is a key one in understanding Italian organization and activities. Language difficulty is blamed for almost everything from failure to achieve business aspirations to lack of union participation. "(The language barrier) is just like a solid wall," claimed one man who has overcome the problem, "and they're afraid to try. They are afraid of making mistakes." My experience in other work situations is that Canadian workers are often very intolerant of anyone who does not speak English as they do. This harsh attitude is not such as to encourage the immigrant to experiment with English. Furthermore, the varied ethnic population of Queensborough tends to make the lingua franca of the area bad English, making communication between the various European ethnic groups even more difficult than between Italians and a native English-speaking people. This situation adds to the ethnic division in Queensborough. In addition, positive value is often placed upon the Italian language and some parents, who know English fairly well, make a definite attempt to avoid having their children hear them speak it.

Endogamy: Within the Queensborough group, marriage to other Italians is preferred. Most of the men who have married since coming to Canada have married daughters of other Italian immigrants, sent back to Italy for fiancees, or returned to Italy to get a wife. Such endogamy may to a

degree be determined by rejection on the part of Canadian women, although the fact that roughly twenty-five per cent of the single immigrants have married Canadian women would seem to disprove this. However, marriage is determined mainly by conscious cultural and ethnic preference.

Religion: The Italians were Catholic prior to leaving Italy. Consequently their present Catholicism does not indicate acculturation but even tends to emphasize ethnicity. On the other hand, the less central role of the Catholic church in Queensborough as compared with Italy may be an indication of a shift to a more secular system of values.

Housing: Most of the Italians own homes. Many of these, the men have built themselves. These homes range in appearance from working class to middle class and many have fine gardens and decorations. The emphasis on ownership of a high-quality house, however, cannot be interpreted as evidence of a shift in values from the Italian pattern.

Material Goods: Most Italians own cars, television, telephones and many other material goods associated with Canadian society. Again such objects were valued ends in Italy and migration to Canada was in many cases prompted by the hope of obtaining such ends.

Families: Most Queensborough families are of the nuclear type. Some households have an additional relative such as an unmarried brother or a parent. Couples usually have about three children whose training appears to be very permissive.

Aspirations

During the discussion of the Squamish, commitment was considered as one index of acculturation. The Queensborough Italians, raised in northern Italy where most held jobs as industrial workers before coming to Canada, were already oriented to the "performance and acceptance of the behaviors appropriate to the industrial way of life."

The Queensborough Italian, then, is committed to the industrial society and usually aspires to upward mobility within it. Often the post-war immigrant from Italy was a tradesman, an industrial worker, or even a white-collar worker before coming to Queensborough. Many came with the hope of opening their own small firms or moving higher in the industrial hierarchy. Yet for a number of reasons, including the language problem, few have achieved such ambitions. Their mill employment is often considered a retrograde step, perhaps earning them more money than in Italy, but placing them in a lower position in the industrial hierarchy and the community than they held before emigration. Such complaints as the following are common: "My brother back in Italy, he is doing better than me."

Yet here, as in Italy, models of mobility within the Italian population are available. Consequently those who do not achieve their ambitions place stress on the chances of their children to do so. Education is highly valued for

children for this reason. Yet it is a feeling not without ambivalence. For example, after telling me that his "hopes lie with the kids," one millworker said somewhat wistfully: "They go to school and we find it hard to talk to them. They don't know anything about Italy."

Summary

The Italians of Queensborough have formed a community within a community, based on ethnicity. Many factors combine to reinforce and integrate this community: The residential solidarity based in part on maintenance of Italian property rights and in part on the language difficulties and preferences of women; the kin and social groupings; the church; and the common area of origin. These factors are linked by the Italian tongue while all the unifying influences are formally manifested in the Italian Mutual Aid Society. In addition, the geographical isolation of the community and its small population probably adds to its cohesiveness. External pressures also unite the community, notably the insecurity that stems from unfamiliarity with the new environment and its bureaucratic institutions such as government, management, and even unions. Outsiders often speak of the Italians as being "clannish" while many Italians claim that circumstances in the new society force them into ethnic dependence. Probably the truth is a combination of both views.

Acculturation, when considering broad categories of social relationships or major differences in ethos and

values, can be a meaningful and manageable concept. Hence the acculturation of members of a tribal society towards an industrial society might be seen in a change from extended kin relations to the nuclear family; a change in work patterns and values; or a change in dress and religion. The measurement of an individual's or a group's acculturation from northern Italian industrial culture to Canadian culture is more subtle. It can be seen from the few categories considered earlier under group acculturation that the Italians would not have to alter many of their social patterns and values to conform to Canadian society. Primarily, it is their continued usage of the Italian language and their endogamy (partially contingent on language) that leads to their being classified as unacculturated. A change in these more overt differences would mean the Italians were acculturated even were some community organization maintained. Admittedly, minor variations might remain; the Italian might, for example, still cherish a picture of his parents in his livingroom, but this would not indicate a lack of acculturation to Canadian ways.

CHAPTER VII

THE INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL 1-357

History of the IWA

Like most of the unions in British Columbia, the International Woodworkers of America emerged out of a long period of labor struggle and inter-union rivalry. The details of this growth need not be reviewed here because they do not bear on the subject under consideration.[1] The union became an established entity in 1937, with much of its following in British Columbia. Organizational campaigns gained strength during the Second World War and by 1943 the union's first general contract was negotiated covering most lumber workers on the coast. At the war's end the union had become a powerful institution, conducting negotiations with the employers' association, and covering in its jurisdiction B. C. lumber workers in all phases of the industry. Despite its original revolutionary orientation, the union increasingly stabilized "the industry on a level of much improved conditions through the operation of forceful bargaining."[2] Among other

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1 A fuller account of the birth and growth of the IWA is contained in H. A. Logan's Trade Unions in Canada, Quebec, Macmillan of Canada, 1948, pp. 279-285.

2 Ibid., p. 285.

concessions, the union won a union shop agreement in that any individual has to join the union after he obtains a job in the lumber industry. The union had reached a high degree of organization and control by the time that the Italians, with whom this paper deals, first came in contact with it.

Structure of the Union

The union is affiliated with the international office in Portland, Oregon. Throughout British Columbia the IWA is divided into a number of regions, each of which contains several large locals. Negotiations are conducted on a regional basis with representatives of the various locals being included on the councils which bargain with the employers' associations. In the coastal region the union negotiates contracts with Forest Industrial Relations, the employers' association representing the mill owners and logging company operators.

Local 1-357, which includes the Italian group in Queensborough, is itself a very large unit. Depending upon conditions in the industry, it has between 4,000 and 5,000 members from sawmills in New Westminster and the Fraser Valley.

Within the local, at the plant level, the union usually has a number of committees such as those on grievances and safety which negotiate matters of individual concern to the men of a particular mill. The committee members and shop stewards are elected, or sometimes appointed, by the

workers in the mill concerned. It is at the plant level that the average mill worker has his greatest contact with the union. Because bargaining is at the regional level, many mill workers have never seen and do not know the men who are negotiating for them. Furthermore, because of the large geographical area and the number of mills incorporated in the local, the mill worker is rarely exposed to fellow local members other than those in his particular mill and perhaps those in mills nearby. The separation of functions on a regional, local and plant basis, although necessary administratively, tends to detract from the type of cohesiveness obtained in Local 501 of the ILWU.

Economic Aspects of the Union

The union does not hire the mill workers. As the local's business agent pointed out, hiring is a "headache" with which the union does not want to become involved. He claimed that a union hiring system would be impossible because of the lack of adequate industry-wide job classifications. A head sawyer from one mill, for example, is not necessarily qualified for the job of head sawyer in another. Consequently hiring is left to the management of the individual mills.

Seniority does not have the importance in the IWA local that it has in ILWU Local 501. It does not apply throughout the local. Years of service amass seniority only in the mill concerned. In the case of lay-off in a mill, rehiring

is done on a seniority basis. But if a man takes a job in another mill he goes to the bottom of its seniority list. Job openings within the plant are supposed to be posted and awarded to the most senior man who is qualified.

Membership in the union is a condition of employment. After thirty days a new employee must join the union, a matter which is accomplished by a pay roll check-off system.

The local plays no part in rating a man for a particular job. Minimum rates are negotiated in various job categories with individual differences settled at the plant level. If a man with seniority fails to get a posted job for which he thinks he is qualified, he can complain to the union and initiate a grievance procedure.

Among the other benefits the union has negotiated throughout the region are: an M. S. A. plan, $5,000 death and disablement insurance, and $35 a week sick benefit. A few mills have pension plans but the business agent claims they give "a false sense of security" because they are not portable and the fluctuating nature of mill employment makes it unlikely they would ever be collected.

Union Activity

The average member can participate in the operation of the union in a number of ways. Monthly meetings are held in New Westminster to discuss matters ranging from the internal policies and constitution of the local to the industry-wide

negotiations. Attendance at such meetings is generally quite low, varying from about seventy-five to several hundred depending on the issues to be discussed. No fines are levied for failure to attend such meetings.

Meetings are also held at the plant level, generally at lunch breaks, where officials of the local inform the members of the progress of negotiations.

Officials of the local as well as those at the plant level are elected annually. Often some officials at the plant level are drafted to the job rather than being formally elected. The amount of time-consuming and unpaid union work at the plant level is considerable and consequently it is relatively easy for anyone who is interested to become involved in it.

Members are sometimes called upon to vote whether they are in favor of strike action. If a strike is called, the members are expected to undertake picket duty for which they receive strike pay.

Non-economic Aspects of the Union

At the present time the only formal social activity of Local 1-357 is an annual banquet for shop stewards and committeemen. At one time an annual Christmas party was held for the members and their families as well as an occasional dance. These activities have since been abandoned because, as the business agent put it, they were "poor value for the

money." Attendance at these functions was sparse and sporadic. Social activity as a method of building or reinforcing union cohesion, according to the business agent, "works in a compact union" but not in a structurally-loose and spatially-large local such as the one under discussion. Activities sometimes are arranged by plant committees.

Informal social aspects of the union tend to be negligible for the reasons mentioned above; that is, the segmented nature of the industry, the loose structure and the lack of continuous contact of the members with the union and its officials. Informal social organization established in the mills is rarely reinforced by union activity.

Conclusion

For several reasons, the IWA is less cohesive than the ILWU. The structural looseness of the union, related to the nature of the industry, has already been mentioned. And, although the two unions perform many of the same functions, the IWA is involved in fewer of its members' work and social activities. The union hiring hall of the ILWU brings the average longshoreman into almost daily face-to-face contact with the men who conduct all their negotiations; the average IWA member rarely, possibly never, sees the men who bargain for his wages and fringe benefits. The nature of obtaining union membership is another point of basic comparison. In the IWA, membership comes as a payroll deduction after thirty

days; in the ILWU, membership is a goal achieved over a long period of time. Finally the difference in size of the memberships leads to variation in the cohesiveness of the two locals.

CHAPTER VIII

THE QUEENSBOROUGH ITALIANS AND THE IWA

History of the Italians in the Union

By the time the Italians, who today are mill workers, arrived in Queensborough after the Second World War, the International Woodworkers of America was already an established institution holding much the same position as it does today. Consequently these immigrants were not exposed to the union in its period of growth. Unlike the Squamish, they were not participants in the struggles of earlier unions to gain strength and improve working conditions. This lack of historical involvement with the IWA is reflected in the attitudes, which will be described below, of the Italians towards the union.

Union Participation

We have seen from the description of the IWA local in the preceding chapter that there are a number of types of union activities. These include holding office in the local, attending the monthly meetings of the local, holding an office or serving on a committee at the plant level, attending meetings held at the plant level and serving in picket lines.

It was also mentioned that the IWA local is not highly cohesive and that overall participation in activities of the local is generally carried out by a small percentage of the membership. Even by these standards the participation of the Italians is minimal, almost non-existent. The types of union participation bear further examination.

There are no members of the Queensborough Italian group who are elected officials of the local. This is not surprising. The officers of the local are full-time, paid executives who have had many years of experience in the lumber industry and possess considerable verbal and administrative ability. Although the Italians came from an industrial background, they did not have any experience in the lumber industry before coming to Canada. Most of the Italians drifted into sawmill work when they were unable to obtain employment more in line with their previous training. Others who came directly to Queensborough took jobs in the mills and have not been able to get anything better since. In any event, the Italians have relatively little experience with the industry and possess only a limited command of English. Hence they would not be expected to hold office at the local level.

Very few of the Italians have attended any meetings of the local, much less with any degree of regularity. Attendance at such meetings requires a special trip from Queensborough "downtown" to New Westminster. In addition, the Italians claim they cannot understand what is being said

at the meetings and are reluctant to speak themselves.

No Italian holds a union position of any kind at the plant level even though, as pointed out before, the Italians make up a large proportion of the workforce in certain mills. Generally some position in the union at this level can be attained by almost anyone displaying interest. It would be a relatively simple matter for an Italian to obtain a position on one of the plant committees if he so desired. Yet none has. There has been at least one case of an Italian refusing a plant level job. "They asked me to work for the union," one mill worker said, "But my English is not very good. I have to listen very hard when they talk. I cannot express myself. Besides the foreman makes it hard for you. We are union members because it is compulsory. But we are not very enthusiastic."

Meetings held at the plant level to explain the progress of negotiations are generally attended by Italians. These are held usually at lunch breaks and involve little more on the part of the members than eating lunch and listening. However, the Italians take little part verbally in these meetings and apparently do not voice the objections which they often feel towards union actions. These objections will be dealt with later.

On the occasions when the local has been involved in a strike, the Italians have performed their picket duties.

Yet support of strikes has been very reluctant and many Italians carry lasting bitterness about them. Some examples of this will be presented in the next section.

The local's business agent, however, describes the Italians as well-informed unionists who support the union's policies after they are explained. From the evidence available to him, his statement is true. The Italians have done their duty on strike lines and have voiced no objections to the policies outlined at plant union meetings. However the private statements of the Italians are generally at odds with this view.

Without a fairly refined scale of measurement it is difficult to generalize on Queensborough Italian union participation, or the lack of it, in comparison with the local as a whole. Certainly it is safe to say, in the light of the group's negligible union activity, that its participation pattern is somewhat less than the average of the local. An attempt will be made later to analyse what factors may play a part in creating this situation. However, the reason which is always offered first by Italians is the language barrier. Admittedly, a union position, even that of shop steward, calls for a reasonable knowledge of English, both written and spoken. Yet many of the Italians who offer this reason speak quite good English. For instance, the man who refused union work handles paperwork in English on the job.

Attitudes Towards the Union

The attitudes expressed towards the union by the Italians in Queensborough are varied and often contradictory. In general, they range from apathy to hostility. To understand this, some knowledge of the Italian's ambivalent attitude towards his millwork is necessary. Despite the seeming strength of the community, the Italian lives in constant fear of losing his job. It is impossible to hold a conversation with an Italian without words such as "insecurity," in regard to work, cropping up again and again. At the same time, he often feels that millwork is a step down from the position he held in Italy or at least from the position he hoped to attain in Canada. He is, as it were, torn between the desire for security and the desire for upward mobility.

Consequently anti-strike feeling is very strong among Italians. Yet, partly from language difficulty and partly from reluctance to provoke hostility from non-Italian workers, the Italians do not voice these sentiments in union meetings. The following comments by informants are typical:

> We are strangers here. We are behind. We gave up everything to come here. We owe money on our houses and have families to support. We do not want to strike. There is something wrong with the system.

> At the time of bargaining the union makes too many rumors. They say one thing in the press and in speeches and the facts are different. In 1958, they say we are asking 20 cents an hour and they say: 'Strike! Strike!' The company

> is having a slack time and they say: 'Fine. Go on strike.' So we go on strike and then the company says they'll give five cents an hour and the union says to settle. Why did we go on strike? And then the union comes around and says: 'Look what we did for you!'

Furthermore, perhaps through the lack of historical connection and the fact that membership represents merely a payroll deduction, the union is often seen as another bureaucracy with which they must cope. Minor administrative hitches in the operation of the union are occasionally interpreted as indications of indifference or hostility on the part of the union. In 1958, a few Italian mill workers, recently arrived in Canada, encountered difficulty in collecting their strike pay for picket duty because they could not explain themselves. The matter was quickly cleared up when an Italian who spoke better English was fetched, but even last summer the situation was remembered and resented. Again the union is sometimes lumped with the company as being concerned only with appearances, yet caring little for the feelings of the workers. After a mill closed in Queensborough last summer, an Italian informant told me the following story about his Canadian friend, a resawyer in the closed mill.

> My friend is 63. He has a disability. His hip is up here (indicating his armpit). When we move to the new mill they put him hooking slings to the crane. He has to climb up and down over piles of lumber. But he cannot run 10 feet without falling down. The union comes down, and all they care about is whether everyone has a job. The company comes around and talks

> about a safety campaign. How long will it be before he breaks his other leg? He has to take pills in the night to sleep. This kind of thing hurts in the heart.

Not all attitudes are hostile. Some workers said they realized that the union was trying to help them and one man said he admired the union's "courage". But these men feel that the union is ineffective, that the strike is obsolete, and that there are far too many unions in Canada. Invariably these men cite the system in Italy as being better because there, they claim, there is only one big industrial union and men are always assured of work within their own trade.[1] Among the holders of such views there is not always agreement on what the union system in Italy entailed. While the views probably have some factual basis, they are probably also rationalizations for the failure of their exponents to achieve their goals in this country as readily as they had hoped. In recent years, this feeling has been accentuated by letters from friends and relatives in Northern Italy describing the booming industrial economy and the improving conditions. These factors probably combine to make everything in Italy, including its labor organization, seem better to the Queensborough Italians.

Two Italians told me that the Italians should take a greater part in the activities of the union. "They (other

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1 For a review of the development of Italian labor organization see M. F. Neufeld, Italy: School for Awakening Countries, Ithaca, Cayuga Press, 1961.

Italians) should do more," claimed one Italian mill worker, "but they say: 'Let them do it.' They still have a lot of the old country with them. Maybe they had too much of that (organization) over there." Yet when the same persons are queried about their own participation in the union it is found to be equally low. They usually said they were "too busy," often with pursuits that would enable them to get a different and better job (e.g. taking English at night school).

The view that unpleasant contact with Fascist labor or government organizations in Italy accounted for the Queensborough Italians' lack of union participation was presented by a number of individuals, connected both with the community and the union. It probably has some basis in fact. Yet no one ever presented this as a specific reason for their own non-participation in union activity.

Finally, the attitude that union participation would in some way prejudice the worker's position with the foreman and mill management occasionally was mentioned. There certainly does not appear to be any evidence that this feeling is valid. The foreman of one mill is himself an Italian who displays no antagonism towards the union officials in the mill.

Effect of the Union on the Queensborough Italians

In Chapter IV it was suggested that the policies of the various waterfront unions in regard to decasualizing the

waterfront had brought many of the Squamish into full commitment to the industrial society. In a step-by-step process it enabled the Indians involved to slowly readjust their traditional "work rhythm" to the standard demanded by the present society. The Italians, on the other hand, were "committed" before embarking for Canada. They faced different problems in adjusting to Canadian work and social conditions, problems which the union does not ameliorate. These particular problems will be mentioned in comparison with those of the Indians in the next chapter. The Italians are very eager for such benefits as the higher wages that unionized industries confer. Despite such benefits it is evident that the union, at least in those times when strike action is threatening, adds to the psychological, and perhaps genuine, insecurity which the Italians manifest.

Effect of the Italians on the Union

The participation of the Queensborough Italians in union activity at any level or in any capacity is so minimal that the group could not be considered as having any effect on the union except possibly, in a minor way, a negative one. That is to say that through their apathy or fear of opposing union measures which they do not favor, they have the effect of preventing the union policy from being a completely accurate reflection of the views of its membership.

In addition the small size of the Queensborough group makes it unlikely that, even were its members active in the union, they would influence policy significantly.

There is one way in which the Italians could affect the union. That is if the union took notice of them as a minority and made special attempts to overcome their particular problems. Such a policy is not within the union's present frame of reference. Indeed it might be considered as contrary to the union principle of equal treatment for all members. However the business agent, as a member of the New Westminster "citizenship council," talked to some members of the community and concluded "they just want to be left alone." It should be made clear that this thesis does not suggest that trade unions should make special efforts to solve the problems of immigrants.

Italians in the Social Aspects of the Union

Local 1-357's social activities are confined to an annual banquet for shop stewards and committeemen and as no Italians hold these positions they are unable to attend this function. However in the earlier days when the union held social functions such as dances the Italians apparently did not attend. Interestingly enough, many Italians did take their children to the union's annual Christmas party where there was a Christmas tree and presents were given to the children.

Work in the mill provides an opportunity for inter-ethnic friendships to develop and in many cases the Italians have extended their social interaction on this basis. However the union, due in part to the union structure and in part to the lack of Italian participation, does little to reinforce the inter-ethnic ties which are formed on the job.

The Union in Relation to the Italian Community

At this point in the examination of the Squamish, a chapter was devoted to the connections between the unions and the North Shore reserves. It was found that the most active unionists, particularly those who held union positions, were equally active in the affairs of the community. In addition, a survey of the attitudes and values held by many unionists (which it must be emphasized is, in the case of the reserves, a synonym for a steady worker) indicated a greater degree of acculturation in certain values and activities than among non-unionists.

A search for similar relationships in the Italian community is relatively futile. As was pointed out earlier, there is no dichotomy between steady and non-steady workers and the Italians were priorly committed to industrial work values and aspirations.

Furthermore there is no relationship between active unionism and community activity in the Queensborough group because there are no active unionists. The lack of union

activity does not imply a similar lack of activity within the community. Far from it. The degree of formal and informal community activity, probably higher than overall community activity among the Squamish, was illustrated in Chapter VI. Here the men who took the most active roles in the various community organizations were, among others, a supermarket owner, a mill foreman and a mill worker striving for a white-collar position. Some of these active men were union men but only in so far as they paid union dues. All such union men shared a desire to move as quickly as possible out of the social strata which they currently occupied, except for a few who had resigned themselves to the fact they were too old to do so. In short the reflection of union in the community, which can be traced to some degree among the Squamish, is virtually non-existent among the Italians.

Italians in IWA Activity

The lack of union participation in Queensborough was so complete and the fact that no Italian in the community held a union position, however minor, was so surprising, that an attempt was made to find any recently immigrated Italian in the Vancouver area who held an IWA position. It was hoped through the analysis of the deviant case or cases to shed light on the inactivity of the Queensborough group. Only two such men were found, although the search was by no means exhaustive.

Of these, one was absent on a trip to Italy so only one Italian union official was actually contacted.

This man came to Vancouver from near Venice as did the majority of Queensborough Italians. There, unlike the Queensborough Italians, he was a bell hop who also spent some years working in Swiss hotels. He claims that while working in a Geneva hotel where international labor conventions were held he became interested in trade unionism. When he came to Vancouver after the war he obtained work in a large plywood plant, attended union meetings, and was later made a shop steward despite the fact that only three other Italians worked in the same plant. His English is no better than most of the Queensborough Italians.

In addition to his work with the union in the plant, he spent considerable time on behalf of the union trying to mobilize Italian support for New Democratic party candidates in the summer federal election. Yet he also attempted to organize the various Italian locality organizations in Vancouver into one large organization. His efforts failed. Socially, he feels that he has made many Canadian friends through his union activity. Yet his only social activities which include his wife take place with her friends because of her difficulty with English (his case was cited in Chapter VI).

His impressions of Italians in the IWA correspond with the situation in Queensborough. These are: the Italians do not participate in union activities very much; they claim the

dues are too high; they do not want to strike and, in the event of a strike, they often tend to blame the union as much as the employer. He claimed that Italian union participation would vary greatly depending on what "the other Italians do. They'll agree to one thing one day and do something different the next. I'd rather try to organize 1,000 Canadians than ten Italians." (This comment is interesting in the light of the Queensborough community organization.)

It seems strange that some of the Italians are not of left-wing political orientation and, as a result, take a greater part in union activities. I have little information on the political persuasions of the Queensborough Italians. On an impressionistic basis, some appeared to be socialistically inclined while most were apathetic. None was actively involved in political work, so far as I could determine. Perhaps some of the political inactivity is related to their involvement with the church. In addition the screening process of the immigration department may eliminate some of the more politically-radical Italians.

CHAPTER IX

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Comparison of Squamish and Queensborough Italian Union Activity

The most striking fact that emerges from a comparison of the two situations is that the Indians are more actively involved in unionism than the Italians. Normally I would have some hesitancy in stating a comparative conclusion so baldly. The concept of "union participation" is too unrefined, and my own scale of measurement too crude, to allow for subtle distinctions between groups whose union activity is in any way similar. Furthermore there is considerable danger of creating the impression that every Squamish, who happens to be working in a unionized industry, is at the same time an ardent union participant. Such is certainly not the case. However data from other sources indicate that in any group which is active in a union--whether an ethnic group, a factory department, or an informal social group within a plant--the actual number of individuals who give the group its "active" nature make up a small percentage of the total.[1]

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1 For example, see A. S. Tannenbaum and R. L. Kahn, Participation in Union Locals, Evanston, Row, Peterson, and Co., 1958; J. Seidman, J. London, B. Karsh and D. L. Taglicozzo, The Worker Views His Union, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958; L. R. Sayles and G. Strauss, op. cit.

For most unionized Squamish, with some qualifications, Seidman's depiction of the average unionist would probably hold:

> Even though his union may become a powerful force in the larger society, the rank-and-file member is likely to remain as nameless within his organization, if it is a large one, as he is in the society as a whole. He holds no office, attends no conventions, rarely if ever attends a meeting of his local union, and almost never speaks there. Often he is poorly informed about his local union, while the international union with which his local is affiliated is ordinarily but a shadowy, though perhaps powerful, organization far in the background.[2]

But in view of the minimal nature of Italian union participation the comparative conclusion reached above becomes tenable. In the survey of attitudes towards their unions the response of the Indians was far more favorable. Squamish attendance at local meetings is at least average while the Italians' is virtually non-existent. More important than any other criterion, however, is the number of men who hold, or have held, some form of union office. Among the Squamish there are at least five now, not to mention those who held union office in earlier days. Among the Italians, though their workforce is almost the same size as that of the unionized Squamish, there is none.

It might be argued that the difference in the number of men in the two groups elected to union office is contingent upon the other members of the union; that for some reason the

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2 Seidman, et. al., op. cit., p. 7.

members might elect Indians but not Italians. There is little basis for this argument in these two situations. Particularly at the plant level, the situation is much the same as described by Seidman:

> . . . often a local has difficulty keeping its ranks of stewards filled. In many cases no one comes forward spontaneously as a candidate for the post; any worker who shows even mild interest in the union and very moderate leadership possibilities may find himself appointed to office or urged to become a candidate by his fellow workers or the local leaders for a post to which election may be assured.3

Hence it has been assumed in this thesis, and apparently borne out in fact, that the men who held union offices were elected or appointed because they had an interest in, and some aptitude for, union work. Furthermore the concentration of Italians in certain mills would have made it a matter of relative ease for an Italian to obtain a lower echelon union position had he so desired. The expressed lack of interest by the Italians further validates this supposition.

Sources of Ethnic Variability in Union Participation

There are almost innumerable factors leading to individual or group variability in union participation. These include: positions held in the plant or factory, amount of education, family background, socio-economic status of the unionized group and individual personality. Some of these factors have been considered by the authors cited on the first

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3 Ibid., p. 166.

page of this chapter. This paper deals only with the relation between ethnicity and union activity but it must be remembered that in individual cases many of the factors mentioned above could also influence the situation. However an analysis of the two situations indicates that there are five major sources of ethnic variability in union participation:

(1) Variation in Union Structures and Functions;

(2) Values and Aspirations;

(3) Relative Size of the Ethnic Group in the Workforce;

(4) Nature and Length of Ethnic Group Contact with the Union;

(5) Specific Cultural and Historical Factors.

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(1) Variation in Union Structures and Functions: Another variable was added to this comparative study by the fact that the two groups concerned were members of different unions. Evidently the differences in the structures and functions of union locals influence the participation, not only of particular ethnic groups, but of the entire memberships. A contrast between the two unions has been drawn in Chapter VII indicating that the IWA, because of the nature of the lumber industry and the structure of the union, is less cohesive than the ILWU. The more encompassing role of the ILWU in economic

functions and social activities, the greater interaction between members, the concentration of union functions at the local level, the difficulty of attaining membership, and the smaller size of the local all tend to increase cohesiveness and stimulate participation. Such cohesiveness, in turn, possibly increases the union's awareness of the ethnically-different individuals.

Sayles and Strauss provide a table that indicates membership attendance at union meetings varies greatly with the type and size of union.[4] Consequently differing participation in the two unions as a whole is a basic factor in the comparison between the Indians and Italians. However this cannot be taken as the only, or even the main reason, for the difference in their union participation. Evidence to the contrary is provided by the fact that among the Indian lumberworkers, a much smaller group than the Italians, there was at least one man who held union office and others who were participants in the union meetings.

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(2) Values and Aspirations: There has been a tendency in many writings on unionism to characterize the European as having greater concern with class solidarity than social mobility. Hence Seidman writes:

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4 Sayles and Strauss, op. cit., p. 173.

> Whereas in some of the older industrial countries of Europe those born into working class families have had relatively little chance to rise into other social classes and, as a consequence, have developed strong ties to a working-class economic and political movement, in the United States a much greater degree of upward social mobility has existed--the result of the opening up to settlement of a continent rich in natural resources as well as of the traditions of democracy and of dependence on individual effort fostered in a frontier community.[5]

For the most part, no issue would be taken with this statement. But it tends to detract from the concept of upward mobility as a motivation for migration. As noted in Chapter VI, such mobility was indeed the "dream" of most Queensborough Italians. Most of them were not unskilled workers before coming to Canada although many were compelled by post-war immigration policy to initially take jobs as farm laborers to gain entry to this country. In Northern Italy they were industrial workers and tradesmen. A few were office workers. They came to Canada with the hope of becoming independent tradesmen and owners of small firms, of attaining white-collar or managerial status, or of moving upward in the type of industrial hierarchy with which they were familiar in Etaly. Within the context of Queensborough Italian life, furthermore, models of such mobility are available: the supermarket owner, the mill foreman, the Italian sheet metal firm that sponsors the soccer team, the Italian businessmen who attend the annual banquet of the Italian Mutual Aid Society, and others who can be read about in the Vancouver Italian newspaper, L'Eco D'Italia.

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5 Seidman, op. cit., p. 256.

On the other hand, the employment model to which the Squamish relate is essentially that of the lower working class. From outside the community, factors such as prejudice and lack of education have combined to confine the Squamish to this strata. The work preferences and lack of examples of upward mobility within the community reinforce this stratification. At the moment only the beginnings of upward mobility are visible in the foremen's jobs attained and the development of business enterprise. On a national scale the model is the same. Blishen's scale of occupational classes indicates the major concentration of native Indians are in the bottom class while Italians are spread throughout the scale.[6]

The differences in the aspirations and allegiances of the two groups are reflected in the actions of their leaders. In any group there are certain individuals with more energy or initiative than the norm. When such individuals are also community leaders, their activities outside the sphere of community service are of particular significance. Queensborough Italian community leaders devote themselves as well to business enterprise and to various forms of study and effort designed to promote their elevation to managerial and white-collar positions. Among the Squamish, many of the most active community leaders are, or have been, union officials. It was shown in Chapter V

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6 B. R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science, vol. 24, 1958, pp. 521-523.

that Squamish union leaders regard their union activity as an outgrowth of community activity. The statements of such Squamish union officials, cited earlier, with regard to their reasons for union activity become particularly interesting when compared with a description of one type of non-Western entrepreneur:

> . . . he also has a role as a community leader, and may be found at the head, or even in the middle ranks of socialized enterprises. In underdeveloped areas he may be the manager or committee member of a cooperative, or the energetic leader of a native local authority. Public service may be as important an objective in his make-up as private gain . . . many leaders of initiative are motivated by their concern to raise the level of living of their own people, and to provide a more promising future for their children or grandchildren.

Using this broader definition, many of the Squamish union leaders could be viewed as entrepreneurs concerned with the management of a resource--Squamish labor potential--in such a way as to maximize monetary or non-monetary benefits for the group. One might hypothesize that the concentration of Squamish energies in this union type of enterprise has been at the expense of more standard business enterprise. This line of reasoning cannot be pursued further without empirical evidence beyond the scope of this paper. In any event, the cultural patterns of the two communities appear to channel the leaders' initiative and enterprise into different areas.

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7 C. S. Belshaw, "The Cultural Milieu of the Entrepreneur," Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, vol. 7, 1955, p. 158.

Moreover the Squamish, particularly those active in earlier union work, regard longshoring as a hard-won traditional occupation in which their ethnic position must be protected. Aspirations for upward mobility are subordinated to the concern with maintaining what they have. Although some parents express the desire that their children will get a better job, they are often more anxious to get their sons established on the waterfront. The Italians, on the other hand, regard mill-work as a stop-gap occupation, often a downward step from their positions in Italy, which they follow until they can get something better. In many cases immigrants, particularly the older ones, reach a point where their desire for security outweighs their hopes for advancement. They resign themselves to their positions in the mill and indeed fear that they will not be able to retain them. They place their hopes for mobility with their children. The data from the Indians and Italians with regard to aspirations and mobility seem to agree with the study of union participation made by Tannenbaum and Kahn:

> The experience of social mobility, either up or down, appears more characteristic of the inactive union member. Aspirations for upward mobility also are more pronounced among inactives. It seems that social immobility, both in experience and aspirations, is more characteristic of the active participant in union affairs.[8]

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8 Tannenbaum and Kahn, op. cit., p. 151.

(3) Relative Size of the Ethnic Group in the Workforce: Currently the most active union officials in both groups (including the one found for the Italians) are employed in industries where their respective ethnic groups make up a very small proportion of the workforce. There appears to be a connection between union activity and the relative size of the ethnic group in the workforce. One interpretation might be that these individuals are using union activity to find security on the job through the establishment of a new set of relationships. Where the ethnic group represents a larger proportion of the workforce, as in the Queensborough mills, the individual may find security instead through his ethnic ties.

Such an interpretation should not be carried too far. Personal ideology probably plays as large a part as the desire for security on the job. For example, the Italian shop steward had developed an interest in trade unionism before coming to Canada. However it appears that ethnic activity, as such, decreases as security within the industry is attained.

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(4) Nature and Length of Ethnic Group Contact with the Union: The Squamish, as outlined in Chapter IV, have been involved with waterfront unionism from the formative years, when the strength of the union was little more than the determination of a handful of men. For many of the Squamish, particularly the leaders, union activity has been a personal

and intimate fight to improve conditions on the waterfront. Even today, many of them recall former poor working conditions and low wages and attribute improvements to the union.

For the Italians, arriving in the post-war period, the IWA was already an established impersonal institution, exercising considerable control over their security and future. With many benefits achieved in struggles before the arrival of the Italians, the improved conditions were not so readily apparent to them. Instead, many of the union actions seemed detrimental to them. Similarly the increasing impersonality of the union, as centralization and organization grows, may in part account for the lessening of Indian activity in the ILWU.

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(5) Specific Cultural and Historical Factors: Language difficulty is the reason most frequently given by Italians for their lack of union participation. This reason is undoubtedly true to a large extent. Even for someone with a good command of English, union meetings are often lengthy and confusing discourses on various local by-laws and constitutional matters. However, as was noted earlier, there are many Italians whose English is good enough for them to understand what is taking place. Indeed some Squamish unionists feel they have improved their English and their verbal facility through participation at union meetings. There is little doubt, however, that such specific cultural factors as language difficulty tend to diminish union participation.

Historical factors also influence participation. Hence some Italians attribute the lack of Italian union activity to the aversion to organization and bureaucracy developed in Fascist Italy during the war. This is probably partially true but the argument is offset by the Italians who claim that the Italian union system is better than the one here.

Unionism and Commitment

As has already been indicated, the two groups differ in their degree of commitment to the "behavior appropriate to an industrial way of life." With the Squamish, full commitment can be taken as an index of acculturation. The Italians were committed before their migration. In line with a suggestion by Moore,[9] the Squamish may have become committed in part by the fact that economic pressures outweighed the advantages of the former way of life. But it appears that the longshoring unions, with their increasing emphasis on decasualization, have promoted commitment of the Squamish longshoremen through positive and negative sanctions, through formal and informal social activity, and through lengthy historical contact. Unions are probably variable in the extent to which they aid commitment. The reasons for this variation would be the same as those described for the variation in union participation of the membership. Apparently, union participation tends to

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9 W. E. Moore, Industrialization and Labor, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1951, p. 23.

further commitment.

Union Replacement of Traditional Groupings

Slotkin's hypothesis that the union may act as a replacement for some or most traditional groups apparently does not apply to either the Squamish or the Queensborough Italians. Admittedly the pensions and other benefits won by the union may take the place of the former obligations of kin groups. And, in the case of both groups, the meaning of "traditional groupings" is a little obscure. In so far as they refer to community social groups, Slotkin's suggestion does not hold. Social groupings based on the work group and, in the case of the Squamish, the union, have added new dimensions but have not reduced or replaced activity within the community.

Neither does Moore's thesis that there is probably an inverse relation between union activity and participation in more traditional and voluntary associations have validity here. Quite the contrary is the case, with the most active unionists being the most active in community affairs and other organizations. Tannenbaum and Kahn have recorded similar findings.[10] In their study of union participation they found that active union members are more active in other organizations than non-active union members.

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10 Tannenbaum and Kahn, op. cit., p. 91.

Unionism and Adaptation to Canadian Work and Social Settings

There is some evidence that unionism can act as a means to enable groups and individuals to adapt or adjust to new conditions. Again unions are variable in this regard. Furthermore, the problems of adjustment vary for the particular ethnic group and consequently the efficacy of the union as a means of adjustment depends upon the nature of the problems as well as the nature of the union.

Some of the problems faced by the Indians, for example, include: (a) Adjusting to industrial work patterns. Longshoring originally fitted the seasonal nature of Indian activity and over the years the unions have taken various steps which appear to have furthered commitment. (b) Discrimination. The union has been insistent on a policy of equality for all its members and this appears to be borne out in practice. (c) Difficulty in seeking out a job. Here the union hiring hall, as mentioned earlier, provides an institutionalized method of job-hunting. (d) The peculiar relation of the Indian in relation to White society and a paternalistic government bureaucracy. Union participation appears to have helped break down hostility to the "White Man," in general, and confine it mainly to specific agencies or individuals.

On the other hand, the Queensborough Italians consider their main problems in adjustment as: (a) Arriving in a strange and vast new country and not knowing where or how to

look for a job. Here the IWA plays no part in overcoming the problem. (b) Language. The difficulties the Italians face with English have already been pointed out. The union does not ameliorate this situation. (c) Insecurity. Although the union probably increases the Italian's financial security, his psychological insecurity is stimulated by the fear of "useless strikes." In addition, the Queensborough Italians resent being treated as "ignorant D. P.s" and lumped together with the Southern Italians who they consider clannish and backward. But even the vice-president of the union, after speaking favorably of Northern Italians, claimed that the Queensborough Italians were from the South and "that's a different kettle of fish."

If we consider the adjustment of the communities, rather than that of individuals, the role of the union is clearer. Both communities are in somewhat of an "under-privileged" position in relation to the rest of Canadian society. They both are of relatively low economic and social status and face some prejudice from outside. Yet the two communities have adjusted quite differently to the situation. The Indian community, or a considerable portion of it, has used the union as a horizontal tie to the rest of Canadian society. Many of the Indian community leaders have extended their roles into union leadership, equalizing or raising their status with at least one segment of Canadian society. Furthermore their union activities are reflected back into the community, to some

degree, in more effective leadership and improved administrative procedure.

On the other hand, the Italian community reacted to its situation by falling back upon itself. Its adjustment took place through the formation of cooperative ethnic activities and a formal Italian organization. Emphasis is placed on security from within the community. Its ties with the larger society are characterized by the upward mobility of a few individuals rather than by a horizontal link through a cross-cutting organization such as the union.

Unionism and Acculturation

There are two points to be considered when examining the relationship between unionism and acculturation. The first is that of trade union activity as a form of acculturation in itself. The second is the possible connection between union activity and other aspects of acculturation.

(1) Trade Union Activity as a Form of Acculturation: The trade unions considered in this paper are institutions of Canadian society. Hence the involvement in a trade union of a member of a different culture or sub-culture is an index of his acculturation to the behavior and norms associated with that particular institution. This is roughly the same point, outlined in Chapter I, made by Slotkin.

Furthermore, the extent of this type of acculturation varies directly with the extent of union participation.

Increasing acculturation is marked by an increasing involvement with a complex of related characteristics. These characteristics range from initial union membership, to attendance at meetings and social functions, to office-holding. In short, for a member of a particular sub-culture, union participation is one form of acculturation.

The above argument may seem almost tautological. However, when union participation is seen as one form of acculturation its possible relationship with other aspects of acculturation can more readily be examined.

(2) Union Activity and Other Aspects of Acculturation: Earlier in this chapter, I suggested that union participation tends to further commitment. Moreover, commitment--the performance and acceptance of the behaviors appropriate to the industrial way of life--is one index of acculturation for a group such as the Squamish. Hence we have a relationship between one form of acculturation, union participation,and other elements in acculturation represented by commitment. In Chapter V, an attempt was made to describe some of the values, attitudes, and activities subscribed to by many of the unionized Squamish. Often these values, attitudes, and activities were shared only to a limited degree, or not at all, by non-unionized Squamish. Such distinctions are partially connected with the fact that generally the union men are steady workers, which is one indication of their commitment. The difference in work behavior between union and non-union Squamish, in itself, indicates a varying degree of acculturation.

There appears to be a relationship between certain aspects and degrees of acculturation and union activity. However, I am not suggesting that union activity causes such acculturation. Union activity is probably one acculturative influence. Contact with fellow workers on the job is another. Such contact is possibly the most stimulating influence for those aspects of acculturation concerning values, behavior patterns, and recreational activities. The Squamish unionists, for example, appear to share the values, behavior patterns, and recreational activities of their fellow workers. It has already been suggested that union activity furthers commitment which is one part of the acculturative process. In so far as a union, such as the ILWU, increases the process of social interaction initiated on the job, it would also further acculturation. Union participation and social interaction on and off the job are cumulative influences which reinforce each other in the acculturative process.

Among the Italians there is, of course, no relationship between union participation and acculturation because there is virtually no union participation. The most acculturated Italians devoted their energies in other directions.

Even among individual Squamish unionists, the degrees and types of acculturation are differentiated. Unionism is obviously not an acculturative influence of equal intensity for all participants. Such differentiation points up a problem that will increasingly plague acculturation studies. The

concept of acculturation, as defined in the first chapter, has had considerable utility in many works on cultural and social change. It was relatively easy, for example, to classify a Nineteenth Century Squamish Indian who began wearing Western clothing as being more acculturated than one who did not. As cultures and sub-cultures become increasingly similar, acculturation--conceptually and methodologically--needs considerable refinement. This calls for more clearly delineated characterizations of the sub-culture which is becoming acculturated and of the culture towards which it is being acculturated.

Some writers on acculturation have escaped the difficulty mentioned above by shifting the meaning of acculturation to what I have called "integration."[11] In this context, I feel there is definitely a relation with union activity. There is some evidence, for example, that in earlier years the Squamish longshoremen were becoming increasingly acculturated and yet were not integrated with the Whites who shared many of the same values, norms and behavior patterns. When the union was formed, it acted as an institutional bridge which tended to link the two groups. This integration process was furthered by the fact that some Indian community leaders attained union office in which their authority and influence encompassed both Indians and Whites.

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11 For example, Spiro, op. cit., passim.

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