THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY, HALIFAX, CANADA

SUNNYVILLE, LINCOLNVILLE, AND UPPER BIG TRACADIE

GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY AND RECOMMENDATION

A REPORT

prepared for

NOVA SCOTIA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

and

ARDA, GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

by

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

- 1965 -

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Foreword	.....	i
Chapter 1	Synoptic Perspective: Summary and Essential Findings	1
Chapter 2	The Research Problem	20
Chapter 3	Historical: The Guysborough Negroes A Study in Isolation	25
Chapter 4	The Economic Perspective	37
Chapter 5	Education	69
Chapter 6	Individual Responses	109
Chapter 7	Collective Responses	149

FOREWORD

This study of Sunnyville, Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, was undertaken by the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, at the request of the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare and with the support of ARDA under arrangements formalized in July 1964.

In view of the recognized depressed condition of the Negro population of these communities, a socio-economic study was then projected for the purpose of answering three questions, which may be stated as follows:

(1) What are the alternative possibilities of bringing about imporved incomes and social conditions, either in the present communities or through re-settlement?

(2) What kind of community action program is needed to enable the people to take advantage of the most favourable alternative possibility or possibilities, and how can such a program be organized and conducted?

(3) Is the appointment of a community worker justified?

An interim report of October 1964 conveyed to the Department a preliminary assessment concerning alternatives and program, and recommended the appointment of a community worker.

As research results became available from the field work in August-September 1964, continuous consultation and a flow of information to the Director of the new Social Development Division, Department of Welfare have been maintained. Since the end of March 1965, historical, economic and sociological materials, have been presented in draft form as they became available. In June, the draft overview or "synoptic perspective" was discussed with the Director of the Division and the newly appointed community worker over a two-day period, and in mid-August it was rendered in final form (subject to slight editing).

We are now pleased to present the completed Report to the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare and ARDA.

In general, we find the situation to correspond with this recent description of poverty by J.K. Galbraith, the well-known economist and author:

> "The problem of poverty is the problem of people who for reasons of location, education, health, environment in youth or mental deficiency or race are not able to participate effectively -- or at all -- in the economic life of the nation. Being barred from participation they are denied the income that accrues to participants... Being unable to participate they receive nothing. They will continue to receive nothing no matter how fast the economy expands. ..."

Furthermore, we find in retrospect that our recommendations are in keeping with Galbraith's views about effective remedies:

> "There must be no doubt that the means of rescuing the victims of chronic poverty or their children - investment to conserve and develop resources, assistance in relocation of workers, assistance to new industries, vastly improved education, training and re-training, medical and mental care, youth employment, counselling, urban recreational facilities, housing, slum abatement, and the assurance of full civic equality - will require public effort and public funds. Poverty can be made to disappear. It won't be accomplished simply by stepping up the growth rate any more than it will be accomplished by incantation or ritualistic washing of the feet. Growth is only

for those who can take advantage of it".

Professors Donald Clairmont and William Benallick, of the Departments of Sociology of Saint Mary's and Dalhousie University, respectively, were engaged as study directors on behalf of the Institute of Public Affairs. Four students were employed as "participant-observers" for seven weeks, two being spent in training and five in the communities, during July-September 1964. The death by accident of Professor Benallick just as he was about to go with the students into the area struck a severe blow at the plan for the project. Professor Clairmont agreed to carry forward with special help from K.S. Wood, Economic Research Associate, and the Director of the Institute of Public Affairs. Consultation was available from Professor A.M. Sinclair, Department of Economics, and from C.R. Brookbank, Head, Industrial Relations Section and Donald F. Maclean, Head, Conference and Course Section, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Professor George A. Rawlyk, Department of History, Dalhousie University, undertook to prepare a historical reference paper. Later, Professors June Smith and M.A. Malpass, of Mount Allison University, were commissioned to conduct certain tests of "social distance" at the high school of Guysborough and two other Nova Scotia centres. In addition, information has been sought from numerous persons, both private and official, having special knowledge. No effort and no expense, even beyond the limit of the fund allotted, has been spared to make the Report as comprehensive and valuable as possible for humanitarian reasons and in the public interest.

The highest praise is due to Professor Clairmont for carrying the study forward to completion after the tragic difficulties of 1964. In effect, he, Mr. Wood and the Director of the Institute, formed a study team responsible for the general recommendations. While Mr. Wood contributed the economic chapter and Professor Rawlyk the historical chapter, total credit for authorship of the sociological sections and full credit for general leadership in the project belong to Donald Clairmont.

The Institute of Public Affairs wishes to thank all those who contributed in any way to this report. It is our hope that the general co-operation and welcome of the people of Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville to the staff group will be deemed worthwhile now and in the future in the outcome. Although unexpected difficulties caused much anxiety to all involved, we have valued the relations with the interested members of the Department of Public Welfare.

Guy Henson
Director
Institute of Public Affairs
Dalhousie University

Chapter I

SYNOPTIC PERSPECTIVE: SUMMARY AND ESSENTIAL FINDINGS

I. Summary

This summary is based upon facts derived from the research and upon considerations set forth (a) in the synoptic perspective immediately following and (b) in extensive materials communicated in recent months (verbally and in writing) to officials of the Department of Welfare.

Present Situation

After generations of economic, educational and other social deprivation, the people of the three communities live under conditions intolerable in modern Canadian society and deeply unsatisfactory to the people themselves: (1) Per capita income of about $325 (about $175 per capita earned income, supplemented by about $150 in government transfer or assistance payments); (2) low-paid unskilled, casual and intermittent employment is general; (3) labour force participation rate of 23%; (4) average education of 4.5 grades; (5) substandard incomes, housing and other inadequate social conditions which tend to deter young people from achievement in regional high school; (6) out of a population of 648 persons, 56% (including welfare-supported children from outside) are under 15 years of age; (7) present transfer or assistance payments totalling approximately $105,000. The socio-economic position of the communities appears to be deteriorating, not improving, relative to national and provincial standards in the post-war period.

Alternatives

(1) People mostly lack skills, resources, and desire (70% are reluctant to migrate) to move into urban industrial areas. Private and public reasons for avoidance of a policy of accelerated industrial-urban mobility include the prospective addition of many persons to the hard core of urban unemployed, large family size, and family and social disruption.

(2) Communities are situated in a depressed rural area which offers few and limited opportunities (other than in forestry) in primary, secondary, or service industries.

(3) A modern program of improvement and utilization of the largely crown-owned forest resources located near the communities offers the most apparent source of economic support for a substantial part of the present population. A higher standard of living which would result from the availability of jobs and higher income offers the prospect of improved educational and social conditions leading to wider range of choice and mobility for young people in the future. Male workers draw 60% of their present employment and income from forestry, and most of them have forestry skills and aptitudes.

(4) Past experience and the facts of the situation indicate that self-help, even when supplemented by private help and intermittent, unco-ordinated piecemeal public programs, are inadequate. A massive public program, maximizing self-help and participation by the people, and using private assistance, is essential to basic socio-economic improvement. Such a program is justified, on economic as well as humanitarian grounds, in view of the costs of the present situation and of the present alternative prospects. The present situation is likely to lead to a compounding of disparities and social problems, including problems in white-Negro relations.

Recommendations

(1) That the core of the community development program must be economic, leading to higher incomes, permitting better housing and social conditions, and enabling young people to profit from education and to have skills, mobility, and range of choice.

(2) That a modern forest improvement and utilization program be developed immediately, by combined public and private effort, for the adjacent areas which consist mainly of crown land and are important for wood supply, watershed protection, and industrial water supply; and that this forest improvement program be properly balanced and co-ordinated for the benefit of the general district, including the three communities, which can thereby gain, for at least a part of their residents and for the first time in their history, a source of livelihood in keeping with the standards

of the general society. (Please see economics section of Report for detailed analysis supporting this and the next three recommendations.)

(3) That, in specific terms (a) under auspices of the Province, steps be taken to determine the separate and joint expenditures, upon a coordinated forest improvement program in a suitable area to be selected, which departments or other agencies of the Provinces and the interested company or companies are justified in making (in view of their contractual responsibilities and their long-range as well as short-range interests) for purely economic reasons in the immediate future; and that (b) this coordinated forest improvement program be enlarged, to the fullest extent warranted by the human as well as public costs of the present situation, by a social subsidy through ARDA, or other Federal and Provincial programs, or both, for the purpose of providing, upon a non-segregated basis, modern conditions of employment and income for the maximum number of workers of the three communities and of the general district.

(4) That this forest improvement and utilization program be undertaken immediately and that (while it is beyond the terms of reference and competence of the present Report to enter into the practical plans and arrangements) the new and steady employment of some 25 to 30 men in the three communities appears to be a realistic target. (This number to be additional to the present workers, including several sub-contractors or other specialists, now employed on a more or less steady basis.)

(5) That (a) the forest improvement program, offering opportunity for the younger men, and (as outlined in the text) (b) present and new sources of employment for individuals and small groups, and (c) ad hoc projects, especially for older workers, be pursued (through local coordination by the community worker and emphasis on training programs) with a target of 95 needed, new, full-time jobs, or some equivalent combination of full-time and part-time jobs; and with the objective of doubling the per capita income within the next two or three years, from $325 at present to the figure of about $600 for Guysborough County as a whole.

(6) That some out-migration, such as takes place now in a limited way, be encouraged and assisted under recent public programs and others likely to be adopted.

(7) That priority be given, with a sense of urgency, to (a) housing improvement, with allocation of land holdings, on a planned basis, and (b) to education, with benefit from specially trained teachers, study quarters, university student-

volunteers and members of the Company of Young Canadians, and other means suggested.

(8) That the community worker (whose appointment was recommended in October 1964) be given necessary working funds for projects and the backing, in a formally coordinated way, of all interested government departments.

(9) That the community development program be comprehensive, intensive, and sustained for a period of years; that maximum self-help and participation by the people is basic to its success; that flexible targets be renewed frequently; that use be made of the growing body of experience in Canadian and United States programs to remedy conditions arising from deprivation; and that the program be self-terminating in the long range.

II. Essential Findings

In this brief overview of the results of our research concerning the Guysborough Negroes, we are consciously and explicitly seeking a certain "level", between a simple listing of general recommendations on the one hand and on the other a detailed "cook-book" of policy implementation. Further, this synopsis is not a summary of the six chapters of the report. To some degree it stands alone, representing an attempt to be analytic about a program of change, to weigh various alternatives, in the light of data reported in the main body of the report. It includes:

1) An examination of the various alternatives to significant governmental assistance in the development of the project area, the conclusion being that none of the alternatives is adequate.

2) A discussion of some of the guidelines or presuppositions for governmental assistance.

3) An examination of the best way to "enter" the social system of the project area, to specify a basis on which a comprehensive development plan can be built. In our case we take the economic sector as core and work out the job potential of forestry and other economic activities.

4) Having established the degree of change possible in the economy, we work out its implications for other aspects of social life such as migration, family planning and training programs.

5) We then go to specify the form of the governmental assistance, with reference to the project population, suggesting governmental subsidization of the private sector and individuals.

6) Finally, we treat two especially significant problems, housing and education, showing the connections between these and the rest of the program and making specific recommendations.

I. Given the sponsorship of this research project, the very first question that must be raised is <u>whether or not there are any alternatives to public assistance in the development of the project area</u>? There are several theoretical possibilities:

(a) Wholesale short-run migration - This appears to be impossible because:

1. Many of the household heads (about 70%) are reluctant to migrate, even assuming more "real choice".

2. The level of achievement in formal education and special skills is so low (the average education of those out of school is 4.5 grades and only one or two from the whole project population have any special training) as to put virtually everyone in the category for which there is little economic demand and, hence, wholesale migration would just mean transferring the problem elsewhere.

3. The facts of large families, existing debts, transportation costs, etc., render wholesale migration prohibitive.

4. Wholesale migration would mean the disruption of existing bonds among the project population and, while these should not be overstressed, they are important given the minimal ability of the majority of the people to cope with modern complex society.

5. A further obstacle to this alternative and one which compounds all of the above points is that, on the basis of our economic analysis, as things now stand and in the immediate future, there appears to be possible only very limited disposal of the population into the surrounding area.

(b) Maintenance of existing situation - This is impossible because:

1. Given our greater sophistication concerning social problems, it is intolerable in terms of our value-system. A per capita income of $325, the toll in education, in family and community life - such facts render inaction intolerable and impossible.

2. There are in existence governmental programs which if co-ordinated, extended and concretized in terms of local conditions, can be of great utility - i.e., Company of Young Canadians, ARDA, transportation for unemployed in distressed areas, etc.

3. The existing costs of maintenance are very great;

even excluding more hidden costs such as the loss of income, etc., there is at present public subsidization of unemployment and poverty. Public transfer payments to the three communities amounted to about $105,000.00 last year and accounted for half the per capita income.

4. Maintenance of the existing situation will in effect lead to even greater disparities - the comparative position of the project population in per capita income, amount of formal education received and so on has worsened since the end of World War II. There has been also a tremendous increase in illegitimacy and average family size has increased. Inattention, then could very well have the same effect in the future - more social problems, more costs to society.

5. Finally, maintenance of the existing situation will mean, under present conditions, that the project population will be an even greater "drag" on the economy of this generally depressed area and will intensify related difficulties in the social relations of whites and Negroes.

(c) Ability of people under conditions of minimal public assistance to change their situation:

1. Like most people with low socio-economic status in our society, these people have great difficulty in coping with modern life and as a result there are severe limitations to self-help. It was reported in several of the chapters - education, migration, etc. - that in most cases the people simply do not have a clear idea of the nature of their problems.

2. In those cases where they do have some understanding - all realize employment is essential and most were constantly telling our participant-observers of employment-creating possibilities - they do not have the means to do much about it, (i.e., forestry especially).

3. There have been cases where individuals and groups in the project area have tried to improve their situation but, unassisted, have been generally unsuccessful.

4. In viewing self-help possibilities, it is crucial that historical factors and cultural tradition be seen, at least somewhat, as moulders of present attitudes,

values or, in general, cultural environment. The range of plasticity among adults and adolescents is considerably restricted and among Guysborough Negroes restricted in a cultural way not conducive to middle-class realizations of self-help.

(d) Likelihood of mobilization of "private" assistance under conditions of minimal public assistance:

The likelihood is very small. There has been no real co-operation between whites and Negroes concerning credit unions, church and educational facilities, except on a random basis. Nor has any initiative been taken by business interests in the area to improve conditions among the Guysborough Negroes. This is readily apparent from our historical analysis - both the history chapter per se and the historical patterns in education and collective action. There has been the occasional non-government sponsored project - especially Father Anthony's group in Lincolnville - but these have been few and very restricted by funds and skills. Some mobilization of this private sector could be done, but the initiative and direction would clearly have to come from governmental sources. Significant governmental involvement appears to be a prerequisite.

II. It appears, then, that the alternatives to public assistance in the development of the area are inadequate. Given that public assistance is necessary, before commenting on its scope and concretization, it is important to ask whether there are any guidelines or presuppositions that can be laid down. It appears to us that there are at least five such presuppositions of any governmental program for the area:

(1) The tenor of any public program should be against segregation, not only in itself but, also, operating to lessen the already existing kinds of segregation such as exists in local elementary schools. Any program aspect promoting or stabilizing segregation should be thoroughly and cautiously studied and have justification only as being short-run and ad hoc. The reasons behind this are many and well-known. "Racial" criteria are inappropriate in this modern age, the consequences of segregation are poor facilities for the minority (see especially the education chapter where the material apparatus of Negro schools is

described in detail) and the engendering of stereotypes, the public costs tend to be greater, co-operation rendered more difficult between the groups, and so on. Many of these factors exist now in the area and it seems fair to attribute some causal significance here to the historical patterns of segregation. Public programs so oriented would clearly be in keeping with the expressed desires of the Negro population, though some White reluctance can be anticipated.

2. The process of achieving the general objective - "seeking ways and means of enabling people of the three communities to move into the main stream of the twentieth century life with its characteristic problems as well as advantages and to move out of the poverty ridden isolated culture they have existed in since pioneer days" - a goal which, of course, reflects the choice of the research team but which, also, is in line with the orientation and aspirations of most community members who are very dissatisfied with their present life-style, appears to us to necessitate bold concerted effort. In other words, the level of commitment has to be high.

It appears fair to say that most change-oriented governmental activity in the project area has been of a piecemeal sort and, even within restricted spheres, on too small a scale. Consequently, most have been failures. One consequence of this is the feedback on the attitudes of community members to further change programs. It appears that their total effect has been dysfunctional since such projects perform socialization functions, get people sensitized to their comparatively poor conditions, but leave them unsatisfied and more demanding with regard to later attempts. Thus they have the effect of accelerating negative feelings towards change programs generally. Such patterns were found in all three communities in the course of our field-work investigations. A "bold" program appears to be of critical importance if the people of the project area are going to be motivated to change.

A "concerted" program is necessary, given the nature of the problem and the inter-relatedness of social facts. Of course, it is impossible to do everything at once, but it is not impossible to be constantly relating things to one another. Later in this synopsis, we will suggest in a concrete way how certain limited multifaceted approaches can be carried out, or, rather, must be carried out if there is to be effective change.

3. The program of public assistance should seek to maximize the participation of the project population. This means confrontation with the people, taking pains to get across reasons, etc. (It may be that they will not be able to understand everything, but that remains to be seen). A synoptic picture should also be discussed with them as well as more specific aspects of the program. Similarly, on an action level, participation of the project population should be sought, for example, in the housing projects. Behind such a presupposition lies the general experience of change programs, namely, all things being equal, the greater the involvement of the people themselves, the greater the effectiveness of the change program. Other relevant reasons for seeking higher participation include breaking the well-established hand-out pattern in the Negro-government relations as well as crossing the ethnic or racial barrier. The existing Negro orientation towards government, or agencies of the broader society generally, appears to be that these are "out there" beyond Negro control and that they are unpredictable. Such an orientation appears to mean for the population a strategy of short-run, ad hoc manipulation, a strategy that seems inappropriate to effective, planned, long-run change. It appears to us that a high rate of participation can result in the needed orientation change. Finally, given the definition of government widely held in our society, seeking the participation of the population is a moral necessity.

4. Any program of change should be oriented to the regional area and not to the Negro "communities" per se. Thus, nothing should be done without full awareness of the area non-project population and it should be done without hurting their interests. Special Negro concern can be justified in a limited sense, given previous lack of attention and discrimination and given the fact that change among this population might constitute a model for developments elsewhere. But in this depressed area there is little point in driving others further into debt especially as some have extended credit to members of the project population in the past and so forth. A clearly difficult case in point is that the Negro residents strongly desire stores in their communities but were such to be government initiated and subsidized, it would mean a severe blow to the retail business of others in the area. Behind such a presupposition lies the research team's view that the "community" should not be seen as the unit for change. Only in the sense of spatial aggregates can we talk of Negro communities. The project population, for services and employment, is related

to the wider area and only this wider area or region possesses the social characteristics of a unit that can, for purposes of an intensive program of change, be marked off as a relatively closed system. Such a procedure is also in line with the goal of integration as well as the frame of reference of government programs (i.e., vocational training has an area referent).

5. Any program of change has to be premised on the viability of the area for some in the long run. The development of skills and so forth to avoid a mere transference of the problem necessitates time. There do appear to be prospects in the area as is indicated in recent developments such as the new pulp mills at Port Hastings and Abercrombie, the modern new fish plant at Canso, and, in the more immediate environs, local ARDA group developments - blueberries and peat moss, training in select skills by local Monastery people, etc. The crucial question concerns the primary source of viability and the optimum population size.

III. Public assistance, then, appears imperative and certain guidelines can be laid down for its operation. It needs to be connected, however, to some basic core, in order that the size and form of the program can be specified. The core obviously has to be economic. In discussing this, several distinctions have to be drawn - short-run and long-run, the resource base of the area, the young and old population.

(a) (1) In assessing the economic opportunities that are available, it has been concluded that forestry is the best sector and offers important immediate opportunities for jobs in the area. The main potential in this sector lies in the fact that vast amounts of crown-owned forest land are located near the communities, and, what is as important, they are in need of intensive management and improvement. In the process of achieving this and in the consequent development of wood resources, a substantial amount of employment is possible. The area includes a watershed and important water supply. Its development can not only be related to existing needs but is of benefit to the Province (owner of land, stumpage revenue, indirect tax benefit from higher level of economic activity and employment), to the Federal government (tax benefits and reduced welfare payments) and to the Company (water protection, cheaper haulage to plants, increased supply necessary to increased production necessary in turn for plant expansion to realize advantages of scale). It may not be appropriate for the research team to suggest just what expenditures on

a forest improvement program in this area should be made by each party separately, or jointly, for fully economic reasons, but it seems appropriate to suggest that a reasonable expenditure for social purposes under the proper Federal-Provincial program or programs (ARDA, ADA, or other) when coupled with expenditures which the company and the Province are committed to make and are justified in making for direct economic reasons, would make possible an immediate forest improvement program for the area. A planned continuous program of forest improvement, phased in high sustained yield from cropping over a period of years, would provide direct employment at decent current wages for approximately 25-30 men within the target period of the next two or three years. The multiplier effect of such a program would not be great but would, nevertheless, be important, especially if there are concurrent developments in other parts of the forestry sector.

(2) The above plan represents an entirely new source of input for the economy of the area and the project population. At the present time 60% of the employment of the project population occurs in this sector and it accounts for about the same percentage of the total earned income. The main activity is that of individual cutting and selling of pulp, primarily "export" to Mulgrave dealers. Christmas tree cutting and cultivation at the present is only of very marginal importance. If the full potential of the crown land improvement program is to be realized and if the area is to support a modest population, concurrent developments in these two activities must occur. This means more training and more land being made available to the population. Only in Upper Big Tracadie, the smallest of the project communities, do most residents possess wood-lots and even there, the wood-lots are in sorry condition and largely unproductive.

(3) Prospects of gaining livelihood from other sectors - the other primary industries, processing and manufacturing, service occupations, etc. - are limited, supplemental and in that way important, but essentially marginal. A few more jobs appear possible in pottery, the service occupations and for the odd tradesman. The core of the program as regards the economy must clearly then be the forestry sector. Target dates should be set for the development of the above and, if they appear unlikely of realization, corresponding adjustments will simply have to be made in other aspects of the program.

(b) (1) None of the suggested economic improvements either in forestry or the supplemental activities can be realized without more training of the project area population. As far as training is concerned it should be noted that, at the present, two-thirds of the male workers in the project communities are accustomed to forest-related occupations - so there is a base for development. In the supplemental sectors little experience can be assumed.

(2) The training programs should be directed primarily to the young who are willing to remain in the area, and in the development of their vocational skills, it would be useful to study the American experience in their plan for vocational training of similarly qualified youths in similarly undeveloped areas. Obviously the criteria of admission have to be generously interpreted even for the young. The concentration of the vocational training should be in the area of forestry (again, this underlines the importance of target dates to assess the possibilities of the suggested forestry plans.) Vocational training for other sectors, besides enabling some to move into low-demand employment, could, under the supervision of placement officials, - a role, by the way, which promises to be of considerable importance - endow them with a skill which might permit migration to other locations where opportunities at present do exist. Given the educational achievement and attitudes of the potential trainees not much in this regard should be expected in the short-run. For reasons of motivation and for efficiency and reduced costs in other aspects of the change program, it might be useful to gear this "other" vocational training into the area of housing, motor mechanics and road-construction.

(3) Training programs in relation to forestry have to fit with existing demands. The demand for other semi-skilled workers is also limited. These two factors plus existing qualifications and the changing nature of valued skills (i.e., see the Port Hawkesbury plant) mean that there has to be a tremendous concentration on motivating the young to formal education. Even adequate vocational training demands a better background than there is at present or appears likely to develop in the next five years. Most youths in the project communities do not even reach high school.

(4) It does not appear that for the older residents more than <u>ad hoc</u> programs can be realistically suggested. The kind of training suggested for new forestry developments

may not be within reach of this group. This is something that, also, should be looked into. Programs most attuned to this age-group could be the extension of existing forestry marketing - needing more land as well as some supervision - roadside improvement, Christmas tree cultivation, and so forth. Here is where, if any place, a more specifically Negro orientation might operate. The programs for the younger age groups should definitely be organized against segregation; that is, participation of white youths should not merely be tolerated but strongly encouraged, something quite in keeping with government policy. As a final note, it can be mentioned that a few forestry training programs have been initiated over the years but all have been quite unsuccessful partly because the commitment was too low, partly because without good lots they did not motivate the people, and partly because they were piecemeal - single isolated attacks on complex problems. It cannot be inferred from these that such training is useless to attempt.

IV. Having established a core on which a development program can be grafted or rooted, we can not be more specific about the scope and form of such a plan. In discussing the scope we are forced by our data to pretty much limit ourselves to the project population. The total population of the project is 648, of whom 56% are under fifteen years of age. The labour participation rate for this unit is 23%. Concerning the scope of the program, it is important initially to use some good measure of growth, some target, firstly of course, of economic improvement. For this we have used per capita disposable income level, which is $325 for the project communities, $600 for Guysborough County and $1,130 for Nova Scotia (1961 figures for the latter two units). The number and kind of jobs necessary to raise the income in the project communities to that of the Nova Scotian average, given existing population structure, does not appear to be achievable in the near future. A more realistic goal is to raise the per capita level of income in the project communities to that of the Guysborough County level. Without going into any details here, realization of this goal can be said to necessitate either 95 new full-time jobs or some combination of full-time jobs

and seasonal employment. For a variety of reasons, it is better to have full-time jobs rather than more of the casual part-time work engaged in by more workers. Given the target income and the estimate of job potential mentioned above (and further outlined in the chapter on the economy) it is clear that the existing and immediate future population is excessive.

This means several things - firstly, the migration of some must certainly be encouraged. There is a high rate of migration among young single men and women and this can be accelerated by support from the new federal migration program and by a more adequate system of placement and communication of relevant information. There is very little familial out-migration and little to be hoped for under existing conditions. Perhaps some of the few families willing to migrate could be encouraged to do so under the program suggested above. Secondly, government officials should look again at the wisdom of artificially stimulating population growth by placing "welfare children" in the project communities. At the present time such persons account for almost 10% of the project population. There are many hidden costs associated with rearing these children, costs of which household heads are themselves unaware. It seems incongruous that a depressed population such as this should perform a welfare role for the children of other areas. Thirdly, some form of family planning should be established in order that the trend of large families, and what they imply, can be changed. Many of the household heads in the three communities are sensitive to the economic and other costs of large families but they lack information, money for birth control facilities, and the cultural patterns conducive to family planning. It is important that plans to deal with these factors can be initiated in the short-run. In the long-run increased education helps mobility and stimulates economic growth but, at the moment, it is unrealistic to count much on such a development.

V. Next we turn to the <u>form of the change program</u> initiated and subsidized by public authorities.

(1) It is important in the long-run to integrate whites and Negroes, and important in the short-run to plan for this and to avoid hostility and potential blocks. At the present time, however, there appears to be little likelihood of direct cooperation. Previous attempts along these lines have failed and the attitude of whites

towards Negroes and vice-versa are not conducive to short-run economic and other co-operation. The seeds for real co-operation should be sown in the training programs, school arrangements, ad hoc projects such as roadside improvement, and local variants of schemes such as the "Company of Young Canadians".

(2) It appears that workers' co-operatives should be ruled out as a way of attacking existing problems. In addition to the well-known problems associated with workers' co-operatives, recorded in the literature, our investigations point to leadership difficulties, and lack of a strong community consciousness (low mutual assistance, lack of community initiative on suchmatters as stores, pulp cutting, etc.) in all of the project communities. One consequence is that in obtaining woodlots for the population, the allocation should be in terms of individual households. Marketing and even consumer co-operatives would run into difficulties and, if such are to exist, they would at least in the short-run have to be well-planned and guided by outside agencies. No doubt the assistance of theSt. Francis Xavier Extension Department could be obtained in the working out of any such plan.

(3) The best way in which such a development should occur is in the public subsidization of the private sector. This would involve working out arrangements with the business interests in the area such as the Nova Scotia Pulp Co., assisting local entrepreneurs such as truckers and sub-contractors, individual subsidies for wood-lots and housing improvements (or new homes).

(4) Certain matters such as water, sewerage, etc. necessitate a more co-ordinated effort. Insofar as it is possible, such projects should be carried out on a regional basis and should be closely connected to the training programs proposed earlier. Our suggestion is that these be carried out on a highly business basis - the workers being drawn from the region's youth and unemployed, obtaining training as well as cash payment. This, by the way, has been the approach of the Federal government in the Arctic.

VI. There are two areas that the research team believes should be given especial consideration, namely, housing and education.

(a) The quality of housing existent in the project communities is very poor. Most houses are ill-furnished, of unsound structure and quite overcrowded. Nevertheless, such housing forms the setting from which the people look out into the world. The research team believes something bold, imaginative and concrete is necessary to get a program of change underway, to crystallize adequate motivation and overcome the resistance engendered by the feeble attempts of the past. A housing program appears to "fill the bill". Low-cost housing might be developed by obtaining, on a voluntary basis, plans from local architects which incorporate a maximum of cost-saving elements; for example, one might be the use of short, and therefore normally wasted, pieces of wood. This could be coupled with grants of land so that adequate woodlots could be available for pulp-cutting and Christmas tree cultivation. On the basis of some brief investigations, we have found both aspects of this plan to be capable of realization. Our suggestion is that the project be carried out on the same basis as for the tasks necessitating co-ordinated effort, discussed in the previous sub-section.

The connection of such a development to family planning, on-the-job training, garden plots, etc. is obvious. Patching-up existing housing should in most cases be short-term only. The main problem of the suggested housing program is that it could further the already existing patterns of segregation. We believe that the housing development should be as far as possible a <u>regional</u> development. There are many difficulties associated with our scheme and, unfortunately, we simply do not have all the answers. It would certainly be wise for the appropriate government officials to discuss this issue with the architects.

(b) As is by now obvious, motivating children to achieve more formal education is a critical matter. At the present time it is possible to gauge the severity of the local problem by noting the pervasive pattern of elementary school drop-outs, a thing of the distant past in most of Canada and the United States. It is simply impossible to achieve the objectives stated earlier without considerable effort in effecting changes in this area. There is a basis in community beliefs for such change as, in each community, we found a common consensus as to the value and importance of formal education. What is lacking often are things about which immediate improvements can be made. The following we believe to be the more important suggestions for improvement:

(1) Desegregation of schools. - If nothing can be done immediately there should at least be more co-operation between white and Negro schools, and, in view of the high failure rate and large number of drop-outs in Guysborough County as a whole, a joint attack on educational problems.

(2) The Negro students who do go on to the mixed-racial high schools do very poorly. Among these youths there is a feeling of tension and anxiety, associated with education, which makes dropping-out a source of relief. Their problems, both in the segregated elementary school and in the "mixed" high school, involve more than just formal school criteria. Here, as has been found elsewhere, specially trained teachers are required if such problems are to be adequately met. What appears necessary then, is a mobile troupe of special qualified teachers to deal with the culturally deprived (both whites and Negroes).

(3) Since some Negro households have no electricity and almost all, with school-age children, are overcrowded, there should be made available evenings and week-end study quarters along with study supervisors. Here is where another warrant of the Company of Young Canadians scheme can be utilized, with the obtaining of volunteer supervisors from the nearby university.

(4) What is also necessary is better equipment in the local schools, especially visual aids, given the narrow experience and the abstraction difficulties of the pupils.

(5) Travel to outside points, such as the Port Hawkesbury mills, to show the changing nature of labour demands, could supplement the changes in school organization.

(6) Many of the parents in the project communities believe education to be important and encourage their children to be achievers in school. However, on the whole, they lack understanding of what it is all about, conceive of it in a religious fashion and in fact are ineffective in their encouragement of their children. More adult education programs could be of some assistance here, particularly if the stress is on a graphic presentation of school problems and so forth, rather than, as they often have been, on teaching adults reading and writing.

Similarly, in no community is there a parents-teachers committee, something quite necessary in view of the strain between these groups found in each community.

Effective implementation of the above suggestions demands that there be concurrent development in forestry and housing.

VII. In an interim Report, in October 1964, to the Department of Public Welfare, we recommended that a community worker be appointed to work in the project area. It is clear that if a program, somewhat along the lines suggested here, is to be developed, it will require the collaboration of various governmental departments. The community worker would have an important role to play in this co-ordination of efforts, as it is concretely worked out, in mediating peoples' wishes and needs and governmental plans and resources.

What we have tried to do here is to outline in rough a plan of change closely connected to the data we possess. More specific information of a descriptive pattern-finding sort is contained in the text of successive sections of our report, as amplified in personal communications with officials of the Social Development Division, which have been presented in recent months. We view our main responsibility as having been to provide in this way to the Department an informative descriptive study, particularly of those social facts most relevant to a program of development - i.e., education, patterns of community involvement, the economy and so forth. However, we offer in addition, this outline of development, for two reasons: Firstly, given that there is no such thing as a purely descriptive study, we take this opportunity to be more explicit about the values influencing the study. Secondly, we believe an over-all plan, systematically laid out, should be developed and, consequently, offer the above as a starting point for governmental thinking on this matter.

Chapter 2

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Aims of the Study

The purpose of this project is to examine, from a socio-economic viewpoint, three Negro communities - Lincolnville, Upper Big Tracadie and Sunnyville, all of which are in Guysborough County - which are generally acknowledged to be very depressed communities in a depressed area. In this study we attempt to describe adequately the degree of and kinds of adjustments to the depression to be found there. But, more than this, we are trying to establish a useful "map" for proposed change. This entails both an explanation of behaviour and suggestions as to what can be done to improve conditions. In any such study it is vital to make explicit the values which guide the researchers and provide standards against which to measure any program of change. In this case the researchers think it important that the members of the three communities obtain:

1. higher standards of living
2. more choice and opportunity in all areas of life
3. greater participation in the Maritimes and wider Canadian society

A more specific aim of the study has been to evaluate the proposed "community worker" plan suggested by the Department of Public Welfare. As specified in a memorandum received from the Department on May 20, 1964, the community worker, if appointed, would reside in the area and co-ordinate a well-integrated series of short-term and long-term projects designed to improve the well-being of the people concerned.

Study Design

The study itself was divided into two phases, the first of which was directed towards a "holistic" picture of the social life in the project communities, while the second consisted of a number of studies dealing with specific matters, found to be significant and demanding more intensive analysis from the investigations of the first phase.

A. In phase one, we concentrated on three main tasks:

(1) a basic socio-economic descriptions of each of the three communities. By this is meant: (a) a description of each community as an on-going social system specifying the regular and recurring behaviour engaged in by the population, through an institutional approach (i.e., familial, educational, economic, religious and recreational); (b) a description of the more important (as defined by the general study aims) relationships between each community and its social environment; (c) a description of the values of the population and specification of the relationship between these values and the behavioural patterns observed.

(2) a more intensive exploration of those behaviours and values considered most crucial for a program of effective and directed change. From a governmental point of view, it would appear that the educational and economic areas would be most important. Moreover, since governmental action can be most effective on a community level (or higher) a close examination of community leadership and organizations is necessary. Finally, existing adjustments of the people to their "situation" are important to understand if a program of change is to be effective and, therefore, migration patterns and other patterns of self-help need careful study.

(3) A comparison of these three Negro communities with other communities, similar in some important ways, is also crucial since it should illuminate the particularities or special characteristics of the project communities. Specifically it is hoped that such a comparison will indirectly shed some light on the importance of the fact that the residents of the communities being studied are members of a minority group in our society.

Operationalization of Phase One:

In order to obtain data for sections (1) and (2), we placed an observor in each of the three Negro communities. Each observor lived with a Negro family and used a "non-directive" approach in obtaining information. In sociological terminology each was a "participant-observor". The student-observors were supplied with a general guide consisting of a series of topics and recorded the pertinent information nightly. This general topic outline was buttressed by specific projects given from time to time in accordance with the rapport and insight gained by the particular participant-observor. Each observor had participated in a previous investigation of social behaviour and also was given a two-week training course designed for this study.

Data for section (3) was obtained by means of a questionnaire previously administered to members of several communities in neighbouring Halifax County. The questionnaire sought data on values, political and religions involvement, patterns of mutual assistance and interaction in the local community and alienation indicators. In each of the project communities the interviews were conducted by the respective student-observors. The strategy adopted was to conduct this formal interviewing at the very end of phase one in order to ensure accuracy. By this time we believed the observors should have built up considerable rapport with the people, thereby encouraging a more frank response and enabling us to avoid the usual difficulties of the "white interviewer - negro interviewer" situation.

B. In Phase Two, two intensive investigations of specific matters were undertaken.

(1) Little attention had been given earlier to the historical development of these three communities. This had been the case for several reasons, the most important being the lack of a historical consciousness among the people which rendered their information unreliable. This lack of an historical perspective was, however, a serious weakness

since it limited our understanding of the values, myths and interactions of the people. Further, we were very interested in securing adequate data on previous work and settlement patterns. It should be noted as well that historical books and pamphlets on the three communities were non-existent. For these reasons a competent historical analysis using records, deeds and similar sources of information was considered to be vital. Fortunately, Professor George Rawlyk, of the History Department at Dalhousie, a specialist in Canadian history, who has a particular interest in Nova Scotia, consented to undertake a small historical study of the project area.

(2) In the course of the investigations of phase one, it became apparent that the question of the economic potential of the area held the key to proposals for development. Hence it was considered important to examine, more deeply, patterns of economic life in the project communities, in comparison with those of the region generally. This study was conducted by K. Scott Wood, Research Associate of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Data gathered on the project population by survey and field-work were supplemented by governmental and other materials and then compared with the corresponding available information for the wider region.

Limitations and Difficulties: Phase One:

There were three critical difficulties in the carrying out of the tasks of phase one. They were:

(a) the loose conceptual organization of the study

(b) The death of one of the two research directors and the consequent methodological difficulties

(c) the unit of comparison

(a) The consideration to study these Negro communities was a difficult one for the investigators. The project area had been marked-off for immediate development by government officials and, yet, it was considered by them that a more fundamental understanding of social life in the area was necessary if the development were to be carried out adequately. Officials of the Department of Public Welfare approached the Institute of Public Affairs and the two investigators on this matter. At this time the research directors were engaged in a study of community involvement patterns in the neighbouring Halifax County. Our interest here was the relationship of the involvement characteristics of household heads with certain attributes of the communities outside the metropolitan area. It became apparent in our discussions with the government officials that much of the kind of information they sought was similar to that which we were obtaining in our Halifax County study. However, while the conceptual organization of this latter study was "tight", it was evident that the Guysborough study, if accepted, would be only of a make-shift sort. After much deliberation we decided, given the urgency of the problem, to undertake the study.

Since our Halifax County study was concerned with household heads' report of and response to social life in the community and the surrounding

area, we did have a solid base from which to move, in considering the special areas of interest in the project population. We attempted to sort out what kinds of information would be of greatest importance to a government initiated program of change. Much of these latter data were only minimally covered in our Halifax County questionnaire. Moreover, the complexity of social life and the scantiness of our knowledge meant that, to some degree, we would have to "play-it-by-ear", that is, we would need a methodology that was flexible. For these two reasons, we decided to place a student in each local community, who, under supervision, would be a participant-observor. The study, then, has largely to be considered as exploratory. It was in this spirit that we took on the investigation and operated within the three general tasks mentioned above.

(b) Our plan to have students as participant-observors in the project communities had two important limitations. Firstly, we could not obtain graduate students but, rather, had to settle for several undergraduates who were interested in the work and had administered the questionnaires in our Halifax County study. We had hoped to surmount this obstacle of not having, for the difficult role of participant-observor, persons steeped in the social sciences, by a two-week training period and close supervision and direction in the field. Secondly, we had to operate under severe time limitations, as, for many reasons, we could not count on more than a month in the field. It is clear that with these limitations our job would be a difficult one. The task became immeasurably more difficult when, on the week-end prior to the launching of the project, one of the two principal investigators was killed in an automobile accident. This research associate was to have supervised and directed the students in the field while the other associate, having commitments in Halifax, concentrated on the conceptual organization of the project and worked with census and other available materials.

At this point in the history of the project we almost decided to drop the study. The difficulties seemed too great as now the ill-equipped students would be quite on their own in the communities, since the remaining research director could only be in the project area on the week-ends. However, we decided to carry through our obligations in view of the fact that otherwise a much-needed development program might be delayed. One adjustment made was the obtaining of the services of Professors Rawlyk and Wood to conduct the supplementary investigations outlined earlier. Obviously, the study is less for the death of Professor Benallick, less in terms of rich data and less in terms of insighted interpretation.

(c) It is impossible to understand the social facts of the Guysborough Negro life without comparing these with the social facts of other units. The best comparison would be with other small communities in Guysborough County where the residents are mostly White. This would enable us to hold most community characteristics, such as size, distance from a metropolitan center, etc. constant while examining the role of race or ethnicity. Obviously, time and other limitations made such a procedure impossible. However, because much information on the Guysborough Negroes was obtained through the questionnaire previously administered to small communities in non-metropolitan Halifax County, we did have some basis for comparison. Such a comparison while, for the most part, adequate was further improved by selecting from among the many small communities

in Halifax County for which we had data, three which are expecially similar to the three Negro communities. These three White communities are referred to, throughout the text of this report, as "the selected communities".

Limitation and Difficulties: Phase Two

The historical and economic studies were limited both in the time available for their being conducted and by the financial resources available. The historical investigation, given the non-existence of informative books and pamphlets, had to be based on careful study of primary sources such as the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. The economic study had the special problem of small statistical units to deal with. Two other supplementary investigations had been planned for phase two, but neither - a housing study and an examination of existing training programs - could be carried out due to a scarcity of personnel and finances.

Organization of Report

The main body of this report is organized in terms of the behavioural areas considered most crucial for a program of directed change. It is, then, within the framework of the economy, education, individual responses (i.e., migration) and collective responses (i.e., mutual assistance, community organization) that we examine the Guysborough Negro communities. These sections are prefaced by a brief history of the settlements and followed by a special synoptic perspective on a program of development for the area.

Chapter 3

HISTORICAL: THE GUYSBOROUGH NEGROES
A STUDY IN ISOLATION

Relatively little has been written about the historical development of the various Negro communities in Nova Scotia. However, since 1948 two historians, Dr. C.B. Fergusson of the Nova Scotia Archives, and Professor Robin Winks of Yale University,[1] have written perceptively about the Nova Scotia Negro. Unfortunately, Fergusson's monograph is largely restricted to the period from 1812 to 1848, while Winks' recent study is a general survey of Negro history for the entire Atlantic region. Consequently, there are still many glaring gaps in Negro history in Nova Scotia and one of the most glaring of these concerns the Guysborough Negroes.

The Guysborough Negroes, like most Nova Scotian Negroes, live in a historical vacuum. Lacking a written historical tradition, and being ashamed of their African and slavery origins, they have become a rootless people with little awareness of their historical past. Most of the historical data about these Negroes has been carefully filtered through the minds of white observers. As a result, any historical study of the Guysborough Negroes is likely to be distorted.

For those "loyalist Blacks" who settled in Nova Scotia after the American Revolutionary War, leaving their former homes in the South was a traumatic experience. In the harsh wilderness of Nova Scotia they were abruptly confronted by a series of hazardous and even harrowing experiences.

It was to be expected that the problems posed by their migration to a strange land and climate, and often by their sudden emancipation, would be almost impossible for them to solve adequately. The extreme difficulties in establishing themselves in Nova Scotia was only the first and most immediate of such problems. In the ensuing years the Negroes throughout Nova Scotia were to be plagued by the combined ravages of crop failure, poverty, starvation, ignorance and white prejudice. For the Negroes, the migration to Nova Scotia was to result in a grim adventure in an alien world.

It can be effectively argued that there were several underlying factors which greatly influenced the manner in which the Negro communities in Nova Scotia developed during the years following the end of the Revolutionary War. One of the most significant underlying factors was the poor quality of most of the land granted to the Negroes and the inadequate size of these grants.[2] It was virtually impossible for any man to eke out an existence on from ten to forty acres of perhaps the worst land in Nova Scotia. In addition, the Negroes were ignorant of the methods that were necessary to be used on frontier farms in a northern climate. But there was another factor - a factor of profound importance - a certain lack of industry and initiative on the part of the Negroes themselves. This characteristic was usually attributed to their previous state of slavery together with their being accustomed "to a more sultry

---

1. C.B. Fergusson, A Documentary Study of The Establishment of the Negroes for Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1948); Professor Winks' article will be published shortly in the Canadian Historical Association Report, 1964.

2. J.M. Beck, Joseph Howe "Voice of Nova Scotia" Toronto, 1964), 115-116.

climate". Bishop Charles Inglis of Nova Scotia, often a most sympathetic observer, maintained in a letter written to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1786 that "In general [the Negroes] are very indolent and improvident (the natural consequence of their former state and sudden emancipation)."[3] Inglis, however, did not feel that this state of affairs would never improve. He declared that "Latterly they [the Negroes] seem to manage better... It is probably that the descendants of these Blacks who are now free will in general be as industrious and useful as white people of the same rank."[4] There is strong evidence to suggest, therefore, that the vast majority of Negroes in Nova Scotia were unprepared psychologically, as well as practically, for life in their new homeland.

In Guysborough County,[5] most of the problems confronted by Loyalist Negroes throughout Nova Scotia were present but in much more intensified form. This was partly the result of the fact that the land was on the whole less fertile. But the chief reason was that the region was extremely isolated and consequently the struggling Negro could not depend on ready assistance from either the government or his white neighbours to the extent that his fellows could in other settlements, especially Halifax. Moreover, it seems that racial prejudice was especially intense in the more isolated communities in Nova Scotia. Of course, this is not to say that in Guysborough County a kind of segregation came about as a consciously determined policy of the white inhabitants. On the contrary, it appears that segregation was more of an assumption reached more or less independently by both races. Even before being granted their own land, the Negroes had become quietly established in their own primitive settlements on Chedabucto Bay. One of the most important of these settlements was "Niggertown Hill" on the fringe of what would be known as Guysborough. The granting to some of the Negroes of 3,000 acres of land at Tracadie merely formalized a segregation that already existed.

This kind of segregation was by no means restricted to Guysborough. However, because of Guysborough's isolation and the fact that many of the Negroes were forced to live at a considerable distance from the whites, the Negroes could depend even less on their white neighbours for aid in time of dire need than normally would have been the case. For both groups were likely to be in dire straits at the same time. And, as would be expected, the white inhabitants, who were likely to be better off than most of the Negroes even at the worst of times, would tend to forget the Negroes in a moment of crisis. Out of sight out of mind!

Largely because of governmental assistance the Guysborough Negroes were able to survive their first winter in Nova Scotia. But the winter of 1785-6 was a harrowing experience for the Negroes. For in September of 1785 a vessel carrying much needed provisions to Guysborough was hijacked by a mutinous crew and taken to the United States where it was

---

3 Public Archives of Nova Scotia (P.A.N.S.) Bishop Charles Inglis Papers, Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury, November 20, 1788.

4 Ibid.

5 The Term Guysborough County will used throughout the paper even though Guysborough County as such did not come into being until 1836.

sold:

> A sad result of the loss of supplies was the death of a number of coloured people who had been slaves in the revolted colonies, and had followed the Loyalists into exile. They lived apart from the whites in a village in the forest and were dependent on the ship that brought the winter supplies to Guysborough for sustenance until the harbour opened in the spring.[6]

The seizure of the supply vessel, of course, meant that both whites and Negroes would lack necessary provisions. But the whites had guns and could hunt for food, while the Negroes were completely helpless. Lacking food, suffering from exposure and profoundly affected by the strange new environment, many Negroes died. Those who survived were exhausted and many became increasingly dependent upon the white inhabitants. However, undoubtedly a few who survived became increasingly confident in their own ability to cope with the realities of the situation. But these Negroes were the exception and not the rule.

Besides the vitally important problem of survival the Negroes were forced to deal with the question of white prejudice. In his History of the County of Guysborough, Nova Scotia, H. C. Hart related the following revealing incident which occurred soon after the arrival of the "Loyalist Blacks".

> Many Negroes who had formerly been slaves had accompanied their masters to Chedabucto. They had their quarters on the hill near where the upper road now crosses Mr. Hartshorne's mill brook. It was called "Niggertown Hill". They suffered severely from famine and many died from want. One poor man named Tom Thompson trying one very severe day to go home from the lower part of the town, became so faint when passing Captain Ralph Cunningham's ... that he thought he must ask there for help. As he neared the door he heard a voice calling a dog, and fancying that the inmates were taking that means of driving him away he started again for Niggertown Hill, but he was so badly frozen before he reached his destination that he eventually lost his feet and went about in that crippled condition for the remainder of his life.[7]

Approximately twenty-five years later this same kind of prejudice existed in Guysborough County. The Roman Catholic Bishop Plessis who visited the Tracadie region in 1812 noted in his diary of that year:

> Another reason why he the local priest is not suited to this place Tracadie is that there are 25 families of Protestant negroes there, who have been abandoned by the ministers of their belief, and who, to become Catholics, are awaiting only the presence of a priest able to preach to them in English. It would be difficult to express the sorrow felt by the Bishop of Quebec when he saw so fine a prize separated from his flock, with so little needed to procure for them a knowledge of the true religion...

The poor Negroes abstained from appearing in the neighbourhood during the two days of the visitation, thinking, wrongly, that they

were not in the good graces of the Catholic clergy, because they had been erroneously told that they would be sent away if they showed themselves there.[8]

It is interesting that the Roman Catholic Acadians were just as prejudiced concerning the Negroes as the English-speaking Protestants of Guysborough County. However, it should be noted that most white Protestants were willing to have the Christian gospel preached to the Negroes, while most of the Acadians refused to have anything to do with the Negroes. This attitude of the Acadian Roman Catholics perhaps explains why so few Negroes in Guysborough County became Roman Catholics.

The various problems that the Negroes faced in Guysborough County in the years immediately following their arrival did not disappear in the 19th. century. What could be effectively done to improve the quality of Guysborough soil or to reduce Guysborough's isolation? How could racial prejudice be destroyed? How could many of the Negroes be instilled with some sense of pride and some sense of initiative and learn to turn their backs on white paternalism?

In 1830, Captain W. Moorsom, a British traveller, visited Guysborough County and other sections of Nova Scotia. He observed:

> Scarcely does a winter pass without the distressed situation of the negroes coming under the consideration and relief of the Legislature. Their potatoe crop fails; their soil is said to be incapable of supporting them; and disease makes fearful ravages.... the negro settlements continue with numbers gradually diminishing, in summer miserable, and in winter starving. Their origin, their story, and their condition, thus contribute to shed an almost romantic halo around them; and the first question put to anyone who has returned from their neighbourhood is sure to be - "How are the poor blacks?"[9]

As far as Moorsom was concerned, the condition of the Negroes of Guysborough County was superior to that existing in other areas of Nova Scotia:

> In many parts of the country, both east and westward, detached families of negroes are to be found, whose condition, though still miserably poor, is far better than that of their brethern near Halifax. The nearest approach to comfort I have observed among this race is in a few families who occupy the backlands of Great Tracadie.... They are descendants of some slaves who came with refugee loyalists, and consequently have only experienced by inheritance the demoralizing effects of slavery. Those who are employed as labourers and servants in the towns are in better circumstances than the rest...[10]

---

8 A. A. Johnston, A History of the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, 249

9 W. Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia, 127-8

10 Ibid., 130-1

Moorsom also declared that the only livery stable in the Guysborough area was managed by a Negro whose fame was widespread and who according to some "county jockies" was able to breed cattle far better than those owned by the governor.

> No mean personage is Mr. Campbell when an invite to some universal party, on a rainy eve, renders his huge mourning coach the object of at least half a dozen separate engagements.[11]

It was Moorsom's contention that the Guysborough Negroes were in most respects superior to those elsewhere in Nova Scotia. In addition, a few had shown some unusual initiative in spite of the very real and perplexing problems confronting them. Under the existing circumstances this Negro enterprise and initiative was amazing. But it should be emphasized that this enterprise and initiative was restricted to only a handful of Negroes such as Mr. Campbell, Thomas Brownspriggs and Dempsey Jordan. Most of the Guysborough Negroes had to be satisfied with walking the tightrope of mere existence. To these people life continued to be a grim adventure but it now was taking place in a somewhat less alien world. The second generation Guysborough Negroes had learned to come to grips with the Nova Scotia environment. They were no longer "Loyalist Blacks"; they were now Nova Scotia Negroes".

Brownspriggs and Jordan both played a very important role in the educational and religious life of the Tracadie Negro community. Furthermore, both men provided a link between the white and Negro worlds.

Brownspriggs was apparently the leader of the Negro community in "Guysborough County" from the very beginning. Relatively well educated, respected by some of the white inhabitants and by almost all of the Negroes, Brownspriggs was thrust forward as the chief Negro spokesman. By early 1787 he had grown totally dissatisfied with the state of the Negro community in the Chedabucto Bay area. He therefore demanded from Lieutenant-Governor Parr a grant of land for those Negroes wishing to become independent farmers. It can be assumed that the leaders of the white community encouraged Brownspriggs in his petition to Parr. Some of these leaders wanted to drive many of the Negroes into the interior where they could be forgotten. This would be a simple way to solve the racial and welfare problem in one move. Other white settlers, a little more sympathetic to the Negroes, wished to see them established on their own land and given every reasonable opportunity to become self-sufficient; but even the more sympathetic white settlers regarded the Negro as being inferior and were anxious to keep any large concentration of them at a safe distance.

On September 28, 1787, Lieutenant-Governor Parr ordered Charles Morris, the Surveyor-General, to "lay out under Thomas Brownspriggs and 73 others at Tracadie....3000 Acres." It was hoped that 172 Negroes would eventually settle at Tracadie. But not all of them apparently were willing to leave the Chedabucto Bay area. Some chose to remain, working as servants and labourers for the white inhabitants.

---

11 Ibid., 131
12 P.A.N.S. Land Papers, Parr to Morris, Sept. 28, 1787.
13 P.A.N.S. Bishop Charles Inglis Papers, Inglis to Dr. Morice, Dec. 20, 1788.

Brownspriggs' Negroes had been thrust into an entirely different white milieu, that of the Acadian Nova Scotians. Of course, the Negroes remained isolated in the barren interior, miles from the Acadian community and still further from Chedabucto. But in 1788 they had no time to feel sorry for themselves. They were forced immediately on settling their land to clear some of it, plant some potatoes, and build temporary lodgings.

Bishop Charles Inglis was concerned about the plight of the Tracadie Negroes. Consequently, in 1788, he appointed Brownspriggs a teacher for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Tracadie. Borwnspriggs received a yearly salary of £10. At the time of appointing Brownspriggs, Inglis described the Negro as having formerly been "agent for that settlement" and maintained that he "behaved well, that he was well recommended and the only fit person I could find."[13] Inglis observed to the Bishop of London:

> I have just sent a Black to that station (Tracadie) who bears an excellent character, and is tolerably well qualified for the office. He had formerly been agent for the settlement. I gave him upwards of 100 books and tracts adapted to their use; among which were several Testaments and Prayer Books and your Lordship's tract on Good Friday.[14]

In the following years Brownspriggs is infrequently mentioned in N. S. P. G. reports. In 1790 it was reported that "The Negro School at Tracadie goes on well, the master teaches 23 black children."[15] In 1793 there was a brief reference to Brownspriggs - "There is one unfortunate event to relate, that Thomas Brownspriggs had abandoned the Negro school at Tracadie."[16] Nothing more was said.

Dempsey Jordan was especially active in Tracadie settlement during the first two decades of the 19th. century. He had displaced Brownspriggs as the leader of the community. In 1808, Rev. Weeks, the S.P.G. missionary at Guysborough, reported that Jordan was reading prayers, printing sermons and teaching children on Sundays. Of the 38 children at Tracadie, 18 knew the catechism perfectly.[17] In 1818, Jordan was appointed S.P.G. schoolmaster at Tracadie but he also continued to print sermons and to give religious instruction.[18] In the following year Jordan was listed in the records of the Lower District Sydney County Court as "Collector [of Taxes] for the Blacks".[19] In 1820 he was listed as an "Assessor of County Taxes".[20] Jordan, like Brownspriggs earlier, had become the general factotum in the Negro community. He was the religious, educational and civil leader and he was the means by which the white community made its contact with the Negroes in Tracadie.

Tension between the Tracadie Negroes and their Acadian neighbours continued to develop in the 19th. century. In spite of Jordan's missionary work some of the Negroes were eager to worship in the neighbouring

---

13 P.A.N.S. Bishop Charles Inglis Papers, Inglis to Dr. Morice, Dec. 20, 1788.
14 Ibid., Inglis to the Bishop of London, Dec. 1788
15 P.A.N.S., S.P.G. Printed Reports, 1790, 44
16 Ibid., S.P.G. Printed Reports, 1793, 45
17 C. B. Fergusson, A Documentary Study of The Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia, 65
18 Ibid.
19 P.A.N.S., Guysborough County, Quarter Sessions, I, 77
20 Ibid., I, 115

Roman Catholic Church. Here they were greeted with open hostility and and not with Christian charity. The parish priest, Father Marceau, wrote to Bishop Plessis on October 15, 1815:

> There is a sort of antipathy between the whites and the blacks, and it is one of the greatest obstacles I have to overcome. There is a complaint that these newcomers bring in a bad odour, and that there is no way to put up with them.... In my sermon last Sunday I exhorted the parishioners to show a bit more charity towards these infidels... A sure way to bring about peace would be to construct a gallery where the blacks alone would be admitted.[21]

Rebuffed by the Roman Catholics, largely forgotten by the Church of England, the Tracadie Negroes in 1821 turned to the Baptist Church. In that year the Reverend David Nutter, a Baptist Evangelist, visited Tracadie and began preaching to the Negroes:

> The Spirit came upon them like rain upon the mown grass and showers that water the earth.[22]

The emotional Baptist religion preached by Nutter appealed to the Negroes. As far as Nutter was concerned a Negro's soul was just as important in the sight of God as a white man's soul.

To those Negroes who had remained in the Chedabucto Bay area the emotional brand of Christianity as preached by Baptist and Methodist evangelists also had a great appeal. The emotional excesses of their meetings were eagerly anticipated since here at least they could forget about white prejudice, hunger, cold and a bleak future.

The Christian Churches, especially the Baptist and Methodist, continued to be concerned with the plight of the Guysborough Negroes throughout the 19th. century. But they were primarily interested in the "souls" of the Negroes. However, during the years immediately following the Tupper Educational reforms of 1864 and 1865, the Nova Scotia Council of Public Instruction revealed some interest in the question of Negro education. Inspector Samuel Russell observed in 1867:

> Tracadie - a section of coloured people with 70 schoolable children - very poor and for want of good men for trustees nothing has been done. The coloured people adjoining Tracadie are not only poor, but careless - will not keep the school supplied with fuel - even when everything else is done for them. This is the only log schoolhouse in the country.[23]

In 1869 it was reported:

---

21 Johnston, A History of the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, 336-7

22 I. F. Bill, Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces, 238

23 Educational Report, 1867

> Tracadie - no school house - no leaders; aid will be required to enable the people to get up a building. I have no doubt of their willingness to assist in labour - but they cannot pay in money.[24]

In 1870:

> New building established in Tracadie - Section 35, Section 34 - coloured people - poor and ignorant; several attempts have been made to establish a building; nothing yet has been done.[25]

By 1871 the discouraged Russell was forced to declare that the Guysborough Negroes "poor and ignorant.... have now no means at their disposal" to do anything about education. He therefore urged that "some special provision should be made for them."[26]

In 1872 a dramatic change took place. Schools were erected at Tracadie and at Manchester. In 1874 the new inspector William Hartshorne noted:

> In the coloured section No. 34 Tracadie, school has been in operation during the summer term for the first time. There were 67 registered pupils, average attendance 39. The progress made in their school has been satisfactory, and the pupils are very well supplied with books, etc.[27]

But in spite of the worthy efforts of the N. S. Council of Public Instruction Negro education made little very real progress in the period after 1874. Negro students were "very irregular in attendance",[28] schoolhouses frequently burned down, it was difficult to find teachers willing to teach in the Negro schools.[29]

From the last decade of the 19th century until 1930 very few Negroes were educated at even the elementary level. Inspector R. L. Coldwell reported in 1932:

> A new school for the coloured children of Guysborough Road opened in October with an enrolment of 17 pupils. There has been no educational opportunity provided for the children of this community for 40 years. Funds for the support of the school were raised largely by concerts, suppers, etc. and by generous grants from the Department.[30]

By 1936 Negro children from Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough Road, Prospect and Birchtown were being educated. Most of the teachers had "Permissive Licenses" and were poorly qualified.[31] They were usually Negroes since it was felt that no respectable white teacher would teach under such primitive conditions. The Negro schools in the 1930's and 40's were often in a "delapidated state."[32]

---

24 Ibid., 1869
25 Ibid., 1870
26 Ibid., 1871
27 Ibid., 1874
28 Ibid., 1877
29 Ibid., 1883, 1887, 1896, 1897, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916
30 Ibid., 1932
31 Ibid., 1940
32 Ibid.

Some progress was indeed being made by the 1940's but the quality of Negro education nevertheless left a great deal to be desired. Many Negro parents were not interested in obtaining adequate educational facilities for their children. Some stubbornly maintained that if illiteracy was good enough for them it was good enough for their children.

At the middle of the 20th century the Guysborough Negroes found themselves in an extremely depressed condition. They and their forefathers had known little else. Theirs had been a "grim adventure in an alien world" Evangelical Christianity had provided some with an escape from the harsh realities of life. Others had escaped by emigrating to industrial Cape Breton, New Glasgow, Halifax and to "Upper Canada". Those who remained were forced to struggle from crisis to crisis. This struggle was the essence of their life - life in Guysborough County, their "alien world".

The Negroes in Guysborough County in 1871: Some Observations

It is virtually impossible to be accurate concerning the actual number of Negroes living in Guysborough County at any specific date during the period from 1784 to 1871. In 1784 there were at least 48 adult male Negroes, 48 women and 50 children in the Chedabucto region, and 34 Negro servants or slaves.[33] In the census of 1817 reference is made to 27 Negroes living in Guysborough village. Most of these Negroes were servants. There were 174 Negroes in Tracadie - 18 men over 50, 32 men ranging in age from 15 to 50, 41 boys, 45 women, and 38 girls. In Country Harbour and New Harbour there were 31 Negroes, at Canso 18, at Little River 2, and at Manchester 40. If the 1817 census is complete, the total Negro population in Guysborough County in 1817 was only 292.[34]

Apparently, during the period from 1817 to 1871, there was a significant movement of Negroes from Tracadie to Guysborough, Intervale, Melford and Manchester. Of course, Tracadie could only support a limited number of Negro families. Negroes had moved from Guysborough to Tracadie in 1787-8 but after 1817 there was probably a movement from Tracadie towards Guysborough.

In 1871 there were 747 Negroes living in Guysborough County.[35] In the whole of Nova Scotia, only the much more populous Halifax County had a larger Negro population. Ten years later the Negro population in Guysborough County had grown to 918, only to decline sharply in 1901 to 664, 559 in 1911 and 471 in 1931. This significant decrease in the Negro population was largely the result of a relatively large-scale movement of people from the depressed, unpromising Guysborough area to the expanding industrial and mining centres in Cape Breton as well as to New Glasgow and to the provincial capital of Halifax. In addition, in all likelihood, a small number of Guysborough Negroes made their way to a New World - that of Quebec and Ontario.

---

33. Hart, History of the County of Guysborough, 208-217
34. P.A.N.S., Census of 1817
35. Ibid., Census of 1871

In Guysborough County in 1871 the Negroes were to be found in most of the major settlements. There were 223 in Guysborough town, 205 in Tracadie and Guysborough Intervale, 209 in Manchester, 58 in Melford, 27 in Isaac's Harbour, 10 in Salmon River, 6 in Sherbrooke, 5 in Stormont, 2 at the Forks of St. Mary and one each in Canso and Crow Harbour.

By using the manuscript census report of 1871, to be found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, it is possible to make some observations concerning the Negroes of Guysborough County. It has been estimated that in the Manchester area there were at least 30 Negro families. Of these 30 Negro families, 12 were members of the Church of England, 15 were Baptists, one was Roman Catholic and only two families had no Church connection. There were five unwed mothers in the community, with a total of 16 illegitimate children. Only two families had fathers who could read, but unfortunately these men were not able to write. Apparently only one Negro child between the ages of 5 to 18 inclusive was attending school. The only Negro child going to school was a lad named Thomas Sheppard - an orphan servant of a white farmer. Thus, illiterate Negro parents brought up illiterate Negro children. What else could these primitive people expect, anyway, was the attitude of many of the shiftless and illiterate white inhabitants.

Most of the adult Negro males worked on their own rocky, marginal farms, or else laboured for their white neighbours. Three Negroes were seamen and 4 brothers were fishermen. A large number of Negro women worked as domestics in various white houses. This master-servant relationship, of course, tended to widen still further the existing chasm between the Negroes and the white inhabitants.

In the Tracadie-Guysborough Intervale region most of the Negroes were Baptists except for a family of Roman Catholics and another belonging to the Church of England. Illiteracy was just as prevalent as in Manchester. However, there was only one unwed mother. Most of the men were either farmers or labourers. There was one shingle-maker, and as one would expect of an isolated interior region, there were no Negro fishermen. Nor were there any Negro servants working for white families.

The general situation of the Negroes in Guysborough was quite different from that in Manchester or Tracadie-Guysborough Intervale. There were 49 Negro families in Guysborough: 25 were Baptists, 13 were Methodists, 10 were Church of England and one was Roman Catholic. There was only one unwed mother.

Illiteracy was not as widespread in Guysborough as in other Negro communities. A few adults could read and write. Out of 102 children between the ages of 5 and 18, 25 were attending school. Most of the men and older boys worked on their farms or on those belonging to white neighbours. However, there were also 9 Negro fishermen, 10 seamen and one miner. A number of women were employed as domestics.

Apparently the Negroes in Guysborough were much better off than those in Manchester or in Tracadie-Guysborough Intervale. The white inhabitants of Guysborough were more prosperous than those of Manchester and consequently, the Negroes, many of whom were dependent upon the white inhabitants for jobs, were usually better treated. Furthermore, Guysborough as a shipping centre and fishing port provided more job opportunities for those Negroes unable to make a living from their marginal farms.

In summary, in 1871 the Negroes in Guysborough County were to be found in five main areas - Guysborough, Guysborough-Intervale, Tracadie, Manchester or Melford. In other localities where they were to be found they were usually servants. The vast majority of Negroes were illiterate. Most of them were Baptists. However, in the Guysborough-Manchester region the Church of England and the Methodist Church were of some consequence. Most of the Negroes were farmers, labourers and domestics. A few were fishermen and sailors, one was a miner, and apart from one shingle-maker there were no artisans. The Negroes had been quite prolific and were reasonably healthy. But theirs was a second-class kind of existence; they were regarded as inferiors by many of their white neighbours, and apparently the Negroes had learned to be satisfied with their second-class state. They knew nothing else!

The Negroes in Guysborough County, 1871-1941

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Canso	1	3	10	4	3	-	15
Country Harbour		7		9		2	1
Crow Harbour	1	1					
Goldboro				11	6	1	
Forks of St.Mary	2						
Guysborough	223	255	187	179	[180]	194	253
Hazel Hill					20	6	15
Isaac's Harbour	27	32	15				
Guysborough Intervale	205	63	69	73	50	58	66
Goshen					1		
Manchester	209	223	133	91	109	81	84
Melford	58	64	18		1		1
Mulgrave			42	36	22	34	56
New Harbour						1	
Salmon River	10	9	4	4			
Sonora						1	
Sherbrooke	6	49	68	31	1	10	4
Stormont	5						
Tracadie		212	107	121	117	83	88
TOTAL	747	918	664	559	336 [180] 516*	471	578

* In the 1921 census there is no reference made to any Negroes in Guysborough. This is undoubtedly an error and it can therefore be roughly estimated that in 1921 there were 180 Negroes in the village.

CHAPTER 4

THE ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

All three of the communities under investigation are located on Highway 16 in the Municipality of Guysborough. With the exception of Sunnyville they may be located on a detailed map of the area: it is in the immediate suburbs of Guysborough town. According to the September 1964 field survey there were 648 persons living in the three communities: 128 in Upper Big Tracadie, 191 in Lincolnville and 329 in Sunnyville. Both Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie are isolated from any nearby population concentrations, and they are made up entirely of Negroes. Sunnyville residents live within 1-3 miles of Guysborough and are not quite as isolated. It is also a Negro community with only a few exceptions.

The main economic problems facing the inhabitants of these communities are extremely low incomes, unemployment and underutilization of labour resources, substantial distances to travel to work and to retail and service facilities, and a general social and economic isolation from the surrounding community.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine in as much detail as the data will permit, the economic characteristics of the three communities; to place the problems being faced in perspective by comparing the situation in the project communities with a wider area, such as the county; to outline some employment and income targets for the near future and their implications for public policy; and finally to suggest some alternative employment opportunities.

This study is based on two sources of data, namely the results of a field survey conducted during August and September of 1964 and data obtained from the 1961 Census and other public records. The field survey has provided us with information about the three communities for 1964 while the 1961 Census material has been used to obtain information about units as small as Guysborough County. Thus in most cases we are comparing data for two different time periods. It has been found that the bias which is interjected does not badly distort the reality of the comparisons.

In the case of income figures, for example, they are understated for Guysborough County because of the time difference and this makes the three communities appear to be in a more favourable light compared to the County. In view of the dramatically low income

in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville this only serves to underline the urgent character of the problem. In the case of other series, the bias does not appear to alter the conclusions.

In the following section we will examine the various aspects of population, labour force, economic structure and income. In the final section we turn to discussion of targets, public policy and alternative employment opportunities.

Population

The field survey indicated that the total population of the three communities was 648 (359 men and 289 women), or slightly over 80% of the 806 Negroes living in Guysborough County at the time of the 1961 Census. The figures for each community and the county are given in Table 1, and they are broken down by age groups and sex. Upper Big Tracadie had 128 persons and Lincolnville and Sunnyville had 191 and 329 respectively. The total population of the county was 13,274. While we do not have long term population data for the three Negro communities, it is worth noting that the population of the county has steadily declined in this century from 18,320 in 1901 to its present level.

Table 1 reveals also to what degree the population structure in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville differs from that of the county generally. In Guysborough County 35.1% of the population is under 15 years of age compared to 61.3% in Lincolnville and 56.2% in Upper Big Tracadie and 52.9% in Sunnyville. This information is presented in more detail in Table 2.

Thus the population of the three communities is considerably younger than that of the county. This is in marked contrast to the population structure generally observed in depressed areas elsewhere in North America. In communities which have once thrived, one usually finds a population which is considerably older than more prosperous areas. This is a result of a very high outward migration among the young, productive age classes. Upper Big Tradadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville, rather than representing depressed areas, seem to be more like underdeveloped areas, i.e., they are isolated, lack significant outward mobility among families and have a very young population.

The immediate implications of this population structure are twofold: 1) it means that only 44% of the population of the three communities are potential members of the labour force, i.e., 15 years of age or older, as compared to 64.9% of the county's inhabitants; 2) this in turn implies that families have a large number of dependents for whom to care, a factor which further depresses their situation.

The large size of the dependent population in the three communities is in some considerable measure a result of the large number of children placed in the communities by the provincial and municipal welfare authorities. These are illegitimate and abandoned Negro children in many cases coming from outside of the communities. It is estimated, for example, that nearly 40 children have been placed in Lincolnville by welfare authorities.

Since substantial payments are made to foster parents for the care of welfare children, they are considered a source of revenue. In a sense, then, women caring for welfare children are employed, even though they remain at ahome and do not appear in the employment statistics.

Table three provides information about the number of members in families and households, total number of families and households and the average number of members in each unit. There were 67 families and 97 households in the three communities, and just under one-half of them were comprised of more than seven members. By way of comparison with the county and the province, it can be noted that the average number of members in families and households was 4.0 in Nova Scotia and 4.1 in Guysborough County. For all three of the Negro communities the average number of family members was 6.6 and the average number of persons per household was 6.7. In Lincolnville with its large population of welfare children, the size of households was 7.9.

Housing

Housing in the three communities is old, run down, overcrowded and without most of the modern conveniences which one takes for granted. The following table will illustrate some of these points:

	Upper Big Tracadie	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total
Number of houses	20	24	53	97
Owned	20	24	52	96
Rented	0	0	1	1
Average No. of Persons per house	6.4	7.9	6.2	6.6
Houses with:				
Running Water	0	0	0	0
Electricity	16	15	37	68
Radio	NA	13	NA	NA
T.V.	12	10	23	45

All the houses in the communities with the exception of one which is rented are owned by the inhabitants. However, it should be noted that the question of land ownership is very much more uncertain. In many cases people are only squatters and do not have any established legal right to the land.

The extent of overcrowding is indicated by the high average number of persons living in .each house. It was as high as 7.9 persons per house in Lincolnville and for all three communities it averages out to 6.6.

None of the homes were equipped with running water and only 68 out of 97, or 70% have electricity. Even fewer homes were equipped with television 45 or 46.4%.

The standard of housing is a crucial area which needs to be further investigated so that some community redevelopment program for housing can be gotten underway. Its importance is discussed elsewhere in this study.[1]

The Labour Force

The labour force is considered in the 1961 Census to include "... all persons, 15 years of age and over, who were reported as having a job of any kind, either part-time or full-time (even if they were not at work) or were reported as looking for work, during the week prior to enumeration." In this study we have chosen to use a similar definition. We have included persons who were unemployed at the time of the survey and who were not actively looking for work, but who did work during the year prior to survey, even if it was a period of only a few weeks. We have tacitly assumed that given realistic employment opportunities most of these persons would actively seek work.

The three project communities had a total labour force of 149 persons. This is shown in the following table for each community, by sex.

Community	Number in Labour Force		
	Male	Female	Total
Upper Big Tracadie	18	8	26
Lincolnville	29	10	39
Sunnyville	66	18	84
Total	113	36	149

In order to put the size of the labour force in a broader perspective, a figure is needed which will tell us to what degree

[1] See the chapters having to do with education.

people in the three communities participate in the work force compared to other areas. For this purpose the participation rate is listed in the following table for the three communities, Guysborough County, the North Shore (includes Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, Antigonish and Guysborough counties), and Nova Scotia. The participation rate is the ratio of the labour force to total population.

Labour Participation Rate for Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville, Sunnyville and Selected Regional Units

	Participation Rate
Upper Big Tracadie	20.3%
Lincolnville	20.4%
Sunnyville	25.5%
Average for Three Communities	23.0%
Guysborough County	27.6%
North Shore	30.0%
Nova Scotia	32.1%
Canada	35.5%

Source: For the three Negro communities, from field survey data. For Guysborough County, North Shore, Nova Scotia and Canada, from 1961 Census.

The average participation rate for the three communities was 23%, that is 23% of the population were in the labour force, compared to 27.6% in Guysborough County and 35.5% in Canada. Thus Guysborough County has a 4.6% greater labour participation rate than do our project communities and Canada's rate of participation is 12.5% greater. The implication of a low participation rate is that the community is not producing the income it is capable of, from the point of manpower availability. In other words the potential labour force is underutilized. In the case of the three communities it is also an indication of the difference in population structure as between the three communities and the other regional units with which we have been making comparisons. Since the population is much younger, it weights the total population with a larger percentage of persons who are as yet too young to be considered potential members of the labour force.

The above point can be illustrated by examining the percentage of persons 15 years of age or older who are in the labour force. These persons represent the potential labour force. The information is provided in the table below for the three communities and Guysborough County.

Rate of Participation in the Potential Labour Force in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville, Sunnyville and Guysborough County

	Participation Rate
Upper Big Tracadie	50.0%
Lincolnville	52.7%
Sunnyville	54.1%
Average for Three Communities	52.8%
Guysborough County	42.4%

Thus the table shows that on the average for the three communities, 52.8% of the potential labour force - persons 15 years of age or older - was in the labour force. The figure for Guysborough County was 42.4%, or 10.4% less than the three communities. In other words a greater part of the potential labour force in the three Negro communities was either working, looking for work or had been working sometime during the year. This would seem to contradict the stereo-type of the Negro as unwilling to work.

The low level of income in the three communities cannot entirely be attributed to the somewhat lower participation rate which is caused by the particular population structure. Something more can be learned, however, by looking at the degree to which the labour force was fully employed, and we do this by examining the number of weeks and hours per week worked by the labour force. This information is provided in Table four.

This table indicates that the labour force was greatly underemployed in that more than one-half of the labour force worked less than 27 weeks per year. Just slightly more than one-fifth of the labour force worked more than 40 weeks per year, a rate which we consider to be full time for the purposes of this study. This data is summarized in more detail below.

	Working Less than 27 weeks		Working more than 40 weeks	
	No.	% of LF	No.	% of LF
Upper Big Tracadie	15	51.7	9	31.0
Lincolnville	25	64.1	6	15.4
Sunnyville	42	50.0	17	20.2
Total	82	55.0	32	21.4

Thus the above figures indicate that 55% of the total labour force in the three communities worked for periods of less than 27 weeks a year, but the figure was as high as 64.1% in Lincolnville. On the other hand only 21.4% of the labour force

worked over 40 weeks a year and could be considered fully employed. The level of full employment was as low as 15.4% in Lincolnville and as high as 31.0% in Upper Big Tracadie. In the case of those who fell in the 27-39 weeks a year class, most of them worked closer to 27 weeks a year rather than 39 weeks a year.

The data presented in this section underlines what is the fundamental problem of the three communities, namely the severe underutilization of the human resources of the community. If the well being of the residents of Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville is to be raised, they must have jobs which allow them to work closer to full-time at reasonable rates of pay.

Location of Employment

In order to obtain jobs, residents of the three communities found it necessary to travel great distances outside their home areas. The geographic work pattern of those working outside each community is provided in Table five, together with the distance from home to work and the frequency of commuting when it is known. These are maximum figures and are really an indication of the number of jobs held for any length of time outside the local area. This means that those persons included may have worked at more than one job and were thus counted several times.

The table shows that 18 outside jobs were held by residents of Upper Big Tracadie and 20 and 54 by residents of Lincolnville and Sunnyville respectively. With one exception in Upper Big Tracadie and four exceptions in Lincolnville, all the job opportunities exploited outside the community were at a distance of greater than 15 miles. In Sunnyville, because it is located so near to Guysborough, the number of jobs closer than 15 miles were more numerous: There were a total of 32.

From the fragmentary information which we have about commuting frequency, it appears that those who work as close as 25-26 miles away commute daily. In the case of persons who work from 40-60 miles away, the commuting period is generally weekly. The few who work farther than 60 miles from their home community commute bi-weekly or monthly, though in one or two cases they commute less frequently.

Because of the spread of employment opportunities over a wide geographic area, residents of these three communities are subjected to severe hardships that are not experienced by workers who live and work in the same immediate area. They must commute

long distances which involves both discomfort and additional transportation costs. In the case of those who are not able to commute daily, there is the problem of being separated from one's family for a week, a month or maybe longer at a time. This also involves the maintenance of two residences at substantial cost to a low income worker.

The fact that residents of the three communities were willing to travel such long distances in order to obtain work is another indication of their willingness to accept employment. This also contradicts the stereotype of a lazy, indolent person sometimes attributed to Nova Scotian Negroes.

A further implication of this information is that any social and economic development planning in the three Negro communities will have to take into consideration a geographical area wider than the home community. For example, in planning the creation of new and improved work opportunities, it seems logical to start with a close examination of their present employment locations with an eye to extending the number of weeks worked and developing better job stability.

Structure of Employment in the Project Communities by Occupation

Table six on the following page gives a complete picture of the range of occupations in which people are engaged in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville. The total of the occupations listed is not indicative of the size of the labour force due to the fact that the number of occupations engaged in by members of the community exceeded one per person. In many cases members of the labour force practiced three or four occupations during the year.

This list indicates the range of occupations engaged in and hence to some extent the levels of skill possessed by members of the community. With the exception of only a few occupations, most of the people worked in non-skilled employment. The largest group was engaged in logging as labourers, and it accounted for 63 persons. The category of labourers, excluding those engaged in agriculture, fishing, logging and mining occupations accounted for the next largest group, 33. The other large group was maids and related service workers which accounted for the occupation of 23 persons, all of whom were women. The only other occupations of any importance, as far as number are concerned, were farmers, farm labourers, and longshoremen and stevedores, each of which had ten persons who reported occupations in these categories.

It will be quickly seen that the three communities are nearly devoid of persons with managerial, professional and technical, and sales occupations.

The Structure of Employment by Industry

The structure of employment in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville was heavily weighted in forestry, services and agriculture. This is demonstrated in Table seven on the following page. For the purposes of comparisons we have also included the figures for the county from the 1961 Census.

Over 60% of the employment in the three communities was concentrated in forestry, compared to 6% for the county as a whole. The next largest sector was services, both community and personal, which employed 27.5% of the labour force in the three communities. This is somewhat more than the percentage employed in these sectors in the county: it was 17.4% there. The only other sector of significance was agriculture which accounted for 7.4% of the labour force, or only slightly more than the county level of 5.4%. As far as the remaining 4.7% of the labour force in the three communities is concerned, they were spread among some of the remaining sectors so that only one or two persons were working in each of them.

The two most important sectors in the county economy from the point of view of employment were fishing and manufacturing; they employed 19.4% and 18.7% of the labour force respectively. However in the three communities none of the labour force was employed in manufacturing and only one man was engaged in fishing.

At this point we want to turn to a closer examination of the principal sectors in the three Negro communities with an eye to determining what potential exists for expansion of production and employment. This will necessitate looking at the state of the sector in a wider area around the communities, namely Guysborough County.

Agriculture

The agricultural sector in the three communities does not involve more than 11 persons, or 7.4% of the labour force. This is not to say that the only source of livelihood for these people is agriculture; they all earn income from other sources, such as woodlots, logging, loading boats, etc. Only 199 persons were working in agriculture in Guysborough County in 1961, a figure which represents 5.4% of the labour force.

The following table provides some data about the county's agriculture population and land which will serve to indicate the type of "farm environment" in which the three

communities operate.[1]

Total Population (no.)	13,274
Farm Population (no.)	1,649
Per Cent Living on Farms (%)	12.4%
Total Number of Farms (no)	372
Total Land Area (acres)	1,031,040
Land Area in Farms (acres)	81,665
Improved Land (acres)	8,292
Unimproved Land (acres)	73,373

Farms in Guysborough numbered 372 in 1961 and covered 8% of the land area. They averaged just under 220 acres in size, but only 11% of the total farm acreage was on improved land. The largest part of farm land was unimproved, woodlands, which accounted for 69% of the total farm acreage.

The following table gives a further breakdown of farms by economic class in Guysborough County.[2]

Commercial Farms by Value of Products		69
$1,200 - $2,499	37	
$2,500 - $4,999	23	
$5,000 -$14,999	9	
Small Scale Farms, Value of Products, $250 - $1,199		153
Part Time	81	
Other	72	
Residential		150
Total		372

Only 69 of the 372 farms were classed as commercial farms, i.e., a farm which reported sales of over $1200 or more for the year. This definition is the one provided in the 1961 Census. It might also be noted that a farm was defined as holding of one acre or more with sales of agricultural products valued at $50 or more for the year. The remaining 303 non-commercial farms were divided between small scale operations (a value of production between $250 and $1,199) and residential farms, each having respectively 153 and 150.

---

1 Province of Nova Scotia, Handbook of Agricultural Statistics, 1963.

2 Ibid.

Under ARDA (agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act) criteria the line between poverty stricken farms and those with an acceptable income is $2500. It is important to note that only 32 of the county's 372 farms, or 8.6% exceeded this level in 1961.

The following table includes the information about farm operations in the three project communities which was obtained from the field survey.

	Upper Big Tracadie	Lincoln-ville	Sunny-ville
Farmers and Farm Workers	6	1	4
Persons Living on Farms	10-11	2	5-7 families
with Woodlots	10-11		3-4 "
without Woodlots			2-3 "
Agricultural Earnings (1963)	$504	0	$1622
Families with Gardens	15 Pers.	3	Na
Farm Equipment			
Truck Wagons	13	2	4
Hay Rakes	3	1	2
Haying Machines	2	-	-
Mowers	8	2	3
Ploughs	9	-	4
Harrows	9	-	2
Cultivators	6	-	-
Manure Spreaders	2	-	-
Selkie Plough	1	-	-
Dump Carts	-	-	2

The data indicates that only 11 persons were classed as Farmers or farm workers, but it is clear from the level of income earned in the sector that no one was able to make a good living by farming. Sunnyville farmers earned $1622 and those in Upper Big Tracadie earned $504. The figures do not adequately represent, however, the real significance of the sector to the residents of the two communities, because none of the figures measure how much farm produce was consumed by the farm's owner. Participant-observors were able to note during the field survey considerable farm and farm-garden activity in Upper Big Tracadie. It was felt that this community was the most prosperous of the three, even though the per capita income figures show it to be the poorest. The difference can be in large measure attributed to non-monetary income in the form of self-produced food supplies.

The importance of farm woodlots is discussed in a later section, so it will suffice to observe here that all the farm families in Upper Big Tracadie are living on agricultural land with woodlots, while only 3-4 families in Sunnyville lived on farms with woodlots. The situation of Lincolnville is unique because there, in the absence of individual titles, the woodlots available are jointly used by all the community's residents.

Farm gardens are of particular importance in Upper Big Tracadie where 15 persons reported having access to a garden. In Lincolnville there were three families with gardens.

At this point we turn to a brief description of the character of the farm industry in Guysborough County. The most important agricultural industries are dairying and mixed farming. About 3.6 million pounds of milk are produced annually, of which 50% is used on farms, 25% is sold as fluid milk and the other 25% is separated on the farm. The cream is sold to creameries while the skim milk is fed to livestock, pigs and young calves. The principal livestock raised are sheep, cattle and poultry.

Of the 8,292 acres of improved farm land, 4,991 acres are in field crops, 1,132 acres are pastureland and the remaining 2,169 acres was in other types of improved farmland. The field crop land was planted in the following way: 78% in oats and corn used for fodder, 2.5% in potatoes and 6.5% in roots, vegetables, and tree and small fruits.

The present agricultural situation in Guysborough is summed up in the following way by the agronomists who conducted the Soil Survey of Guysborough County, Nova Scotia:[1]

> There are no large markets for agricultural produce in the county and the distance to provincial markets has placed agriculture at some disadvantage in comparison with most other counties of the province. However, lack of storage facilities and organized production and marketing have resulted in failure to hold even the local markets. Some of the milk produced in the North Central part of the county goes to the Antigonish and sometimes Sydney market.

Thus it can be seen from the foregoing survey that few farms exist in Guysborough County and even fewer commercial farms. Only 32 farms earn an income above that which ARDA considers to be a lower limit for Canadian farms. Even the farming which does take place operates at a severe handicap in regional markets. The scope of farm operations in the three communities can at best be considered to be marginal.

A look at the quality of soil resources in the county and in and around the three communities will serve to shed light on the answer to the question of what potential for expansion exists.

---

1. See D.B. Cann and J.D. Hilchey, Soil Survey of Guysborough County, 1965

A recently completed soil survey of the county groups the various mineral soils into classes according to their suitability for agricultural use. The seven soil capability classes are broken down in the following way:

Classes 1 - 3	Suitable for sustained production of common field crops
Class 4	Marginal for cultivated crops
Classes 5 - 6	Capable of use for permanent pasture
Class 7	Unsuitable for cultivated crops or permanent pasture

Most of the soil in Guysborough county is not well suited for agricultural production, a fact which is indicated in the breakdown of the soil capability of the county's total land area.

Class	Percent of Total Land Area

Only 16.6% of the total land area is made up of soils which are considered to be suitable or marginally suitable for agricultural use, and this area is mostly in class 3 which has maderately severe limitations that restructs the choice of crops and necessitates special conservation practices. Slightly over 80% of the county's land area is classed as totally unsuited for agriculture. It should be noted that class 7 soils are considered suitable for forestry, recreation and wildlife. The greatest percentage of the forested land, if it were cleared, however, would only rise to class 6.

The quality of the soil near Upper Big Tracadie is in class 3 but suffers from the limitations of high salinity and adverse inherent soil characteristics. The area which surrounds the community is mostly in class 7 and is very stoney. Lincolnville has no good agricultural soil, the whole area being viewed as class 7 soil. In the case of Sunnyville, some homes may be on class 3 or class 5 land but the vast majority are on class 7 land which makes up the bulk of land area adjacent to Guysborough (town).

The outlook for increased farming in Guysborough county is not bright because of the quality of the available soil, and it is even less bright for the three project communities. Not only is the soil in these communities either marginal or totally unsuitable for agricultural production, but it has suffered from neglect and the application of improper and outdated farm methods. However, even under the best of farming techniques, the area would seem to represent soil capabilities of only marginal value.

Forestry and Forest Related Industries

In this section we want to examine the forest and forest related industries in Guysborough County, Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville, and Sunnyville. This category includes logging, pulpwood production and sawmill operations in the case of the county. In the case of the three project communities we have also included sources of income related to the wood resources, e.g., transporting wood, loading pulpwood boats, working in sawmills and boxmills, and cutting, tying and loading of Christmas trees. This particular breakdown cuts across a number of industrial classifications but makes clearer, for the purposes of the present study, the character of the economic base of the three projected communities.

A brief examination of land resource data contained in the 1957 forest inventory, The Forest Resources of Nova Scotia,[1] will provide a picture of the extent of forest resources in the county.

	Acres	Percent
Productive Forests	758,075	72.1%
Depleted Forests	3,074	0.3%
Non-productive Land and Forests	158,920	15.1%
Waste Land	41,585	4.0%
Agricultural and other Improved Land	38,053	3.6%
Water	51,941	4.9%
Total Area	1,051,648	100.0%

Slightly over 72% of the county's total area was in productive forests.

Total forest type land, which includes productive and depleted forests, non-forested and non-productive forests, and waste lands, amounted to 961,654 acres. The pattern of ownership distribution was as follows:

	Acres	Percent
Crown Lands	456,240	47.5%
Private Woodlots	56,091	5.8%
Other Privately Held Forest Type Land	449,323	46.7%
Total Forest Type Land	961,654	100.0%

The distribution of ownership of forest type land is fairly equally divided between the Crown and private ownership, the former accounting for 47.5% and the latter 52.5%.

---

[1] Department of Lands and Forest. The Forest Resources of Nova Scotia, March 1958.

The following table providing production data gives us an indication of the relative importance of the industry in Guysborough County with respect to the province as a whole in 1962.[1]

	Quantity	County's Rank in Nova Scotia
Sawn Products		
Softwood lumber	7,234 mfbm	9
Hardwood lumber	327 mfbm	11
Boxwood	354 mfbm	6
Railway ties	37 mfbm	9
Mine Packs	329 mfbm	5
Laths	168 m/pieces	10
Shingles	65 square	4
Roundwood Products		
Pulpwood, peeled	2,718 cords	11
Pulpwood, rough	40,030 cords	3
Veneer logs	94 mfbm	3

Roundwood products, particularly pulpwood (rough) and veneer logs, were of the greatest relative importance in the county with respect to the province. However it should be noted that the total production of veneer logs is not very significant in Nova Scotia. In absolute terms rough pulpwood and softwood lumber are of greatest importance to both the county and the province.

Logging and pulpwood production employ the largest number of workers in the forestry sector and employment in sawmills accounts for most of the persons employed in wood manufacturing industries. Total employment in logging, pulpwood production and sawmills was 257 persons in Guysborough County in 1961.

The following table gives this information:

	Employment in Nova Scotia	Employment in Guysborough	Guysborough as% of N.S.
Sawmills	2,529	39	1.54%
Forestry	4,296	218	5.10%

The foregoing table shows that employment in forestry in the county accounted for 5.1% of the provincial total in that sector, and employment in sawmills in Guysborough was only 1.54%. The county's forestry operation is apparently of importance within Nova Scotia.

The following figures indicate the level of employment and earnings attained by the labour force in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville in forestry and forest related occupations. The data was obtained from the field survey and indicates the importance of forest resources to the livelihood of these people.

---

[1] Ibid.

	Upper Big Tracadie	Lincoln-ville	Sunny-ville
Employment in Forestry & Forest Related Occupations	10	23	54
Number in the Labour Force	26	39	84
Percent employed in Forestry, etc.	38.4%	58.0%	64.2%
Total Income from Forestry, etc.	$8,258	$17,526	$42,344
Cutting Pulpwood	7,055	4,130	26,484
Logging	-	5,724	-
Christmas Trees	75	447	960
Transporting Wood	-	2,900	9,100
Loading Pulpwood Boats	1,128	4,325	-
Boxmill	-	-	2,900
Sawmill	-	-	2,400
Stumpage	-	-	500
Total Earned Income	$16,008	$26,526	$62,535
Forestry Income as a percent of Total Earned Income	51.1%	66.1%	67.7%

Employment in Forestry and forest related occupations as a percent of total employment in each of the three communities ranged from 38.4% in Upper Big Tracadie to 58% in Lincolnville and 64.2% in Sunnyville. Cutting pulpwood was the major source of income in Upper Big Tracadie and Sunnyville, while in Lincolnville income in the sector was more evenly divided between logging, pulpwood cutting, and loading and transporting wood. All three of the communities derived over 50% of their earned income from this sector, and this figure was as high as 67.7% in Sunnyville.

The great importance of this sector to the economy of the project communities is very clear, and it makes even more significant the very low income per worker which exists in the industry. The table on the foregoing page indicates that forestry and forest related workers in Upper Big Tracadie only earned an average of $318 per year while the figure was $460 in Lincolnville and $504 in Sunnyville. The reason for the low income from the sector can be best explained by examining the number of weeks and hours worked in the sector. Table 8 on the following page provides this information.

If one assumes that persons working more than 40 weeks a year are fully employed, only 7 persons reported working this length of time in the sector. This represents 7.2% of the persons employed in forestry and forest related occupations. The vast majority, 64 persons, or 66% of the sectors work force, were employed less than 26 weeks a year. The other 26 persons, or 26.8%, worked between 27 - 39 weeks a year. Thus, it can been seen that the labour force in the sector was greatly underutilized, and their most important source of income and employment was working part time or seasonally in forestry and forest related occupations.

The wages which the Negroes received in the sector do not seem to be out of line with wages received by others in similar occupations. The survey which was done for the Nova Scotia

Minimum Wage Board indicated, for example, the following structure of wages in logging and transportation in Guysborough.

	No. in Logging	%	No. in Transport	%
90¢ or less	-	-	7	58.3
$1.00 or less	36	41.9	-	-
$1.10	12	13.9	-	-
$1.45	15	17.5	-	-
$1.50 or more	23	26.7	5	41.7
Total Surveyed	86	100.0	12	100.0

Table 8

Weeks and hours worked in wood resource oriented occupations[1] by persons living in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville

	Upper Big Tracadie	Lincoln-ville	Sunny-ville	Total
1-13 weeks	4	11	11	26
Less than 35 hrs. per week	4	10	11	25
More than 35 hrs. " "	-	1	-	1
14 - 26 weeks	7	11	20	38
Less than 35 hrs. " "	7	3	15	25
More than 35 hrs. " "	-	8	5	13
27- 39 weeks	6	2	18	26
Less than 35 hrs. " "	4	1	5	10
More than 35 hrs. " "	2	1	13	16
40 - 52 weeks	-	2	5	7
Less than 35 hrs. per wk.	-	-	1	1
More than 35 hrs. " "	-	2	4	6
Total	17	26	54	97

Source: Community Survey, Summer 1964

1 This includes logging, cutting pulpwood, transporting and loading wood, working in a boxmill and a sawmill, and cutting, tying and loading Christmas trees.

Where we have wage data for workers in the three Negro communities, it is listed below.

Cutting pulpwood on Cape Breton	$1.00 per hour
Cutting wood for sawmill on Cape Breton	1.00 per hour
Tying & Loading Christmas trees	1.00 per hour
Transporting Wood	
Tree Farmer	2.00 per hour
Driving Truck	1.00 per hour
Loading pulpwood boats	1.25 per hour
Working at Boxmill	1.00 per hour

The minimum wage survey indicates that 41.9% of the survey workers in logging are receiving $1.00 or less, and the field survey data for our study indicates that the Negro workers are earning $1.00 per hour. In the case of transportation, 58.3% of those surveyed for the minimum wage board received 90¢ or less, while Negroes in the three project communities were receiving $1.00 per hour to drive trucks or $1.25 per hour for loading pulpwood boats. On the basis of this evidence there would not appear to be any wage discrimination as between Negro and White workers.

The Importance of Farm Woodlots

Farm woodlots were of some significance to the economy of Guysborough County as is indicated in the following table. These figures are based on census figures for .1960 and show the value and amount of forest products cut and forest products sold on farm woodlots.

	Forest Products Cut	Forest Products Sold
Total Value (dollars)	$118,840	$100,682
Farms Reporting	242	
Woodland Area of Farms Reporting (acres)	44,897	
Fuelwood (cord)	1,750	216
Pulpwood, rough(cord)	3,039	3,289#
Fence Posts (no.)	9,088	1,560
Veneer Logs (mbdft)	80	80
Sawlogs (mbdft)	787	753
Poles and pilings (no)	243	237
Pitprops (cord)	-	-
Other Forest Products (dollars)	21,707	21,365

The amount sold exceeds the amount cut during the period as a result of the sale of existing inventories

---

Of the county's 372 farms, 242 or 65% reported earnings from woodlots in 1960. Total earnings on sales of forest products amounted to $100,682. By making use of produc tion data for the forest industry in 1962 (provided in the previous section), and assuming that 1962 figures are not greatly different than those for 1960, it can be estimated that 85% of the veneer log production and 8% of the pulpwood (rough basis) production in Guysborough County were obtained from farm woodlots.

No estimate is available of the value of wood products obtained on woodlots in the three communities. It is known, however, that some use is made of them. In Upper Big Tracadie 15 out of 20 households legally own woodlots, and those who do not own wood are

usually able to cut on private woodlots for a stumpage price of $5.00 per cord. Little wood was cut under this arrangement, however, and the field survey indicated that woodlot owners did not earn much on their holdings.

Lincolnville represents a rather different situation, because there are no private woodlots. Instead there is an area of one square mile known as Lincolnville Reserve which is the common property of the community's residents and anyone is free to cut there. It is estimated that fewer than ten persons make use of the common woodlands area in the reserve. It is also worthy of note that only two of the 24 households in Lincolnville have clear title to the land on which they are living.

Only twelve of Sunnyville's 53 households have woodlots, and while residents in the community respect the validity of their ownership, it is questionable that they have legal title. Of the 12 woodlot owners, only about 6 of them make much use of their holdings. Just as in Upper Big Tracadie, Sunnyville residents can usually cut on private woodlots for a stumpage price of $5.00 per cord. As a result of appropriating woodland areas from Sunnyville residents for failure to pay back taxes, the municipality also has a good deal of land in the area. Wood can be cut on this land for a stumpage price of $3.00 per cord.

Nova Scotia Department of Forestry officials have indicated in interviews the belief that the quality of wood resources on woodlots in the three communities was not of very high quality. Some feeling was expressed that aside from providing a limited amount of pulpwood, fuelwood for local consumption and some wood for other local needs, the best use of the woodlots might be for cultivating a Christmas tree crop.

As far as this survey has been able to ascertain, the present economic significance of the private and community held woodlots, in terms of production, in the three communities is not very great. Little wood is cut and sold, and what potential which may exist for Christmas tree production is not now being exploited to any degree.

Service Industries

The other main sector in which members of the labour force were engaged in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville was services. A total of 41 persons, or 27.5% of the labour force was involved in community and personal services. The breakdown for all three communities as between these two categories is as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
Community Services	5	4	9
Personal Services	2	30	32
Total	7	34	41

The overwhelming majority of those engaged in services were woman domestics in the personal service group. They were employed only for short periods of time each year, so that despite their percentagewise importance in the labour force, their contribution to the communities income was very small. Total income for the service industry is listed below by category.

	Male	Female	Total
Community Services	$7800	$3780	$11,580
Personal Services	2240	3794	6,034
Total	10,040	7574	17,614

The low level of earnings per worker in these sectors is reflected in their per capita earnings which are listed below:

	Male	Female	Total
Community Services	$1500	$945	$1287
Personal Services	1220	126	188

Male workers in the two groups received a much higher per capita level of earnings than did the women, though women engaged in the community services had a higher per capita earning level than they did in the personal services category. In the latter, per capita earnings were only $126 for women, a figure which reflects the short duration of their employment and rather low wages. Woman domestics earned approximately $3.00 per day.

Community and personal services were less important to the county as a whole, in terms of employment, than they were to the three project communities. In Guysborough County only 17.4% of the labour force was involved in these groups. The breakdown is as follows:

	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Community Services	140	326	466	12.7
Personal Services	38	155	193	4.7

In the project communities themselves one does not find any services at all. All retail and personal services must be purchased outside the communities at points some distance away - even for simple grocery items.

The retail stores nearest Upper Big Tracadie are located in Monastery, about four miles away. It is here that most of the families get their groceries. Tracadie is another four miles

beyond Monastery and offers similar facilities. Both communities have dry goods, car parts and car service facilities. Chain saw repairs and parts are available at a point on the main highway between Monastery and Antigonish, a distance of about ten miles from Upper Big Tracadie.

The situation in Lincolnville is not as favourable as in Upper Big Tracadie, since in order to obtain the same services Lincolnville residents must travel about 7½ miles to either Monastery or Boylston. Chain saw repairs and parts are available from a dealer who is located about two miles from Boylston off the main road.

Sunnyville residents have a wider range of services available to them since the community is located on the outskirts of Guysborough. It should be noted, though, that some of the community's residents live as far as three miles away.

The lack of retail and service outlets nearer to the three communities must be considered as a severe hardship and as an economic cost. When a chain saw breaks down, for example, it may be necessary for the worker to travel many miles to get it repaired. If he does not own a car, the only alternative may be to pay someone to take him to the repair facilities. The same is true of the other services which are needed in the community, such as groceries.

As the communities increase their income in the future, there should be a growing market for small grocery items, household items, as well as the range of consumer goods normally carried in a canteen. It would seem likely that each one of the communities may be in a position to provide 1 - 2 jobs in this sector. If specialization in forestry continues to dominate, it might be possible for each community to have a chain saw mechanic - at least in the community of greatest specialization.

Income

The total income of the three communities has been calculated from a combination of sources and as a result the time period of the various components is not always uniform. Essentially we have tried to ascertain individual incomes for a period of one year prior to the interview. The field survey, that is the response of the communities' residents, was the most important source of information, but it was supplemented by figures for public transfer payments obtained from public records.

The figures for income which are provided in Table 9 on the following page represent total disposable income in the three communities, that is to say total income after taxation.

However, the amount of taxes paid in the three communities is very small so the disposable income figure also represents the level of gross income.

Total income for the three communities during the year prior to the interview in August 1964 is estimated to have been $210,425, or $325 per person. This per capita income figure can be put in perspective by examining estimated per capita disposable income for Guysborough County, Nova Scotia and Canada in 1961. This information is listed below:

	Amount per capita	Three Communities as % of Region
Three Project Communities	$325	100.0%
Guysborough County	600	54.2%
Nova Scotia	1130	28.8%
Canada	1400	23.2%

Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville earned and collected from transfer payments only 54.2% of the 1961 per capita disposable income level of Guysborough County. In relation to Nova Scotia and Canada, however, the communities received only 28.8% of the provincial disposable income level and 23.2% of the national level.

The per capita income figures for Lincolnville and Sunnyville were not greatly different, $327 and $337 respectively. In the case of Upper Big Tracadie, however, per capita income was only $288. This figure is somewhat misleading as a measure of the well being of the community's residents compared to Lincolnville and Sunnyville because of the importance of subsistence agriculture and gardening. In addition to the five persons engaged in farming there were 15 persons who maintained gardens and produced for their own consumption. This "income in kind" does not enter the monetary stream so it tends to result in an underestimation of income. Many observors feel that Upper Big Tracadie has the highest living standard of the three communities.

Table 9 also provides us with a breakdown of income by source. In this case the major division is between earned income and transfer payments. For the three communities only one-half of the total income came from current earnings, while the rest was in the form of old age pensions, disability pensions, youth and family allowances, social assistance, unemployment insurance, relief and other transfer payments.

Earned income in Sunnyville accounted for 56.3% of the community's income while in the others it was around 42-43%.

The way in which earned income was distributed between industries is outlined in Table 10 on the following page. This table also contains information about the distribution of income between males and females. It can be readily seen that forestry dominates all three communities and provides nearly 67% of the total earned income. The remaining 33% is spread rather thinly among agriculture, fishing, construction, transportation, trade and services. Service industries are the only other group which represents a very substantial amount of earned income: It was 16.7% of the total. It was in this area that women made their contribution.

Table 11 on the following page gives a further indication of the way income is distributed. The average earned income per worker is shown by sex for each community together with an indication of how it is distributed as between income brackets.

Males in Sunnyville and Lincolnville received average annual earnings of $875 and $897 respectively while male workers in Upper Big Tracadie received onlyy $753. The reason for the difference between Upper Big Tracadie and the other communities relates to the "income in kind" which is received from agriculture there, a factor which is absent or of minimal importance in Lincolnville and Sunnyville.

The average annual earnings for female workers is very low in all three communities, and in Lincolnville it was only $50 per worker. The figure was $306 in Upper Big Tracadie and $262 in Sunnyville. The low average earnings among Lincolnville women may be somewhat misleading because it does not take into consideration the large number of welfare children that women in the community look after and for whom over $7500 was paid in support by municipal authorities. While most of this money went into the care of the child, some of it was probably converted to general household use.

Out of 149 members of the labour force 115, or 77%, earned less than $1,000 and another 24 persons, or 16.1% earned between $1,000 and $2,000. Nine workers earned from $2,000 to $4,000 and only one person earned over $4,000. These figures are especially enlightening when one considers that the Federal Government regards rural, non=farm family incomes of less than $3,000 as inadequate and is directing a number of its anti-poverty programs to families in this category.

The composition of the transfer payments varied somewhat as between communities. The various elements are ranked according to their importance below:

	Upper Big Tracadie	Lincoln-ville	Sunny-ville
Social Assistance	1	3	3
Old Age Pensions	2	1	1
Youth and Family Allowances	3	2	2
Disability Pensions	5	4	5
Unemployment	6	6	7
Relief	7	5	4
Other	4	7	6

In all three communities social assistance, old age pensions, and youth and family allowances were the three most important items.

Total public transfer payments to the three communities amounted to $105,356 for the period surveyed, though the size varied somewhat as between communities. On a per capita basis Lincolnville received the highest amount, $189 per person, and Sunnyville received the least, $42 per person less, or $147. Upper Big Tracadie was in between with $163 per capita. These figures are summaruzed below:

	Population	Public Transfer Payments (in dollars)	Per Capita Transfer Payments
Upper Big Tracadie	128	20,860	163
Lincolnville	191	36,019	189
Sunnyville	329	48,477	147
Total	648	105,356	163

Tax Contributions

The total tax contribution of the three communities is not available, but it is assumed to be very small because of the low level of income and because of the apparent low value of the property owned. Only a few persons reported paying any income tax and the amount was negligible.

Somewhat better information is available about property taxes levied and collected in each of the communities but even this is not complete.

All the households in Upper Big Tracadie are assessed according to the municipal rates and the amounts of taxation vary from $9.00 to slightly over $100 per year. Most of the families fall far short of the maximum assessment. It is estimated that only 50% of the families pay their taxes regularly and of those who do not, there are several who are many decades in arrears. Only two of the households are in a position where any income tax is relevant.

In Lincolnville every house is assessed and is taxed between $20.00 and $30.00 per year. As far as is known, however, only one person pays his taxes every year, though there are two or three others who may pay quite regularly. No one in Lincolnville earns enough so that after deductions there is any taxable income.

The total municipal tax bill in Sunnyville amounts to $4500 annually, but of the 53 households only 15 pay their taxes regularly. The individual assessments range from $9.00 to $100.00 with most of them falling between $40 - $50. Only a few persons pay income taxes.

Income and Employment Requirements for the Future

The level of per capita personal income varies considerably as between the three communities and the area surrounding them. For the purposes of comparison we have used the 1961 census data for Guysborough County and for Nova Scotia, and the 1964 survey data for Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville. The following levels of per capita disposable income were established earlier in this paper:[1]

Three Project Communities (1964)	$325
Guysborough County (1961)	600
Nova Scotia (1961)	1130

One of the objectives of public policy is clearly to raise the level of income in the project communities during the next few years. We suggest rather arbitrarily that a period of from two to three years be chosen as a target. This should be sufficiently long for the impact of programs undertaken within the next 12 - 18 months to be felt within the target period.

The first question to which we must address ourselves here is what income target should be selected. It would seem desirable to aim at raising the level of income in the project communities to the Nova Scotian level, but on closer examination the dimensions of this task are such that the goal does not appear to be achievable in the near future.

In order for income in the project communities to reach the 1961 per capita level in Nova Scotia, total income would have to increase by 265%, from the present 1964 level of $210,425 to $768,852.[2] This latter figure includes an additional 5% which would have to be earned beyond the disposable income in order to pay the taxes accrued at the higher level of income.

If transfer payments remain the same in the three communities ($105,356)[3] total earned income would have to be $663,496. This implies the employment of 138 workers at $2.00 per hour who work 48 hours a week, 50 weeks a year. In other words, it would be necessary for nearly the entire labour force, at its present size, to be fully employed at a wage level far in excess of the going wages in the area's industry. This is not a realistic short term goal (two to three years), though the long range aim of public policy would seem clearly to bring the three communities and Guysborough County up to the Nova Scotian level of per capita income.

---

1 See page 58

2 This assumes that population remains stable

3 The question of transfer payments is discussed below.

A more realistic disposable income goal would be to raise the per capita level of income in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville within two to three years to a level equal to the 1961 Guysborough County figure of $600, or not quite the double of the present level.

This goal imples that total income must rise from $210,425 to $409, 263, or by 94%. This latter figure also includes an additional 5% to cover tax accruals. Once again assuming that public transfer payments remain the same ($105,356), it will be necessary for total earned incomes in the three communities to rise to $303,907. The level of full employment associated with this income figure would be 127 persons working full time at $1.00 per hour. The working year is again assumed to be 48 hours a week for 50 weeks a year. The wage rate of $1.00 per hour seems to be in line with wages being paid in present employment.[1]

Before we go on to examine more closely the employment goals, let us turn briefly to the question of level of transfer payments. It seems unlikely that welfare expenditures will fall in the short run, since such substantial items as old age pensions, disability pensions, youth and family allowances and aid to welfare children cannot be expected to decline. Relief payments and social assistance are the items which seem most likely to register immediate declines under favorable income and employment conditions. In the case of unemployment insurance payments there are several reasons why one might expect a rise in expenditures. First, increased employment opportunities will probably encourage new entries into the labourmarket, and people who had not previously attempted to find employment because of the hopelessness of the situation may now begin to qualify for unemployment insurance. Second, the labour force will qualify for larger benefits under conditions of more favourable employment, i.e., as they increase the number of weeks they work, they are eligible to receive benefits over a longer period. Thus, it is assumed here that on balance public transfer payments will remain the same for the short run period.

It has already been implied in the preceding paragraph that the size of the labour force is expected to be larger as employment opportunities increase. This is due first of all to the fact that many men and some women who previously removed themselves from the ranks of active job seekers, because jobs were not to be found, will now re-enter the labour market. In the second place many of the large number of persons under 15 now will be entering the labour force in the next two to three years. It is estimated that 65 males and females will reach 15 years of age within the next three years. Many of them will remain in school

---

1 See page 53

beyond this age and in the case of women they will be unlikely to be able to obtain any kind of work. There will be 38 males who will reach 15 years of age during the projectdd period. It is arbitrarily assumed here that only 20 of them will actively enter the labour force. The other 18 may either remain in school or migrate.

At present there are 32 persons working more than 40 weeks a year. If these are considered to be full time jobs, then it will be necessary to find either 95 new full time jobs or some combination of full time jobs and seasonal employment in order to obtain the level of income indicated above. A reasonable target for new employment would seem to be 55 new, full time jobs. This means then that in addition to these and the 32 existing full time jobs, there must be 80 part time jobs which involve an <u>average</u> of 25 weeks of employment per year. The total labour force implied is 167 persons (32 plus 55 plus 80), or 18 more than the present labour force. This allows for a very modest growth in the number of workers, but it seems realistic since some outward migration will most certainly occur, especially in male age classes where participation in the labour force is normally very high.

These targets are based on what seems to be reasonable in view of the information at hand, and they are not based on sophisticated techniques of projection. The income and employment targets which we have been suggesting are summarized below:

Per capita income		
Total income		$600
Earned	303,907	$409,263
Public Transfer Payments	105,356	
Labour Force		167
Full Time Jobs, Existing	32	
Full Time Jobs, New	55	
Part Time and Seasonal Jobs	80	
Time for Implementation		2 - 3 years

<u>Economic Costs of Poverty to Society</u>

The first step in assessing how much public expenditure is justified in a program of economic and social development is to determine, at least in qualitative terms, but preferably in quantitative terms, what the economic costs of poverty are to society.

These costs may be broken down in the following way: 1) the present income foregone because the human and material resources are underutilized, 2) the higher welfare payments which must be made because people can not adequately care for themselves, and 3) the long range costs which arise from the fact that the poverty of one generation becomes that of another unless the vicious circle of poverty is broken.

If we consider $600 per capita as a realistic immediate income goal for the three communities, the present income being lost in these communitis amounts annually to be very nearly $200,000 ($198,838). In other words each year gross provincial product is

smaller by some multiple of $200,000, because not only do we lose this amount, but we also lose the income which would have been created in series of income and spending cycles.

Since the population of the three communities is likely to continue to show some increase, the amount of income needed to generate a $600 per capita income level will also grow. Thus losses of income will continue to grow with population.

The goal of $600 per capita is an immediate, short term goal and represents a parity with the county. Since the level of income in the county will hopefully not stagnate, the maintenance of a parity with Guysborough will also involve an ever growing income requirement in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville. In the long run the goal ought to be a widespread reduction of income differentials throughout the province and the country. If the three communities remained a pocket of poverty within a similarly affluent group of counties, provinces and country, the economic losses implied will be many times those suggested at the outset of this section. For example, had we chosen to compare the three communities with the provincial level of income in 1961, the implied loss would have been $558,427, or over twice as much.

Thus it can be concluded that loss of income to society as a result of poor economic performance will accelerate over time unless a substantial public effort is made to improve employment opportunities and incomes in the project communities.

At the present time welfare payments exceed $105,000 annually or approximately one-half of total income. Taxes collected in the three communities, either in the form of property taxes or income taxes, are a negligible amount. In other words, if the present state of economic conditions continue, society will have to continue to bear a heavy, if not increasing, welfare burden.

If a development program is undertaken at some temporarily increased public expense, it may be justified by the reduction of welfare costs and the increased ability of the communities to pay their share of the welfare burden through increased income taxes. Old age pensions, youth and family allowances and disability pensions are unlikely to be significantly reduced since changes in these items are less directly tied to the level of economic well being in the communities. Social assistance, unemployment insurance and relief payments, however, may very likely be reduced substantially over a reasonable period of time. These three items only amounted to $27,425, so this reduction may not be of such great importance. What would seem to be more important is the ability of the Negro communities to contribute more to the public coffer, since this increased revenue could not only justify the continuing welfare payments, but could also justify the public investment in a social and economic development program in the communities. In addition to their direct tax contributions, the income and spending which is generated by the increased income in the Negro communities will also generate additional tax revenues which will help to meet the costs of social and economic development.

In addition to the factors discussed above, there is a long range cost which is incurred by society when the vicious circle of poverty is not broken. There is a tendency for the attitudes and habits which

generate poverty to be transmitted from one generation to another and thus to perpetuate the economic losses to society over time. The older members of the three negro communities may not be able to make the adjustments that a fully adequate development program would place on them; the best that society can do is to improve on a marginal situation. The best chance for breaking the poverty cycle is in reaching the younger generation through various programs and helping them to develop socially useful occupations.

Apart from the direct and indirect, the short run and long run economic losses to the community, there is a whole area of human and social costs which by themselves would justify a program of development. When the human, social and economic costs are taken together the need for action must be seen as imperative.

Employment Alternatives

A key question which must be considered regarding employment alternatives is where people in the three communities are going to live. If one assumes that government policy is to help people move out of what are essentially three isolated communities, one has to also assume that the government is aiming to encourage and assist the entry of these people into industrial employment since it is unlikely that they can or should be moved to locations where new employment opportunities are in the primary sectors. Unless the second assumption is made, the government might only be promoting the transfer of poverty from one location to another - probably from rural to urban areas.

The objections to such a policy, at least as a short run policy (five years), are numerous. First of all the people themselves are not anxious to move in the majority of cases and what is more they are not psychologically prepared to move into a new, more challenging and sometimes hostile environment. Secondly, industrial opportunities in Nova Scotia and particularly Guysborough County are limited and there exists a situation of high unemployment and underemployment. In terms of qualifications the Negroes from Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville are not able to compete easily with other available manpower because they lack industrial experience and formal education. Third, in view of the first two points, it is unlikely that the benefits of a wholesale movement of people from these communities will outweigh the economic, social and human costs, at least in the short run. Public policy should indeed take the view in the long run (twenty years) that the Negroes should be made able to move anywhere with the expectation of receiving an equal opportunity to obtain employment, i.e., that they will not be at a disadvantage because of a lack of education, skills or the proper psychological set.

Since people are not likely to move away from the communities en masse, either because they do not want to or are unable to, it is necessary for public policy to concentrate on the shorter run task of finding employment opportunities within the general geographic area and within the existing economic structure of the communities and the county. Agriculture, forestry and service type industries accounted for over 95% of the employment in the three communities. Agriculture does not offer any realistic employment opportunities, and at best it will remain a

source of some food for home consumption. Since most of the persons who were involved in service industries were women who performed occassional work as domestics, it seems unlikely that this sector will be a large source of income.

Forestry, apart from being the sector where 60% of the employment occurred, is also the sector which shows the most potential for growth. The people in the three Negro communities are located on land with woodlots or with access to woodlots, and live very close to large tracts of crown land which contains considerable potentially merchantable timber and pulpwood. The existence of two large pulp and paper producers and several pulpwood exporters in the area has created in recent years a substantial demand for wood resources. Another factor which enhances the prospect of developing employment opportunities in the forestry sector is the considerable experience which the majority of the workers have in the woods. It would not be necessary to train the labour force for new jobs in this area, except perhaps in some special cases discussed below. Let us look briefly at the range of opportunities in forest and forest related occupations which should be considered.

i) Improvement of Crown Land

Between Mulgrave and Lincolnville there are between 25,000 and 30,000 acres of crown land which does not support merchantable timber at the present time and which is in need of intensive management. While the forest cover is not of extremely high quality, its proximity to pulpwood buyers, its large acreage and its importance as an industrial water supply area make it desirable to put the land under intensive forest management.

It is estimated that the area, assuming 20,000 acres of good forest land under careful management, will be able to produce 10,000 cords per year. At the present prices being paid for delivery at the mill this represents a value of $150,000 annually. At the moment 20 million gallons a day are being extracted from the water supply for industrial purposes in the area and the estimated capacity is 36 million gallons a day. This is a very important use which needs to be protected by proper management of the whole forest area.

There is reason to expect that at least 25 full time jobs could be created for the purpose of managing and improving the land in order to bring it up to full production and in order to protect the water supply area. This employment could begin immediately, or rather as soon as a program could be worked out between the provincial authorities and the lessor of the crown land.

Once the land has been brought up to full production, 10,000 cords per year, it is estimated that 50% of the price paid for the wood ($75,000) would go into the payment of wages for cutting, skidding and trucking. This could provide full-time employment for 30 workers, assuming an annual income of about $2,400 per year.

ii) Exploitation of Woodlots

It has been pointed out that many of the Negro families live on or

have access to woodlots. Some merchantable pulpwood exists on these lots, but the greatest potential may well exist in the cultivation of a Christmas tree crop.

In 1964 Nova Scotia shippped 1156 carloads of trees from the province, a decline from the 1963 level of 1255 carloads. Guysborough County accounted for only 3.4 carloads in 1964 and 4.4 in 1963. The bulk of the Christmas tree crop was produced in Lunenburg, Antigonish and Colchester counties. The three counties accounted for 82.6% of the provincial production in 1964 and 80.9% in 1963. The breakdown between counties was as follows:

	1964	1963
Lunenburg	45.0%	41.9%
Antigonish	22.9	24.5
Colchester	14.7	14.5

Not very much information is available about the Christmas tree industry or about markets for Christmas trees. One point of view is worth noting, however, and it is expressed by the Extension Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests.[1] They say that:

> ... the local Christmas tree industry has been experiencing considerable competition in recent years. This has come from plantation stock and artificial trees. Plantation trees which have been carefully cultivated and shaped through shearing have gained in popularity over some wild trees. Artificial trees have also met with success particularly in localities which have fire regulations restricting the use of natural trees.

In discussions with local forestry experts, the opinion was frequently expressed that opportunities exist in Guysborough county forests, including the woodlots owned by or accessible to Negroes in the county, for the profitable cultivation of Christmas trees.

It should be particularly noted that the Department of Lands and Forests' assessment of the market situation emphasized the popularity of carefully cultivated and shaped plantation trees. Thus if this opportunity is to be grasped by the Negro communities, it will be necessary for them to carefully develop their woodlots and to employ the proper methods for thinning, selecting, cutting and packaging trees. In other words they must develop the Christmas tree potential of their woodlots like any cash crop.

In order for this potential to be realized, it seems clear that the necessary management and operations skills must be encouraged through provision for training and technical assistance by some competent authority, such as the Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests.

---

1. Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests, extension note #18, September, 1963.

iii) Employment in Forest Related Occupations

As the involvement of workers in the area in forest industries increases, there should also be additional opportunities for those in forest-related occupations such as trucking wood, equipment repairmen, and pulpwood loaders.

The most important source of employment in this category is loading pulpwood boats at Mulgrave. It is possible that additional opportunities for full-time employment are not now being exploited and should be investigated.

One function of the community worker might well be to look for and inform members of the community about job opportunities in the general working radius of the community. In the case that potential jobs exist for which the negro worker is not presently qualified, the community worker might be able to help him, with the aid of government resources, obtain the training which would raise him to the level of qualification necessary to get the job.

Chapter 5

Education

The importance of formal education in modern society is beyond dispute. It appears that as many people would point to its value and necessity as would ascribe value and necessity to religion. To say then that education should be obtained, that it is "a good thing", is to utter a part of our official morality. And such is uttered by Eskimos in the Arctic, businessmen in Toronto and the Negroes in Guysborough County. Of course, there are differences as to the desired level and type of education among these social categories, but as to the fact of formal education itself, there is a clearly observed unanimity. That such is the case is a fact of considerable importance since it appears to be the key to both modern economic adaptation and human development.[1] Given our research emphasis on these latter themes, it is vital then that a separate chapter be devoted to the nature and type of formal education among the Guysborough Negroes.

Historical Background

As Professor Rawlyk has pointed out earlier, formal education among the Guysborough Negroes dates back to at least 1788[2], but it was not until 1872[3] that it was put on some semblance of a regular and firm footing. From 1872 to the early decades of the twentieth century, however, very little progress was made in the educating of the Guysborough Negroes. Professor Rawlyk's analysis is quite clearly supported by the following tables, showing the years of schooling of the parents of the household heads and of the households' spouses. They (the parents) were born and grew up between 1872 and the early decades of the twentieth century.

---

1 In discussing the value-orientation Guysborough Negroes have regarding formal education, later in this chapter, we will refer to economic and intellectual perspectives, the former viewing such education as necessary for "success" in the economic sphere and the latter emphasizing the necessity of formal education for individual human development. Though not mutually exclusive, it is profitable to consider each separately.

2 See Chapter Two, page 6.

3 Ibid, page 8.

TABLE 1: Education of Parents of Household Heads*, By Sex of Parent and Community

	U.B.T.		Lincolnville		Sunnyville		Total		Percent	
	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.
No schooling	1	3	12	15	6	10	19	28	20	29
Public school	17	15	11	6	45	42	73	63	76	66
High school	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	2	2	2
"College"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know	2	2	-	1	-	-	2	3	2	3

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

* Household Head may be male or female as the interviewing was conducted on the basis of obtaining an approximately equal number of male and female respondents.

TABLE 2: Education of Parents of Household Heads', Spouses By Sex of Parent and Community.

	U.B.T.		Lincolnville		Sunnyville		Total		Percent	
	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.
No schooling	2	3	15	17	3	4	20	24	21	25
Public school	14	13	8	6	447	46	69	65	72	68
High school	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"College"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know	2	2	-	-	1	1	3	3	3	3
N.A.	2	2	-	-	2	2	4	4	4	4

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

The above tables indicate that a very significant proportion - about 25 percent - of the Guysboro Negroes received during this time period no formal education whatever. The actual proportion receiving no education probably was greater than the tables reveal since we can safely assume that the "don't knows" would tend to fall into this class[4] and since misreporting operates in the direction of claiming higher

4 Such a pattern was found by the writer in a study recently conducted in Halifax County.

educational achievement.[5] As for those who did receive some formal education, it was quite clearly only of the most elementary kind. Given what we know about the education of succeeding generations and from those still living who were educated during this time period, it is safe to say that the actual grade level achieved by those who attended school was no more than the third grade on the average.[6]

Before commenting further on the tables presented, it is important that we secure a proper perspective (we are throughout this report attempting to avoid the Negro fallacy by using comparative data on Whites). Ideally we should compare Negro education with that of White Guysboro residents during the same period. Living in the Negro communities are several White families and the education of the parents of the household heads of these families is very similar to that of the Negroes.[7] However the number of such families is too small to be trustworthy. Nor is comparative data available on White communities in Guysboro county. Thus our comparison has to be an indirect one, namely, using data from non-metropolitan White Halifax County communities. The following tables indicate the education of Whites in these communities between 1872 and the early decades of the twentieth century.

---

5 Children were often present at the interviews and since they would often embarrass the respondent by laughing at his or his parents' poor educational achievement, there was a tendency for respondents to quickly terminate discussion of this question by saying "oh, a couple of years". Since our interviewers had some knowledge of the situation prior to the interview, this did not involve a serious source of error.

6 For the average grade achieved by members of succeeding generations, see page 10.

7 Among these Whites, 17% of the parents of the household heads received no education and the remaining 83% just public school. However there were only eleven such families and in half of these, the household heads had the same parents. Several other factors, such as the possible selectivity from other Whites accountable for their living in these communities, make this a poor control group.

TABLE 4: Education of Parents of Household Heads in White Non-Metropolitan Halifax[8] County Communities

	Fathers		Mothers	
	no.	%	no.	%
No schooling	18	5	14	4
Public School	262	73	244	68
High School	43	12	64	18
"College"[a]	15	4	16	4
Don't know	22	6	22	6

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

a- This category also includes technical college training such as business training, nursing and so on. Given the small numbers with which we are working, it seemed advisable to lump extra-high school education. This is applicable to all tables dealing with educational achievement.

TABLE 5: Education of Parents of Household Heads' Spouses In White Non-Metropolitan Halifax County Communities

	Fathers		Mothers	
	no.	%	no.	%
No schooling	10	3	6	2
Public School	255	71	239	66
High School	37	10	57	16
"College"	11	3	10	3
Don't know	28	8	29	8
N.A.	19	5	19	5

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

---

8 The writer, along with the deceased Professor Benallick, conducted a survey of this unit, investigating eighteen communities. Although not a strict random sample, these communities appear to be roughly representative of White Non-Metropolitan Halifax County. Within each community a random sample of twenty household heads was selected.

Comparison of White Non-Metropolitan Halifax County Communities with Guysboro Negro communities for the same period indicates that differences in the education of the residents are matters of degree, not of kind. However in order to make the comparison more exact, we should break down the Halifax County data and obtain the educational achievement of those persons living in communities similar in size, distance from any metropolitan area, and occupational homogeneity to White communities in Guysboro County.[9] The following table presents such a comparison in the case of the educational achievement of fathers of the household heads.[10]

TABLE 6: Education of Fathers of Household Heads by type of Community

	Guysboro Negro		Non-Metro Halifax County		Selected Halifax[a] County Communities	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
No schooling	28	29	18	5	3	5
Public School	63	66	262	73	49	82
High School	2	2	43	12	7	12
"College"	-	-	15	4	1	1
Don't know	3	3	22	6	-	-

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

a- These three communities are Tangiers, Port Dufferin and Carolls Corner

Although there is a slight tendency for the three selected Halifax County communities to be more similar, in terms of education of household heads' fathers, to the Negro communities, it appears that what we would have concluded from the first comparison would also hold for the comparison of the Negro communities and the selected Halifax County communities. Thus it is, by this indirect route, safe to say that the data from White

---

9 These factors appear to be most crucial in accounting for variation in community life in non-metropolitan communities. See the paper presented by Professor Benallick and myself at the Eastern Canadian Sociological Society's meeting in 1964, "Some Factors in Community Involvement".

10 Such comparisons quite obviously hinge somewhat on migration patterns. In some of the Halifax County communities, migration has been greater than among the Negroes. Again, however, the three more comparable Halifax county communities are more similar to the Negro communities with respect to migration patterns. 77% of Negro household heads were born and raised in the community or within 15 miles compared to 65% in the selected communities and 57% in non-metropolitan White Halifax County. In the selected community such household heads' educational achievement was quite similar to that of the migrants; the same was true for the county unit. The insignificant difference in educational achievement between migrants and non-migrants means that for the purposes at hand, the higher migration rate of the latter units does not seriously affect our interpretation.

non-metropolitan Halifax County communities would be similar enough to the unavailable data from White Guysborough communities to render the former a useful control in interpreting data on Negro education. What then can we conclude from our first comparison? As mentioned earlier, the differences are matters of degree. In both sets of communities we observe that the modal response is public school and that there is a tendency for females to have slightly more education than males. But there are differences. 24% of the Guysborough Negroes obtained no formal education at all during this period compared to only 3% of the Whites. Further, only 1% of the Negro population received a post-public school education while 18% of the Whites in non-metropolitan Halifax County did so.[11] Actually the gap may not be this large insofar as theycomputation is based on roles rather than individuals and, consequently, individuals may be included more than once since an individual may be a "father" to several people, etc. Nevertheless the differences are significant and approach the figures mentioned. Further, among those who attended only public school there were vast differences. In Halifax County it was rare to encounter a reported public school education of less than grade five whereas, among the Guysborough Negroes, public school education rarely went beyond grade three during this period. Finally there is the question of the quality of the education received. It can be assumed - it will be shown clearly later on in this chapter - that whatever education the Negroes did receive was quite inferior to that received by the Whites.

Apart from the patterns mentioned above the only variation within the Guysborough Negro communities is the difference of Lincolnville as compared with Sunnyville and Upper Big Tracadie. Proportionally many more Lincolnville residents received no schooling. Finally, it should be noted that during this period there were few opportunities for the Guysborough Negroes to achieve either "economic" skills or "growth" in their intellectual processes, outside the realm of formal education. It was most unusual for any Negro to possess any kind of special training[12] and living in isolated communities with a very real subsistence problem, serviced by segregated schools and churches, was not conducive to a broadening and heightening of experience.

Professor Rawlyk has quoted several reliable first-hand reports to the effect that during the period under discussion, the Guysborough Negroes were willing to involve themselves in the educational process and those that did, performed satisfactorily.[13] The critical general

---

11. The overall percentage distribution for Whites and Negroes is

No Schooling:	3%	in	Halifax	Co.,	24%	in	the	Negro Communities
Public School:	69%	"	"	"	70%	"	"	" "
High School :	14%	"	"	"	1%	"	"	" "
"College" :	4%	"	"	"	0%	"	"	" "
Don't Know & NA :	10%	"	"	"	5%	"	"	" "

(a) public school here refers to grades one to eight inclusively

12. Chapter two, pages eleven and twelve

13. Ibid., page eight

problem which the Negroes faced was their lack of means.[14] Irregularity of attendance, lack of qualified teachers and inadequate facilities - all presumably related to this lack of means - have been suggested by informed observors as the specific difficulties. While neither the specific factors nor the general explanation is wholly adequate their operation cannot be denied. The Lincolnville data is a case in point. These Negroes were at that time, and still are, the most economically depressed of the three Guysborough groups, and when their school-house burned down in 1890, a new school was not constructed until 1931, and even then, only with significant assistance from extra-community sources.[15] Although schools were more regular in Upper Big Tracadie and Sunnyville during this period, their operation was always of an "off-again", "on-again" sort. Even in 1964 at Upper Big Tracadie the elementary school opened later than was usual and there was some uncertainty among the populace as to when the children would attend and who the teacher would be.

The fact of the matter is that until the important provincial educational reforms of the 1940's, the cost of the educational program had largely to be covered by local resources and such resources were lacking in the Negro communities. Although the educational reforms of 1864-65 made elementary schools legally free and assessment for their support compulsory, lack of resources held back the development of formal education among the Guysborough Negroes. Given the problems of these communities, provincial efforts to modernize education - through curriculum guidance and so on - in Nova Scotia during the 1930's and 40's could have little effect without drastic improvement in the general financing of the local schools. The most far-reaching reform of the 30's and 40's was embodied in legislation from March 1942 onwards which caused the School Board of the larger municipality to take over from local trustees the active control of and responsibility for all schools within that municipality.[16] Yet, although a mechanism to deal with such problems as the Guysborough Negroes faced had now come into existence, actually not much attention was paid to these isolated communities. And so, in the 30's, 40's and 50's no significant improvements were effected and the factors characteristic of the earlier period were still operative - delapidated schools, permissive licences and so on.[17] That such was the case is indicated in the following tables which show the educational achievement of the present generation of household heads who were, for the most part, educated in this time-period.

---

14. Ibid., page eight

15. Pe" " "

16. Personal communication from the Nova Scotia Department of Education. Actually this did not happen in Guysborough County till well after the end of World War II.

17. Chapter two, page eight.

TABLE 7: Education of Household Heads by Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
No schooling	1	5	6(a)	12	13
Public school	18	16	42	76	79
High school	1	2	5(b)	8	8
"College"	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

(a) One of these is a White person living in Sunnyville
(b) One of the four is a White person living in Sunnyville

TABLE 8: Education of Household Heads' Spouses by Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
No schooling	1	5	2	8	8
Public school	9	10	32	51	53
High school	1	3(a)	4(b)	8	8
"College"	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know & N.A.	9	5	15	29	31

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

(a) One of these is a White married to a Negro
(b) One of these is a White person

Compare these tables with that relating the education achievement of those in non-metropolitan White Halifax Councy communities during this period:

TABLE 9: Education of Household Heads and Spouses in Non-Metropolitan White Halifax County Communities

	Household Heads		Spouse	
	no.	%	no.	%
No schooling	6	2	3	1
Public school	157	43	118	33
High school	170	47	151	42
"College"	27	8	29	8
Don't know & N.A.	-	-	59	16

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

Negroes in Guysboro in the 30's and 40's and 50's, did receive a better education than their forebears but only slightly better. There were still between ten and fifteen per-cent who received no education, the modal response was still public school, the level of public school reached was still low[18] and the quality of that which they did receive was still poor. The variations among the Negro communities was however reduced somewhat. The essential stagnation of the Negroes' education can clearly be seen by comparing the data on the Halifax County communities for the two periods - the modal response has changed from public school to high school education in these communities. In this second time-period about forty-five percent of the Whites obtained some high-school education compared to the fourteen percent of the preceeding generation. Among the Guysboro Negroes however, the percentage of persons (8%) obtaining some high-school training was even in this latter period only about half the percentage of Whites who had done so between 1872 and the early decades of the twentieth century. Also the percentage of Whites with post-high-school education doubled during the 30's, 40's and 50's while of course there was still not a single one of the Guysboro Negroes who received such training. The ratio of Negro uneducated to White uneducated remained the same as in the earlier period - proportionately, eight times as many Negroes received no formal education. Finally, it should be noted that, out of the handful who attended high-school, not a single Negro in any of the three communities graduated during the 30's, 40's and 50's. All things considered, it was during this period that the gap between Negro and White communities became greatest, when, so-to-speak, the Negroes on the basis of educational achievement were relegated to a "different league". They did however have the company of other isolated Negro communities - writing in 1949, W. P. Oliver noted that in the entire 135 years of Negro settlement in Nova Scotia, there were but three local Negro university graduates and all three were the products of mixed-racial settlements.[20]

Contemporary Background:

The following tables provide the formal education of everyone in each of the three Negro communities as of September 1964.

TABLE 10: Educational Achievement of those Out-of-School by Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
No schooling	5	17	16	38	15
Public school	37	47	115	199	79
High school	3	6	6	15	6
"College"	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

---

18. See page 10
20. P. Oliver, "The Negro in Nova Scotia", Journal of Education, December, 1949.

It is apparent that very few have other than elementary school education. Actually five of the fifteen listed as having some high-school education are Whites who live in these communities.[21] The average education of those out of school is, in grades, 4.7 in U.B.T. and Sunnyville and 4.3 in Lincolnville. In each community the Whites all have more than the listed mean.[22] Of those Negroes who are out of school very few have had any kind of special training - three in U.B.T., four in Sunnyville and one in Lincolnville.

The following tables indicate the educational achievement of those who are in school:

TABLE 11: Education of Those in School by Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Public school	57	77	132	266	96.5
High school	4(a)	1	5	10	3.5

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

(a) one of these is a White youth

TABLE 12: Number of Years Children are Behind in their Education(a), by Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Not behind	12	28	21	61	25
One year behind	11	5	43	59	24
Two years behind	12	10	23	45	18
Three or more yrs. behind	25	23	32	80	33

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

(a) The criterion was a five-year span between age and grade. Table does not include those in "primary".

The two above tables clearly show that there has been as yet no substantial improvement in the education of this generation as compared to the generation of parents and grandparents. Almost all who are in school are in public school and of these, it is unlikely, things remaining as they are, that many will go on to high school.

---

21. Three in Sunnyville and one in each of U.B.T. and Lincolnville.

22. The number of whites and their average education in each community is as follows:

Lincolnville: n-2, avg. 8.0
Sunnyville : n-13, avg. 7.5
U.B.T. : n-2, avg. 9.0

As one highly informed White Guysboro resident said "None of the students (Sunnyville Negroes) seems to get beyond grade six. There are very few people from Sunnyville in the rural high school; in fact you could count them on one hand. Those who do reach high school are faced with the stumbling block of provincial examinations of which they pass only few." Also, several of the Lincolnville teachers have said that for a variety of reasons it is too much to expect that the children now in school will receive an adequate education; rather three or so might complete high school. These teachers place their hopes on those who are in primary and those who are of pre-school age.[23] Such views are borne out by the data. The modal response for those in school is three or more years of retardation. In Nova Scotia the compulsory attendance law permits children aged five years on October first to come to school but it does not require attendance in rural areas until age seven. However, in the Negro communities under investigation most of the children start their schooling at age five and, indeed, our participant-observors observed that several of the school children in September 1964 were not yet five; they observed, further, parental endeavours to have children under five admitted to school. Therefore, to be behind in school as defined in Table 12 means usually though not necessarily that failure of grade has occurred. To fail a grade is so common among the Guysboro Negroes that one of the participant-observors, on informing a group of Negro youths that he had never done so, was treated by them with awe - "you must be pretty smart." Finally, grade six is often the occasion for the "rite de passage" of school-leaving. It represents the highest level of attainment in the segregated Negro schools and those who do go on must attend the mixed-racial schools of either Guysboro Town or Tracadie.

In discussing further the contemporary setting it should first of all be noted that the elementary schools for the Negroes of each community are segregated. As far as it is possible to tell, never in their history have the Negroes of these communities attended mixed-racial elementary schools. Even when the Lincolnville school burned down or when the U.B.T. and Sunnyville schools were "off-again" rather than "on-again", the rule was separate school or no school. Although we are not in this report following the cul-de-sac of blame-placing, it is important to note the lack of assistance rendered by neighbouring Whites during such periods. At the same time the Negroes apparently were not vigorous in requesting either integrated school facilities or temporary accommodation in White schools when their own operations came to a halt. In any event, given the segregation and given the Negroes lack of means[24], it is to be expected that the material apparatus of their schools would be rather "dilapidated".[25]

---

23. The number of pre-school age children is 22 in U.B.T., 43 in Lincolnville and 60 in Sunnyville.

24. See Chapter four on the comparative economic well-being of the Guysboro Negroes.

25. See Chapter two, page 8.

That such a condition continues into the present is indicated in the following observation of the participant-observor in U.B.T.

> "the inside of the U.B.T. school is terrible. It is extremely dirty and drab. They burn coal in the stove and there is coal-dust all over the ceiling. The desks for the children are very old and dirty and broken. The desks are loose on the floor and school books are mostly very shabby and dirty. The blackboards are in poor condition and I didn't see a real desk for the teacher, just an old table at the front of a cluttered room. The place is very musty and smelly and there is coal-dust and dirt everywhere. Even the alphabet cards were not in proper order on the walls."

The above description of the U.B.T. school-house pre-dated the clean-up in early September in preparation for the resumption of classes but the clean-up only improved the smell and eliminated some of the dirt. Essentially the same situation prevailed in Lincolnville. As one teacher said, "it is so over-crowded at the Lincolnville school that some of the desks have to be very close to the stove and as a result often smoke from the heat. Yet the children farthest from the stove just about freeze." These reports, all borne out by observation, testify to the continued inadequacy of these segregated schools for purposes of modern education. In Lincolnville as in U.B.T., broken school furniture was seldom replaced; a blackboard which was reportedly broken about twenty years ago, is now in such worn condition that one teacher said it was a waste of time trying to use it. As in U.B.T. and Sunnyville, teachers found it difficult to have worn text-books replaced. Perhaps the clearest symbol of this neglect and decay was the rather faded picture of King George VI hanging on the wall of the Lincolnville school-house -- in September of 1964 it had yet to be replaced by a picture of the present monarch.

The relationship of material conditions to the effective pursuit of learning in schools is by no means simple. It is probably not a linear relationship but a curvilinear one - too little and too much both interfering with effective learning. Clearly in the Guysboro Negro communities the effect of such material conditions would be entirely negative. As the teachers in complaining against the municipality (some claim that they have as well several times approached uncooperative municipal officials on these matters) point out, the schools were never adequately supplied with chairs, books, etc., for the proper teaching of children. Furthermore, the schools did not provide the teachers with any privacy, and toilet facilities and so on. In U.B.T. for instance, if the teacher had to go to the washroom, it was necessary that she leave the school, fully aware of the all-knowing grins that would appear on the faces of her pupils. As for the extras usually found in the schools of the province, two teachers said it was not worth the time asking for these. Under such conditions, even superior teaching could barely conquer.

Obtaining adequate teachers has always been a problem in the Guysboro Negro school system. At the present time, three of the five teachers are fully qualified but such a development has been very recent.

The state mentioned by Professor Rawlyk, "most of the teachers had permissive licenses and were poorly qualified",[26] continued into the sixties. It was not, for example, until 1960 or thereabouts that Lincolnville acquired a fully qualified teacher. For the previous thirty years the only teacher had been a female resident of the community with about a grade ten education and a permissive license.[27] The same pattern applies to U.B.T. and Sunnyville. Although a qualified female taught briefly at the U.B.T. school a year previously, U.B.T. did not acquire a fully licensed teacher until two years ago. In both U.B.T. and Sunnyville in the very recent past, it was not uncommon for the teacher to have little more than grade six education.

The teachers at these schools have invariably been Negroes. At the present time only one of the five teachers is White. The few whites who at some time did teach in these schools stayed for only short periods. The salary was of course quite poor, too poor to compete in the market for teachers, especially teachers who were White and licensed and hence from outside the community. As a result the tendency was to go along with whoever had the most education in the community and who would be willing (or rather happy given the economic conditions in the community) to do the job for in the vicinity of one thousand dollars per year. Under such conditions and given the material apparatus available, it is to be expected that the quality of the teaching would be very low. Most of those in all three communities who have in recent years, graduated can hardly read or spell. As one observer who studied this aspect intensively reports, "I have yet to meet one child who can read without stopping after each word even if they are graduates of the local schools reading grade two books." Sentence structure, proper inflection, the meaning of periods and capital letters, all these are beyond the competence of the vast majority of such graduates. As for knowledge of places such as South Viet Nam and foreign and national affairs generally, the participant-observors found little evidence of it. Reading was taught so poorly that most of the local products hate it and avoid it at all costs.[28] The standards until recently were so low that, even with such backgrounds, the pass rate according to a former teacher was very high before 1960. Thus the fact that the average education of those out of school is between 4.3 and 4.7 grades in all communities perhaps reflects more a perception by the then-students that such education was almost worthless. Finally from what has been gleaned from the people in the communities and cross-checked as well as possible, it appears that the organization of such education was subject to rather drastic swings of the pendulum - from a permissiveness on the part of the teachers that resulted in anarchy or complete loss of control to

---

26. Ibid., page 8

27. In what follows we shall have occasion to remark on the quality etc. of the teaching offered in the communities. It is not intended to reflect on the teachers personally. We must keep our critical faculties alive while remembering the conditions within which the teachers operated and the sacrifices some undoubtedly made.

28. For a discussion of reading habits, see section on parental motivation of school-children.

a strict authoritarianism that led to excessive punishment, cursing and so on. Teachers cursing students, parents threatening to "beat-up" teachers, bigger children in effect "running" the school - found in all three communities these factors[29] to which we shall return in a later analysis, continued into the sixties and sometimes made a farce out of the formal educational system.

Within the past two years there have been some changes as regards improving material conditions and obtaining more qualified teachers. A new school has been constructed in Sunnyville and at the time of this writing, a modern school-house is to be opened in Lincolnville which will service the children of both Lincolnville and U.B.T. The new Lincolnville school is of the same design as the Sunnyville school and offers much more than was available in the old school-houses. There are four classrooms, teachers room, principal's office, washrooms and an assembly room. The teachers also hope to obtain films and other teaching aids. As for salaries there has been some improvement and, along with this, more qualified teachers. However, there are still unqualified teachers in a situation demanding specially qualified teachers; there are still educationally irrelevant criteria used in the selection of teachers,[30] there is still the problem of the organization of education (controls, etc.), and of course there is still segregation. Further these changes are either just now going into effect or have just been in effect for only a year or two, and as a result cannot meaningfully be taken into account in the following analysis. We shall however return to them in the summary of this chapter.

A brief note on two other aspects of the setting will conclude the first section of this chapter. Upon graduating from the segregated schools, Negro students enter the rural high school at Guysboro town.[31] As indicated in Table 11 only a handful of Negroes take this step. Until at least 1959 the costs of attending the Guysboro school were, especially for the students of Lincolnville and U.B.T., prohibitive. At that time there were no school buses or text-book rental plan, and as a result the costs of books and room and board were impossible to meet. In the past few years these conditions have also changed and no longer is a direct economic explanation of the small Negro attendance even possible. However, as we have already seen, changes in the Negro schools have been too recent to take advantage of these new conditions. Of those who in recent years have attended the Guysboro school, very few have been successful academically. There is a very high failure

---

29. There was, for example, a petition in 1961 which signed by the majority of the adults in the community, resulted in the dismissal of the teacher for a variety of such reasons. In another community and at about the same time a similar flare-up among teachers, parents and students ended with the withdrawal of the licensed teacher.

30. In one community a local school-board trustee, on giving his consent to the hiring of a teacher with a permissive license, told the participant-observor that the person had to make a living and if the other people were satisfied then it didn't matter that the person had only grade nine education - she had a family to feed.

31. One U.B.T. student attends the high school at Tracadie.

rate[32] which, given our description of the Negro schools, is predictable. The reasons for this poor attendance and poor performance are, however, very complex and cannot be reduced to direct economic factors or even to the poor quality of the education offered in the Negro schools. The social and psychological aspects of this complexity will be discussed in the next section.

Finally, it has to be noted that the homes in all the Negro communities are generally inadequate for study purposes. Most homes are so crowded that it is impossible for a student to concentrate on studies or to enjoy the aesthetic pleasures associated with studying and other homework. The average number of persons per house varies from 6.2 in Sunnyville to 7.9 in Lincolnville. As a general rule of thumb, we can say that in homes where children are present, the average is higher.[33] Further, the homes are not equipped so as to lend themselves suitable for studying. In slightly over 25% of the homes in the three communities, no electricity is available.[34] Other apparatus, such as separate rooms, desks and the like, are noticeably absent. Thus the simple material aspects of the home-setting are also not conducive to the development of education.

---

32. There is a very high failure rate among all students at the Guysboro school. In a recent year the ratio of passes to failures in a provincial examination was of the order 6 - 69. This is an indication that White elementary schools may also be inadequate. No data are available on this but it is difficult to believe that the education in these schools could be as poor as that of the Negroes schools. Certainly the Negroes believe that Whites have better teaching and better material apparatus than they have.

33. About one-third of the Guysboro Negro households do not contain a family and are inhabited by less than three persons. See section on demographic analysis, chapter three.

34. For further details on the condition of the houses in the communities, see chapter 3.

Values and Attitudes Concerning Education

It is very difficult to obtain in one month adequate insight into the values and attitudes of any population, and it is especially difficult when the participant-observors and interviewers are not well-steeped in the social sciences and have not had any field-work experience. What follows, then, is a tentative formulation supplemented by analysis of questionnaire data.

It has been noted in the previous section that the value of formal education is part of our official morality - it is generally defined as a "good thing". To deny formal education this status would then be a deviant act, an act not likely to elicit a rewarding response when interacting with others, particularly if the others are closely identified with the official mechanisms of society and the interaction is, in the colloquial sense, rather formal. Regardless of the idiosyncratic handling of their roles, our participant-observors were identified as having something to do with "the government"[35] by the Guysboro Negroes. Not only did these Negroes have prior knowledge of the research project, but the participant-observors also found it useful to associate themselves with the government since such was a source of motivation to Negro participation. Under these conditions and given the short duration of the fieldwork which made the interaction of the observors and the Negroes always rather formal, it is to be expected that the Guysboro Negroes would overwhelmingly claim that education is very important and very desirable. Indeed they often referred to education with a tone similar to that used when talking generally about religion. It appears that, in discussing education as an ideal among Guysboro Negroes, the religious idiom would be useful and enlightening.

Value-Orientations Towards Education

As the observor in U.B.T. said, "the main point is that every adult in U.B.T. with whom I have spoken considers education to be very important. I have yet to hear one adult say anything to the effect that education is not desirable or important." Such is also the pattern for Lincolnville and Sunnyville. In Lincolnville there is one old man who is well-known for his diatribes against education and his claim of getting by without it. However it is significant that among most residents of the community this fellow is identified as the "town clown" with all that such a role usually implies.[36] The positive evaluation of education not only was pervasive in all three communities but it also was not restricted to the more "sober" residents. One of the leaders of a rather wild young adult group in Sunnyville for instance told the participant-observor several times that he believed "you've got to have an education". Similarly a man in Lincolnville well-known for his heavy drinking habits and another in Upper Big Tracadie who had taken his children out of school, have both articulated such views. In other words, even the more

---

35. Negroes viewed the government as something like a big cloud existing out there - beyond them. For a discussion of this orientation to government, see the chapter on values.

36. See for instance, O. Klapp: Heroes, Villains and Fools, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

clearly defined deviants, in situations where they attempt to win favour or in situations where they believe they are being fundamentally honest, verbalize this notion and often do so in a cathartic fashion. Such testimony to the desirability and importance of formal education definitely carries a religious flavour and the type of responses noted above - tone and structure - are similar to those one would expect to obtain if under similar circumstances religion was being discussed.[37]

A characteristic of "official morality" is that, while deviations from it in everyday life are not negatively sanctioned, it is nevertheless still operative at the belief level and can under special conditions become operative in everyday life. To bring it out into the open and challenge it would quickly bring into play negative sanctions. It has then a moral quality, a "should" to it such that a blatant deviant when discussing the ideal would tend also to try to rationalize his own deviance. Such patterns are also found among the Guysborough Negroes with respect to formal education. They of course have a very poor education and such is accepted in everyday life. However, when discussing education with the participant-observors they quickly added that they should have had more education but they had to help their families as soon as they were old enough, that they are too old now, etc... The tone used was often similar to that used by a person in justification for what he believes to be (or at least thinks others believe to be) an evil habit. And while the reasons offered may be partially valid, it is significant that none said that formal education in those times would have simply been a waste of effort - from what we have already observed formal education to be prior to 1960. Does it not seem probable that this would be as valid as any other reason? Another pattern was for the individual to state his education and rather quickly add - "it's about the average education around here". This is highly suggestive of the classic rationalization whereby an individual by pointing to others attempts to justify his own actions. Whether or not it is necessary to rationalize their poor education is not relevant; the point is that they appear to believe it is.

Similar patterns were found among the young Negroes - those who are still in school and those members of the working force who are single and under thirty years of age. They, too, say that an individual should obtain all the education he can, that they themselves should obtain (or should have obtained) more education. Again the tone they use when discussing education is revealing. The fact that they have left school or are contemplating leaving it, appears to bring guilt-feelings. When the occasional youth did tell the participant-observor that he encouraged another youth to stay in school, it appeared that, among other things, he wished to be rewarded for performing a morally good act. The guilt, the automatic positive support, the naive way of pointing to how they tried to get the value of formal education across to younger brothers and so forth - these are indicative of the moral quality they attach to formal education. Further they, too, often couple such statements with rationalizations for leaving school such as "to help out the family". The degree to which these reasons are valid is even less than among those

---

37. Since noting this pattern I have discovered a similar argument in Will Herberg's, Protestant, Catholic and Jew, (Anchor Books), where Herberg observes that education is part of the religion of America.

of the parental generation. In fact very few obtain jobs,[38] and of those obtaining employment it is rare to have a steady job[39] and it is rare that significant economic assistance can be or is given to their families. Moreover it is common knowledge among the Negroes themselves that such is the case. Talking about jobs and money is a quite regular activity among these people and certainly when the youths do leave school they are well aware that no employment awaits them in the area.

Before trying to explain the factors behind this orientation to formal education and discussing some alternate interpretations, some mention should be made of other aspects of this orientation found among the Guysboro Negroes. As one might expect if formal education is part of the official morality, almost every parent in all three communities vigorously contended that they would see that their children received as much education as possible. Such unequivocal assertions came from parents of all types, including those who in practice take little interest in the education of their children and who have little knowledge of what education is. To ask a parent in these communities whether he will see that his child receives as much education as possible appears tantamount to asking - Will you try to be a good parent? At least it seems clear that the parents involved think of such questions as synonymous. In fact several parents have quite explicitly stated the function of education as "learning the kids to be respectable".

Another facet of this viewing of education as part of the official morality is the mystery and awe associated with things educational. Again we are not referring to what in practice occurs in everyday life. We have already shown that there are patterns to the contrary and shortly will discuss further this aspect of their everyday behaviour. What we refer to here is their notion of how things educational should be. For instance the Lincolnville school had its annual Christmas party recently to which parents were invited. The principal (a white female) intended that the party actually be a party, that is, that the atmosphere be free and easy, children be allowed to create a little ruckus and so on. However, the attending parents reacted quite negatively to this idea and, by yelling at the children to be quiet and criticizing the teachers' handling of the matter, strongly indicated that they believed that the atmosphere should have been much more sober and formal. The teacher tried to explain to the parents that after all it was supposed to be a party but it was apparent from the way the parents acted and the disapproval of the party's handling which they expressed afterwards to our interviewers that they (who certainly are not usually strongly disciplinarian in their treatment of children) believed a more "sacred" kind of demeanor to be appropriate to the situation. In other words they would have been pleased if the party had been conducted like a church supper. The interpretation of these actions as symbolic of their tendency to link formal education with religion, or treat it in a similar fashion, is only tentative but it does fit with the previous analyses

---

38. Chapter three, page 10

39. Ibid.

and appears to be related also to their orientation to university. This orientation is revealed in the great interest expressed by young and old members of the communities as to university life, whether jobs are obtained for graduates or rather the graduates are on their own, etc. While the interest is partly due to a desire for knowledge about something of which they are very ignorant, the tone and manner of questioning - these aspects of speech are in everyday life at least as important and meaningful as the words used, although more difficult to pin down - indicated an almost sacred attitude towards university, the quintessence of formal education. Indeed one householder had a portrait picture of a college graduate on her television set - she did not know who the graduate was but was very impressed (as were others as well) by it. The reverse of this pattern also holds; a favourite device used by members of the communities to cut people down to size, to make people ordinary if not despicable, is to say, "he's only got grade one or two education and doesn't know anything".[40]

It appears that in the broader society such an orientation to education is supported by the economic and intellectual perspectives mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. It is interesting to examine whether such are props for the Negro orientation. As defined the intellectual perspective supports a high regard for formal education insofar as such education is deemed crucial for success. Intellectual curiosity and love of learning do not appear to be prominent among the Guysborough Negroes, that is, apart from very young children who appeared interested in attending school and learning new words and stories, etc.[41] Possession of intellectual skills is praised and desired but either for economic reasons or because it is considered respectable. For instance, it was observed that in all three communities there were at least a few persons who took a great deal of pride in their use of language, their ability to use "big words", and that others were impressed by this skill. In another instance one individual, within minutes of meeting the participant-observor, impressed upon him what he considered to be his special knowledge of multiplication. Another person in a different community told the writer that while he had only grade four education, he was as smart as would be a person with grade ten education because he could "figure things out like a scientist".

In such cases as presented above it appears that the individuals are not much interested in the skill in itself and its development but rather associate it with status and barter it for rewarding responses

---

40. Such a device is, of course, threatening to one's self-image if one had very little education, as is the case among the Guysborough Negroes. However, among these people, as among most peoples, logical consistency of everyday attitudes and behaviours is not high. And there are ways out of the dilemma.

41. There is some evidence from the experiments of social psychologists that such an orientation is part of the basic human condition, which further socialization can either abet or obstruct though some modification, also relatively independent of socialization, occurs simply as a function of the human psyche's need for stability. In any event this orientation of the very young does not appear to be a function of the Guysborough Negroes' culture.

in interaction. Further, when parents in the communities do attempt to motivate their children to remain in school they point out as models for them to follow either the economically successful or those in respectable positions such as ministers. The closest that people in the community come to valuing an intellectual orientation is in a pervasive admiration of those who can read well. But even with reading, possession of the skill is highly valued largely for its practical consequences such as reading governmental correspondence or letters for others in the community rather than as a tool in intellectual development. The relative non-existence of an intellectual perspective among the Guysboro Negroes is predictable. Such pattern appears also to be prevalent among lower socio-economic groups generally.* Intellectual development through formal education is alien to their worlds, is not a highly valued activity in their cultural adaptation because the day-to-day exigencies and that which accompanies them put greater value on such activities as making out economically, getting a few pleasures in a world of deprivation, and so on. Aside from economic consequences the fruits of formal education are vague but somehow good. This much has been gleaned by them from watching television, from interacting with the more socially advantaged and from those outsiders who in trying to initiate change, impress with their sincerity and who so often stress education (i.e. adult education and welfare officials). Thus the admonitions of parents to stay in school, to get "the education I didn't get" are probably interpreted, apart from whatever connection they might have with economic success, by both parents and children as similar to admonitions to attend Sunday School - somehow one is the better for it.

While the general value-orientation that Guysboro Negroes have towards formal education is not strongly supported or supplemented by an intellectual perspective, it does appear at first glance that an economic perspective supporting formal education is pervasive. The perception of a positive correlation between obtaining good jobs and having high education is widespread, suggesting that an economic perspective supports or is part of their orientation to formal education. The participant-observors observed that it was quite common for parents in talking to children about education to say "you just won't get anywhere without it". As one Negro parent said to some youths who in her presence suggested they might not return to school in the fall, "what are you going to do if you don't get an education, cut pulp in Cape Breton for the rest of your life? Don't you know you can hardly get a job digging ditches without at least grade nine?" Most residents of the three communities readily agree in conversation that one's chances of success are better if one has an education. Young people themselves often point to the relationship between economic success and education. One told our observor that he had seen on television a man who said that in the future everyone would have to have a college education and added "where would that leave those people who have only grade one and two?"

---

* A recent study, drawing on data from several cultures, makes the point this way - "furthermore education was viewed by the middle class as a good think in itself, whereas to the working class it was valued only as an instrumental means to a decent job". J. A. Kahl - Some Measurements of Achievement Orientation, A.J.S., Vol. 70, May 1965.

It would, however, be fallacious to think that the relation of economic success to formal education is interpreted in such a simple and direct way among the Guysboro Negroes. For one thing, many Negroes believe that prejudice and discrimination against them renders the education they do receive to some degree useless. As one of the leaders of the Sunnyville Negroes said, "It is not because Negroes are uneducated that they do not get the jobs because very few people around here are educated; they don't get labour jobs and jobs on the highway because they are coloured." Such a view was also expressed by a few persons in Lincolnville and U.B.T. It seriously qualifies the economic perspective, somewhat describes social reality (there is at least some prejudice and discrimination) and also provides a rationalization for parents and children. For instance, the guilt young people have when contemplating the quitting of school must be overcome and this rationalization is one of the mechanisms enabling them to transfer the guilt.

The economic perspective concerning formal education is also seriously qualified by a rather realistic appraisal of their ability to provide for adequate formal education. This is evident in the following table and the consequent comparison with the Whites of non-metropolitan Halifax County:

TABLE 13: Appraisal of Household Heads as To Their Ability To Provide for Children's Education, By Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Can provide	2	3	8	13	13
Cannot provide	8	13	26	47	49
Can do a little	6	7	7	20	21
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-
N.A.	4	-	11	15	16

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

TABLE 14: Appraisal of Household Heads in Non-Metropolitan White Halifax County as to Ability ot Provide for Children's Education

	No.	%
Can provide	155	43
Cannot provide	68	19
Can do a little	51	14
Don't know	15	4
N.A.	71	20

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

It is clear from the above tables that the Guysboro Negro respondents differ radically from the Whites in appraising their ability to provide for their children's education - to the extent that the modal response for the Whites is positive whereas the similar response for the Negroes is negative. As to the degree of education they were considering when making their appraisals, it is probable that if there is any difference, it would be the Whites who contemplated the higher education.[42] Thus the differences may be even greater than shown in the tables. It is also possible that the responses given by the Negroes reflect their role-playing from the point of view of the research project - they knew the project was an examination of their needs and hence expressed need. But such subtle explanations as these appear less valid given what we know about the economic conditions prevalent in the Negro communities. While it is probable that the Guysboro Negroes overestimate the cost of high-school education (direct and indirect) since they know so little about it and have an unusually high estimate of it, there is a basis in reality for their appraisal. This inadequacy to provide also means that children attending the mixed schools would be poorly dressed, have poor lunches and so on and although such matters might appear trivial they are important in the social and psychological adaptation of the young Negro and will be discussed at length later in this section.

A final point needs to be raised in dealing with the Negroes' economic perspective on formal education and that is the lack of employment possibilities in the area. Many persons in the communities apparently believe that the area has nothing to offer industrious young people and thus formal education would be useless unless one migrated. One young person told the participant-observor that if his educational plans were realized he would probably have to go away to Toronto or Montreal to obtain commensurate opportunities. The observor in Sunnyville described the pattern among the youth there as - "they seem to be committed to the following notion: Well, why should I get an education if I am not going to use it." Again, there is definitely a basis in reality for such judgment,[43] and again we observed a mechanism which can be used to rationalize one's leaving school and handle whatever guilt such action might arouse. Under existing conditions it is probably true that opportunities are better for the well-educated outside the community. Perhaps what is not so evident and not explicitly verbalized by the Negroes themselves is what is involved in migration. Migration entails a severe rupture with friends and family; it means leaving the security of the ghetto and taking a chance in a hostile world.[44] It is not something that one does without anxiety. Finally the lack of awareness of what job opportunities are available in the area and outside of it is related to their lack of awareness of what one receives

---

42. See the tables on the "hopes" of parents in non-metropolitan White Halifax County and Guysboro Negro communities, for their children's achievement in school - pages 23-25.
43. See Chapter three on the economy of the area.
44. For a full discussion of migration patterns and attitudes, see Chapter seven.

through formal education. For these reasons, then, formal education is not concretized but rather is connected to employment in only a vague manner.

In summary then, it can be said that the basic value-orientation held by the Guysboro Negroes with regard to formal education is that it is a vague but good thing. Concerning it they do not have a highly developed intellectual perspective, and the economic perspective, though present, is severely mitigated by other factors. The main props on which formal education rests in our society, the main sources of its motivation, are thus very weak among the Guysboro Negroes. The fact that formal education is considered by them to be a good thing and that failure to achieve elicits guilt feelings is testimony to the power of official morality and to the effectiveness of modern socialization. It is possible that the guilt feeling, the rationalizations, represent a deep-seated awareness (gleaned as suggested above from television, social workers, etc.) that formal education is the way to what they would consider success, their panacea.[45] In any event, it appears that the Guysboro Negroes share the general Canadian value-orientation towards formal education but without the supporting perspectives found in the broader society.

Attitudes, Sources of Motivation and Tension:

If we examine the hopes that Negro parents have for their children's education and compare these with what they think the children will achieve, it can be observed that a disparity exists:

TABLE 15: Hopes of Household Heads Concerning Children's Education, by Community and Sex of Children

	U.B.T.		Lincolnville		Sunnyville		Total		%	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Public school	1	1	9	8	11	13	21	22	22	23
High school	15	15	12	12	34	35	61	62	64	65
"College"	4	2	2	1	1	-	7	3	7	3
Don't know	-	2	-	2	7	5	7	9	7	9

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

45. The effect of other value-orientations prevalent among the Guysboro Negroes such as "it's a living hell on earth" on the orientation towards education would be interesting to analyze but our data are too scanty to allow this.

TABLE 16: Education That Household Heads Think Their Children Will Obtain, by Community and Sex of Children

	U.B.T.		Lincolnville		Sunnyville		Total		%	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Public School	5	4	11	10	18	17	34	31	35	32
High School	13	12	11	10	28	31	52	53	54	55
"College"	1	1	1	1	-	-	2	2	2	2
Don't know	1	3	-	2	7	5	8	10	9	11

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

There is of course a large amount of agreement between the hopes as expressed to the interviewers and the thinking of the respondents concerning the education of their children. The modal response in both cases and for the three communities is high school. At the same time there is indicated in the tables a quite consistent trend for parental hopes to outstrip what parents actually think their children will achieve; such a pattern exists for the Negro communities as a whole as well as for each community independently. About 15% of the respondents account for this disparity between hopes and expectations. Another 15% indicated that they thought only one of their children would actually achieve the degree of education that they (the parents) hoped for. There is some variation in the responses by community, the U.B.T. parents both hoping and thinking that their children will obtain more education. Before commenting further on the Negroes hopes and expectations, it is important to establish perspective by presenting data on the hopes and expectations of White residents of non-metropolitan Halifax County.

TABLE 17: Hopes of Household Heads in Non-Metropolitan White Halifax County Communities Concerning Children's Education by Sex of Children

	Male		Female	
	no.	%	no.	%
Public school	3	1	3	1
High school	144	40	139	39
"College"	176	49	151	41
Don't know[a]	37	10	67	19

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

a - There are a large number of don't knows indicated in this table and the next. This is partly because of the refusal of some respondents to go beyond saying that "it's up to the kids" or "whatever they want" but the chief reason is that the questions were not asked hypothetically of respondents without children in many instances - an error discovered too late to be corrected.

TABLE 18: Education That Household Heads in Non-Metropolitan White Halifax County Think Their Children Will Obtain, by Sex of Children

	Male		Female	
	no.	%	no.	%
Public school	11	3	7	2
High school	181	50	170	47
"College"	97	27	93	26
Don't know	71	20	90	25

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

The first point to be induced from the above data is that there are very significant absolute differences in the thinking and hoping of the Whites as opposed to the Negro parents. Proportionally the Negro hopes are very much less than those of the White parents; 49% of the White parents hope their male children will obtain formal post-high school education ("college") compared to only 7% of the Negroes. The differences for female children are equally pronounced. Also many more - proportionally - Negro parents place their hopes on public school education for their children - in the case of male children, 22% as compared to only 1% of the White parents. The differences between White and Negro are also great when we consider what the parents think their male children will achieve. Many more Negro parents think their male children will only obtain public school education - 35% as compared to only 3% of the Whites. The critical difference between Negro and White hopes and expectations is that for the former parents disparities for the most part hinge on the public school or high school question[46] while for the latter parents the salient distinction is high school or "college". Looked at in this way, the disparity ratio is slightly greater for the Whites. More than the Negroes, they hope their children will receive greater education than they think the children actually will.

Explanation of these differences between the Whites and the Negroes is very difficult. On the one hand it is probably true that the Negroes simply do not have an understanding of the educational process which is as adequate as that of the Whites. As mentioned earlier and this is understandable in view of their own educational achievement, Negro parents do overestimate the importance of high-school education. The absence of an intellectual perspective and the lack of knowledge of employment possibilities in relation to education also mean that while they accept the fact that education is important, their "hoping and thinking" could be geared to a lower level of achievement. The White parents on

---

46. Further it cannot be assumed that those hoping their children obtain high-school education meant that their children graduate. The hopes of the Negro parents are surprisingly low. A recent study of the hopes of negro mothers in Philadelphia revealed 44% wanted a college education for their sons - and these mothers were categorized by the investigator as belonging to the lowest socio-economic category of the general lower status population dealt with in the study. See R. Bell, "Lower Class Negro Mother's Aspirations For Their Children", Social Forces, Vol. 43, 1965.

the other hand, would generally themselves have had some high-school education or at least live in communities where such was more usually the case among persons of their generation. Hence the Negroes and Whites would probably link the resolution of their own dissatisfactions and the possibilities of a better life with different levels of formal education. That this appears to be the case is evident in the following tables which tabulate the differential response to the question of the relation between "success" and educational achievement.

TABLE 19: Household Heads' Assessment of the Amount of Education Needed for a Young Person to be a Success, by Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Public school	1	2	6	9	9
High school	14	16	42	72	75
"College"	5	5	5	15	16
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

TABLE 20: Assessment of Household Heads in Non-Metropolitan Halifax County of Education Needed for a Young Person to be a Success

	no.	%
Public school	5	1
High school	138	38
"College"	214	60
Don't know	3	1

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

There is clearly a substantial difference in the assessments of the Whites and Negroes; most Negroes think high-school education is needed for success whereas most Whites believe "college" is necessary. Thus the tables appear to support the above argument. But it is also evident that, if we compare their views on the amount of education necessary for a young person to be a success with their hoping and thinking concerning their own children's education, some Negro parents do not even hope, let alone think, that their children will receive the amount of education they believe necessary for success in this society. 91% believe high-school education or more is necessary for success but only 71% hope that their own children will obtain such education. From the tables presented it would appear that the Whites are in the same situation; more said "college" to be necessary for success than hoped their male children would obtain such education. Note however that the gap - proportionately - between hopes for children and assessment of the education needed for success is less for the Whites. As explained earlier, because of the small numbers of Negro respondents it was considered expedient to collapse technical college training and college into the one category

"college". This collapsing actually hides an important fact about the Whites' hopes and their assessments for success, namely, that 41% of the White parents hope their male children will receive a college education whereas only 36% believe it is necessary if a young person is to become a success. It appears then that not only do Whites' hopes for their children more approximate their assessment of what is needed for success on the whole but there is among some of them a "do better" attitude. Further their hopes, thinking and assessments occur on a higher level than is the case among the Negroes.[47] Among the Negroes on the other hand there appears to be an attitude of accommmodation, an acceptance of being less than successful, pervasive enough that it might be significant. Their low aspirations and assessments supplemented by this trend might very well be indicative of a resignation to second-class status - as indicated in Table 13 only thirteen percent believed themselves capable of providing for their children's education.[48]

In dealing with parental motivation of children as regards formal education it is necessary to keep in mind their basic value orientation as well as the differences between their hoping and thinking and also the disparity between their hopes for their children and their beliefs as to the amount of education necessary for success. It would seem on the basis of what has already been mentioned that there would be some positive motivation from the parents but that it would be mitigated by (a) a lack of knowledge and consequent inability to assist children

---

47. Technical schooling was rarely mentioned by the Negro respondents, whereas for the Whites it was a meaningful category. Only 2% of the Negro respondents hoped their children (male and female combined) would receive some technical schooling whereas the corresponding figure for the Whites was 20%. Similarly only 5% of the Negro respondents thought technical schooling was needed for a young person to be a "success" whereas approximately 24% of the Whites held this view. Here then is a crucial difference between the Whites and Negroes considered as regards the type of education desired. There appear to be a variety of reasons for this difference among these contemporaries - lack of a tradition in skilled work among the Negroes, greater opportunity for Whites in trades, etc. Whether or not there is any difference in values which is pertinent to this matter will be explored later, in the chapter on values.

48. See page 89 in this chapter. Obviously a crucial factor here is the economic well-being of the Negro communities. U.B.T. residents who on many criteria are the "best-off" of the Negro respondents had higher hopes, etc. than the others. Moreover their hoping is quite similar to what they believe to be necessary for success. Nevertheless the level at which these operate is lower than among the Whites. No simple economic explanation is highly satisfactory because even the residents of "poor" White communities had greater aspirations, etc.

or create settings appropriate to their motivation and (b) a tendency to accommodate failure or withdrawal or poor effort on the part of the children.

Teachers in Lincolnville have commented on the lack of encouragement given children by their parents and guardians and such comments have also been made by generally informed Whites in Sunnyville. As one said, "the parents, it seems feel that grade six is enough and so children leave school when they have completed grade six or thereabouts." There is some evidence in support of such contentions. For instance one school-boy told the participant-observor that "nobody at home cares whether I study or not so there's no trouble with the old man". Further none of the participant-observors found any indication that children who failed or did poorly in school were negatively sanctioned by their parents. But the problem of parental motivation is much more complex than this and actually there is more evidence that parents are interested in their children's education and translate this interest into behavioural terms. Such appears especially to be the case in U.B.T.

In U.B.T. the parents were generally quite upset when by September 7th. the elementary school had not yet opened and there was some uncertainty as to who the teacher would be and when the school would open. This concern was reflected in action - several parents conversed with one another on the matter and telephone calls were made to officials outside the community. The thinking was that something must be done at once. Also in U.B.T. the parents exerted some pressure upon the adolescents to return to school and though this might partially be explained in terms of the attractions of the Youth Allowance, equally important among some parents was the desire to see that their children received as much education as possible. The participant-observor noted that in several families the parents quite willingly assumed the chores normally delegated to the older children, thereby enabling the latter to attend school at Guysboro. Even the parent who pulled his children out of the local school tried to get them established in correspondence courses. In addition to relieving children of chores, some U.B.T. parents tried to motivate them by encouraging them to do their homework. There were a few examples of parents sending a child to another room to do his homework and of one parent arguing with his spouse because the latter had given the child a chore when the child should have been studying.

The evidence for parental involvement is much greater in U.B.T. than in Lincolnville and Sunnyville. In almost every table presented thus far in this chapter there has been a consistent trend for U.B.T. residents to be closer to the Whites in education, in their thinking and hoping concerning their children's education and in their view of the amount of education necessary for "success". The U.B.T. residents more often own their own lands and possess woodlots than the Lincolnville and Sunnyville residents. Moreover they have been more exposed to adult education programmes. It should not be surprising then that the parents in this community on the whole show greater interest in education and appear to motivate their children more than do the parents of Lincolnville and Sunnyville. The participant-observors in these latter communities did not as often encounter such positive

involvement as was found in U.B.T. As the observor in Lincolnville noted, "in most households no provision was made for the children to do homework such as relieving them of chores, curtailing other activities in the home for an hour or so during school nights or even asking their children to study". Parents in Lincolnville and Sunnyville more often allowed their children to stay home from school for such things as cutting Christmas trees in the fall. The difference as compared to U.B.T. is revealed in the statement of one of the Lincolnville community leaders who when made aware that one of the teachers would be absent for a time said he didn't mind as he could use his child at home. The differences among parents of the three communities are also brought out in the following table.

TABLE 21: Orientation of Household Head to Governmental Involvement in Education, by Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Thinks the:					
gov't is doing enough	9	13	16	38	63
gov't is doing too much	0	1	2	3	5
gov't is doing too little	11	6	2	19	32

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

As indicated in the table most household heads in the communities think that the government is doing enough in education. However there is a sharp difference between the response of U.B.T. residents and that of the other communities' residents. The former quite clearly stand out in desiring governmental involvement and these data also fit the previous analysis. Thus while in each community the parents or guardians are not all similar in their attitudes towards education and their motivation of their children in school, it does appear valid to talk about the communities as a whole in each case. Nevertheless the differences among the communities are matters of degree. In Lincolnville, the parents, just a few years ago, signed a petition calling for the removal of a teacher on the grounds that the teacher used poor methods and further, they have been very critical of another teacher who, according to them, has missed too many classes and does not appear to have the interests of the pupils at heart. Moreover there are several parents both in Lincolnville and Sunnyville who attempt to see that their children do their homework regularly and who have suggestions for improving the education of their children.

Parental motivation of children's education is qualified by at least two sets of factors. One of the most important is their lack of knowledge of the mechanisms of education, what the whole thing is about. Given their poor educational background and the rather moralistic approach they have, they often consider it enough simply to tell the child to do his homework. If the child says he has no such work to do, the parents are usually satisfied. The parents are essentially external to the whole educational process - they are, for the most part, unable to give the child much help with his school work; indeed it would be embarrassing for them to try. The narrow confines of their experience are almost antithetical to the learning situation. Take for instance their reading habits as presented in the following table in comparison to those of White Non-Metropolitan Halifax County residents:

TABLE 22: Reading Habits of Guysboro Negroes, Magazines and Papers

	no.	%
No magazines or papers read	33	55
Only local newspapers	7	12
Newspapers and other local publications	11	18
Newspapers and non-local publication	2	3
Unclassifiable	7	12

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

TABLE 23: Reading Habits of White Non-Metropolitan Halifax County Residents, Magazines and Papers

	no.	%
No magazines or papers read	50	14
Only local newspapers	97	27
Newspapers and other local publications	23	6
Newspapers and non-local publications	185	52
Unclassifiable	5	1

Source: Author's Survey, Summer and Spring, 1964

It is apparent from the table that a majority of the Guysboro Negroes do no reading at all[49] of the sort that would give them insight into the workings of education, into the relationship between education and society and would enable them to be really involved in their children's education. Those who did read, read either religious articles (unclassifiable) or the quite narrow local publications. In contrast the majority in Halifax County read newspapers plus non-local publications. The "external" position of the Negro parents also means that even among those who do encourage children to study, there is a lack of knowledge as to the setting appropriate to their children's education. Thus the television remains switched-on, others in the house are allowed to make noise, homework is interrupted for chores and little is done, within the admittedly narrow limits possible, to effect an appropriate material setting.

Another set of factors mitigating whatever motivation the parents engender in children concerns the role - models pointed to. Children are usually encouraged to get as much education as the teacher or the minister who are Negro themselves. Given the importance attached to the Negro-White distinction and as mentioned above, the belief that there is discrimination and prejudice against Negroes, it is important if education is to be defined in a concrete rewarding way to refer to the better-educated local Negroes as exemplars. However, these same people are quite often singled out for ridicule and disparagement by the parents in front of the children. Remarks based on beliefs as to the poverty, inadequacy ("he's just a smooth talker") and powerlessness of say the teacher and minister seriously cut into the effectiveness of using them as role-models for purposes of motivating the children. Another aspect of this theme is that the female parents alone were found to use such referents. From our data, it appears that very few of the men referred the children to such persons as role-models rather they were especially critical towards such persons. In fact, the task of motivating the children was in all three communities left largely to the females. Thus for the male school children it was the mothers (more associated with morality) pointing them to the teachers and minister (respectable persons) as models to follow, while the fathers (poorly educated) were often critical of these persons. The difficulties of identification inherent in this situation are great indeed especially as one considers that manliness in everyday life is defined in terms of the behaviour of the fathers. The general female dominance supported by the importance of governmental assistance[50] to the household and the number of matrifocal households[51] has been found elsewhere to be negatively correlated with aca-

---

49. As regards the reading of books, no data is available but significantly such reading was not mentioned, apart from reading the bible, during the interviews nor did the participant-observors find such evidence during their stay in the communities.

50. See chapter four, section on household income

51. See chapter three, household composition

demic motivation.[52]

Finally there is a built-in pressure for Negro parents to accommodate failure or lack of effort on the part of the children. There is some evidence particularly from U.B.T. that the parents insist that their school-age children remain in school, and do their studying. In Lincolnville and Sunnyville similar parental pressure was observed in a few cases, although it is difficult in some cases to determine how much significance to attach to the parental desire to collect the Youth Allowance. Certainly, as will shortly be seen, the youths who have returned to school since this act was passed are not interested in school and frequently absented without their parents sanctioning them. With perhaps then some exception in U.B.T., it was observed that most parents showed little disapproval when adolescents decided to leave school; those who thought it an unwise move simply stated that "if he wants to make it hard for himself that's up to him". Nowhere was it observed that the parents directly encouraged a lack of effort or withdrawal from school, but the pressure against such behaviour was minimal. We say that there is a built-in pressure among parents because as indicated earlier, they do tend to accept a second-class status for themselves and their children and moreover, they cannot push their children too far since they themselves have very poor education and hence their image in the eyes of their children would suffer if they were to argue that without much education, one is a failure.

Attitudes, Motivation and Tensions Among School Children

As mentioned earlier young Guysboro Negroes also believe that they should try to obtain a good education. They share the value-orientation suggested above, do not appear to have an intellectual perspective and their belief in the economic perspective on formal education is similarly qualified. Commonly enough, many of these youths did not express any particular educational aspirations but some did mention job hopes, such as joining the services, becoming a nursing assistant or obtaining a trade, which requires at least some high school education. From the data on hand it appears that high school education is thought by them to be desirable - college education was essentially not part of their thinking or hoping. In fact, however, as was indicated in an earlier table, very few ever go on to high school although more attend grades seven and eight at the rural high school in Guysboro Town. Nor, as was indicated in the table dealing with failure rates and as was mentioned by the local teachers, does their motivation appear to be high either in public school or high

---

52. In a recent study, American adolescents who described their mothers as dominant in family decision-making tended to be relatively low on autonomy and academic motivation. G. Elder Jr., "Transmission of Values and Norms in Process of Child Rearing", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of North Carolina 1964. Further Devereaux et al. found that American and West German pre-adolescent boys in extremely wife-dominated families were rated by teachers and peers as more selfish, incompetent, excitable and dependent than boys from any other type of family. E. Devereaux et. al. "Patterns of Parent Behaviour in America and West Germany," International Social Journal, 14, 1962.

school. Once again then we have a disparity between what is thought to be good and desirable and what is actually done. We shall attempt to get at some of the sources and implications of this disparity, especially those which are intrinsic to the school situation, by using a simple typology of students' orientation towards school and discussing concomitant tensions.

A few rather clear patterns have emerged as regards students' orientation towards education. One which is quite pervasive among boys in their teens is that of looking upon going to school as an undesirable necessity, accompanied by a belief that they are not going to go very far anyway and by acts such as teasing the teacher while in school and frequently playing "hookey". This kind of orientation was found especially among youths in Lincolnville and Sunnyville, many of whom were attending school largely because, given their age, their families would not otherwise receive the Youth Allowance and because there were few job prospects in the area. An example of such an adaptation is the case of a seventeen year old boy who had attended the Guysboro high school the year before, but in September 1964 was undecided as to whether he would return. He did not like the teachers and claimed that "they were always picking on you" and were "boring". This fellow mentioned how he frequently fooled around in school and how when sent up to the principal's office for some misdemeanor such as smoking, said "you'd just keep right on going past the office and out the door, up to the hill where you lay on the grass and had a smoke". Another example concerns three girls in Lincolnville who are between fifteen and eighteen years of age but still in the Lincolnville elementary school. These girls who are primarily in school because of Youth Allowance - in fact two returned to school after the allowance came into effect - frequently absent themselves and only reluctantly take part in any school activities. At the school Christmas party, for instance, they refused to join with the rest of the pupils but rather stayed in a distant corner of the room where they smoked and danced.

Another pattern, involving only a few students most of whom were females, was the almost complete withdrawal from activities in the community, especially from association with their peer group and a concentration on studies which was considered by others in the communities to be at the same time both deviant and meritorious (such as actually turning one's cheek?) In each of the three communities, the student with highest educational achievement was a female fitting this pattern. All stayed home in the evenings, studied hard and were very anxious about doing well in school. They were essentially adrift from the social life of their peers and tended to look down upon them. For instance in one community the student furthest advanced in school was a female who said she did not have anything to do with "the rest of them"; as regards this grade eleven student, the boys in the community noted that she was an isolate and said, "she doesn't dress sexily when at home like the other girls do". In another community, the top student, again a female, is well-known for studying hard; her brother and some neighbours have pointed out that she is very quiet and sometimes "gets headaches from studying so hard"; she is also reputed to "stay home a lot".

The third pattern is residual in nature and comprises perhaps the greatest number of the three adaptations. Here are the students who present no great trouble in school, are usually in attendance and make some effort to get their homework completed regularly. They interact socially with those having the first orientation described but are much more undecided about school, do not know whether there are any possibilities of their achieving a good education and, if fifteen or over, waver as regards the question of their attending school next year. Such an orientation appears to be especially applicable to the school boys in U.B.T. In U.B.T., all boys between the ages of fifteen and eighteen are in school (with one exception) and all showed considerable tension over the question of whether or not they should remain in school. In one case, the participant-observor was sitting with a youth on a fence late at night, stargazing, when noticing that the youth seemed upset about something he inquired as to what was troubling him; the youth despite the repetition of the question, remained silent for a while and then in a cathartic fashion replied, "it's the pressure of school". On the next day or so, the youth was to register for school. The same participant-observor reported several similar instances - in another case he and an eighteen year old youth talked for a long while about education and school; and while the youth agreed about the advantages and desirability of education, the observor noted "he was still bothered about something, still hesitant about returning to school".

There appear, then, to be three noticeable orientations among Guysboro Negro students as regards school. Perhaps what should be again stressed is that common to all groups is the belief that education is good, is desirable. Despite their seemingly negative orientation towards school even the individuals of the first category apparently believe that education is a good thing. For example, the male referred to in the discussion of that first orientation also told the participant-observor that "college education is becoming necessary". One can make the individuals with this orientation feel quite guilty by "pushing" them on the issue, by saying "why don't you (didn't you) study more", and so on. Such individuals, as well as those with the third orientation discussed, seemed to have a respect, albeit of a grudging kind, for those with the second orientation. Assuming, then, a common base in essential values towards education, it appears that there are, on the basis of the operative communities norms, three categories of students - the overconformers or those with the second type orientation, the underconformers or those with the first orientation described, and those of type three orientation whose behaviour constitutes the norm.

Given the small number of overconformers, it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory analysis of the factors accountable for their motivation. A host of factors would have to be controlled and such an operation is beyond the data at hand. In each case there appears to be idiosyncratic conditions that could account for the pattern. In one case the female student is so fat as to negatively affect her chances of being otherwise accorded high status by her peers; in another case the female student has very strict parents who severely restrict her interaction with her peers in the community and her orientation to school could be interpreted as an adaptation to this parental

pressure. It is clear, however, that the status of such individuals depends almost entirely on their school performance. By dissociating themselves from their peers in the community and not participating much in local social life generally, they also limit sharply the routes by which status can be achieved - other routes include being friendly and helpful, dancing ability, dressing "sexily" and so on.[53] As long as they perform well they are rewarded by teachers, parents and even their peers. Poor performances throw everything into jeopardy. Thus having committed themselves to overconformity with its consequent estrangement from their peers in the community, they are forced to pursue it relentlessly. And thus the chief source of tension for them becomes exams, having the correct answer in class and so on. Given the intellectual background at home, the poor teaching that they have had in elementary school and their isolation in the community generally, such tension is great when they attend the Guysboro school. One of the females who is the top student in her community did recently fail a grade and it is well-known throughout the community that she took this failure very hard.

The underconformers and the conformers are the more numerous in all three Negro communities. It appears that these two groups may simply be in different stages of the same process, a process that begins with the students being enthusiastic (the young children in primary and the early grades appeared interested in school, consulted their books during August and were eager to return to school in September) continues with a decline in enthusiasm, and in the last few years closes with the students being alienated.[54] What factors contribute to the growing alienation of such students? Factors extrinsic to the school situation such as belief in discrimination (a subject which the students become more aware of as they are growing up), lack of jobs in the area, and lack of real parental involvement are of course important, but our concern here is with factors intrinsic to school life.

One such factor concerns students' perception of the teaching role. It can be argued that if the elementary school students are to be committed to formal education, they must to some degree idealize the teacher. Especially does this appear necessary among the Guysboro

---

53. It might also be important that most such overconformers are female. There does appear to be a high migration rate for females in all three Negro communities. However, there are other females who are underconformers.

54. There are exceptions to this process: one concerns the overconformers who dissociate themselves from community life and remain committed to school; the other concerns the fact that U.B.T. students appear to stay committed if not enthused for a longer period of time, a pattern probably due to the greater parental involvement and pressure in U.B.T.

Negroes, where the parents because of their poor educational background and lack of knowledge of what school entails, are extrinsic to their children's development in school. But such necessary idealization does not appear to be operative in the communities. It has already been observed that until the last few years the teachers were local Negroes, mostly unqualified, who taught in very poorly equipped school-houses. The teachers themselves usually lived in shacks, often had marital and other problems well-known to their pupils, and thus could not effectively stand as role-models for any but the very young pupils. Data on the operation of the Sunnyville school is lacking but in the case of Lincolnville and U.B.T. the evidence clearly supports such an analysis. The threats and the accusations between parents and teachers and the gossip concerning the private lives and general inadequacy of the teachers continue in these communities,[55] and seem effectively to cut into the respect and admiration that pupils in the elementary schools have for their teachers. The most respected teachers appear to be those who are considered White, partly because they are less involved or known in the community and partly because they are White. However, such teachers are not really effective as role-models for Negro students. Some parents are aware of these problems and do suggest that better and more qualified teachers are necessary. Interestingly enough several have suggested more White teachers are necessary, for example, the Sisters of Antigonish, arguing that they could command the respect of the students. Such a position borders on the perverse self-hatred occasionally found among minority-group members[56] and the effectiveness of such teachers as role-models for the Negro students is questionable.

Another factor contributing to the students' alienation from school, particularly at the junior-high level (grades seven, eight and nine) in Guysboro involves the dress, smells and general manners which they bring with them to school. Here we have a variation of the well-known theme: middle-class teachers and lower-class pupils.[57] In other words the culture of the Negro students is not rewarded in the classroom. This factor operates only in a small way in the segregated schools where most of the teachers, being local residents, themselves partake of the same culture. Yet it does operate even there as there is a built-in emphasis on things such as "neatness in writing", polite formalities of "thank you" and "hand-raising" which are incongruous with the everyday culture of the community. The importance of these sub-culture aspects of classroom behaviour is also revealed by the fact that one White teacher in Lincolnville complained to the participant-observor about the dress and general demeanor of her pupils. To her such was an important aspect of classroom behaviour and one on which the Negro pupils scored low. The full-flowering of

---

55. In the past four years there have been several incidents which clearly reflect this breakdown in rapport among parents, children and teachers. In two cases the end result was the withdrawal of the teacher; in another case the result has been the almost complete severance of parent-teacher communication.
56. See for instance K. Lewin, Resolving Social Conflicts, Harper and Bros. We will have occasion to refer more to this theme in the chapter on White-Negro relations where such patterns as "conking" and bleaching hair will be discussed.
57. A. K. Cohen, "Delinquent Boys"; The Culture of the Gang, Glencoe Free Press, 1955.

this discrepancy in cultural background occurs at the Guysboro rural high school where the teachers are all white and the atmosphere is more clearly middle-class. Not only can the students not identify with the teachers, given the profound barrier of White-Negro relations, but their kind of culture is negatively sanctioned. This is a major source of tension for the Negro pupils. One example of this concerns a Negro youth aged seventeen, who is in grade seven at Guysboro. His mother had bought him a new lunch-pail and packed it with food but he refused to take it to school; he would not tell his mother, who was rather angry, why he refused because he was embarrassed and he also refused to tell the participant-observor with whom he had grown friendly; so for the time the observor was in the community, the youth simply did without food from breakfast till supper. It was later discovered that the boy was so embarrassed because others at the school, especially the Whites, ate at the canteen and he was sensitive about not having the same life-style. Negro youths seemed to be well aware of the different style school life rewarded in Guysboro, though as the subject itself is rather slippery, they were not of course too explicit about it. Youths from U.B.T. for instance liked to have new clothes to wear to the Guysboro school and took the trouble to shine their shoes before going there; as such things were not always possible and as the Whites were more well-to-do, more middle-class, these youths experienced much strain.

This sensibility or sensitivity to the difference between home and school culture was also apparent in the remark made to the participant-observor by a youth in U.B.T. who upon completing some strenuous exercise said, "I'd better take a sponge-bath or I'll stink in school." His odor at that time was not noticeably different from others (in the community) quotidian effusions and taking sponge-baths was not regular in the community under such conditions, but the boy was sensitive to the different norms concerning odor in the mixed schools.[58] The point that needs to be made is that all of us have a certain presentation of self indicated by the words we use, the clothes we wear, their colour and arrangement, the way we comb our hair and chew gum, our knowledge of which side of the plate the spoons, forks and knives are set down and a host of other things. This presentation of self, a mosaic of many seemingly trivial matters, is derived from our particular subculture and is rewarded in some subcultures and penalized in others. It appears that the presentation of self of the Negro youths differs from that of their White teachers and that which the teachers reward. This fact appears to lie behind such statements of the Negro youth, as "that teacher (referring to a White female teacher at the Guysboro school) just doesn't like us".[59] As the number of Negro

---

58. He never did take the sponge-bath, partly because no one in his household suggested it to him and partly because it would have involved a great deal of work - there is no running water in the home.

59. The only teacher in the Guysboro school who appears to be well-liked by all the Negro boys is the gym teacher probably because the style of life associated with this activity is quite congruous with that prevalent in the Negro communities. i.e. an emphasis on strength, physical aggressiveness, physical dexterity, etc.....

students attending the Guysboro school increases, this particular strain will, in all likelihood, become more prominent.

There are other sources of alienation as well and it would be foolhardy, given the scanty data we have, to stress one factor more than another. The problems of presentation of self are, however, quite real and quite meaningful in terms of the reward system in school. The unfavourable position of the Guysboro Negro student in this situation does appear to reduce further their motivation to do well in school. And their adaptation to this appears to be one of alienation and withdrawal - the overconformers adapt to it by dissociating themselves from the Negro subculture and trying to crack the formal reward system. The other possibilities then of doing well in the reward system of the school is through high marks and so forth. Though not of course unrelated to the problems of presentation of self, some remarks can be made concerning this alternative. By the time Negro and White pupils meet in the mixed schools, it seems apparent from our previous analysis that the Negro student would be disadvantaged in terms of his educational background. In this regard, it should be noted that even some of the female overconformers have failed at the Guysborough school. Thus not only can the Negro student not rely on school performance in the narrow sense to give him at least some share of the rewards of the school system but further he is often older and bigger than others in his grade and consequently more like the class dunce.[60] One of the participant-observers established close ties with such a youth who in discussing school life reported how much his size and age embarrassed him, and similar remarks were made by other Negro youths.

Each of the above factors such as the presentation of self and performance in school interact with one another and, in the case of the Negro student at the Guysborough school effect a spiralling alienation which makes leaving school a source of relief. Yet this decision, given their views about the value of education and given at least some parental pressure, is not easily arrived at. A sense of guilt is there and needs to be handled. And this is where the mechanisms for handling guilt, discussed above, come into play.

Young Persons Who Are Out Of School

In the three Negro communities there are over fifty persons between the ages of fifteen and thirty, single and out of school. Most of them are in Sunnyville.[61] None of these persons has completed high school[62] but the average education of this group is slightly

---

60. The following ages and grades of some Upper Big Tracadie students at the Guysborough high school reflect this fact: A is 18 and in grade 7; B is 17 and in grade 7; C is 17 and in grade 7; D is 17 and in grade 8 and so on.

61. See the chapter on demographic characteristics and, especially the chapter dealing with migration wherein discussion of this group will be the main concern.

62. There may be one exception to this statement. There is one Negro in Sunnyville who has completed high school but it is not known whether he is a product of the local school.

higher than that of the total out-of-school population. Three members of the group have had some grade nine education and the average educational achievement is between grade five and grade six. None of these young adults possesses a trade or has any special training of any significance. Although severely underemployed - only one appears to have a full-time job - very few have any specific aspiration. Only six expressed any aspiration in discussion with the participant-observers (ie., a guitarist, farmer, mechanic, truck-driver) and none has expressed any desire to return to school. On the whole, members of this category do not appear to be hostile to formal education as an ideal; several have said that they have tried to encourage others to stay in school or that they admire educated persons. But the effect of their interacting with the older children still in school - and there is much interaction with the exception of Upper Big Tracadie where the young adults who are single and out-of-school are both few in number (only six such persons) and socially isolated - is negative from the point of view of the latter's motivation to perform well and remain in school. Despite their formal declamations they often encourage those in school to play "hookey" or not to participate in school activities (such as the Lincolnville school's Christmas party where the older girls were encouraged in their behaviour by some boys who were out of school). By "encourage" it is not meant that they tell the school-children to play "hookey" or to be disobedient, etc., but rather their encouragement of a negative school orientation comes from their presenting school-children with an alternative set of status criteria. The out-of-school young people when judging themselves on the basis of the official morality are quite clearly dissatisfied with themselves and think of themselves as failures. They will say, when the conversation turns on subjects of the official morality such as educational and occupational achievement, that they are bored, that they might leave the community; they will often lie about their education (boost it by a couple of grades) and will be quick with rationalizations. Judging themselves according to this set of criteria is thus almost entirely destructive. There are, however, other criteria by which they can assess self and others, criteria by which some status can be had, given their talents and opportunities. This latter set of criteria includes drinking, clothes, physical dexterity (a multitude of interesting games of dexterity and strength are engaged in), musical talent and so forth. It is this set of criteria, to which in everyday life the out-of-school people orient themselves, that provides for the school children an alternative to those of school life. Given the latter's difficulty in school, as described earlier, it is to be expected that older school-children will be attracted since they can compete more successfully within this system of criteria.[63] It is more realistically attuned to their position.

Concluding Remarks

There is abundant evidence that integrated schooling has positive effects on school performance, and attitudes towards education generally. Those Negro residents working for the re-establishment of the Lincolnville school in the twenties were led by persons who had migrated

---

63. Perhaps, then, another reason for the orientation of the Upper Big Tracadie students is this lack of a developed alternative system of status in the community. As mentioned earlier, the out-of-school young people there are both few in number and socially isolated.

from communities where mixed-racial schooling was in effect. Similarly most of those who have the highest education and who motivated their children the most, came from outside and integrated schools. In an interesting case, two older children received their first training in the Lincolnville school while the younger children were first educated in the mixed Monastery school. Attendance in mixed schools appears to be an independent factor, powerful in its own right.[64] Behind this is no magic associated with White skin but rather a strong correlation between formal education and the heightening and broadening of experience (as well, of course, the fallacy of separate but equal facilities). Given what is commonly described as the "cultural deprivation" of Negro pupils, even the simple mixing of the "races" provides a stimulus to this broadening and heightening of experience.

Proposals for improvement will be set forth in a later section of this report but certain observations may be made at this point. The problems of Negro education are manifold but it can at least be assumed that the value-orientation of these residents is positive and provides a workable basis for change. Attention in a programme of change can, then, be directed to specific obstacles in the way of their educational development, such obstacles as segregated schools, poor material apparatus and poorly qualified or at least not specially qualified teachers. Although new and better schools have been built in Lincolnville and Sunnyville they are still segregated schools. And although improvements have been made in the provision of teachers, there are still no teachers especially trained to work with the culturally deprived. Another problem is to get the parents actually involved in a positive way in this matter of education; Home and School associations are much too under-developed in these communities and adult education programmes were (when they did for a short period exist) too involved in teaching, reading and writing.[65] Given the problems of motivating the illiterate adult and given the fact that it is the more literate who attend such activities,[66] the concentration should be on explicating the educational process as graphically as possible (movies, dramas where residents act out various school difficulties, etc.) with reading and writing as by-products steadily encouraged but not stressed. The problem of presentation of self and the operation of the school's reward system should similarly be brought into the open. While there is a limit to what can be achieved simply through communication and understanding, that limit has not yet been reached. Even some change among the out-of-school youths is possible, as Father Anthony's project in Lincolnville has partially demonstrated. There are so many rather obvious things that can be done to improve the educational system in these neglected communities that new insights are hard to come by - too many old trees need to be "felled" first.

---

64. Several studies have made this point in a variety of ways. See for example, The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City; and, A Personality Study of Negroes in Halifax; both published by The Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. See also New Opportunities for the Culturally Deprived, published by The Canadian Education Association, 1964.
65. G. Shand, Adult Education Among Negroes of Nova Scotia, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1961.
66. Ibid., page ten

Chapter 6

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES

The disparities in the hopes and expectations of the Guysboro Negroes discussed in the chapter on education are only part of a more general means-end discrepancy. Housing, clothing, food and employment - to mention a few - are other areas where what these Negroes think they ought to have and what they aspire to, far exceeds the means at their command. On the whole, the Guysboro Negroes are oriented (with varying degrees of intensity) to the style of life presented on television and lived by the more respectable whites in Guysboro and Antigonish - a style of life that we can for economy refer to as middle-class. Evidence supporting this hypothesis is of two kinds; on the one hand the Guysboro Negroes subscribe to the same normative standards as these whites, and, by their inveterate complaining, clearly express their dissatisfaction with their present life-style.[1] On the other hand, there is no evidence for the existence among them of either a folk culture or a radically deviant and highly structured subculture, such as is found among Negroes in some of the large metropolitan cantres in the United States.[2] Given their lack of means the Guysboro Negroes, then, like other minority groups with low socio-economic status,[3] have somehow to come to grips with the many disparities between their hopes and their expectations.

There are many possible adaptations to such a situation. Deliquent gangs,[4] messianic religions,[5] political movements,[6] and so forth are among the many such adaptations recorded in the sociological literature. None of the more striking possible responses was observed among the Guysboro Negroes. The small size of the population and the fact that it is a rural population might help account for their absence. The responses of the Guysboro Negroes have included migration, some deviance of the conventional sort, social isolation, co-operation among community members, a more or less satisfactory religious "definition of the situation" and a sealing down of goals. Although the dividing line is vague, it appears useful to treat the Negro response according to whether it is individual or collective in nature. Collective responses, such as community organizations and patterns of mutual assistance, will be discussed in the next chapter.

---

1. For a detailed discussion of this point, see Chapter 7 where such data from both the questionnaires and participant-observation, are presented.

2. See, for example, H. Finestone, "Cats, Kicks and Color". Bobbs, Merrill, Reprints in the Social Sciences.

3. For a discussion of how some modern-day Eskimos and Indians "handle" this problem see the writer's, Deviance Among the Indians and Eskimos of the MacKenzie Delta, Northern Coordination and Research Centre, 1963.

4. A.K. Cohen, Deliquent Boys, Free Press, Chicago, 1955.

5. V. Lanternari, The Religions of the Oppressed, Knapf, New York, 1963

6. H. Cantril, The Politics of Despair, Collier Books, New York, 1962

Migration

Perhaps the most important of the individual responses among the Guysboro Negroes is migration which involves the pursuit of employment and better living conditions as well as the avoidance of prejudice and discrimination. In discussing migration emphasis will be laid on an examination of trends, a comparison of the migrants and the non-migrants, the expectations and desires of the various social categories (especially the single, under thirty years of age and out-of-school group and the older in-school group) and the "push and pull" factors involved in the migration process. Where it is helpful, comparisons will be drawn with the sample of Whites living in non-metropolitan Halifax County.

The Nature of the Migration Response

Migration is an individual response to the perceived means-ends dispartities. Most of those who migrate apparently do so independently of others. In Upper Big Tracadie, for instance, there are only two in about twenty known cases of migration where individuals have migrated together. In one instance several members of the same nuclear family migrated together and in the other, two friends left to seek work together. Similar patterns were found in Lincolnville and Sunnyville where, in those instances where such information was known or could be reasonably inferred (twenty-three cases in Lincolnville and fifteen in Sunnyville), over 60% of the migrants left the community by themselves; those not doing so, migrated in the company of other members of their family, usually brothers. Migration then usually involves purely individual decision-making. These findings are also supported by the observations of the participant-observers who reported that most persons considering migration did not plan to leave with others. Finally as will be shown later, only rarely do whole families migrate.

Yet there are some important collective aspects to migration. Firstly the latent function of the migration has been to reduce population and thereby facilitate the subsistence living of the remaining community members. This is very important, given the paucity of available wood resources and the scarce other employment possibilities in the area. From what we know of the economy of the area[7] and the characteristics of the migrants[8], a large amount of migration was imperative if even the existing low standards of living were to be maintained.

Secondly, migration from the communities has been facilitated by the willingness of the remaining community members -- usually of the same family as the migrant -- to care for the illegitimate and legitimate children of the migrants. Assistance of this sort has been very great in all

---

7. As is indicated in Chapter 3, employment opportunities in the area are very poor. See Chapter 3 for a more detailed description.

8. The migrants possessed the kind of education and training for which the economic demand was low. See pages ~~22~~ 130 to ~~25~~ 133 below.

three communities.[9] In nine of the twenty-three Lincolnville households, the householders are rearing children (about half of whom are illegitimate) of migrants. In another three cases the householders are looking after the illegitimate children of their own children, potential migrants who for tht moment are still living somewhere in the commmunity. In Upper Big Tracadie there are four households (of a total of twenty) where children - all illegitimate - of migrants are being cared for. In at least eleven of the Sunnyville households there are children of migrants, and there are several other households where, as was noted for Lincolnville, the householders are looking after the children of potential migrants. In some cases this assistance is of a short-term temporary sort; for example, one female on leaving Lincolnville for Montreal, left her children in the care of others in the community but several years later, after she had settled into a reasonably comfortable existence, sent for them. In several other cases the assistance was merely temporary because of the inability of the migrants to find employment or in general to establish themselves elsewhere; for example, several migrants from Lincolnville and Sunnyville left their children in the community and lived in Montreal for a few years. However, for the reasons stated above, they have since returned to their community and are now assisting in the rearing of their children.[10] In the vast majority of cases looking after the children of migrants is a permanent job, the migrants neither returning nor sending for the children. As a matter of fact, it is not unheard of for the migrants who have had illegitimate children elsewhere to "dump" them in the community. For example, one female from Upper Big Tracadie had illegitimate children in Halifax and Sydney; in both cases she brought the children home, then set off again; she is at the moment in New York

---

9. There is some financial incentive for community members to look after children of migrants insofar as such children invariably get defined as "welfare children". Thus the (usually) grandparent - guardian receives assistance from the Nova Scotia Department of Welfare. In some cases it appears that such financial assistance is an important item in the total household budget. It should perhaps be noted that from the point of view of Welfare expenditure the government is not in this way disadvantaged. Had the migrants stayed in the community, government expenditure for each community would probably be much greater than it is at present.

10. Interestingly enough, such returnees rarely assume much responsibility for their children. This is partly because of their desire not to upset the existing pattern of welfare payments, partly because the children by then are accustomed to a different set of "social parents" and partly because of the uncertainty of the returnees' plans. For a fuller discussion of these patterns, see chapter four.

and only infrequently contacts her parents and children in the community.[11] This kind of action then points to another collective aspect of migration, a collective adaptation that especially facilitates the migration of young females. However, it does not operate exclusively for females; there are several instances where community members are caring for the children of male migrants.

A third way in which migration appears to be a collective response is in the fact that many migrants depend upon others, both in the community and at the point of destination, to provide them with information and encouragement. Most of the families in each of the communities have relatives in Toronto, Montreal and Sydney, the most popular places to which people from the area migrate. As the Upper Big Tracadie participant-observor reported, "except for one case, all of those who left are said to have either a friend or relative as a contact when they went away." Thus there is a semblance of a network , connecting members of the community with migrants in other places, through which information passes and by which some of the uncertainties entailed by migration can be controlled. However, it is best not to overemphasize this network arrangement since, as will be discussed later[12], there is not in fact much communication between community members and migrants and since it generally means only that the would-be migrant has some assurance of temporary accommodation (and sometimes not even this). Their contacts in such places as Montreal and Toronto are seldom in a position where significant assistance can be extended. As one participant-observor noted, " it doesn't seem that the contacts that these people have in other places have very influential positions since I have never heard any person in Upper Big Tracadie say that a friend or relative was directly responsible for getting work for any member of the community".

---

11. On the whole, the migrants do not contribute to the care of their children. At best the odd migrant might occasionally send a few clothes down for the children. The lack of assistance rendered by migrants is probably related to the fact that their employment in places such as Montreal is sporadic and their income low. Further, living in such places leads to a rise in expectations for themselves. They thus are possibly in a state of more " relative deprivation"than when in their communities.

12. See pages 135 -136 in this chapter. Also,in view of the fact that there is still a large number of single, out-of-school and under thirty years of age persons in the three communities who for the most part are quite underemployed, dissatisfied with their lot and apparently willing to migrate, it seems heardly likely that the network is more important than suggested above.

It can be concluded that although there certainly are some collective aspects to the migration of the Guysborough Negroes, it is basically an individual act. The individual cannot (and does not) count much upon the assistance of others in the places to which he is migrating. Many of the migrants also do not count on the assistance of fellow community members, and even among those whose children are cared for by others there is not a strong and direct sense of obligation The typical migrant sets out alone with no specific plan of action, to d "something or other" (as one would-be migrant said) in a place where he has some contacts and about which he has some faint knowledge because of the ripple of feedback from former community residents.

The Extent of Migration:

In his discussion of the historical background of the Guysborough Negroes, Professor Rawlyk pointed out that, " in 1871 there were 747 Negroes living in Guysboro County (in the whole of Nova Scotia only the more populous Halifax County had a larger Negro population). In 1881 the Negro population had grown to 918 only to decline sharply in 1901 to 664, 559 in 1911 and 471 in 1931. The significant decrease in the Negro population was largely the result of a relatively large-scale movement of the people from the depressed Guysboro area to the expanding industrial and mining centres in Cape Breton as well as to New Glasgow and to the provincial capital of Halifax. In addition, in all likelihood, a small number of Guysboro Negroes made their way to the New World - that of Ontario and Quebec."[13]

At present there are over 600 Negroes in the Guysboro communities under investigation and probably about 900 in Guysboro County as a whole. If the data on the 1931 Negro population are accurate, the number of Negroes in Guysboro County has about doubled in the last thirty years. While the kind of data necessary for an accurate trend analysis is lacking, the evidence available indicates that there still is a large amount of migration.

TABLE 1: Report of Household Heads Regarding the Number and Location of Their Children Living away from Home. By Community.

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Living in community	3	16	20	39	22
Living within province	10	25	47	82	47
Living outside province	4	21	30	55	31

Source : Author's Survey, Summer 1964

---

13. Page 34 Chapter ~~three~~

Table 1 indicates, given the uncommonness of the extended family,[14] that most of the children of the household heads tend to migrate from the three communities. In each community the category with the lowest response was the one referring to children away from home but still living in the community - in other words, a few of the children established their own household in the community. The structure of the response pattern is similar for all three communities. Now actually the above table is in itself an understatement of migration insofar as it does not take into account the movement of entire families and the cases where household heads have died or themselves migrated;[15] nor does it adequately constitute a basis for predicting migration under existing conditions among children still living at home, simply because there is some evidence suggesting an increase in the rate of migration since the second world war. Turning to each of these sources of possible bias, it is found firstly as regards the movement of entire families, that the household respondents overwhelmingly (about 80% of the 96 respondents) claimed that not one "family" has left the community in the past five years. In fact as regards Upper Big Tracadie, the only community for which reliable data has been gathered for a longer time-span, it was found that only one family has migrated since the end of World War II. It is probably safe to assume that only a handful of families have migrated from the three communities in the past twenty years.

Concerning the second source of understatement, it is more difficult to arrive at a satisfactory estimate of such migration since the data had to be collated from several sources and it was impossible to establish reliability in some instances. However, it appears that in addition to the table listings and the number of families migrating in recent years, another approximately fifty persons,[16] have left the community since 1945.

---

14. Although there are more"other relatives" living in the Guysboro Negro households than in the white Halifax County households, the extended family is not common among the Guysboro Negroes. The percentage of extended families is only about 12% and that is based on rather loosely defining the extended family as consisting of members of three generations, lineally related and living in the same household.

15. In such cases as these we would not have gathered data on the migration of family members by the questionnaire technique since the appropriate questionnaire items referred specifically to "children of the householders". In such cases, we thus have to infer from the notes of the participant-observers.

16. This figure includes the migrant children of persons not interviewed (such as boarders in some households) and of household heads who have died or themselves migrated. Such information was obtained quite completely for Upper Big Tracadie and Lincolnville, and on this basis an estimate was made for Sunnyville where we were unable to gather the relevant data. In the absence of further data, it has to be assumed that the migration pattern of this group follows that presented in Table 1.

Thirdly the rate of migration among young men and women has probably increased in recent years. There is no very reliable record of migration prior to 1945. Professor Rawlyk has noted that the Guysboro Negro population dropped from 664 in 1901 to 471 in 1931 but the data on Negro population dynamics are neither precise nor reliable enough for our purposes, (i.e. it could perhaps be that in this earlier period there was more familial out-migration). On the other hand community respondents were almost unanimous in asserting that more people have been migrating of late. The logic of the situation would seem to support their contention as the amount of contact that community residents have had with the outside world has increased significantly since 1945 due to the spread of radio and television (electricity is a post-World War 2 phenomenon among these Negroes), the construction of highways and the availability of automobiles. In all probability such increased contact was accompanied by a rise in expectations and a greater dissatisfaction with the opportunities available in the area, and, consequently, an increase in the migration rate.[17]

It can be concluded then that there is a very high rate of migration among young men and women in the project communities. In absolute terms there is more migration than a reading of Table 1 indicates. Also the rate of migration has probably been increasing so that extrapolation from Table 1 would understate the amount of potential migration. Well over half of the migrants have remained within the province, with Sydney attracting the majority of such migrants; but a significant and apparently increasing number of Guysboro Negroes have moved outside the province to Montreal and Toronto especially.

Whether or not migration is a response for the household heads themselves is a more difficult matter to determine. It had already been observed that few " families" migrate. In discussing this question further it is important firstly to note the proportion of this population born and raised in the communities or within fifteen miles. These data are presented in Table 2. Table 3 gives the comparable data for White non-metropolitan Halifax County communities as well as for the three selected[18] communities.

---

17. An attempt was made to determine the validity of this statement by examining the migration patterns of the children of householders aged sixty and over and those of householders between forty and sixty years of age. However, working with such small population, it is difficult to apply the controls necessary for any conclusive statement. There is no difference in the absolute number of children over 16 years of age still living in the household or in the community, between the two age groups. However three factors in effect " hide" any possible increase in the migration rate: (a) there are more relevant cases in the 40-60 age group; (b) more children of the householders in this age group are under twenty years of age; (c) it is impossible to accurately state how many of the migrant children of householders over 60 years of age, have migrated since 1945.

18. These are the same communities referred to in the chapter on education. For the rationale of their selection see pages 23, 24 in chapter 2.

TABLE XI: Where Household Heads Were Born and Raised

By Community

	U.B.T	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Born and raised in community or within 15 miles	14	16	44	74	77
Born and raised elsewhere in province	6	6	8	20	21
Born and raised outside the province	-	1	1	2	2

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

TABLE XII: Where Household Heads Were Born and Raised

By Type of Community

	Non-Metropolitan Halifax County		Selected Communities	
	No.	%	No.	%
Born and raised in community or within 15 miles	205	57	39	65
Born and raised elsewhere in province	123	34	17	28
Born and raised outside the province	30	8	4	7
Don't know	2	1	-	-

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

There is some difference between Sunnyville and the other two Negro communities; namely, proportionately more of the Sunnyville Negroes have been born and raised in the community. The reasons for this appear to be two-fold; on the one hand, Sunnyville is contiguous with Guysboro town and hence there are more services available to its population; on the other hand its population is larger than that of either Upper Big Tracadie or Lincolnville and allows residents a greater opportunity fo find a "mate" within the community. More important , given the small aumbers in each of the

Negro communities, is the comparison of Tables 2I and 3I which indicates that at least as regards household heads, there was proportionally less in-migration for the Negro communities than for non-metropolitan White Halifax County as a whole or for the selected communities within the county. The ordering of these units in terms of household head in-migration - the more inclusive county unit, the selected communities and lastly the Negro communities - is inversely correlated with factors such as isolation and a real economic depression. Since White communities in Guysboro would rank higher on these latter factors than the selected communities, it is probable that the proportion of in-migration among them would be quite similar to that of the Negro communities (or slightly greater).

Of those household heads who only later became residents of Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville the vast majority - an approximately equal number of males and females - moved into the community upon marrying a community member and were themselves most often born and raised in Guysboro county.[19] Further, household heads in the three communities overwhelmingly (more than 90%) claimed that no "family" has moved into their community within the past five years. It is interesting to compare Halifax County and the selected communities on this point. Of the household head respondents in non-metropolitan White Halifax County, 5% said that no family had moved into their community in the past five years while 40% reported between one and six such families and 50% more than six; in the selected communities the corresponding figures were 20%, 70% and 7% respectively. The ordering of these units on the basis of familial in-migration is the same as was discussed in the preceding paragraph and by the same logic, it can be assumed that the rate of familial in-migration in White Guysboro County communities is only slightly higher than that of the Negro communities.

Some of the household heads born and raised in the Negro communities (or within fifteen miles) have at some time in their lives migrated. The following table presents the data on such temporary migration in comparison with that of household heads born and raised in the Halifax County communities.

TABLE 4: The temporary Migration of Household Heads Born and Raised in Community. By type of Community

	Negro Comm.		Non-Metro Halifax Co.		Selected Communities	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Have lived elsewhere in the province	24	32	81	39	18	45
Have lived outside the province	3	5	24	12	5	14
Have never lived elsewhere	47	63	100	49	16	41

Source : Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

19. Of the twenty-two household head respondents not born and raised in the community or within fifteen miles, nine were born and raised elsewhere in Guysboro County, six in Pictou County, five elsewhere in the province and two outside the province.

As the table indicates, proportionately fewer of the household heads in the Negro communities have lived outside the place where they were born and raised than is the case in non-metropolitan White Halifax County communitiies or in the selected communities. This finding applies to temporary migration both inside and outside the province. However, the fact that 37% of the Negro household heads have lived elsewhere is significant in helping to destroy any image of the population as being stationary and contented. The greater temporary migration in comparable White communities can perhaps best be explained by the greater opportunities available to the better educated Whites and the real and imagined discrimination operative against the Negroes. Also the hand-to-mouth existence of the Negroes means they seldom have the capital that would enable them to take advantage of whatever opportunities there are.[20] Most of the Negro household heads who have lived elsewhere, lived within the province. We do not have data on precisely at what point in the life-cycle of the household heads this temporary migration took place but most of it involved migrating for work, with the household heads returning when they could no longer find employment. In a few cases the person returned largely because of loneliness. It is important in understanding temporary migration to note that there is only a vague dividing line between commuting for work and migration. It is very common for the Negroes to work outside the community though maintaining their community residence. In fact almost all the real employment they have is outside the community.[21] At the present, this outside-community work is seasonal in nature and the Negroes commute. Finally, apart from the household heads, other family members who are in the labour force have often lived for sometime elsewhere in the province and of those who are employed, the majority also commute to places of work within the province.

It is instructive to compare the dynamics of the Guysboro County population with that of the Guysboro Negroes under the investigation. The population of the former has declined steadily since the turn of the century. Each census count since 1900 has reported a smaller population than its predecessor. Between 1950 and 1960 the population of Guysboro County declined by 6.8%[22] On the other hand the Negro population followed the county pattern only until 1931, since which time it has grown rapidly and is, at the present, approximately equivalent to the 1881 estimate. The difference between the 1956 and 1961 census c counts for the three Negro communities combined is plus six, indicating perhaps that the upper limit has been reached. As suggested above, the data point to very little in-migration among both White and Negro communities in Guysboro County. As for out-migration, it appears that there has probably been more, since 1945, from the White communities. Three sets of factors support this contention. Firstly, on the basis of the data given in Table 4, it seems likely that Whites in Guysboro

---

20. A more detailed discussion of the push and pull factors in Negro migration will be given below.
21. See chapter three
22. Report of the Guysboro ARDA committee, August 1964, delivered in Guysboro town.

County have a higher rate of temporary migration and thus probably a higher rate of migration generally. Secondly, as noted above, there was probably slightly more familial migration among the Guysboro Whites. Thirdly the decline in the population of Guysboro County has been entirely the decline in the number of White residents and has occurred in the face of increases in the Negro population.

Despite the greater out-migration of Whites, there still has been a large amount of migration among young Negro men and women in Guysboro. How then can the increase in the Negro population be accounted for? One factor is that since the end of World War II many children have been placed in the three Negro communities by officials of the Nova Scotia Department of Welfare. These children have usually come from outside the county. There are at present sixteen in Lincolnville, twenty-eight in Sunnyville and fifteen in Upper Big Tracadie. In addition to these children there are other so-called "Welfare children" who are blood relatives, some of whom have also been born outside the county. Approximately 10% of the total population of the three communities are, then, children from outside the county. Besides this unusual kind of in-migration, two other factors appear responsible for this paradox of both an increase in population and an increase in the migration rate of young men and women. One is the apparent increase in family size and illegitimate births;[23] the other is the previously mentioned prevalent practice of migrants leaving their children in the community. The proportion of children under fifteen years of age is much higher in the Negro communities than in Guysboro County as a whole.[24]

Expectations and Desires of Household Heads

Re Migration: A

The evidence points to very little permanent out-migration among household heads but the table on temporary migration suggests that perhaps more would migrate if it were possible. In order to further examine this it is important to present data on the mobility plans and desires of the household heads. Tables 5 and 6 present data on the expectations of the Guysboro Negroes in comparison with the "control" communities.

---

23. There is no doubt that since World War II there has been a huge increase in illegitimate births. From Professor Rawlyk's brief references in chapter two, it appears that around 1871 there were but few such cases. The grandmother generation of the present also appears to have been relatively free from illegitimacy. Changes in family size have been less spectacular. See Chapter 4.

24. See chapter three

TABLE 5: Migration Plans of Household Heads, By Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Plan to stay in community	18	25	47	88	92
Plan to leave	2	-	6	8	8
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's Survey, Summer 1964

TABLE 6(a): Migration Plans of Household Heads, Non-Metropolitan White Halifax County and Selected Communities

	Non-metro Halifax County		Selected Communities	
	no.	%	no.	%
Plans to stay in comm.	314	87	55	92
Plan to leave	36	10	2	3
Don't know	10	3	3	5

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964

The above tables indicate that most of the household heads in each of the three types of communities plan to remain in their community. Further the proportion so decided is roughly equivalent in each type.[25] More important however is the variation in the reasons given by the household heads to account for their plans.

---

25. No importance can be attributed to differential age-structure among the three groups. The proportion of household heads over fifty years of age is quite similar in all cases. Furthermore there are no significant differences in the ages of the household heads among the three Negro communities.

TABLE 6(b): Reasons Given By Household Heads for Planning To Remain In Community, By Type of Community

	Non-Metro White Halifax County Communities	Guysboro Negro Communities
	%	%
Material Commitment	46	31
Positive Community Reasons[a]	49	23
Negative Reasons[b]	11	43
Other and Don't know	5	7
100% equals	(314)	(88)

Source: Author's Survey, Summer and Spring, 1964
(a) and (b) are explained in text

Note: The percentage totals for both columns is more than 100. A few persons in each type of community gave more than one factor as being critical in their decision to remain in the community.

As indicated by the above table, most household heads in non-metropolitan White Halifax County communities (as well as those in the selected communities) did not plan to migrate because of either material commitments in the community - such as a house, business, etc. - or positive community factors - such as, "my friends and relatives are here", "this is a nice, peaceful place to live", etc. Among the Negroes the chief reason given for remaining in the community was purely negative such as poverty, old age, lack of education, etc. This kind of factor was quite insignificant among the Whites. The heavy weighting of negative factors and material commitments among the Guysboro Negroes suggest that if they were given more real choice - if, that is, some of the obstacles were removed - then a great many would migrate; certainly more than would be expected among the "control" communities. To ascertain the validity of this hypothesis, we asked the household heads whether they would migrate if given the opportunity. Tables 7 and 8 present the responses of the various groups.

TABLE 7: Migration Plans of Household Heads Assuming Greater Real Choice, By Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Would move if choice	9	10	15	34	35
Would still not move	9	13	32	54	56
Plan to move anyway	2	-	6	8	9

Source: Author's Survey, Summer, 1964

TABLE 8: Migration Plans of Household Heads Assuming Greater Real Choice, By Community

	Non-Metro Halifax Communities		Selected Communities	
	no.	%	no.	%
Would move if choice	115	32	18	30
Would still not move	206	57	39	65
Don't know	3	1	1	2
Plan to move anyway	36	10	2	3

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964

It is apparent from Table 7 that a greater proportion of Negro household heads would migrate were it not for the difficulties placed in their way by poverty and so forth. This point is also brought out rather clearly in the following field-notes of the Lincolnville participant-observor: "One man with a family of five sons said that the cost of moving to Cape Breton where he gets most of his income would be far more than he is able to earn in any one year.... As to moving where there is work available on a year-round basis, the general feeling in the community is that it is financially impossible". According to one woman, when she has no payment to make on house, sewers, water, etc., "it would be stupid to move somewhere else where she would have to pay for all these services. She says that her house is not much but it did not cost her anything whereas elsewhere she would have to rent or buy a house".

The fact that 35% of the Negro household heads expressed a willingness to move if obstacles such as poverty were removed is significant. It appears to clearly reveal a large amount of dissatisfaction existent in the three communities. However, there are some indications that the expressed views of the Negro household heads, significant as this explicit level may be, do not adequately convey the degree to which they are bound to their community. Given that few initially offered positive community reasons for their planning to stay in the community, it would have seemed likely that a much greater proportion would be willing to migrate, assuming greater real choice,[26] than in either the Halifax County unit or the selected communities. However comparison of Tables

---

26. It is impossible to say whether or not the question, "would you move though if you did have your choice", really accomplished its goal - to eliminate purely negative factors in the respondents' thinking about migration. The "interviewer-effect" was partially controlled since the same persons (for the most part) did the interviewing in each type of community. The interviewers were trained to try to make clear to the respondents that our interest was in what they would do if the obstacles in the way of migration were removed. In the Negro communities our interviewers were considered more socially powerful than they were in the White communities and accordingly, the fact that the question might be less meaningful to them because of their severe state of depression, was counterbalanced probably by the belief that the interviewers were people who could do things for them.

7 and 8 shows that there is no significant difference in the proportions. In each type of community some thirty-odd % would migrate if they had more choice. But as noted above, some fifty percent of the Whites gave positive community reasons, compared to only about a quarter of the Negro household heads, in their initial statement of why they plan to remain in the community. In all types of communities here it was found that most of those who would move if they had more choice, had earlier given as their reason for staying either material commitments or negative factors. Especially willing to move under these new stipulations were those who had previously responded in terms of material commitments.[27] Thus it is possible for us to present the following picture of these patterns:

% planning to remain in community for positive community reasons:

49% in Halifax County unit
23% in Negro communities

number willing to move if greater choice:

115 in Halifax County unit
34 in Negro communities

number initially responding in terms of material commitment or negative factors:

147 in Halifax County unit
70 in Negro communities

% of those not giving positive community reasons for their planning to stay in the community, who would migrate if more choice (excluding of course the small number responding don't know or other):

115/147 or 78% in Halifax County unit
34/70 or 49% in Negro communities

Although there is truly a bewildering number of possible interpretations the writer believes the reference to an implicit community "boundness" among the Guysborough Negroes to be valid. Despite the fact that few Negro respondents offered positive community reasons initially, it appears that others operate implicitly on the same basis, at least such an explanation fits the above patterns. It is further supported by the observation of the Upper Big Tracadie participant-observor, "an interesting point is that the same people who said they would move if they had

---

27. A large sample from both the Negro and White household head respondent population indicates that such is the case for both populations. Of the household heads in five Halifax County communities who would migrate if they had greater choice, 14 of the 23 had earlier responded in terms of material commitment, 7 earlier gave negative reasons, and, of the nine Negroes who would move if choice from a sample of 36 household heads, 6 had earlier given material commitments for their planning not to move and 2 gave negative factors.

the chance, qualified what they said by stating that if there was employment for them in the immediate area, they would be happy to stay". It seems clear then that despite a large amount of dissatisfaction and perhaps despite their avowals, most household heads in the three Negro communities would be reluctant to move. Apparently community ties, whatever their specific nature, exercise a more powerful effect than at first appears to be the case. Several perceptive community residents have claimed that despite people's complaining, they (the people) would rather stay in the community. Some insight into the operation of these community ties can be gleaned from the remark of a drunken former community resident to one of the participant-observers, "you'll listen to me white man because this is my home; I'm not in Sydney now". Further the two Upper Big Tracadie residents who planned to move (Table 5) from the community are both quite isolated from the other residents in a social sense and hence their migration plans are quite in keeping with the general interpretation of household head migration offered here.

Under existing conditions then few household heads plan to migrate. More claim to be willing to migrate if certain obstacles were removed but such claims have to be treated with caution because of the tendency of some to understate their community involvement. It is probable that inducements would have to be considerable before any significant proportion would migrate. Migration is more "talked about" than "carried out" by the household heads. Most of those who expressed a willingness to move had a specific place to which they would migrate if they had the choice. None of those with a preference wished to remain in Guysborough County (one White resident included in the Sunnyville sample wished to move to Guysborough town in order to, as she put it, "escape from these Negroes"; one Negro resident of Upper Big Tracadie said he might move to another community in Guysborough County where he has some property). As a matter of fact many household heads in referring to their preferred location stressed its advantages over Guysborough County. The better conditions supposedly existent in the preferred places were work and friendly people. Less explicit in their choice was the desire for more retail and other community facilities. Only four respondents - all of whom are elderly - articulated any wish to be with their relatives although, as mentioned earlier, most do have relatives in the favourite places of migration.

In order to provide greater depth on the meaning attached by the Negro household heads to these preferred places of migration, it is useful to present the following data on Negro preference for city or small community living, in comparison to that of householeads in Halifax County:

TABLE 9: Household Heads' Preference, City or Small Community, by Type of Community

	Guysborough Negroes		Non-Metro Halifax C.		Selected Comm.	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Prefer Small Comm.	50	84	315	88	54	90
Prefer City	8	13	34	9	5	8
No Preference	2	3	11	3	1	2

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964

As indicated by the table, most household heads in each type of community said that they preferred living in a small community. However, for many of the respondents such a choice was not the one they would act upon if they did migrate. Only twenty-eight of the 115 household heads in non-metropolitan White Halifax County who expressed a willingness to move said they would move to a small community. Rather, most would clearly opt out for the metropolitan area. Among the Guysboro Negroes fully half of those willing to migrate would also move to the city area. This formal ideal of small community living, common enough throughout North America,[28] gives us a wedge into the dream-like ideal quality that pervades much of the Negroes' thinking about migration. Those Negroes mentioning a specific place to which they would migrate if they had real choice tended very much to idealize the place. Eleven of the thirty-five indicated that they would move to Montreal or Toronto (four others were not fully decided but their inclination was also to these cities) saying for example that it is easier to make out up there, that there is no prejudice or discrimination and so forth. As one woman said, "there is no prejudice at all in Montreal. Coloured people can get work as easily as White people. Coloured people can work in banks provided of course they have the education". The others indicated that they would migrate to another community within the province, each having his own idealized version of the place; for example, one Lincolnville resident, who said he would move to Antigonish, referred to it frequently as "a very pretty place where everybody is really friendly".

There appears to be little unanimity regarding the merits of places such as New Glasgow, Antigonish, Sydney and other communities within the province. Some Negro household heads had very positive idealized versions of life in such places while others pictured them as depressed, full of discrimination and so on. With regards to Toronto and Montreal, there was more agreement though also the occasional dissenting voice - as one woman said of Montreal, "it's easy (to get along in) for females but hard for males". The paramount reason for the limited number of communities referred to as choices is the fact that all have sizable Negro populations. The Guysboro Negroes' knowledge of other communities is pretty much restricted to such places. Their knowledge of these communities comes from the feedback of former community residents and also from their own travelling (for work as well as visiting) which is for the most part restricted to the contiguous counties. In surveying such scanty information their antennas are particularly attuned to racial harmony or the lack of it. Naturally enough they are not in a position to make systematic studies and so small incidents, happy or otherwise, determine their orientation to the various communities. Confrontation with discrimination is an unpredictable, contingent thing. A major problem Negroes face in living in these other communities is just that - the uncertainty of how Whites

---

28. For a statement of the kind of appeal living in a small community has and its relation to our value-system, see A. Vidich and J. Bensman, Small Town in a Mass Society, Anchor Books.

will act towards them. By means of the two sources of information mentioned above, small incidents are picked up and blown up, thereby resolving the uncertainty. It is probably safe to say that discrimination operates to the same degree in each of Antigonish, Sydney and so forth. Whichever is preferred then by the Negro household head appears to depend on the nature of the small incidents happening either to himself or those with whom he identifies himself.* At the same time, it is clear that they want more services - all but one of the choices were for much larger communities than the ones they at present reside in. It appears then that when thinking of migration, they wish for a place which has something of the style of life associated in our culture with the small community (i.e. folksy, friendly, etc.) but which is also well-serviced - a wish undoubtedly quite pervasive in our society. And it is on the "wish" level that one must interpret the migration desires of the household heads since few expect to migrate and even fewer will actually migrate.

Expectations and Desires of Household Heads

Re Migration: B

The majority of the household heads in the three Negro communities expect that their children (or if the household head has no children, his hypothetical children) will migrate from the community as they grow older. The following table indicates the unanimity of this expectation:

TABLE 10: Expectation of Household Heads as to Migration of Children, By Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Expect children living at home to remain in comm.	2	8	8	18	19
Expect them to migrate	18	14	43	75	78
Don't know	-	1	2	3	3

Source: Author's Survey, Summer, 1964.

---

* A good example of how precisely this operates is the following incident. One Negro household head told the participant-observer that while passing through a small community his car broke down. He could not fix it and so sat down in the cold and the dark on the steps of a nearby church. The priest came around shortly and told the Negro that he could sleep inside the church for the evening if he wished. After relating this incident the Negro household head said, "now that would be a good community to live in, where people are so considerate".

There is only slight variation among the household heads of the three communities concerning the mobility of their children. The fact that, proportionally, more Lincolnville household heads expect their children to remain in the community will be commented upon below.[29] At this point it is instructive to compare the expectations of household heads in the selected communities and in non-metropolitan White Halifax County as a whole.

TABLE 11:

	Non-Metro White Halifax County		Selected Communities	
	no.	%	no.	%
Expect children living at home to remain in community	107	30	12	20
Expect them to migrate	244	68	48	80
Don't know	9	2	-	-

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964

Comparison of Tables 10 and 11 points to the essential similarity of the expectations of Whites, living in roughly the same type of community. More household heads, proportionally, in non-metropolitan White Halifax County expect their grown children to remain in the community; however, about half of the communities constituting this unit are within thirty miles of the metropolitan area and it has been found throughout North America, that thirty miles is not considered too great a commuting distance.[30] In the case of White Halifax County communities which are more distant from the metropolitan area and also similar in size to the Negro communities, the response pattern, as the comparison of the selected communities and the Guysboro Negro communities indicates, is quite identical.

Almost all of those - White and Negro - who expect their children to migrate have given as the chief reason for their expectation, the lack of "social system" attributes in their community. The responses were mostly variations in expression of the standard phrase used by the Guysboro Negroes, "there's nothing here for the people". The chief consideration of both Whites and Negroes was the lack of employment possibilities in either the community or the "commuting" area. As is indicated in the fact that when asked whether they considered the area in which they live to be a community, most household heads said "no"

---

29. See page 128 below

30. See for example, Form, W., and Miller, D., Industry, Labour and Community, Harpers 1960. Also, Duncan, B., "Intra-Urban Population Movement" in Hatt, P., and Reiss, A., Cities and Societies, Free Press, 1957.

because there are no stores or other community services,[31] the Guysboro Negroes realize it is not only a lack of jobs that is responsible for the high rate of migration among young men and women; but they tend to see all factors responsible for migration as contingent upon local employment possibilities. It is because they make such an association that they articulate the motives of their children in such simplified fashion as "none of the young people have the intention of leaving Lincolnville but there is no work for them here" and "many young fellows say, if I had work in my home-town, I would stay home but here I'd just starve if I stayed". The degree to which such remarks are simplications will become apparent in the discussion of children's expectations and desires later in this chapter. Finally, a few Negro household heads in each of the three project communities suggested that prejudice and discrimination on the part of Whites in the area are important reasons behind their expectation that their children will migrate. As one said "around here chances of getting a job are two to one against before you start if you are coloured". These respondents also tend to believe that were jobs available young men and women would not migrate.[32]

Tables 12 and 13 present data on household heads' desires concerning the mobility of their children and provide insight into the emotional "cost" associated with their migration expectations.

---

31. See page 4 of chapter seven for a more detailed discussion of this point.

32. Those who do not expect their children to migrate based their expectation on "community" reasons (i.e. the children are used to living here or the children like it here), economic reasons (i.e. the children will be able to find work around here) or simply said that they did not know why but nevertheless expected their children not to migrate. The small number of respondents holding such an expectation precludes any significant pattern analysis. The pattern of Lincolnville responses is, however, interesting. Proportionally more Lincolnville household heads expect their children to remain in the community. Perhaps the factor mainly responsible for this singularity is the presence in Lincolnville of several ex-migrants. The latters' well-known inability ot "make out" in Montreal, while not creating an unfavourable image of that city, has made community residents more realistic - several of those expecting their children not to migrate have said their expectation is based on the inadequate education and training of the children.

TABLE 12: Desires of Household Heads As To Children's Migration, By Community

	U.B.T.	Lincolnville	Sunnyville	Total	%
Desire children to remain in community	15	9	22	46	48
Desire them to migrate	5	14	30	49	51
Don't know	-	-	1	1	1

Source: Author's Survey, Summer, 1964

TABLE 13: Desires of Household Heads As To Children Migration, By Type of Community

	Non-metro Halifax Co.		Selected Communities	
	no.	%	no.	%
Desire that children remain in community	303	56	41	68
Desire that they migrate	154	43	19	32
Don't know	3	1	-	-

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964.

Comparision of Tables 12 and 13 indicates that the response pattern of Upper Big Tracadie household heads is essentially the same as that of household heads in the selected communities. In both cases there is a gap of about the same magnitude between expectations and desires - an almost unanimous expectation that their children will migrate and an equally pervasive desire that they remain in the community. The desire that their children remain in the community is not as pervasive in non-metropolitan white Halifax County as a whole, possibly partly because some household heads realize that they would still be within easy reach of the place to which they expect their children to migrate - the metropolitan center. What is more difficult to explain is the pattern of response in Lincolnville and Sunnyville, where the majority of household heads expressed the desire that their children move out of the community, and, as a result, there is only a small disparity between expectations and desires. Perhaps more of these household heads despair of any significant improvements being effected in their community and have read this despair into their desires concerning their children's mobility. There is no evidence that they have any less affection for their children but there is some evidence that there is more economic depression and less community "spirit" in these communities than is the case in Upper Big Tracadie.[33] Fewer Sunnyville

33. See Chapter 7

residents expressed any confidence that something fruitful would result from this survey than Upper Big Tracadie residents.

The desire that their children remain in the community does have certain practical aspects among the Guysboro Negroes. Several household heads expressed variants of the following statement made by a man in Upper Big Tracadie: "I raised that boy so that he can help me later on". There are many ways a grown child can assist the household heads in addition to contributing to the family income; the rather crude existence in the three communities makes necessary such things as obtaining and carrying water, chopping wood for fuel and walking several miles to a store - difficult tasks for the elderly. Further, since many household heads are looking after children other than their own, there is often a feeling that the children owe them something in return. However, not many articulated their desire that the children remain in the community in such terms. More indicated a "pure" emotional attachment, especially of course the females. As a matter of fact a basic antinomy characterized their motivation of their children - encouraging the child to migrate and better himself while constantly talking about the loneliness and difficulties faced by other children who have migrated and, it is believed, should return.

Migration Expectations and Desires of Youths in School

Almost all the older school children in each of the three Negro communities have said that they will migrate upon leaving school or shortly thereafter. Several of the youths had definite career plans which would necessitate, at least temporarily, moving out of the community for their realization. For instance, two girls plan to go to either Antigonish or Halifax to receive nursing training; another girl intends to join the Air Force while two boys plan Army and porter careers respectively. Actually in all these cases the students have, in mentioning their desires, indicated that they anticipate a permanent migration. It definitely appears to be the case that children are acclimatized at any early age to the possibility of permanent migration. The participant-observers reported that several small children have mentioned job desires, recognizing that the pursuit of those would take them beyond the community and even the region. Because of the nature of the social system in which they are members, having the usual job aspirations engendered in children by television and school-books means having the thought of migrating from the community. As one participant-observor noted in the case of two young children in the home where he boarded, "Iris and Barb want to be a nurse and a teacher respectively and they seem to realize that they will have to leave the community accordingly. Iris knows she will have to go to Halifax or to Antigonish and the thought doesn't seem to bother her". Further, there is so much talk of migration and so many migrating that it is part of the local culture transmitted to the children that Montreal, Toronto, and so forth are places where better jobs and a better lifestyle are available, and it is conventional for children to think about living there. So for the older school children, permanent migration is not something grasped in a sharp sudden insight; rather it is an act implicitly associated in their thinking (in a kind of "natural" way) with bettering oneself and obtaining certain employment, with, in other

words, achieving some of the goals they have been socialized into preferring

While all of the older school children appear to be at least thinking of migration, the majority of the approximately thirty-one who are aged fifteen or more, do not have very specific career plans. College education is not part of their thinking and, as for employment, they are much more explicit about what they do not want to do. Two Sunnyville youths, for instance, told the participant-observer, in elaborating why they planned to migrate that there was nothing special they wanted to do but "to be away from the woods". In general they have a negative orientation to the kinds of employment available in the area.[34] This is, of course, entirely predictable given the fact that they are usually within ear-shot of the incessant parental complaints about the inadequacy (i.e., hard work, poor returns) of available employment and the fact that, as mentioned earlier,[35] some parents in attempting to motivate their children to greater educational achievement, disparage the "pick-and-shovel" nature of the work presently engaged in by household heads and others in the communities.

It was previously stated that the household heads' reduction of the complex factors involved in the question of their children's migration to the availability of work was a serious over-simplification. Clearly the older school-children are oriented to certain kinds of work, the pursuit of which under existing conditions, must necessarily lead to their migration. Still, it is even more than a matter of selection within a wide range of employment possibilities. The evidence points to their desire for a different style of life than they could achieve if they remain in their communities. Here is one of the participant-observers' descriptions of the attitudes commonly found among the older school-children:

> "A on many occasions told me that he would like to move from Upper Big Tracadie, marry a nice girl, settle down and raise a big family. He said he would like nothing better than to provide a good home, a fine house and a car for his wife. He said that he wants, after he gets as much education as he can, to move away from Guysborough so that he can ensure his chances of obtaining these things. He wants a good job and says he will be quite willing to work hard to keep it. He mentioned quite a few possibilities as to places he might want to live in, but thinks that Montreal or Toronto would be best. He has photos of an apartment that one of his friends there lives in, and admires the apartment very much. He said that he would like something along these lines, - very clean and modern. He definitely thinks that he will have to move from Upper Big Tracadie if he is to get any of these things.

It seems apparent from the participant-observer's notes that the young Negro wants not simply a job but a way of life and it is for this that he plans to migrate. Others of the older school-children emphasized different factors, such as more things to see, more activities to engage in. The pursuit then of a certain life-style, which is associated more with some jobs than others, appears to be fundamental in

---

34. See chapter three for a description of the range of employment engaged in by the Guysborough Negroes.

35. Chapter five, page 88.

the thinking of the students. It usually, though not always or necessarily, means that they are attracted to the metropolitan centers. Montreal and Toronto are by far the most popular places to migrate to. As one student told the participant-observer "people used to move to Sydney but nowadays most go to Toronto and Montreal". Although two or three of these youths plan to move to the metropolitan Halifax area, it was not popular among them, nor indeed among other age-groups in the communities. Toronto and Montreal are especially popular because other Guysboro Negroes have gone there to live and because little or no discrimination is believed to exist there. The fact that both are far away also helps to maintain the mther untarnished image the Negroes have of them.

Will the thirty-three school children aged fifteen or more actually migrate? What would be the effect of increased job opportunities in the area? These questions are difficult to answer. Not all the students considered migration with the same intensity. Some seemed determined to leave the community at all costs - especially the "overconformers" referred to in the chapter on education[36] and a handful of boys in Sunnyville and Upper Big Tracadie. Others appeared to be uncertain of what they would do if the employment situation in the area was improved. They are obviously unsure as to what such an improvement would mean. A little more of the same or new jobs and concomitant changes in other aspects of their living? As such phrases as "if nothing much happens", "if there is a future for me", indicate, significant changes in life-style are imperative if they are to forget about migrating. Yet we are still examining migration on the ideal level. Before we can really come to grips with the two above questions, it is necessary to explore some of the patterns associated with actual migration.

---

36. About one such "overconformer" who seldom mixes with others in the community, a relative said, "she will leave the community as soon as she is able to do so". For a description of the "overconformers" see pages 101 and 102 in chapter five.

Characteristics of Migrants

It has already been noted that only approximately one-quarter of the young men and women, children of the contemporary household heads, have upon leaving the parental household, established themselves in the communities. There definitely appears to be a higher rate of migration among the young women. Of the approximately fifty Negroes in the project communities who are single, out of school and between fifteen and thirty years of age, only about fourteen are females. As one respondent in Sunnyville said, "more girls than boys move out; there's hardly a single girl around here over eighteen; once they get around that age they leave." The collected data supports this observation, as not only are there, in the case of Sunnyville, more boys than girls, aged fifteen or more in school (nine and seven respectively) but there are at least twenty-five males, single, out of school and under thirty years of age compared to only five such females. In Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie there is an approximately equal number of males and females in this category. Although our migration data for Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie indicate that as many males as females have migrated, there is in these communities a rather pervasive belief that there is a tendency for more females to migrate. One Lincolnville male, for example, told the participant-observor that in his community most of those between sixteen and twenty-one are boys. In fact, however, in Lincolnville there is an equal number of females in that age category. The differential migration by sex then is almost entirely due to the Sunnyville data. The point still remains, however, that for the area as a whole, more females migrate - it is probably this (and the concomitant difficulty of males in finding a "mate" within the region) to which Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie residents are responding when they exaggerate the amount of female migration in their own communities.

It is generally held by residents of the project communities that most of the young men and women who do migrate, migrate when they are between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. Our data on the ages at which the migrants left the community is only scanty - we can only be confident in some thirty-odd cases of post World War II migration - but it does quite clearly support this belief. Almost three-quarters of those for whom we have reliable data, migrated while in that age category. There is no known case of a female over twenty-one years of age migrating but there are many known exceptions among the males. It should perhaps be noted at this point that at least half of the single, out-of-school and under thirty years of age population in the project communities is in the sixteen to twenty-one category.

Only the occasional migrant possessed more than public-school education. The average education of the migrants was between grade six and grade seven, very similar to that of the single, out-of-school and under thirty years of age population and to that of the young married population. At the same time it is quite clear that most of those few who do receive at least some high-school training tend to migrate. Among those migrating since World War II there were about twelve who had been to high school, while among the young (fifteen to thirty-four years of age) married population only two have any high-school training and in the single out-of-school category only three. Most of the migrants with high-school training were females

(eight of the twelve). As far as it is possible to tell, none of the migrants possessed any special training upon leaving the community.

Most of the migrants left the community alone and with but little knowledge of life in the communities[36] to which they were migrating and few employment prospects. They are now generally employed as domestics, laborers, truck-drivers and woods-workers, although a few females have obtained "office-work". There is no clear evidence as to the personality characteristics of the migrants. Some are reported to have been "real trouble-makers" when in the local communities while others are said to have been more industrious than those not migrating. Local police officials reported that, on the basis of their limited information, it does not appear that the migrants caused them any greater trouble than the non-migrants.

On the whole then, it can be concluded that the most likely to migrate are the females who have had some high-school education and are between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. Most of those who are going to migrate do so before they reach the age of twenty-one. Having made these points however there is little else we can with confidence say about the special characteristics of the migrants. The fact of the matter is, as mentioned earlier, that most of the young men and women do migrate. It seems that the better question to ask is "why do those between the ages of fifteen and thirty who are out of school continue to reside in the communities?" There are at present some forty persons who are married and living in the project communities and are roughly in this age-category (a few are between thirty and thirty-four years of age). Their continued presence in the communities can readily be explained as a function of the large families they tend to have.[37] Persons who marry in their late teens or early twenties invariably do not migrate because, having children in quick succession, they are soon involved in a relentless struggle for subsistence. They do not have the capital necessary for migrating and, remaining in their community, can at least carry on the struggle in familiar territory. Only if the family is disrupted by death, desertion or separation does a member of this category tend to migrate.

But the more basic question can still be asked "what factors are important in determining whether or not a person decides to settle

---

36. This statement needs some qualification in the case of those migrating to New Glasgow and Sydney. Besides having relatives and friends in these communities, the Negroes often commute there for work in the lumbering camps of the surrounding area. However, only one of the Negro respondents reported regular visiting with relatives in these places and only two reported any mutual assistance with residents of these areas.

37. The average family size among them is 7.8, about eight members per family. Further, these families have not yet reached maximum growth and over half the wives are under thirty years of age.

down in the community and marry in the first place?" The fact that marriage is generally associated by the Negroes with "settling down" might very well mean it is symbolic of a decision not to migrate. In line with this interpretation is the fact that nine of the eleven[39] household head respondents in Upper Big Tracadie and Lincolnville who are in this category (married, between fifteen and thirty-four years of age) said that they would not wish to migrate even if they had greater choice. This represents a much higher percentage unwilling to migrate than that reported in Table XI for the total household head population of these two communities. The only respondent of this category in the communities who planned to migrate was a female involved in an unstable common-law relationship. In Sunnyville the response pattern of the young married population on this issue was the same as that of the total household head population, there being only a slight difference favouring the "would not move even if choice" alternative. The evidence suggests then that the young married population are quite committed to their communities and that their remaining there may not be merely a matter of economic necessity. What appears to be happening is that in the case of the young married population "push and pull" factors have operated in such a way as to create a net balance in favour of remaining in the communities. Since they are similar to the migrants with respect to educational achievement, absence of special training and work patterns prior to marriage and since their present employment is, for the most part, similar to what the migrants would be doing if they had remained in the community, it seems likely that they either felt a less intense disparity between their means and ends in the first place or found sources of compensatory satisfaction. We propose then first to examine the push and pull factors in migration and provide hopefully the causal context wherein these two factors can more precisely be examined.

Push and Pull Factors of Migration

One community "push" factor is clearly the lack of employment possibilities within the community or the commuting area. This is most often articulated as a reason for migration by members of all groups. We have already though noted that it has different ramifications for the different groups. An increase in the kind of work already available to the Negroes would, in the short run at least, lessen some of the thinking about migration on the part of the household heads but since there is little migration among them anyways, would have little effect on their migration. Its biggest effect would be among single males over twenty-one years of age. As suggested earlier most migrants leave the communities between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one but of those who did not, most left for jobs more steady than the ones they had while in the community but of the same kind - i.e. cutting or carrying pulp. The data though scanty appears to indicate that these

---

39. We do not have such questionnaire data for the spouses, but it is expected that their responses would be roughly similar. See P. Rossi, Why Families Move, Free Press, Illinois, page 15.

older migrants left basically for such employment and generally migrated to a place close to the project communities. Sydney was more often than not the place these older migrants went to. At the present time about half the fifty single out-of-school and under thirty-odd years of age persons in the communities are over twenty-one years of age. These persons tend not to be eager to leave their community; one such person from Lincolnville said that, "I'm not going to leave this area unless there is a job waiting for me". Two other persons in this category living in Upper Big Tracadie also said they were not interested in migrating as did two single females in their early twenties who live in Lincolnville. Persons such as these commute often for work in the surrounding area. Under existing conditions they would probably trickle out of the community over the next few years as did the older migrants in the years past. Were more work available, however, they probably would not. As a matter of fact if more of the existing kinds of work were available, some of the older migrants might even return to the community - several have said that they would like to return and most of the contact community residents have with the migrants is restricted to this group.[40]

Lack of jobs is also a "push" factor among the older school-children and those who are single, out-of-school and under twenty-one years of age. However, as was observed earlier, their orientation is not towards the kinds of jobs associated with the style of life existing in the three communities. The context wherein employment is envisaged tends to be different than is the case among those who are single but over twenty-one years of age, as well as among the married population. Most of those who are under twenty-one are "pulled" by the metropolitan style of life; several of those who are out of school expressed job aspirations such as becoming professional musicians,

---

40. The contact that community residents have with the migrants appears to vary along two dimensions - the distance of the migrant from the communities and the age at which the migrant left the communities. The most contact is with those migrants who left the community at a later than average age and who now live in the contiguous counties. There is very little contact with the young migrants who have gone to Ontario or Quebec. Much of the visiting of the migrants occurs on festive occasions, such as Christmas, and during the summer holidays. There also is a certain amount of letter-writing between migrants and community residents although it is not of a regular sort. Contact with migrants also varies according to community - most people in Lincolnville reported no communication with their migrant relatives, while Upper Big Tracadie residents more often reported "keeping in touch" with migrants, although the frequency of communication is still low. About 18% of the household heads in the Negro communities reported that they missed their migrant relatives "not at all" while 49% reported missing them "some" and 32% "very much". In non-metropolitan Halifax County the proportions were very similar, 17%, 51% and 29% respectively. There was some variation within the Negro sample, the tendency being that Upper Big Tracadie residents (who had more communication with their migrant relatives) more often claimed to miss the migrants "very much".

joining the services and driving trucks but most, like the older school children, did not refer to specific jobs as much as they referred to the general conditions of employment such as the higher wages, being able to enjoy better services, etc. Since they are not significantly different from those of the older age-group in education and special training, it is probable that they feel more intensely the disparities between their hopes and their expectations. In this regard it is important to note the findings of a recent study into the personality characteristics of older Negro students in the Halifax area: "It is suggested that at this stage in their life (when they are on the verge of entering the labour market) the Negro student in Halifax finds it difficult to begin working... he has what seems a "give-it-up" attitude, which certainly makes sense in view of the employment opportunities that await him in this area as he grows older... but he still has sufficient drive to overcome this inertia and see himself working".[40] It seems that one of the implications of the first part of this finding is that persons of this age-category in this situation, such as are of course the older school children on the verge of leaving school without any very concrete prospects in hand and the single out-of-school persons under twenty-one who also of course have few prospects in the area, are acutely sensitive to "pulls" promising to relieve their felt disparities and have not as yet found adequate sources of compensatory satisfaction in the local area.

Another "pull" factor is the example of those who have migrated to the larger centers. Here is the Lincolnville participant-observer's description of the more sophisticated presentation of self of migrants returning for visits to the community: "those women who have left the community and settled down elsewhere appear to be much better dressed on the few times they visit the community. One woman who left Lincolnville in the last ten years visited one of the homes recently. She was much better dressed than anyone else in the house. She had her hair set in a particular style and her teeth were quite white, in contrast to the women of Lincolnville who have their hair just combed and among whom in most cases, teeth are crooked and stained". There were several such cases reported by all the participant-observers. Without elaborating much on this theme the effect is apparently that community residents become more conscious of their own felt disparities and a significant amount of glamour is attached to both migrating and the migrants. As the Sunnyville participant-observer noted (not as richly as desirable): "they envy these relatives (in the larger communities) because they feel that they have a better chance at a good job and more opportunity for social interaction by virtue of the fact that they are in larger communities". The last part of this quotation is particularly relevant since after all most of the migrants possessed no special characteristics. Being aware of the essential similarity of migrants to themselves, those still residing in the communities tend to glamorize migration itself. This is particularly true for those among whom the myriad push and pull factors have not yet crystallized,

---

40. M. Davis and H. Beach, A Personality Study of Negroes in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1963.

namely, those in their late teens and early twenties. (They are strengthened in their belief that perhaps they too could do well in the large centers. It is particularly believed in the project communities that females could do so. One female who said she was going to Toronto, told the interviewer that "there's a lot of work there for females". Others echoed this comment on several occasions.) In support of this interpretation, we point to the seemingly pervasive pattern noted by the Sunnyville participant-observor, "coming back from even a short trip generally means they (the young people) will have something special such as a hat, to clearly signify to others that they have been someplace". Moreover the tremendous emphasis placed on truck-driving, mechanics and the car are probably in part related to this "glamorization of migration" tendency.[42] Finally it appears that on the whole the effect of the letters and photographs, etc., sent to community residents by migrants and friends living in the larger communities, is to reinforce this glamorization - many refer to the better conditions present in this other "world".

Another "push" factor concerns the practice of discrimination locally. There appears to be complete unanimity among the project population as to the existence of much discrimination against them in Guysborough County. According to these people it pervades all kinds of social interaction as well as making it difficult for them to obtain work. The surrounding area is on the whole rated by these Negroes as being only slightly better though, as mentioned earlier, various household heads have their special favorites. The supposed existence of discrimination in Guysboro and in the contiguous counties affects migration insofar as it is part of the style of life young people are trying to avoid by migrating to Ontario and Quebec. It affects the satisfaction of the married population and the older migrants but has less of a bearing on their migration because the former rarely migrate and the latter usually migrate to the surrounding area. It does though influence the specific location within the area to which the older single people migrate and, as was noted above, it is important in a negative sense in the mobility aspirations of some of the household heads.

There are also some factors "pulling" people towards their local communities. One is the sense of community relatedness, of belonging and familiarity. As one participant-observer noted, "I think they feel that they leave something behind if they migrate although they have a hard time expressing this". Another participant-observer was more specific in referring to this feeling; "another reason why people may be hesitant about leaving the community is the apparently strong consciousness of their relationship with others in the community, referring to people who are their grandfather's first cousin as their third cousin and so on; almost all the families are inter-related whether by in-laws, cousins or because one family looks after another's children. There is for example one man in Lincolnville who only has

---

42. It is not being suggested that this glamorization of migration pattern or the automobile emphasis is singular to this population; rather they appear to be pervasive in our society.

one relative in the community but he even refers to his wife's distant cousin as "cousin". A full examination of community involvement in the project communities will be given in the next chapter but it suffices here to note that it plays a part in keeping people in the area.

Another aspect of this community "pull" is the pervasive community view that one is very lonely and on one's own in the big centers especially of course the metropolitan centers. The supposedly hectic, isolated existence in big centers is often referred to negatively as is evidenced in the following remark told to a participant-observer by an Upper Big Tracadie youth about his sister who currently lives in a metropolitan area - "It's about time A came home and stopped running all over the place". A few migrants who have returned to the communities have made similar negative comments about life in bigger centers and in other instances parents talk of the great loneliness of their migrant children living in Toronto, Montreal and even Antigonish. In fact as noted earlier, in the socialization of their children, parents often point to this isolation of others who have gone to the big cities. This factor operates particularly with regard to the young migrants since it is part of the local common experience that, for the young migrants, going to Quebec and Ontario entails almost a complete severance of ties to the community. Given the non-existence of any strong subculture with which they can become involved in these places, migration there for the young people has also something of a prohibitive meaning to be added to its uncertainty.

Another community "pull" factor is the lack of capital to finance migration. We have already noted its implication for those who are married with families. Were such capital available there would undoubtedly be more familial out-migration although the data suggest it would not be very great. As for the single people, lack of capital does not appear to be an important factor in their migration decision but a government supported migration program would probably increase the migration rate.

The above push and pull factors provide the context for the actual working-out of the migration rate. They are the givens and how the individuals react to them - whether they migrate or not - appears to depend on how intense is their felt disparity between means and ends and whether any compensatory satisfactions are obtained, locally. Given this model it is possible to chart the history of the migration process. Thoughts about migration occur very early in the Guysboro Negroes' life-cycle as job aspirations and alternate life-styles learned in school, gleaned from the mass media and, to some degree, inculcated by parents get them oriented to the idea of migration. At the same time opposite factors are coming into play such as greater community involvement and knowledge of the supposed loneliness of other family members who have migrated. As they mature they become more aware of the various push and pull factors mentioned above and "sample" the alternate status systems. At this point, say junior high stage, it can safely be predicted that those who are doing well in school and/or the "overconformers" will migrate since, as demonstrated in the chapter on education, doing so or being so generally means withdrawing from

community life and rejecting local status criteria. Local compensatory satisfactions are irrelevant and such persons are highly achievement oriented. For the great bulk of Guysboro Negroes at this stage, however, (the above category is both small in number and mostly female) the situation is still fluid. They are becoming increasingly alienated from school and as pointed out in the education chapter, local alternate status criteria are very meaningful to them. But they are still for the most part oriented to migration. Upon leaving school such persons stay in the local community at least for a few years commuting for work to places such as Prince Edward Island and the lumber camps around Sydney and New Glasgow although all such employment is of a short-term seasonal nature. This is the gestation period, very much along the lines suggested in the Davis-Beach finding quoted earlier. At this stage the particular individual's combination of felt disparities and compensatory satisfactions with the general push and pull factors is crystallized and most who are going to migrate do so before they are twenty-one years of age. Apparently few find the local status criteria system adequate, suggesting that its meaningfulness for the older school children is less a function of its internal strength and more a matter of simply being a crutch in a very tense situation, that of school life.[42]

There appears to be some evidence that those who have not migrated by the time they are twenty-one or so, have less intense a feeling of status frustration. We point to the fact that the older migrants appear to be reluctant migrants, moving as a result of economic and perhaps mate-selection pressure, in pursuit not of a profound change in life-style but, rather, of something better from the same mould. Also, as noted earlier, those of the young married population are the most reluctant to move even assuming greater real choice. In some cases it is possible to point to sources of compensation locally such as strong personal or familial attachments and comparative status prestige from living in the best houses or on the best lots in their communities. For the incapacitated - the blind, crippled and retarded - given the individual nature of migration, the local area obviously offers more sources of compensation. Thus migration is only one response to the pervasive means-ends discrepancy. While it is the most important response in a numerical sense, other responses are interesting and it is to these that we now turn.

Other Individual Responses

One of the most important of these "other individual responses" is the scaling down of one's goals. It was observed in the chapter on education that the hopes of the Negro household heads for their children's education were less than their assessments of how much education is needed if a young person is to be a "success". This scaling down of goals is also evident in the remarks of two teen-age girls who said they were thinking of migrating but might change their mind if they could live in better homes. That some such "scaling down" is necessary for most of us in life seems evident to the writer. The interesting

---

42. In this sense it is comparable to certain delinquent structures. See the concept of the "near-group" in L. Yablonsky's "The Delinquent Gang As a Near-Group", Social Problems 7, Fall 1959, pp. 108-117.

aspects of this to be pointed out among the Guysborough Negroes are the degree of "scaling down" and the specific behavioural areas where such occurs. The following tables give us some idea as to the degree of scaling down by comparing Negroes' and Whites' orientation to and achievement of material success in life.

TABLE XIV: Household Heads' Thinking Concerning The Importance of Material Success in Life*

	Think It Most Important		Think It Important But Not Most Important	
	n	%	n	%
Guysborough Negroes	42	70	18	30
Whites in Selected Communities	23	38	37	62

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964

* The specific question asked was "Is it in your opinion most important that a person does well in life materially, i.e. have a high income".

TABLE XV: Material Possessions Score* of Household Heads, By Type of Community

	Low		Medium		High	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Guysborough Negroes	26	43	22	36	12	21
Whites in Selected Communities	2	3	24	40	34	57

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964

* The material possession score is based on responses to a seven item possessions index. The tripartite division has only comparative significance.

The tables indicate that the Guysborough Negroes lay greater emphasis on the importance of material success in life yet rank much lower in terms of achievement than do Whites in the selected communities. Similar tables could be constructed for housing, jobs and so on, with roughly similar patterns of disparity indicated - most Guysborough Negroes live in very overcrowded housing and only a handful have steady employment. Further, few Guysborough Negroes obtain much satisfaction from their occupational involvement as is shown by the following table:

TABLE 16: Household Heads' Orientation to Job or Retirement, By Type of Community

	Likes It Very Much	
	%	n
Guysborough Negroes	25	60
Whites in Selected Communities	52	60

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964.

It is possible to observe this "scaling down" in the attitudes of most persons in the project communities towards "bootlegging", illegitimacy and common-law unions. Bootlegging, for example, is known to be illegal by community residents yet it is not negatively sanctioned but rather seen as an adjustment to local conditions. In each of the three project communities there are several bootleggers, all of whom have small (very small) operations. Given transportation problems and the fact that liquor stores are about fifteen miles distant from two of the three communities, it is quite expensive to purchase liquor legally if only small purchases can be made at any one time -- which is of course all that these low income Negroes can do. Consequently, while many are not in favour of bootlegging in principle, they tolerate it under these conditions - the bootleggers are providing something along the lines of a community service and the small profit they (mostly females) make helps put food in the stomach and clothes on the back of the family. In Upper Big Tracadie for instance the two female bootleggers are protected by other residents from R.C.M.P. surveillance, are considered as being among the best citizens and are themselves strong church members. The general position adopted towards bootlegging then is that, "it is wrong in principle; one wishes it would not have to be engaged in but inadequacies of income, transportation and so on mean that it is simply something one has to live with". A similar orientation is held by most residents with regards to illegitimacy and common-law unions. Both are widespread in the communities, especially illegitimacy, and both are clearly disapproved of in principle. In practice some residents do strongly and negatively sanction such behaviour. One woman, for example, upon discovering that her daughter was pregnant sent her to live with relatives in another province until the baby was born. Also having illegitimate children or living common-law means that one must expect on certain occasions, such as during arguments, to be referred to by others as a moral degenerate. However, for most of the residents most of the time both are considered as things one must allow for given local conditions such overcrowding, lack of money to obtain a divorce, and lack of alternative sources of gratification. Several of the informal community leaders, especially in Upper Big Tracadie and Lincolnville, are involved in common-law relationships but also teach Sunday School and are highly respected. Similarly, most of the households of the respected residents contain illegitimate children.

It appears then that the orientation of Guysborough Negroes towards bootlegging, illegitimacy and common-law unions reflect adjustments in

standards in keeping with the concrete situation in which they find themselves. Interpreted in this way their orientation is similar to that found to be pervasive among the lower socio-economic segment of the North American population. This orientation has recently been conceptualized in sociology as "the lower class value stretch",[44] indicating that the lower class have official and middle class values as well as others more in keeping with their concrete situation and, consequently, having this wider value reference than the middle class, also means that all values tend to operate among them less strongly than is the corresponding case among the middle class. Nevertheless, it seems clear in the case of the Guysborough Negroes that middle class values constitute the standards and departures from such standards, the people appear to believe, must somehow be justified. In this regard the importance of television, radio and the school system as purveyors of middle class values cannot but be emphasized. But just as important, given the fact that electricity in Negro households is a post World War II phenomenon and the fact that the school system was so underdeveloped until recently, is the long history of continuous if not intense involvement (i.e. jobs) that these people have had with the broader society. The Guysborough Negroes are very much involved with the broader society; indeed, most of their employment is outside their communities, most of their entertainment originates from outside the community (television and radio[45]) and at present the viability of their communities depends very much on governmental assistance.[46] The cost of this involvement is that they have apparently internalized standards seemingly impossible of achievement given local conditions and consequently adjustments and justifications are necessary. While each actor has his own script to deal with, such adjustments and justifications can also be seen as a collective response insofar as the net result is that necessary mutual support is obtained, facilitating a neutralization of guilt feelings.[47]

---

44. H. Rodman, "The Lower Class Value Stretch", Social Forces, December, 1963.

45. More than half of the household heads reported listening to the radio regularly while only a third reported regular television viewing. Only 17% of the household head population said that they rarely either listen to radio or watch television. This is, however, a higher percentage not directly influenced by these media than was found in either the Halifax County unit as a whole (7%) or the selected communities (5%). In all these units listening to the radio was more prevalent than television watching. Actually almost thirty percent of the Negro households do not as yet have electricity.

46. See Chapter Three.

47. For an elaboration of this point with respect to deviance generally see G. M. Sykes, Crime and Society, Random House, New York, 1956.

Another prevalent individual response among the Guysborough Negroes, involved their manipulation of reference groups. It has been observed that some of those not migrating appear to have found sources of compensation locally, namely, comparative social prestige from living in the best houses or on the best lots in their community. Clearly one way of dealing with means-ends discrepancies is for one to use as his reference group others who, on the relevant attributes, rank lower than oneself. Our participant-observors found such a response to be quite common when they discussed issues such as housing, education and achievement generally, with the respondents. The respondents often distinguished between themselves and others in the community in a manner quite favourable to themselves. For example, one respondent in Sunnyville pointed out that while his house was not much it was one of the best houses in the area and he was one of the few who "looked after things". He made an analagous remark concerning work, ability and morality. Similarly a household head in Lincolnville pointed out that while he has little education, he can at least read and write a little and that is more than some others in the community can say. He emphasized his supposedly many contacts with Whites and the fact that he interacts rarely with other community residents who are "dirty, two-faced, and don't look after things". His comparison of himself with others in the community is an important source of satisfaction for him. Many similar illustrations of the use of reference groups in this way are recorded in the field-notes. Another way reference groups are used is for individuals to identify themselves with others with whom they interact or for whom they work. The objects of such identification invariably are Whites. One respondent in Lincolnville is constantly bragging about the many White friends he has while another in Sunnyville gets great satisfaction informing people that he occasionally works at an ex-governor's mansion. A good example of how this identification operates is the case of an Upper Big Tracadie man who, after a brief interaction with an R.C.M.P. constable during which each referred to the other on a first-name basis, went about the community for the next few days praising the constable for his ability and power and commenting on how close their friendship was. The extreme form of identification is the alteration of one's physical characteristics on the model of the reference group members. Among the Guysborough Negroes there are several persons who have had their hair "conked" (this is the word used by the Guysborough Negroes).

It is well-known and often recorded that a strong religious orientation is a response to means-ends discrepancies, enabling a person in effect to say to himself that such discrepancies are not that important anyways, that the important concern is to lead a good life, that rewards will be forthcoming in the afterlife and so on. Such a response is "officially" highly rewarded in our society; in practice the rewards are much less but nevertheless real. The Guysborough Negroes, as a group, are not particularly religious in a behavioural sense - this is evident from the following tables comparing them with Whites in the selected communities:

TABLE XVII: Church Attendance of Household Heads, By Type of Community

	Rarely		1 or 2 per month		1 per week or more	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Guysborough Negroes	22	37	14	23	24	40
Whites in Selected Communities	14	23	20	33	26	44

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964

Participant-observation in each of the three communities indicated that the church-going population is a minority of the total over-sixteen population. Even among the household heads the proportion attending church regularly is slightly less than among Whites in comparable communities. Further, the Guysborough Negroes do not think of themselves as being very religious. The following table compares the religious self-perception of the Negroes with that of Whites in the selected communities:

TABLE XVIII: Religious Self-Perception of Household Heads, By Type of Community

	Not Very Religious		Moderately Religious		Very Religious	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Guysborough Negroes	13	22	44	73	3	5
Whites in Selected Communities	7	12	48	80	5	8

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1965

Most Negro household heads, like most White respondents, consider themselves to be moderately religious, the connotation being that they are just about "average". A significant number perceive themselves as not being very religious - in this case slightly more Negroes than Whites. Thus, from the point-of-view of religious behaviour, the Guysborough Negroes in fact and in their own eyes are not usually religious in orientation. Nor do they explicitly place religious achievement above material success in life. About half of the Negro household heads,[47] when asked during the interview what if anything they would

47. The Upper Big Tracadie respondents were quite similar to the Whites on this question; most believed other things to be more important than material success in life.

consider more important than material success, said nothing is more important; the vast majority of the White household heads in the selected communities (five-sixths of them) did however consider other things to be more important (i.e. leading a good life, having friends, etc.)

Nevertheless there is widespread among the Guysborough Negroes a religious definition of the situation which functions to relieve the stress of the means-end discrepancy. But it is based not so much on religious behaviour as on the particularity of their impoverished conditions. As one Sunnyville respondent said, "us poor people have to hope for the best and work as hard as we can. We are poor because we are honest, and all the people in the Baptist Church are poor". Throughout the field-notes there are recorded Negro comments such as "the Lord will take care of us because He is the father", "the poor man will get his reward later", etc. Content analysis of local church sermons also indicates the pervasiveness of this religious definition of the situation. One sermon, for instance, dealt with the idea that "the only important race is the race of Christianity"; another was devoted to the topic of boasting, pointing to St. Paul as the epitome of humbleness since he did not boast of his race, education, etc., but of the fact that he could call his life God's. For those Guysborough Negroes who are strongly religious in orientation there is then the possibility of comfort as a consequence of their religious behaviour. For those who are not, there is nevertheless some comfort and some justification for departures from standards, indirectly a result of a religious interpretation that plays down worldly achievements and makes special the case of the impoverished. Such an orientation leads readily to the local interpretation that it is not too bad for the poor to engage in bootlegging, common-law unions and so forth since the conditions they face are so difficult. It is fairly easy then to see the connection between the above religious interpretation and the scaling down of goals.

Another local interpretation of above religious position is that people who are not so impoverished will often be morally lacking. The biblical parable of the rich man, the camel and the eye of the needle is well-known by the Guysborough Negroes. Perhaps this belief is partly responsible[49] for the exaggeration of the wealth of merchants, saw-mill operators and other Whites by Negroes in all three project communities. The Negroes tend to attribute to these persons millionaire-status and leave no doubt that such wealth has been obtained by exploiting the poor and other evil means. Such an attribution fits in very well with another kind of response observed in the communities - namely, an emphasis on short-run, ad hoc manipulation when dealing with the broader society. They are not equipped in terms of finance, power, and knowledge, to be very effective manipulators but some like to

---

49. Some importance has to be attributed to simply inadequate information and perception of business and other enterprises, related to the general difficulty these Negroes have in coping with the modern world.

believe that they are and refer to occasional incidents where they "bested" merchants and so on. An R.C.M.P. constable perceived rather clearly how this orientation of some Guysborough Negroes applies with respect to the police, "on the average they are a fairly good law-abiding group although they prefer to set up the image that they defy the law". Further, those who do make this kind of response derive some justification for it from the ramifications of the religious definition of the situation, discussed above.

Another kind of individual response involves behaviour that we can call conventional deviance and which includes bootlegging, heavy drinking, acts of violence and sadism on animals. Bootlegging has already been discussed. As for heavy drinking, it appears to be quite common in all these communities. The more well-to-do inhabitants in each community all tended to consider excessive drinking as one of the chief local problems. The participant-observors also noted much drinking especially on week-ends and when persons received their pay. There is a certain toleration of drunkenness by most community residents and they tend to perceive it as a way of "letting off steam". Acts of violence were more numerous than we had expected given police records. In one community, during the two months when a participant-observor was there, there was one murder, one stabbing and several cases of wife-beating. Most of the violence that was observed was not investigated by police and of those investigated only one (the murder) was brought to court. There appears then to be a considerable amount of violence, its most common form being the assault of one's mate. These cases are rarely taken to court. Finally there are a few cases where persons seem to direct their aggression against animals, beating horses, maiming cows and so forth. Much of this conventional deviance we believe is a function of the strain resulting from the pervasive means-ends discrepancy.

In conceptualizing the notion of individual responses above, we have presented data indicating that the Guysborough Negroes have a repertoire of possible ways of dealing with the strain caused by their not having adequate means to achieve goals by the standards of which they judge themselves. The pattern is for most to migrate hoping to achieve elsewhere a better style of life. For the non-migrants there is a scaling-down of goals, an adjustment in standards more in keeping with their concrete situation. This process is abetted by a religious definition of the situation which enables them somewhat to justify these adjustments and handle the guilt and the feelings of non-achievement. For others the process is achieved through reference group selection. Other responses such as conventional deviance have been noted and no doubt further examination would uncover still more ways people respond to such conditions (for example, some - especially the overconformers in school and some of the aged - become social isolates in their community). Any given individual might use a variety of such responses at various moments in his life. What is important though is that there is some collective support of the scaling down process, since otherwise individuals would not be able to neutralize guilt feelings and there would be no basis for collective interaction and co-operation.

However, it would be erroneous to think that by the above means the people become wholly satisfied and contented. None of these individual responses is completely satisfactory. "Conking" of one's hair

still does not mean that one is accepted by reference group members; the religious interpretation is not supported by everyday life and drinking and acts of violence more often than not simply multiply one's feelings of strain, pessimism and frustration. Moreover, involvement in the broader society brings regular reminders of the moral inadequacy of bootlegging, illegitimacy and common-law unions to compound personal feelings of guilt. Thus the Guysborough Negroes live their lives with feelings of distrust, pessimism, anxiety and resentment. These interrelated personality dispositions constitute a syndrome that is usually referred to as alienation. Comparision of White and Negro responses to a conventional alienation index[50] indicate such to be the case. The Negro alienation scores are considerably higher than the Whites in the selected communities - the average score for the three latter communities is eighteen whereas for the project communities the average is twenty-five. As a group the Guysborough Negroes, on the basis of their response to the index, are more alienated towards both other people and general norms than Whites in the selected communities. Moreover, fewer believe that they have any power to influence decisions made by government. Actually there is some variation within the Negro sample. Lincolnville and Sunnyville residents have even higher average alienation scores (average score is twenty-eight). Upper Big Tracadie respondents have an average alienation score which is about the same as those of the selected communities. This difference between Upper Big Tracadie residents and those of Lincolnville and Sunnyville is in line with the findings reported in the chapter on education. The former appear to be more positive in their orientation, better adjusted to means-ends discrepancies and more similar to Whites in comparable communities on most of the questionnaire items. The writer believes a critical factor accounting for this is the greater solidarity of the Upper Big Tracadie group which will be discussed in the next chapter on collective responses.

---

50. The alienation index consisted of twelve previously tested questions with a response range of five varying from strongly agree to strongly disagree. For each question the maximum score was four, the minimum, zero.

Chapter 7

COLLECTIVE RESPONSES

Recent sociological studies have indicated quite clearly a positive relationship between community participation and trust in people.[1] We have already noted that the alienation scores of the Guysborough Negroes (which include alienation from people as well as from norms) were much higher than those obtained by white respondents in the selected communities and that the average scores of Lincolnville and Sunnyville respondents were higher than that of Upper Big Tracadie household heads. Thus we would expect less involvement in community affairs, and fewer effective collective responses among the Guysborough Negroes generally and, especially among Lincolnville and Sunnyville residents. Further most studies have indicated that the most important factor accounting for differential participation in community and other collective activities is socio-economic position. As one investigator reports, "the network of both kin and friends is larger and more tightly-knit among the upper strata than among the lower strata."[2] The two factors chiefly accounting for socio-economic position are education and income. It has been noted that what appears to happen is that the community or the collectivity "drafts its educated people, especially in rural areas where the supply is short."[3] As mentioned earlier,[4] the household heads in the selected communities (as well as in the whole Halifax County unit) have much more formal education than do their counterparts in the Guysborough Negro communities. As indicated by the following table, they also have greater incomes:

---

1. U. Bronfenbenner, "Personality and Participation," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 16, 1960

2. Croade W., "Family Disorganization," in Merton R., and Nisbet, R., Contemporary Social Problems, New York, 1961

3. Bronfenbenner, U., op. cit.

4. See chapter five, pages 69-78.

Table 1: Annual Family Income As Reported By Household Heads, By Type of Community

	Under $2000	$2000-$4000	$4000 +	100% equals
Non-Metro white Halifax County	24%	41%	35%	334
Selected Communities	25%	45%	30%	55
Guysborough Negroes	60%	37%	3%	60

Source: Authors Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

Consequently we can expect also on the basis of socio-economic position, that whites in the selected comminities and in the Halifax County unit will tend to have a higher rate of participation in community and collective action. Since educational achievement and income level is about the same in each of Lincolnville, Sunnyville and Upper Big Tracadie, whatever differences are found among these units concerning collective responses, will have to be explained in other ways.[5]

Before examining the participation rates in the above units, it is important to note the sense in which the term, "community" is being used. There has been and is now a great deal of sociological research with regards to the local community and its supposed decline in recent years. Recent studies have pointed out the extensive and intensive invasion of the local community by the larger society through the mass media, political, economic and other institutions.[6] Others have demonstrated the fragmentation resulting from the affiliation of residents

---

5. More Upper Big Tracadie residents do, however, have clear titles to their land (80% as compared to 5% in Lincolnville and 30% in Sunnyville) and own farms with woodlots (55% compared to 8% in Lincolnville and Sunnyville). About the same proportion in each community have electricity, automobiles or trucks, t11 television and own the houses they live in.

6. See for example, Vidich, A., and Bensman, J., Small Town In a Mass Society, Doubleday 1960

with multiple groups transcending the community.[7] Clearly, local communities no longer have the degree of self-sufficiency and boundedness necessary for them to be conceived of as the "building-blocks of which society is composed." It is no longer heuristic to look at local communities as "total ways of life, complexes of behavior composed of all the institutions necessary to carry on a complete life, formed into a working whole."[8] Of course considerable disagreement exists over whether or not this change in the nature of the local community is good or bad. There is in our society a quite pervasive community ideology[9] - this was evident in the preference for living in small communities reported by the household heads in each type of community and recorded in the previous chapter - and, consequently, a tendency for people at large to see these changes as negative. It seems to the writer however, that modern society still allows for systems of common life but such that are relatively free most of the time from any narrow dependence on a restricted territory. The crucial matter in any case is that people have adequate social ties since such is vital for societal maintenance as well as for personal meaningfulness.

Because of the recent changes in the nature of the local community it is very important that we look for extra-community sources of collective response and compare Negroes and whites in this way as well. Community involvement then, is only one kind of collective action (indeed, one sociologist has recently defined community as "a collective response to conditions of life in a particular territory"[10]). It is to be expected that most of the Guysborough negroes' participation in collective activities will be restricted to the local community (more

---

7. Coleman, J., "Community Disorganization," in Merton, R., and Nisbet, R., Contemporary Social Problems, New York, 1961

8. Martindale,D., American Society, Van Nostrand 1962

9. For an examination of why such an ideology exists, see Dennis, N., "The Popularity of the Neighbourhood Community Idea," Sociological Review Vol. 6, 1958

10. Reiss,A.Jr., "The Sociological Study of Community" Journal of Rural Sociology, Vol. 24, 1959

so than for whites in the selected communities) because of their geographic isolation, transportation problems and the fact that they are Negroes in a predominantly white county. Finally, when examining participation in collective activities - be they restricted to the local community or not - we will be chiefly looking at voluntary, informal patterns. This is because the Guysborough Negro communities - as well as the selected communities and most of the other communities in non-metropolitan Halifax County - do not have a full institutional complement. There are no local political organizations, no local businesses (there are a few in the selected communities) and no encapsulting community organizations. They are considered as communities insofar as each has a well-defined and agreed-upon territorial referent, some organizational structure (i.e., schools and/or churches), and is an interactional unit. Moreover, each place has its own name which serves as a badge of identification for its inhabitants.[11] Consequently, the kinds of collective action to be found in these communities is of a largely informal character.

Interaction

Patterns of Association in the Local Community

Clearly any collective response is predicated on interaction. An integrated area may be considered as one in which there is a substantially large number of personal ties among its residents. An area so integrated will probably be characterized by a large amount of effective collective action. The very fact that there

---

11. Some sociologists would not refer to such units as communities insofar as they lack a full institutional complement. For the very same reason most respondents in Lincolnville and Sunnyville (29 of 40) replied in the negative to the questionnaire item, "do you and those around you think of this area as a community?" However, most Upper Big Tracadie household heads as well as most in the selected communities responded in the affirmative to the same question. Moreover, most definitions of community made by sociologists have been along the same lines as we are following (see Hillery G., "Definitions of Community," Rural Sociology, Vol. 20, 1955). In any event we have clearly specified the sense in which we are using the term "community".

12. Rossi, P., Why Families Move, Free Press Glencae, 1955, p.32.

is a large number of personal ties would be itself a collective response since it implies value consensus and support of everyday behavior-we have already seen how important this is under conditions where there has to be an extensive scaling down of goals. In presenting data on interactional patterns in the local communities, we shall examine, firstly, the overall community pattern and, then, the relative importance of kin as opposed to friends. Most household heads at least regularly, see and exchange greetings with members of a few other local households, as is indicated in the following table:

Table 2: Household Heads' Report of "Seeing" People From Other Local Households, By Type of Community

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan Halifax County
From a Few Households:			
Rarely	0%	2%	1%
Once or Twice/month	2%	0%	2%
weekly or more	98%	98%	97%
From Half the Households:			
Rarely	12%	3%	15%
Once or Twice/month	20%	3%	15%
weekly or more	68%	75%	61%
From Most Households:			
Rarely	48%	45%	63%
Once or Twice/month	30%	27%	22%
weekly or more	22%	28%	15%
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Authors Survey, Spring and Summer 1964.

The above table shows that almost all the household heads in each type of community reported regularly seeing and exchanging greetings with members of at least a few other households. Most reported also doing so with members from half the households in the local community. The smallest amount of such interaction is in the Halifax County unit where a few of the communities are much larger than those of the other units. In the more comparable case - that of the Guysborough Negroes and the whites in the selected communities - there appears to be a small but consistent trend for more interaction to be reported by

white household heads. More important of course, is the visiting pattern in each unit.

Table 13: Household Heads' Report of Visiting With Members of Other Local Households

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan Halifax County
A Few Households:			
Rarely	5%	5%	9%
Once or Twice/month	18%	13%	13%
weekly or more	77%	82%	78%
Half the Households:			
Rarely	67%	59%	73%
Once or Twice/month	33%	41%	27%
Most Households:			
Rarely	92%	92%	96%
Once or Twice/month	8%	8%	4%
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Authors Survey, Sprind and Summer 1964.

Given the small size of our samples, it is probably safe to say that on this gross level there is essentially the same pattern of visiting in all types of communities under investigation here. Most household heads visit very frequently with a few other local households and a goodly number - especially in the selected communities - visit regularly with members of about half the community's households. In each type of community a very small proportion of household heads do not visit at all while an equally small proportion reported fairly frequent visits with members from most other households. Much of this visiting is of the "tea and chat" variety. This is true in all types of communities but especially so among the Guysborough negroes. More white respondents reported visiting of a more formal sort, such as at organizational gatherings or "evenings-out." Among the Guysborough Negro communities, Lincolnville respondents reported a slightly greater amount of visiting; this appears chiefly to be a consequence of the fact that Lincolnville, alone of the Negro communities, has a community center which is a gathering place for bingos and other activities.

It is important to extend our analysis of visiting patterns so as to make more precise our understanding of the average involvement with other households and to determine whether it is with relatives or friends that household heads more often exchange visits. Other studies have indicated that collective responses such as mutual assistance are more likely to occur among interacting relatives.[13] The following table compares the three types of communities in terms of the proportion of household heads having relatives and friends in the local community and the frequency of their visiting with them.

Table IV: Household Heads' Report of Visiting With Friends and Relatives in Local Community

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan white Halifax Co.
Relatives:			
Rarely	30%	7%	13%
Once or Twice/month	17%	14%	19%
weekly or more	35%	57%	43%
no relatives	18%	22%	25%
Friends:			
Rarely	25%	12%	18%
Once or Twice/month	33%	58%	45%
weekly or more	30%	27%	31%
no friends	12%	3%	6%
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer, 1964

Table IV indicates that there are only minor differences among the different types of communities as to the proportion of household heads having relatives in other households in the community. Further, in response to the questionnaire item, "in how many other households in this community, do you have relatives"?, 27% of the respondents

---

13. See for example, Sussman, M., and Burchinal,L., "Kin Family Network" in Croade W., Readings on The Family and Society, New Jersey 1964.

in each unit reported between one and three households while 48% in the Halifax County unit, 51% in the selected communities and 55% in the Negro communities reported more than three such households. Thus the pattern is for about the same proportion of household heads in each type of community to have about the same number of other households of relatives---the Guysborough Negroes appear to have more kin locally but, surprisingly to the writer, the differences are not substantial. What is significant, however, is that the Guysborough negroes reported much less visiting with their local relatives.[14] The proportion of household heads having relatives in the other households but visiting with them only rarely is 17% in the county unit, 8% in the selected communities but 37% in the project communities. The greatest amount of visiting with local relatives was reported by respondents in the selected communities.

Most household heads in each unit reported some visiting with non-relatives in their local community. Again, however, respondents in the Negro communities did, on the whole, less visiting. Of those household heads claiming to have friends locally, 19% in the Halifax County unit, 12% in the selected communities and 28% in the negro communities reported that they visit rarely with such friends. Further, the whites apparently have more friends locally - in response to the question, "in how many other households in this community do you have friends?", 71% of the Halifax County respondents reported more than four such households while 78% did so in the selected communities and only 53% in the negro communities. Once again the greatest amount of visiting with local non-relatives was reported by respondents in the selected communities. Such a fact points to another over-all pattern, namely, those household heads visiting frequently with non-relatives in the community also visited frequently with local relatives if they had any.

---

14. In each type of community the relatives visited with most frequently were firstly, "other" relatives such as cousins and secondly, members of the respondents family of orientation (mother, father, brother, sister). The emphasis is clearly on generational similarity. The fact that little visiting was reported with members of the respondents family of procreation testifies also to the wide-spread migration of the young in these units.

The pattern of informal association reported above indicates quite clearly that there is a good deal of interaction among community residents. The interaction is undoubtedly much more extensive and intensive than we would expect to find in metropolitan centers and larger communities. While this is important to note, a comparison along these lines is inadequate since the style of life in the larger centers may be such that similar patterns of association are not necessary in any sense. After all, the larger centers do have political organizations, businesses, specialized services and so on. Thus, when discussing integration, adequate collective response and so on, the greater informal association in small communities sensitizes us to alternate kinds of integration (ie. visiting as opposed perhaps to formal city government) but on appreciation of its significance necessitates looking at comparable communities. From this point of view the amount and nature of the informal association in the negro communities[15] is not so impressive. Whites in the selected communities and in the Halifax County unit as a whole, have more households of "friends" and visit with them more regularly. Also, while they do not have more kin locally, they do visit with those they have more frequently than is the case among the Guysborough negroes. There is then some support for the hypothesis suggested earlier; namely, that the network of both kin and friends would be larger and more tightly-knit among the White study communities than among the Guysborough Negroes. Further, it is in the selected communities - most comparable to the project communities - in size, socio-economic homogeneity and distance from any metropolitan centre - that these differences are most clearly seen. In all of these small communities, however, the network of involvement does not include all the households. Usually, each household has intensive associations with a limited number of other households. More often than not, these other households contain non-

---

15. More visiting with both friends and relatives was reported by Lincolnville residents. There were no significant differences among the Negro communities as to the number of households of relatives and non-relatives visited with.

relatives[16] but when they do contain relatives, the connection is closer (this is especially true for the white communities and is not noticeable in the Negro communities).

Patterns of Association Outside the Local Community

In discussing patterns of association outside the local community, our critical dimensions will be relationship and location. Thus we will examine whether such association is with friends or relatives or if both, to what extent, and secondly, whether the people with whom the respondents interact live in the neighbouring small communities or in the more distant urban centers. In the case of respondents in the selected communities and non-metropolitan Halifax County generally, the urban center considered is Halifax-Dartmouth while for the Guysborough negroes it is Sydney. The following table compares the three types of communities in terms of the proportion of household heads having friends and relatives in the small neighbouring communities and the frequency of their visiting with them.

Table 5: Household Heads' Report of Visiting With Friends and Relatives in Neighbouring Communities

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan White Halifax Co.
Relatives:			
Rarely	55%	27%	29%
Once or twice/month or more	23%	45%	30%
no Relatives	22%	28%	41%
Friends:			
Rarely	62%	65%	53%
Once or twice/month or more	32%	20%	23%
No Friends	6%	15%	24%
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Authors Survey, Spring and Summer 1964

ce in

the local community.

16. These friends tend to be of the same nationality and religion as the reppondents but tend to be different in political affiliation and length of residente

Table 5 indicates that most respondents in each type of community do have relatives in the surrounding area, although it is clear that the proportion of such respondents is less in the Halifax County unit. No important differences were found as to the number of such relatives reported by household heads in the different communities. However, whites visited more frequently[17] with their relatives - of those household heads having relatives in the neighbouring communities, 51% in the Halifax County unit, 63% in the selected communities but only 30% in the Guysborough negro communities[18] reported visiting with them once or twice per month or more. Once again it appears that the network of association tends to be more closely-knit among respondents in the white communities, especially among those in the selected communities. At the same time, it should be noted that much less association is reported, by respondents in all three types of communities, with relatives in the community. The proportion of respondents having relatives in the surrounding area is less than the proportion having relatives in the local community and further, of those having relatives in both places, about 30% in each type of community reported less visiting with the relatives in the surrounding area.

Similarily, Table 5 shows that most respondents in each type of community have friends in the surrounding area. Interesting enough, the Guysborough Negroes reported slightly greater involvement with friends in these places. There were no differences among the three types of communities as to the number of such friends reported but a larger proportion of Negro respondents claimed to have friends in the surrounding area and, presumably, visited with them slightly more frequently - of the household heads

---

17. The questionnaire used in this survey obtained data on how frequently respondents visited friends and relatives in the surrounding area and in the urban centers, and also, how frequently they were in turn, visited by these friends and relatives. In this section we only present data on the respondents' visiting. It does not seem necessary to present data on how frequently the respondents were visited since analysis has indicated an overwhelming tendency for symmetry - those who visit rarely are themselves visited rarely and so forth.

18. No significant differences were found among the three Negro communities as to the proportion of respondents having relatives in the area and the frequency of their visiting with them.

having friends in the nearby communities, 30% in the Halifax County unit, 24% in the selected communities and 34% in the Negro communities reported visiting with them once or twice per month or more. It is to be noted that the proportion of household heads visiting frequently with relatives in the surrounding area is much less than the proportion visiting with friends in the local community - the difference is a full fifty per cent among respondents in the white communities who have friends in both places and, correspondingly among the Guysborough Negroes,[19] forty per cent. It is clear then, that while most household heads do have friends in the neighbouring communities, only for a small proportion in each type of community can we say that the association constitutes a closely-knit network.

In sum, we can say that in all three types of communities, there is a clear pattern for respondents to have greater interaction with relatives and friends in the local community than with those in the nearby area. Also in all units the household heads more often have friends than relatives in the surrounding area. The majority of the white household heads having relatives in neighbouring communities interact fairly frequently with these relatives while only a much smaller proportion of them interact as frequently with their friends in such places. Among the Guysborough Negroes the pattern is the same for both friends and relatives - a small proportion (about 30%) of the respondents having relatives (or friends) in the surrounding area interact with them fairly frequently. Finally, it should be noted that respondents interacting infrequently with friends and relatives in the local community also interacted infrequently with friends and relatives in the nearby communities. Generally the greatest amount of extra-community interaction was done by those who were the most involved in the local community.

The following table compares the three types of communities in terms of the proportion of household heads having friends and relatives in the nearest urban centers and the frequency of their visiting with them.

---

19. No significant differences were found among the three Negro communities as to the proportion of respondents having friends in the area and the frequency of their visiting with them.

Table 6: Household Heads' Report of Visiting With Friends and Relatives in Nearby Urban Centers

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan White Halifax Co.
Relatives:			
Rarely	72%	62%	51%
Once or twice/month or more	2%	22%	30%
No Relatives	26%	16%	19%
Friends:			
Rarely	85%	65%	62%
Once or twice/month or more	3	15%	19%
No Friends	12%	20%	19%
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964.

Most household heads in each type of community claimed to have both friends and relatives in the nearby urban centers. However only a small minority visited fairly frequently with these relatives and friends. And there was a noticeable pattern in each type of community whereby those respondents visiting fairly frequently with relatives in the urban centers also visited with friends there. Similarly, those respondents reporting infrequent interaction with such relatives (or having no relatives in these centers) also reported either no friends in the city or infrequent visiting with whatever friends they had. Nevertheless, there were some differences among the different types of communities. The most important difference was that, of those household heads having friends and relatives there, more Whites interacted frequently with such relatives and friends. So, although it pertains only to a minority in the white communities, we can still say that the association with friends and relatives in urban centers tends to a constitute a closely-knit network more often among those in the selected communities and in the Halifax County unit.

Finally, it should be noted that no differences of any kind were found among the Guysborough Negro communities themselves.

In conclusion the following points can be made concerning patterns of association in the different types of communities:

1. Most respondents in each type of community reported having friends and relatives in the local community in the surrounding area and in the nearest urban center.

2. In each type of community, the greater amount of interaction reported by the household heads was with persons in the local community, then in the nearby communities and lastly in the urban centers.

3. Respondents in the White communities interacted much more frequently with their relatives in each of the local community, the surrounding area and the urban center.

4. Respondents in the White communities interacted much more frequently with their friends in the local community and the urban center. About the same amount of interaction was reported by both Negro and White household heads with friends in the surrounding area.

5. More respondents in the Guysborough Negro communities claimed to have relatives in the local community and in the nearby communities. Further, a higher proportion of Negro than White household heads claimed to have friends in the surrounding area and the nearest urban center.

6. From the reports of the household heads regarding visiting patterns we can say that, for the White respondents the network of kin is more closely-knit than that of friends in each of the local community, the surrounding area and the urban center. No clear distinction between such networks was observed among the Guysborough Negroes.

7. There were only minor differences among the Guysborough Negro communities. Lincolnville respondents reported more visiting with friends and relatives in the local community and this was the only substantial difference among Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville.

8. In each type of community it was found that visiting patterns were "reinforcing" not "compensatory"; that is, those interacting frequently with relatives tended to interact frequently with friends, and similarly, those interacting frequently with others in the local community, tended to interact frequently with others outside the community.

9. Household heads in the Halifax County unit and especially those in the selected communities, were more often involved in closely-knit networks with relatives and friends, both inside the community and beyond it, than were household heads in the Guysborough Negro communities.

Patterns of Organizational Involvement

It was noted earlier that in small communities, such as we are dealing with here, and especially in small communities lacking a full institutional complement, collective action is largely of an informal nature. In such communities there are usually few organizations with which residents can be affiliated. This is certainly the case in the communities under investigation here. Aside from religious organizations, most household heads do not belong to any other organizations. This is especially true among the Guysborough Negroes where 100% of the respondents reported no organizational participation other than a religious one. It also holds for most of the household heads in the selected communities and in the Halifax County unit as a whole though 25% of the respondents in both types of communities claimed affiliation with at least one other local organization. Actually a few household heads in the Guysborough Negro communities are involved with a non-religious local organization, insofar as they are school-trustees. However, none of the school-trustees reported this association on the questionnaire, presumably because the school-trustee board in each community has a very loose structure, very limited powers and rarely, if ever meets as a unit. It certainly is not an active organization. Similarly, several respondents in the White communities could be said to be affiliated with a political organization insofar as around election-time, they work, for their favourite party, in the local community, as a unit.

Most household heads in each type of community belong to some religious group. The proportion of household heads claiming to be not so affiliated was 12% in the Guysborough Negro and the selected communities and 8% in the Halifax County unit. Most respondents reported that the church they attend is in the local community. This was true for 65% of the household heads in the Guysborough Negro communities, 60% in the selected communities and 69% in the Halifax County unit. Among the Guysborough Negro communities, it was the Lincolnville residents who accounted largely for the percentage attending a church outside the community. Most Lincolnville residents are Baptists and attend the church in Upper Big Tracadie. In terms of attendance

at church services, there was a slight tendency for more household heads in the selected communities and in the Halifax County unit to be "high-attenders." Certainly a higher percentage of respondents in the Negro communities reported only infrequently attending church services than did respondents in the selected communities.[20] As to involvement in church-related activities, about the same proportion of household heads (about 25%) in each type of community reported belonging to at least one church organization. So, with the exception that fewer respondents in the selected communities reported infrequently attending church services, there are no important differences as regards participation in religious organizations among household heads in the three types of communities.[21]

There is, also, little involvement by household heads in non-religious organizations that are beyond the local communities. A handful of Guysborough Negroes belong to trade-unions and veterans' groups. Such is also the case in the selected communities and in the Halifax County unit where only a slightly greater proportion of respondents reported any non-local organizational involvement. We can conclude then, that apart from their religious association, most household heads in each type of community do not belong to any formally organized interest group. The differences that there are among these units point to slightly greater participation by respondents in the white communities. The fact that there is little organizational participation among household heads in the different types of communities underlines the importance of informal interaction inside and outside the local community. It also highlights the crucial role played by governmental and other agencies of the broader society. The collective aspects of the Guysborough Negroes' relations with these agencies will be discussed later in this chapter.

The general pattern of association - informal and organizational - found in the different types of communities, appears to have some stability. Most respondents in each type of community reported that their organizational participation has neither increased nor decreased over the past several years - at least, over 90% in all in all units reported this. Similarly, over 90% of the household heads in each type of community reported that there has been no change in recent years in their close friends, the number and specific people remaining the same. However, a small minority of the household heads, in each type of community, reported an increase in their social ties over the past several years - 25% in the Guysborough Negro communities and 35% in the selected communities and the Halifax County unit. Only a handful of respondents reported a decrease in their social ties. We can be quite confident,then, that the patterns of association reported above are indicative of the day-by-day regular action in the community.

---

20. See Chapter 6, p. 145 for this table on church attendance.

21. There were no important differences among respondents in Upper Big Tracadie, Lincolnville and Sunnyville.

In discussing interaction in the local community we have chiefly been working with data obtained by questionnaires. And we have presented interaction patterns from the perspective of household heads' participation. The patterns described on this basis among the Guysborough Negroes at least, are quite in keeping with observations made by the participant-observors. Presenting the interactional picture in terms of questionnaire data, then, is simply a straight-forward, economical way of describing observations made in the field. The question however, can be asked - are the households in the local community more closely-knit as a result of the interactions of other family members such as spouses and children? There appears to be no more interaction from the perspective of the spouses than from that of the household heads. The household heads in each community were sampled in such a way that we obtained an approximately equal number of males and females. Cursory examination of male as opposed to female interaction indicates no important differences. Further, in response to a questionnaire item specifically concerned with the interaction pattern of the spouse, as many household heads reported less interaction by the spouse as reported more. Clearly then, the data we have presented is not mitigated by sex differences.

It is impossible for us to compare the interactional patterns in the different types of communities from the point-of-view of children and other dependents of the household heads - the data is simply not available in the case of the selected communities and the Halifax County unit generally. Nevertheless, some patterns can be described among the Guysborough Negroes. Adult dependents of the household heads, such as incapacitated fathers and mothers, on the whole, interact much less frequently both inside and outside the local community. In none of the Negro communities are there strong ties of association among these people as a categroy. Their interaction is quite restricted to the household. As for children, they do appear to connect the household with other households in the local community more often than the household heads do. In each Guysborough Negro community, children interacted frequently with one another, with only a few exceptions. Their groupings were largely by sex and age but those of the same age and sex interacted freely. This is confirmed by questionnaire data where respondents in the Negro communities (and in the selected communities and the Halifax County unit as well) reported that their children "visited" more often with members of other households than they did. While the writer does not believe interaction among children to be

unimportant to the question of community integration[22] obviously they have to be considered separately.

The fact is then, that among household heads (and the adult population generally) there is in the Guysborough Negro communities less interaction than in the selected communities and the Halifax County unit. The Guysborough Negroes as often, if not more often, report having friends and relatives inside and outside the local community but fewer have closely-knit networks of friends and relatives. The problem is to ascertain the chief factors accounting for this apparent interaction-restriction and outline how such factors operate in everyday life. It has already been mentioned that the greater geographic isolation, transportation problems and minority group status (minority in terms of both population and socio-economic position) of these Negroes accounts largely for the fact that they interact less frequently with others outside the local community. It is also easy to see the operation of educational and income factors as creating obstacles to interaction. With little formal education, the Guysborough Negroes find coping with the complexities of modern life very difficult. In seeking information on and answers to these complexities, it is of little use to refer to other local household heads who also are lacking in education. From this point of view, interaction carries few rewards. It is interesting to note, by the way, that the informal leaders in these communities are the few adults who have some high school education. The small incomes of the household heads also constitutes a barrier to interaction insofar as, in practice, it means that others are always seeking some of one's scarce supply and that one cannot look up to others for even short-run assistance. A good example of this is the case of one man in Lincolnville who had only forty cents to get a package of cigarettes and lacked an automobile to take him ten miles to a store. He asked another man who had a car and a little gas but was without money, to give him a "lift". If the latter had obliged he would have used up his gas and still been without funds and, consequently, unable to go for work, if work became available. It is apparent that one is thus in a dilemma - refusal means a break in interaction, obliging means further, important deprivation.

---

22. An anthropologist has commented recently on the importance of the child (ie. a non-person) in the parish gossip systems of a small community in Newfoundland. He pointed out that the function of the child is that of facilitating appropriate front-stage and back-stage adult behavior, since the child's action prevents the exposure of the adults "private life" and obtains information on the "private life" of other adults in the parish.

Mutual Assistance

Given the fact that their networks of relatives and friends are not closely knit, it is to be expected that there will be less mutual assistance among household heads in the Guysborough Negro communities than among those in the selected communities and the Halifax County unit. Before presenting data on patterns of mutual assistance, it is important to determine what standards the household heads have with respect to mutual assistance among relatives and friends. To obtain such information we used an index whereby respondents were asked if they felt obliged to help relatives and/or friends in various ways, if such assistance were necessary. Most household heads in each type of community responded in essentially similar fashion - they reported feeling obliged to help both friends and relatives with money, advice, work and food and clothing. Further, most household heads apparently did not feel obliged to take side with their friends and relatives in the latters' quarrels or troubles - this was the upper limit of their feelings of obligation. The unanimity of response is indicated in the following table.

Table 7: Household Heads' Sense of Obligation to Help Relatives and Friends, By Type of Community

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan White Halifax Co.
With Food & Clothing:			
Yes, for Relatives & Friends	100%	98%	94%
No, for Relatives & Friends	-	2	5
Only Relatives	-	-	1
Only Friends	-	-	-
With Work:			
Yes, for Relatives & Friends	98%	98%	90%
No, for Relatives & Friends	2	2	9
Only Relatives	-	-	1
Only Friends	-	-	-
With Money:			
Yes, for Relatives & Friends	95%	85%	76%
No, for Relatives & Friends	2	10	13
Only Relatives	2	3	9
Only Friends	1	2	2

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan White Halifax Co.
With Advice:			
Yes, Relatives & Friends	90%	83%	72%
No, Relatives & Friends	7	15	24
Only Relatives	2	2	4
Only Friends	1	-	-
Taking Their Side:			
Yes, Relatives & Friends	22%	17%	5%
No, Relatives & Friends	78	76	92
Only Relatives	-	7	2
Only Friends	-	-	1
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964.

A reading of table 7 clearly indicates an overwhelming similarity among household heads on each item. No substantial difference appears in their orientation to relatives as opposed to friends. Especially similar are respondents in the more comparable communities, the Guysborough Negro and the selected communities. The Guysborough Negroes, then, subscribe, in at least the same degree, to the same normative standards (another example of the official morality?) as white respondents, concerning obligations to help friends and relatives. Yet our previous analysis leads us to expect less mutual assistance in the Negro communities. If this expectation is confirmed, we must account for it, not by referring to values but by examining the concrete situation in which the Negroes find themselves.

Table VIII: Household Heads' Report of Mutual Assistance With Other Households, By Type of Community

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan White Halifax Co.
With a Few Households:			
Rarely	37%	10%	24%
Sometimes	22	38	40
Frequently	41	52	36
With Half the Households:			
Rarely	68%	72%	81%
Sometimes	32	28	19
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964.

Most household heads reported mutual assistance patterns with a few other households in the local community but more Guysborough Negro respondents reported no such network. The largest proportion of respondents reporting mutual assistance with at least a few other households was found in the selected communities. A minority of respondents reported some such cooperation with about half the community's households - here, about the same proportion in both the selected communities and the Guysborough Negro communities. Very few respondents in each type of community reported a mutual assistance network including most local households and so this category has not been included in the table among the Guysborough Negro communities, the largest proportion of household heads reporting mutual assistance patterns was the Upper Big Tracadie group.

Table 9 presents data on mutual assistance patterns with friends and relatives in the local community

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan White Halifax Co.
With Relatives:			
Rarely	36%	20%	22%
Sometimes	20	20	22
Frequently	26	38	32
No Relations	18	22	24
With Friends:			
Rarely	37%	17%	31%
Sometimes	23	40	37
Frequently	40	43	32
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964.

The above table indicates that, while slightly more Guysborough Negro respondents have relatives in other households in the local community, fewer engage in mutual assistance with them than respondents in the selected communities or the Halifax County unit. Of those reporting relatives elsewhere in the local community, 44% of the Negro respondents, as compared to about 27% of those in the other units, reported that they rarely help one another.[23] As could be expected from our discussion of

23. There is, however, no difference among the household needs in each type of community who report ties of mutual assistance, concerning the importance of the mutual assistance. An approximate equal proportion consider it very important.

standards of mutual assistance, Table 9 also indicates that there are no important differences between the networks of relatives and friends in any of the different types of community. As much mutual assistance is reported with friends as with relatives. Once again it is apparent that those household heads in the selected community more often have networks of cooperation with friends than do the household heads in the Guysborough Negro communities. Among the three Guysborough Negro communities, the greatest amount of mutual assistance with friends and relatives was reported by Upper Big Tracadie respondents. Finally, it should be noted that in all types of communities, the patterns of mutual assistance, like those of interaction generally, are reinforcing not compensatory and so, it is those engaged in mutual assistance with relatives who engage in mutual assistance with friends.

Not only is there less mutual assistance reported in the Guysborough Negro communities, especially as compared to the selected communities, but the Negro household heads' mutual assistance is more clearly restricted to the local community. This is apparent in the following table which compares the different types of communities in terms of the amount of mutual assistance the respective household heads report with friends and relatives in the area:

Table 10: Household Heads' Report of Mutual Assistance With Friends and Relatives In The Area, By Type of Community

	Guysborough Negroes	Selected Communities	Non-Metropolitan White Halifax Co.
With Relatives:			
Rarely	55%	29%	32%
Sometimes or More	23	43	27
No Relatives	22	28	41
With Friends:			
Rarely	67%	43%	46%
Sometimes or More	27	42	30
No Friends	6	15	24
100% equals	(60)	(60)	(360)

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964.

It is clear from table X that only a minority of household heads in each type of community engage in mutual assistance with relatives and friends in the surrounding area - although, in the case of the selected communities, the minority is a large one. The percentage of household heads reporting at least

some mutual assistance with relatives is, in all types of communities, substantially similar to the proportion so involved with friends, more often than not, it is the same respondents who engage in the mutual assistance with these friends and relatives. Not only is there more mutual assistance reported by respondents in the selected communities but the connection with relatives in the nearby communities, as regards mutual assistance, is much greater among the White respondents - of those having relatives in these places, 70% in the Guysborough Negro communities but only 37% in the selected communities and 49% in the whole Halifax County unit, report no (rarely) ties of mutual assistance. A similar difference in cohesion can be found with regards to friends - of those having friends in the nearby communities, 71% in the Guysborough Negro communities but only 51% in the selected communities and 60% in the Halifax County unit report no ties of mutual assistance. There is no need to present tables on household heads' ties of mutual assistance with friends and relatives in the nearest urban centers. Only one or two Negro respondents reported any such ties - a larger proportion of household heads (about 20%) in the selected communities and the Halifax County unit claimed that they engage in mutual assistance with friends and relatives in the city. In summary, we can say that only a small proportion of household heads in the project communities have significant ties of mutual assistance with friends and relatives outside the community - a proportion much smaller than that found among respondents in the comparable selected communities. When respondents in the Halifax County unit and in the selected communities do have friends and relatives outside the local community, they are definitely more closely involved with them. Finally, the Negro communities are not identical in terms of non-local patterns of mutual assistance - more Upper Big Tracadie respondents reported cooperation with friends and relatives in the surrounding area.

The Guysborough Negroes, then, while reporting less mutual assistance in their local communities than the respondents in the selected communities, depend, it might appear, more on these local patterns of cooperation since they have, on the whole, almost no ties of mutual assistance effective outside the local community. However, not only do fewer Guysborough Negro household heads engage in mutual assistance but fewer also believe they could count on the assistance of others in an emergency. This is indicated in the following table which compares the responses of household heads in the different types of communities to the question - "suppose you had a house here in this community and it burned down and you had no insurance and were hard up; who would you feel you could count for help to build it up again and how much"?

Table 11: Household Heads' Report Of Being Able To Count Upon Others In An Emergency By Type of Community

	Guysborough Negroes		Selected Communities		Non-Metropolitan White Halifax Co.	
On The Community Generally	#	%	#	%	#	%
Little or None	30	50	7	12	76	21
Some or Much	30	50	53	88	282	79
On Relatives and Close Friends						
Little or None	24	40	7	12	56	16
Some or Much	36	60	53	88	303	84

Source: Author's Survey, Spring and Summer 1964.

Roughly, there is no difference drawn by respondents in the different types of communities as to their being able to count on the community generally, as opposed to relatives and close friends. In each case a majority of the respondents believe assistance - some or much - would be forthcoming. However, there is a very clear difference among the different types of communities. A significantly larger proportion of household heads in the selected communities and in the whole Halifax County unit believe that they would receive significant aid in an emergency. There were no important differences in response among the Guysborough Negro communities themselves but a slightly larger proportion of Upper Big Tracadie household heads believed that they could count, at least somewhat, on assistance from others.

The mutual assistance patterns among the Guysborough Negroes, presented above in tabular form, are borne out in general by field-observation. The greatest amount of mutual assistance was observed to be among Upper Big Tracadie residents where the kind of assistance given and received more often pertained to economic activity - that is, while much of the mutual assistance among Lincolnville and Sunnyville household heads involved the lending and borrowing of household items and so forth, mutual assistance in Upper Big Tracadie entailed help with haying, hauling logs, animals, tools, etc. In other words, the fact that Upper Big Tracadie residents more often lived on farms with woodlots than did the residents of the other communities, means that there was greater opportunity among them for mutual assistance, meaningful to the subsistence activities of each, and involving time and muscle but not money and "perishable" items such as food and gas. The different ecological basis of Upper Big Tracadie, then, seems accountable for the variation in mutual assistance found among the three communities. As

confirmation of this interpretation we can point to the fact that several residents of Lincolnville and Sunnyville claimed that "people would like to help but simply cannot," the implication being that help would entail the consumption of scarce - ie., other than time and muscle - supplies. In Lincolnville and Sunnyville when people want assistance it is usually money, a ride to the store or food that is being requested.[24] Given the low incomes and the uncertainty of employment which obstruct the working-out of exchanges, lending is hazardous and one's deprivation quite often would only be heightened by cooperation. Thus low socio-economic status means a kind of "vicious circle" with regards to mutual assistance - these are the people who are the most deprived and in the greatest need of mutual assistance but their situation leads to much less cooperation than is the case among those who are "better-off" and consequently in less need.:" Knowledge of these conditions makes understandable the comment of one Lincolnville woman, "Ain't no charity here, just help with a pail of water from the well sometimes; that's all the charity here". Low incomes and uncertainty of employment are much more prevalent in the Negro communities than in the selected communities and appear to largely account for the differences found in the amount of mutual assistance among the household heads.

---

24. The lending and borrowing of such items is also a source of tension in Upper Big Tracadie. One woman, for example, encourages her husband to render assistance to others in haying and so forth, but nags him terribly whenever he gives people a lift to the store in his automobile without charging them.

November 30, 1965

- Copy of Letter of Transmittal -

Hon. James M. Harding
Minister of Public Welfare
Province of Nova Scotia
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Dear Mr. Minister:

I enclose a copy of the final Report of the socio-economic study and recommendations concerning Sunnyville, Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County. This project was conducted under ARDA contract no. 3044. On October 5th last I transmitted to you a copy of the report in final form as to substance, but subject to slight editorial change not affecting the substance.

As has been agreed in conversation with Mr. F.R. MacKinnon, Deputy Minister, and Mr. George H. Matthews, Director of the Social Development Division of your Department, the Foreword and the "Synoptic Perspective: Summary and Essential Findings" are for such distribution or public release as your Department may wish to make. Distribution or release of the historical section would present no problem from our point of view.

We have made it clear, however, that the Institute of Public Affairs has transmitted the sociological materials of the other sections to the Department of Public Welfare for the confidential information of your professional social workers and for essential administrative purposes, but with the stipulation that these sections will not be released or distributed to others. We have appreciated their assurance that these materials will be treated as strictly confidential within the Department of Public Welfare in this manner.

It will be recalled that the Department indicated at the beginning that it wished to have the study and recommendations purely for its own internal purposes, and did not contemplate publication of the Report. We have, however, anticipated that the Department may wish or deem it necessary to transmit to others certain essential results of the study, and we have prepared the Foreword and the "Synoptic Perspective" for your use, if so desired, in this way.

As indicated in the Foreword we have rendered the research results to Mr. Matthews by verbal communication during the past year, since the end of March, by draft sections or chapters as they became available. We have gone beyond the normal limits in order to make the report as comprehensive and useful as possible, and we are prepared to maintain interest and co-operation in providing additional information from the survey results and other sources.

Yours very truly,

Guy Henson
Director

GH:sp

c.c. - Dr. George R. Smith, ARDA Director for Nova Scotia