EAST INDIANS IN WINNIPEG

(A STUDY OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF IMMIGRATION

FOR AN ETHNIC GROUP IN CANADA)

A Thesis

Presented to

The Department of Sociology

The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

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1971

ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken basically to explore the consequences of the immigration experience for East Indian Immigrants in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

As former studies of East Indians in Canada were narrow in scope dealing with segments of the East Indian population either from a specific region or from a specific profession, this pilot study was designed to explore the characteristics of a random sample of all immigrants from India, in Winnipeg, regardless of caste, creed or occupation. Numerically the sample consisted of seventy-two respondents representing twenty-five percent of the East Indian population in Winnipeg. Data were obtained through interviews and were recorded on an interview schedule. Further information was gathered through participant observation.

The analysis showed that the East Indian respondents in the sample were predominantly male, married, with an average of two children per family. Their average age was thirty-three years and most were from urban areas in India. They represented all the major castes (except the untouchables) and all the major religions of India, except Jainism and Buddhism. Most claimed middle-class origins and most had at least one college degree.

In Winnipeg most East Indians are professionals holding well-paid jobs. They are well-integrated economically and residentially into society but maintain structural separatism at the primary group level. Most have partially achieved the objectives for which they had emigrated. The aspects of the Canadian way of life which appealed to them are related to the secondary group characteristics of anonymity, individuality and independence. The factors from the East Indian mode of life which they cherish are those pertaining to the primary group level of family and friends, the strong parent-child relationships and care for the aged. Since these primary and secondary group values are at different levels of social interaction they do not clash. Hence, as a group, East Indians do not experience tension and conflict of values and appear to have the best of both worlds.

As an immigrant group to Canada their contribution lies in providing wanted skills. They are self supporting almost from the day of arrival. As they are not segregated residentially, they are paving the way for gradual acceptance on an equal status basis. They do not compete with Canadians for spouses and hence another tension-causing area in inter-group relationships has been removed.

One of the objectives of this research was to learn where and when caste norms are applied by East Indians in

Canada. The literature pointed to caste as a significant variable for East Indians in India and for East Indian immigrants in East and Central Africa. In these traditional/tribal societies social status is determined by ascription rather than by the individual's achievements.

This study found that even in Winnipeg most of the East Indian respondents regard caste as an important factor in mate-selection. The same respondents stated however, that caste was not essential in Canada, because individuals in Canadian society are able to gain prestige by achievement rather than by ascription. Traditional caste practices like the taboos on avoidable social contacts were being broken. Most respondents stated that they were eating non-vegetarian dishes and even partying with non-caste members, East Indian and Canadian alike.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

> Immigration raises the problem of what kinds
> of strangers and how many shall become part
> of us, to work and vote, marry our daughters
> and share our goals.[1]

Introduction

During the last fifteen years, sociologists have

been turning their attention, once again to the study of

immigrant ethnic groups.[2] A reason for this renewed inter-

est in immigrant groups is that American Sociologists are

surprised by the fact that culturally distinct ethnic groups

have continued to exist in society long after the Golden Age

of Immigration had come to an end. No one thought that such

ethnic groups were going to survive for so long, and so,

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[1]Kingsley Davis, "Preface" to William Peterson,
Planned Migration. The Social Determinants of the Dutch-
Canadian Movement. University of California Press, Berkeley
and Los Angeles, California, 1955, Vol. II, p. V.

[2]Andrew M. Greeley, "American Sociology and the
Study of Ethnic Immigrant Groups" in International Migration
Digest, Vol. II, 1969, also see B. Blishen et al. (eds.)
Canadian Society, 3rd edition McMillan, Toronto, 1968, for
some studies. Also Anthony Richmond, Post War Immigrants in
Canada, Toronto University Press, 1967. G. Beijer, "Select-
ive Migration for 'Brain Drain' from Latin America," Inter-
national Migration, Vol. IV, 1966. D. J. Lawless, "The
Emigrating of British Graduates to Canada." Occupational
Psychology, Vol. 33, 1965. S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption
of Immigrants, Routledge and Paul Kegan, London, 1954.

most social scientists had turned to other interests.[3]

Since the Second World War, however, "it has become increasingly clear that for the foreseeable future the various nationalities and their religious groups will retain their identities."[4] Sociologists have, for some time now, realized that the set of theoretical concepts--conflict, accommodation, competition and assimilation--as well as the derived concepts of marginality and the marginal man, formulated by Robert E. Park and others some forty-five years ago, are inadequate to explain the immigration phenomena.[5] Park's concepts, mentioned above, had led to the implicit belief that the immigrant could expect in the long run to be assimilated. However, those concepts were being contradicted by the survival of various hyphenated cultural groups in society today. Immigration and assimilation, it seems, are

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[3]One of the original justifications for the existence of American Sociology was the study of immigrant groups according to Edward Shils, The Present State of American Sociology, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1948. But interest in them dwindled after the flood of immigrants had been stemmed. See Andrew M. Greeley, "American Sociology and the Study of Ethnic Immigrant Groups," International Migration Digest, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1964, p. 108.

[4]Andrew M. Greeley, ibid., p. 109.

[5]Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, Cambridge M.I.T., Harvard, 1963; Eric Rosenthal, "Acculturation without Assimilation," The American Journal of Sociology, XLVI, and Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, 1964.

not necessarily inevitable. Some immigrants have re-
immigrated, while others have formed enclaves in the
recipient country.[6]

Further, with the improvements in the methods of
transportation and communication and the speeding up of the
processes of urbanization and industrialization, increasing
numbers of people have found greater freedom to migrate
available to them.[7] A number of nations of the world view
this footloose population as an _elite_ which, for them, is a
potential source of _brain gains_ or _brain drains_. Some, like
the U.S.A. and Canada, have already revised their immigra-
tion policies; others, like Australia and Britain, are
considering a review of their immigration policy.[8]

During the past decade, the studies done on the
modern-day immigrant have been specific and particular, in
that they have dealt with either the positive contribution

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[6]Eric Rosenthal, _op. cit._, p. 275 ff.

[7]The term _migration_ is operationally defined here
as the relatively permanent moving away of an individual or
a group of individuals (called migrants) from one social
setting to another. This movement involves the abandoning
of one social group and the entering of another different
one. When it takes place within the political boundaries of
a country, the term internal migration will be used. When
beyond political boundaries the term immigration or inter-
national migration will be used.

[8]The U.S.A. and Canada revised their immigration
policies in the sixties. Australia's immigration policy is
presently subject of public debate, while Britain's policy
has been under attack for some time.

made by immigrants or the economic consequences of migration for the donor and the recipient countries.[9] Few recent studies have made the immigrant group the main focus of research; and fewer have "...ventured any theoretical statements and most of them did not suggest any theoretical impact for their empirical findings."[10] The present research was prompted by this dearth of studies on the immigrant groups themselves, for what happens to the immigrant group after immigration is the touchstone of success or failure both to the group that made the move and to the Host Country that received the newcomers.

The results of the migration experience may be satisfaction with the new country. If so, the migrants benefit and the Host Country also benefits through a numerical gain in population, which is one of the functions of present day immigration policy. But the Host Country also benefits through a gain in a much desired resource--certain types of skilled and professional personnel--which is being actively sought throughout the world today by certain

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[9] A Symposium prepared for Unesco by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association, _The Positive Contribution by Immigrants_. Unesco, 1955.

[10] J. J. Mangalam, _Human Migration. A Guide to Migration Literature in English, 1955-1962_. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1968, p. 1.

industrial societies like Canada, Australia and South Africa.

If the immigrants are not satisfied in the new country, isolation into enclaves, or economic or social stress, or even re-immigration could result. These possibilities apply, regardless of whether these persons move internally from rural to urban regions or internationally from one geographical or cultural area to another. The need to study this aspect--the results of the immigration experience--cannot be ignored any longer, especially when Canada recognizes its dependence on immigrants to help its society achieve its goals.

The Problem

(i) Statement of the Problem. The purpose of this research is to study an immigrant group that lives and works in and around a metropolitan area in Canada. Its objective is to explore (a) the motives that prompted East Indians to migrate to Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada,[11] and (b) the results of the migration experience for them, not only in terms of their economic absorption in the Host Country, but also in terms of subjective satisfaction criteria like their

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[11]The term East Indian will refer to persons from India. For a rationale for this, please turn to p. 14 ff.

Canadian life experiences, social mobility, social identity.

The motives for migration of immigrants were explored in this research because the reasons prompting migration colour the immigrant's image of the new society. Such motivation "...conditions his predisposition to adapt or not adapt himself to the new cultural context."[12] The various reasons behind migration are also closely related to the 'results of the migration experience' and hence form important independent variables in the study. It is assumed that the East Indian group being studied would encounter situations after immigration which in some respects were:

First, similar to those situations encountered by most immigrant groups coming to Canada.

Second, were similar to those situations encountered by physically visible migrants in Canada and

Third, were unique to East Indians themselves as a group.

First, for most immigrant groups immigration means a change in the social setting with ensuing changes in social relationships, food habits and customs. The immigrant from South Eastern Europe, for instance, has to master the

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[12]Guido Baglioni, "Trends in the studies on the socio-cultural integration of immigrants" in _International Migration Digest_, Vol. 1, No. 2. Missionary of St. Charles, New York, 1964, p. 127.

language and familiarize himself with the general workings
of the different institutions before he can feel at home in
the New Country. He experiences, however, little trouble in
identifying and incorporating the socio-economic factors at
work in the new society because under different names or
labels, these socio-religious-economic factors are quite
similar to the socio-religious-economic factors which were
in operation in the 'Old Country.' The amount of change
required, by the East European immigrant in the new system
is minimal, since he does not move into a completely strange
and foreign world. The Old Country culture has great affin-
ity to that of the Host Country in terms of the values and
the types of roles and statuses in operation in society.
The East Indian immigrants have a much wider socio-religious-
cultural gap to bridge. The social values, religions and
culture are different from that of the Host Country, since
they are influenced by Hinduism, where social status is
ascribed. The immigrant from India who migrates into a soc-
ial environment where one's status is based on achievement,
will be required to make changes which are different in sub-
stance from those required of the South Eastern European
immigrant.

Second, the East Indian immigrant is generally more
physically and culturally visible than the immigrants from
Europe. In this respect his situation is similar to that of

most Canadian Indians who migrate internally from the reserve to the urban centres in Canada. The latter not only has to make changes to the new setting, but also has to overcome an ascribed negative status in society. The possibility of a transfer of this negative status to East Indians who are Indians and visible gives their immigration situation a dimension which is not relevant for most South eastern European immigrants to Canada.

Finally, East Indians have a caste and religious content to their culture which divides this population into mutually exclusive compartments, each socially distant from the other. Generally, the non East Indian is often not aware of this fragmentation and finds it difficult to explain, since his frame of reference normally includes class, tribal or ethnic consciousness as the only phenomena that somewhat parallels the more complex one of caste.[13] By ignoring these interfering variables in the past and "by treating all East Indians as a single group, Africans and Europeans have provided an incentive for far greater cohesion than there is in India."[14] The East Indians overseas have profited by this treatment in that "their unity as a

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[13]For a definition and discussion of the term caste turn to chapter V, p. 74 ff.

[14]George Delf, Asians in East Africa, London, Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 5.

group has been fostered as much by those who have little interest in it, as from within its own ranks."[15] They have often been referred to as a community, because they appear to constitute a culturally unified group, but as the Dotsons aptly describe them:

> ...they are a social aggregate of people capable of understanding each other's behavior and motivations in a way that outsiders cannot. If we choose to define community as that population within which such relatively intimate communication is possible, then Indians taken as a whole may be said to be one. If, on the other hand, we think in terms of an organized group headed by a legitimately established leadership speaking for and representing the group _vis-a-vis_ other groups in collective action, then there is no Indian community. Instead, there are factional groupings based actually or ostensibly upon religion, caste, personal loyalties, or generational differences and led by leaders more often interested in their prestige _vis-a-vis_ one another than they are in the interests or welfare of Indians as a whole.[16]

While religious identification is publicly respectable in Canada, differences based on caste are not, since most westerners find the ascriptive inequality on which caste is based repugnant to their egalitarian beliefs. Hence it will be of interest to learn where and when caste norms have been applied by East Indians in social relations

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[15]George Delf, _op. cit._

[16]Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson, _The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi_, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1968, p. 189.

in Canadian Society.

It is, therefore, assumed that the results of the migration experience are related, not only to motives for migration but to such independent variables as caste, marital status, religion, age, and stage in life (obtained by combining marital status and age). The region of origin, friendship with Canadians, Canadian life experience, social identity in Canada, social mobility, education and income, are also variables which have to be considered. A detailed investigation into the social and economic background of East Indians, therefore, forms an integral part of this research.

An attempt has been made to work out the possible outcomes of the migration experience. Are the East Indians in Winnipeg (Canada) like their countrymen in other Commonwealth Countries like Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Rhodesia and the British Isles, to mention a few, likely to form exclusive ethnic enclaves? If so, what variables contribute to this pattern? To put it differently, are there variables which make the pattern of East Indian satisfaction with Canadian Society different from the pattern of satisfaction of their countrymen in other parts of the world? The alternative hypothesis generated here can only be tested through longitudinal studies, and this research could be the first exploratory phase of such an investigation.

(ii) <u>Significance of the Study</u>. The study is significant because:

(a) It fills a research gap.

(b) It is timely.

(c) It relates to a Canadian problem.

(d) It relates to a world problem.

<u>(a) Filling a research gap</u>. Migration research has usually been undertaken with reference to specific situations regarding immigrants, the new society, and the problems created by the act of immigration. Migration was considered a success if the migrant integrated into society, i.e. if they were economically absorbed into the Host Country. But there appears to be some more significant values contained in the satisfaction of immigrants than integration, or economic absorption or similarities in cultural, religious or physical aspects of the Host Country. A recent study <u>Post War Immigrants in Canada</u> by Anthony Richmond, demonstrated that it was the immigrants from Britain who integrated quickly, but who "were most likely to retain an attachment to their former country and to return home."[17] Traditional researchers in the area of immigration appear to have ignored the question of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the old and/or the new country. Exploring this area will be filling a research

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[17]A. Richmond, <u>loc. cit</u>., p. 27.

gap.

(b) The study is timely because, though East Indians

abroad have been the subject of a few studies, there still

exists a paucity of literature on them.[18] In Canada, prac-

tically no specific research has been done concerning East

Indians with the exception of a working paper by Adrian

Mayer.[19] A reason for this absence of research was due, in

part, to the fact that the immigration policy, in the past,

was discriminatory. Until 1961, the East Indians were few

in number, because Canada was viewed as a less attractive

place by prospective immigrants. Actually the quota of 300

immigrants was often not filled.[20] In 1960 there were less

than 60 East Indian families in Winnipeg, while in Nov.,

1969 their number was in excess of 300 families.[21]

(c) It relates to a Canadian problem and (d) a

world problem in that the satisfactions or dissatisfactions

of the migrants will affect the structure of the population

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[18]Dotson, loc. cit., recently published their
research regarding them.

[19]Adrian Mayer, A report on the East Indian
community in Vancouver. U. of B.C. It is a working paper
on Sikhs in Vancouver.

[20]A. Richmond, op. cit., p. 11.

[21]Report at the Annual General Body Meeting of the
India Association of Winnipeg, given by The President of
the Association, Nov., 1969.

in the Host Country, as well as the immigrants who make
the move. The knowledge gained from this research could
provide further insights into the 'process of migrant selec-
tion,' 'immigration and disenchantment,' 'the migratory
elite,' brain gains and brain drains not only in terms of
the international scene but also in terms of internal
migration in Canada.

(iii) <u>Definition of Terms</u>

   <u>East Indian</u>. As used in this study the term will
refer to persons from India now residing and working in
Winnipeg. There is reluctance on the part of some scholars
to prefix the word East before Indian to designate this
population from India. Their reluctance lies in the very
noble desire to rectify the mistake Columbus made when he
gave the name 'Indians' to the indigenous population of the
New World. However, Columbus' ethnic nomenclature is a
<u>fait</u> <u>accompli</u> and the word 'Indian,' in this country and in
many other parts of the world, is associated with the native
population of America. The term West Indian refers to
people from the West Indies and the term East Indian is more
frequently being used to refer to those from India.[22]   One

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   [22]In India, the term East Indian is reserved for
that group of lower caste fisher-folk around Bombay who
were converted to Roman Catholicism by the Portuguese, and
who were later employed by the East India Company. So,
that in that part of India, the term East Indian refers to

should be also alerted to the term Asian, Hindu, or Hindu-stani, sometimes used to refer inclusively to people from India. In reality none of these terms is accurate or ex-clusive. Not all Asians are from India, not all people from India are Hindus or Hindi-speaking. So to designate immi-grants from India as East Indians is more valid and less misleading than other terms, because Canadians usually use this term specifically to refer to this group from India.

Migration. Since a number of definitions already exist in the literature, it is necessary to specify the one being used. In this study and for the purpose of this re-search the definition developed by Mangalam in Human Migration was found useful and comprehensive. Following Mangalam Migration is defined as:

> a relatively permanent moving away of a
> collectivity, called migrants, from one
> geographical location to another, proceeded
> by decision-making on the part of the immi-
> grants, on the basis of a hierarchically
> ordered set of values or value ends and res-
> ulting in changes in the interactional system
> of the migrants.[23]

Commuters, salesmen and tourists are excluded by the phrase 'permanent moving away' while the last characteristic

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Roman Catholic converts from Bombay. In India one also refers to individuals or groups, by caste, creed, place of origin or by a combination of the above.

[23] J. J. Mangalam, op. cit., p. 8.

'changes in the interactional system of the migrants,'
sets limits to the time and distance involved before a par-
ticular movement can be called migration.[24]

Scope and Nature of this Study

A research project of this type normally includes
questions about its scope. What are the geographical bound-
aries within which data will be collected? What factors
prompted the decision to include this area? There were
three alternatives from which to decide.

> (a) To collect data randomly, from all provinces
>
> in Canada on the assumption that this would
>
> be the best way to sample a variant and
>
> widely scattered population.
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> (b) To study a specific area intensively and
>
> assume that its similarities to other areas
>
> elsewhere in Canada overshadow obvious
>
> differences.
>
> (c) To combine the most promising features of
>
> both approaches.

The difficulties of limited time and resources ruled
out the first alternative. The third alternative was also
rejected because it depended, in part, on the acceptance of
the first alternative. Thus, it was decided to concentrate

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[24] J. J. Mangalam, op. cit., p. 8.

on the East Indians who were gainfully employed in and
around the City of Winnipeg, and to ignore those in urban
and rural communities in Manitoba or in urban regions in
other parts of Canada.

The present study is essentially exploratory in
nature. Its purpose is to establish research priorities for
further investigation in the future, and to formulate
general rather than specific hypotheses in the area of
migration. This does not mean that no hypotheses were set
out or that no effort was made to describe the character-
istics of the group. A review of the literature and an
exchange of ideas with people who had practical experience
with the problem resulted in both. A number of initial
hypotheses were developed and a portrayal made of the
characteristics of the group being investigated. This, it
is hoped, will provide insights which will prepare the way
for subsequent, more highly structured studies in the area
of present-day migration.

Organization of the Thesis

This chapter began with an introduction to the
problem being researched. Then followed a statement of the
problem, its significance today, a definition of some terms
used and the scope and nature of the study.

Chapter II will consist of a brief review of exist-
ing literature dealing with migration. It will examine

relevant contributions with regard to specific aspects of migration; like the area of destination and its relationship to area of origin; the characteristics of the migrants; the factors responsible for migration; the direction of migration; and finally, the problems that result from migration, adjustment, assimilation, social participation and changes in value patterns. A few studies will be reviewed briefly. An attempt will be made to place the present research in the broader sociological perspective discussed above and to relate it to a general conceptualization of migration as it is occurring today.

Chapter III will review literature on East Indian emigration, Canada's immigration policy and a few recent studies on East Indians in Overseas Settlements.

Chapter IV will deal with methodology and problems related to the study of this group, in Winnipeg, Canada.

Chapter V discusses characteristics of the immigrants in terms of region of origin, age, sex, caste, family and the rural urban background of the immigrants.

In Chapter VI, the technological base of the immigrants, the economic absorption of East Indians in Canada and their income levels will be discussed.

Chapter VII will deal with the motives for immigration.

Chapter VIII will discuss the results of the

immigration experience in terms of objective and subjec-
tive assessment criteria.

Chapter IX will summarize the findings and report
the conclusions that the study dictates.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A fundamental characteristic of Homo sapiens has always been its mobility, and so human migration is a prominent feature of history, involving practically every human group in the world. Migration is also one of the most important topics in the study of any heterogenous society. As archeological findings have repeatedly demonstrated, man has been on the move from the stone age and probably even prior to that.

> Throughout history, people have shifted, penetrated wildernesses, crossed oceans, spanned continents, fled from disaster and oppression, in search of better locations, freedom, more opportunity to live, perpetuate the species and to foster the growth of culture.[1]

In Canada, also, an important characteristic would seem to be this perpetual migrational stream of people--a stream being a group of people who share common areas of origin and destination. The pattern of these streams of people over space and during time-periods provide useful indicators of the economic and social conditions of both the

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[1]Bernard Williams, "The Integration of Immigrants in the United States" in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 1, August, 1964, p. 23.

recipient and donor countries. Scholars have realized this fact, and have given the migration phenomena considerable study. Excellent reviews and bibliographies on existing migration literature have been periodically published.[2]

In this chapter an attempt shall be made to present a brief summary of the salient features of the literature relevant to the problem at hand by summarizing the relevant points, the strengths and the weaknesses of the main contributions, thereby enabling the investigator to put this present study into its proper sociological perspective.

Literature on Migration

A pioneer study of migration was done by E. G. Ravenstein (1885), who focussed his attention on the area of destination of the migrants and its relationship to the area of origin.[3] Ravenstein arrived at certain laws of migration

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[2]Cf Frank Jones, "Sociological Perspective on Immigrant Adjustment," Social Forces, 35: 39-47. Also J. J. Mangalam, Human Migration, a Guide to Migration Literature in English, 1955-62. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1968, and Immigration, Migration and Ethnic Groups in Canada, a bibliography of Research, 1964-68, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1969.

[3]E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vol. 68, 1885, cited in Nels Anderson, The Urban Community, A World Perspective 1959, p. 167.

which Smith tested in America in 1930.[4] He found these
laws to hold true, with some modifications. Atteslander in
his study in Zurich, also found these laws tended to hold
true.[5] These scholars found that some migrants go directly
to the big cities, others arrive there by stages or steps,
while others fluctuate between short stays in the city and
the origin area, before finally opting for permanent urban
residence.

Smith was also interested in who the migrants were.
He provided information concerning migration selectivity in
terms of physical, biological, biosocial and sociodemogra-
phic variables like sex, age, education completed, and
distance travelled. Some of his conclusions, though based
on rural-urban migrants in the United States, that may have
a bearing on the present study follow:

> (1) In the cities of arrival, the median age
>   of migrants is lower than the median age
>   of the resident population.
>
> (2) Younger migrants arriving in the cities,
>   in general, come from more distant places
>   of origin than do older migrants.

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[4]Lynn T. Smith and C. A. Mahan, The Sociology of
Urban Life, New York Dryden Press, 1951, p. 308 ff.

[5]Peter Atteslander, cited by Nels Anderson The
Urban Community, op. cit., p. 168.

(3) In normal times females migrate to the

city in a greater proportion than males.

(4) Normally females migrate at an earlier

age than males.

(5) Of older age groups, more males than

females migrate to the city.

(6) Persons who migrate from farms to the

cities usually have a higher education

than farmers who do not migrate.[6]

The shortcomings of Smith's conclusions lay in the

attempt to explain and predict direction and volume of mi-

gration by the physical variable of distance and the bio-

logical variable of age alone, thereby approaching "human

migration as one would the study of the migration of birds."[7]

Little or no account was taken of the social aspect of

migration. Sociologists have since attempted to replace the

distance variable with intervening opportunities and the age

variable with position in the life cycle, but beyond this,

little research has been done in this area.[8]

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[6]L. T. Smith, op. cit., p. 308.

[7]Donald S. Bogue, "Internal Migration and National
Origins" in The Population of the United States, Glencoe,
Ill., The Free Press, 1959, p. 348 ff.

[8]Samuel A. Stouffler, "Intervening Opportunities,"
A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance. American Socio-
logical Review, 1940, V, p. 845. This has sparked a great

Another area which has received attention in research on migration has been the investigation of the causes of migration--the factors responsible for people deciding to move. Various typologies of migration based on motivations have been put forward by scholars like Kingsley Davis, Duncan, H. P. Fairchild, A. Heberle and W. Peterson.[9] All were attempts to make sense out of the complex mass of migration data being accumulated.

An important contribution of Peterson's paper was

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deal of discussion and interested parties are referred to John K. Folger, 'Models in Migration' in Selected Studies in Migration since World War II and Theodore R. Anderson "Intermetropolitan Migration, A Comparison of the Hypothesis" of Zipf and Stouffer. American Sociological Review, p. 20: 287-91, 1955.

[9]Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York, 1949. O. D. Duncan et al., Population Theory and Policy, Glencoe, Ill. The Free Press, 1956, p. 417. H. P. Fairchild, Immigration - A World Movement and its American Significance, p. 1-29. A. Heberle, "Types of Migration," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 1955, 36: 65-70. W. Peterson, "A General Typology of Migration," American Sociological Review, p. 23: 256-66, April, 1958. In it he classified migration into five types viz.
- (a) Primitive migration resulting from the ecological push, e.g. old testament nomads, post-famine Irish.
- (b) Forced migration, e.g. the slave trade, the exodus from India and Pakistan after partition.
- (c) Impelled migration, e.g. indenture labour from Asia, Hungarian and Czechoslovakian refugees.
- (d) Free migration, from overseas Europe during the Nineteenth Century, e.g. Pietist sect movements.
- (e) Mass migration from Sweden to North America beginning 1861-70.

his questioning of the widely held notion that migrants always migrate in order to change their way of life.[10] The cultural survival of various ethnic groups has demonstrated that this assumption is not necessarily so. Peterson also observed that an individual's motives (conservative or innovative) form a variable for distinctive behaviour patterns in the new country. Finally he added non-economic variables to the environmental ones used by H. P. Fairchild. It cannot be denied that one of the strong push factors operating to influence people to immigrate is economic in nature. But the formulation that labor moves in the direction of wages, is far too deterministic and simplistic an explanation of human motivation to be true.[11] Bogue, Peterson and Tarver, have stressed the importance of non-economic factors in understanding the underlying motives which prompt migration.[12]

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[10]W. Peterson, op. cit.,p. 256 ff.

[11]J. J. Mangalam, op. cit., p. 3.

[12]For an excellent summary of various economic theories of migration, refer to Brinley Thomas, "International Movements of Capital and Labour since 1954," International Labour Review 74: 25-38, Sept., 1956, and Donald S. Bogue, "Internal Migration" in The Study of Population, ed., Philip Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1959, p. 486. William Peterson, Population, New York, McMillan, 1961, and James D. Tarver, "Predicting Migration," Social Focus 39: 207-14, March, 1961.

A third, and perhaps the most popular area of
migration studies has been, and still is, the socio-
economic problems caused by immigrants in the Host Countries.
For R. Clemens, the problems are due to the change in the
immigrants' behaviour resulting from the passage from one
country to another and/or from rural-agrarian to urban-
industrial settings.[13] For Eisenstadt, it is "the change
in social roles."[14] For Taft and Robbins, it is "population
growth, the search for economic satisfaction, racial con-
tacts and conflicts, the development of national loyalties,
the establishment of intercultural relations."[15]

Other problems of immigrants researched include
psychological and mental health problems resulting from
migration, homelessness, delinquency, crime and general soc-
ial disorganization.[16] But the focus of the greatest number

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[13]R. Clemens, G. Vosse-Snal and L. Minon.
"L'Assimilation Culturelle des Immigrants en Belgique,"
H. Vaillant, Carmenne Liege 1953, cited by Guido Baglioni
"Trends in the studies on the Socio-Cultural Integration of
Immigrants," International Migration Digest, Vol. 1, No. 2,
Fall, 1964, p. 125.

[14]N. S. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants,
Routledge and Paul Kegan, London, 1954.

[15]Taft and Robbins, International Migrations. The
Ronald Press Co., New York, 1955.

[16]Cf Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, Boston Little,
Brown and Co., Doubleday Achor Book 1957. Also Thomas and
Zanechi, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, New York,
Dover Publications, 1958.

of problem studies has dealt with the finding of immediate
solutions to pressing problems of the migrants as individ-
uals. The shortcomings of this approach lie within the
narrow, segmented framework of each study. Such an approach
does not provide as complete a picture of the immigration
phenomenon as is warranted. Further, many of these 'problem
studies' are purely descriptive accounts of situations that
the immigrant faces and

> none of them provides an overall general
> theoretical point of view to make sense out
> of the ever-increasing number of empirical
> or quasi-empirical studies dealing with the
> various phases of migration.[17]

Though such studies have something to contribute,
they should be treated, as Wilbur suggests, "as an interim
phase towards a more comprehensive theory of migration."[18]

Another approach to human migration studied the
effect of inter-group contact caused by the migration of
people, on both the migrant and the recipient group. To
Robert E. Park "in the relation of races, there is a cycle
of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself."[19] It

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[17]J. J. Mangalam, Human Migration 1968, op. cit. p.1.

[18]George L. Wilber, "Determinants of Migration
Research and Their Consequences," Population Research and
Administrative Planning. Mississippi State University,
Division of Sociology and Rural Life Conference Series, No.
10, p. 52.

[19]Robert E. Park, Race and Culture, Glencoe, Ill.
The Free Press, p. 150.

takes the form of contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation. Some factors, like restrictive immigration or racial barriers, may slacken or temporarily halt this cycle of events, but they cannot change its direction or reverse it. According to Park, it was a process which moves in one direction only and was apparently progressive and irreversible.[20] The immigrant could expect, in the long run, to be assimilated. This theory that contact led inevitably to assimilation, stimulated a great volume of research. Other sociologists, though they differed on the type or number of stages or cycles, also concluded that the ultimate result of inter-group contact is assimilation.[21]

But this cyclic approach is inadequate to explain the survival and the continuous existence today of subordinate/superordinate relationships which exist between various ethnic groups, not only in North America, but in India, Africa and the West Indies, long after the

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[20]Robert E. Park, op. cit., p. 150.

[21]E. S. Borgadus, "A Race-Relations Cycle," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 35, No. 4, Jan., 1930. W. O. Brown, "Culture Contact and Race Conflict" in E. B. Reuter (ed.) Race and Culture Contacts, p. 34-77. C. E. Glick, "Social Roles and Types of Race Relations" in A. W. Lind (ed.) Race Relations in World Perspective, p. 239 ff. F. Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1957. All are summarized in Brewton Berry Race and Ethnic Relations, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965.

immigration experience has come to an end.[22] In Canada,

assimilation per se is not demanded. In fact the mainten-

ance of ethnic customs, traditions and language, seems not

only to be tolerated but even encouraged. The term Assimi-

lation in America referred to one of these three major

approaches: (a) The Anglo-Conformity approach (b) The

Melting Pot approach (c) The Cultural Pluralism approach.

The Anglo-Conformity approach is the label given by

the Coles to the viewpoint which demanded the complete re-

nunciation by the immigrant of his ancestral value system,

his language and way of life.[23] In exchange, the English-

oriented cultural pattern and its value system was to be the

dominant and standard one in the immigrant's new setting in

America. This approach covered a range of viewpoints about

immigration and assimilation, which extended along a contin-

uum of attitudes from a laissez-faire attitude towards

immigration from any part of the world, provided the immi-

grant adopted the Anglo-Saxon cultural patterns, to the

other extreme of excluding and of restricting those who were

racially or culturally less like the Anglo-Saxons. The mod-

erate form of the Anglo-Conformity attitude towards

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[22]The Parsis have survived in India for centuries,
just as people from India have survived in East Africa, the
West Indies and Mauritius.

[23]Stewart G. Cole and Mildred W. Cole, Minorities and
the American Promise, Harper and Brothers, 1954, Chapter 6.

immigration expected the newcomer to learn the speech and institutional forms only.

While this conformity was demanded of the immigrant, the newcomer discovered, all too soon, that they were not welcome to the social cliques, the clubs and institutions of the Anglo-Americans. Learning the 'Anglo' ways, values and language was not the key to the Core Society, and so disillusioned, the immigrants and their children returned to the ways and values of their ancestral group. In this setting, they found comfort and thus built up ethnic enclaves within which they lived, moved and had their social being. The Anglo-Conformity approach in the succinct phrase of Joshua Fishmann was a "look me over but don't touch me invitation to the American minority-group child."[24] Learning Anglo ways of life without extensive intermingling at the primary level appears to have been the dominant characteristic of the diverse people who migrated to America.

The Melting Pot approach to Assimilation was based on the ideology of developing an American Society which had a distinct American way of life rather than a modified version of the British way of life. The New Society would

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[24] Joshua A. Fishmann, Childhood Indoctrination for Minority-Group Membership cited in Milton Gordon's Assimilation in American Life. Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 112.

result from a blend of biological stocks and of cultural folkways.[25] Immigrants from English and non-English homelands like Germany, Italy, Sweden and France, would 'figuratively speaking,...be mixed in the pot of the emerging nation and melted into a new type.' This new breed would be perhaps, slightly darker in complexion than the signers of the Declaration of Independence, with a wider range in food, clothing and religion.

According to the historian Turner, it was "in the crucible of the frontier the Immigrants were Americanized, liberated and fused into a mixed race..."[26] However, millions of immigrants from Europe entered America in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, when immigration was unrestricted.[27]

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[25] J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer, New York, Albert and Charles Boni 1925 cited in Milton Gordon's Assimilation in American Life, op. cit., p. 115.

[26] Frederick J. Turner, The Frontier in American History, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1920, p. 22-3. Since 1930 the Turner thesis has been subject to increasing criticism. For a collection of papers having different views, see C. R. Taylor (ed.), The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History. Boston, D. C. Heath and Co., 1949. Amherst College, Problems in American Civilization Series.

[27] For discussions see Maurice Davie, World Immigration, New York, The MacMillan Co., 1936, and Marcus Lee Hansen, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1940.

The concern of the Social Scientist was whether the Urban Melting Pot would work as well as the Frontier Melting Pot was alleged to have done. The Sociologist Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, reported, after a study of intermarriage in New Haven from 1870 to 1940, that though the overall rate of endogamy among various ethnic groups had steadily diminished, there was still a tendency to marry within one's own relig- ious group. Based on this religious preference she believed that there was a triple melting pot, rather than a single melting pot.[28] While endogamy based on ethnicity or nation- ality was loosening, religious endogamy appeared to form cleavages. Still further research revealed that American Society was composed of a number of pots, three of which were religious containers marked Protestant, Catholic and Jew which helped to melt down white communities contained within them. The other pots contained non-white ethnic groups and those white immigrants who choose to remain in their ethnic enclaves. So, instead of a single or triple melting pot theory of assimilation, there developed a multiple melting pot theory which is also called cultural pluralism.

Cultural Pluralism. The Anglo-Conformity and

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[28]Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot?" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 58, No. 1, 1952, p. 56-9.

Melting Pot approaches had envisaged both the disappear-
ance of the immigrant group identity and the assimilation
and absorption of later arrivals into the existing American
social system. Many immigrant and many ethnic groups did
not share these goals which meant the loss of identity and
culture. They attempted to establish exclusive sub-
societies. These communal sub-societies occupied a par-
ticular habitat, had their own schools, used their own
language and socialization media. Their social structure
was patterned after the ancestral group. The use of the
native language and of native customs was a means of warding
off assimilation and the subsequent loss of identity and
culture.[29] The desire to prevent assimilation and the
devising of appropriate Cultural Antibiotics arose from the
adverse effects assimilation had on many children of the
immigrants who had lost touch with the culture of their
parents and were not entirely accepted by the Americans.[30]

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[29]N. Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America from National
Culture to Ideology," p. 163-4 in M. Berger, Theodore Abel
and Charles Page (eds.) Freedom and Control in Modern Soc-
iety, New York, D. Van Nostrand and Co., 1954.

[30]P. A. Munch, "Social Adjustment Among Wisconsin
Norwegians," American Sociological Review, XIV, 1949, p.
780 ff. Also A. Renaud, Indians and Metis and Possible
Development as Ethnic Groups, Centre for Community Studies,
Saskatoon, 1961, p. 9. E. K. Francis, "The Adjustment of a
Peasant Group to a Capitalistic Economy," Rural Sociology,
XVII, No. 3, 1952. N. Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America
from National Culture to Ideology" in M. Berger, Theodore
Abel and Charles Page (eds.) Freedom and Control in Modern

They became a generation of cultural hybrids of marginal
men who lived and shared in the cultural life of both groups
while feeling completely at home in neither. The result of
such experiences made cultural pluralism a fact before it
was articulated as a theory.[31] There is now a greater
tendency in America, especially in Canada, to assist immi-
grants create a plural society in which cultural and lan-
guage rights are preserved and protected.

Two conferences, The International Union for The
Scientific Study of Population (Geneva, 1949) and the UNESCO
Conference (Havana, 1956) on the Problem of Cultural Inte-
gration of Immigrants, advocated cultural pluralism as a
solution to the problems of immigrants.

At the Conference in Havana (1956), no agreement was
reached on the exact meaning of the concept 'Assimilation.'
It was recognized that assimilation was a process which
could not be limited with reference to time. The time and
rate of assimilation varied from group to group. In 1964
Milton Gordon contributed an improved conceptual tool

Society, New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1954. J. A. Hawgood,
The Tragedy of German America, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons
1940. A. J. Kosa, Land of Choice, The Hungarians in Canada.
J. Lee, "The Greendale Canadians Cultural and Structural
Assimilation in Urban Environment," in Canadian Society,
Blishen et al. (eds.) 3rd edition, 1968.

[31]M. Gordon, op. cit., p. 135.

explaining the various degrees or types or steps in the
process of assimilation.[32] _Cultural_ and _Structural_ Assimi-
lation were key terms. Cultural also called behavioural
assimilation denotes the daytime interaction among persons
of various ethnic backgrounds in formal encounters at work,
in schools, in the department stores or in the street. But
this type of interaction tends to reach a low ebb at night
or on weekends. Behavioural Assimilation is the term Gordon
used to explain that aspect of the process which earlier
scholars termed acculturation or integration.

The Structural Assimilation stage of the process
focuses on the social interaction of groups during their
leisure-time activities on the golf course, playgrounds, the
friendship and family group. It is at this level that a
range of socially significant issues may arise among indiv-
iduals of different ethnic groups. Where members of a
given ethnic group express feelings of willingness to accept
members of another ethnic group at the informal primary
group level, and when this value orientation results in a

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[32]M. Gordon, _op. cit._, p. 71. He discusses seven
types of assimilation:
     (a) Cultural or behavioural assimilation
     (b) Structural assimilation
     (c) Marital assimilation
     (d) Identificational assimilation
     (e) Attitude receptional assimilation
     (f) Behaviour receptional assimilation
     (g) Civic assimilation.

positive response from the second group, it should be

viewed as indicative of the fact that the final stage of

assimilation has been reached. According to Gordon, the

structural assimilation stage is both impossible of attain-

ment and undesirable as a goal for the first generation of

immigrants arriving as adults because...

> The majority of newcomers to a country
> (intellectuals excepted) will need and prefer
> the security of a communal life made up of
> their fellow immigrants from the homeland.[33]

Demographers have also shown interest in the study

of migration and assimilation. But they have, in general,

tended to limit themselves to statistical and demographic

factors, overlooking the theoretical statements explaining

relationships between the statistical data and social organ-

izations. This indifference to theory is noted by sociolo-

gists like Hauser and Vance and is excellently summed up by

Kingsley Davis in the following words:

> First, the connection between society and
> the components of population (fertility,
> mortality and migration) is a complex one.
> Second, the complexity has been largely
> overlooked by those dealing with population.[34]

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[33]Milton Gordon, op. cit., p. 242.

[34]Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York, MacMillan
1949. Philip M. Hauser, "Present Status and Prospects of
Research in Population" and Rupert B. Vance, "Is Theory for
Demographers" in Population Theory and Policy, eds. Joseph
J. Spengler and O. D. Dudley, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press,
p. 70-87, 1956, and A. Richmond, Postwar Immigrants in
Canada, Toronto University Press, 1967.

Special Studies on Immigrants

In 1967 Anthony Richmond published the results of
his research on Post War Immigrants in Canada. Richmond's
work is a descriptive study undertaken to:

(a) obtain an overall picture of the economic
and social aspects of absorption from a
representative cross section of post war
immigrants in Canada.

(b) To compare the experience of immigrants
from the United Kingdom with that of
immigrants from other countries.

(c) To compare the experience of immigrants
in the Vancouver metropolitan area with
those parts of Canada.

(d) To throw some light on the factors which
determine whether an immigrant chose to
become a Canadian citizen or not.

(e) To ascertain the factors associated with
the return movement of British subjects
to the United Kingdom...[35]

The findings of this study contradict a major
assumption underlying Canadian immigration policy in the
post war period. Until 1961 the Official Canadian policy on
immigration tried to bring into this country those persons
who would have the least difficulty in Canada. It sought
immigrants who would have to change their ways least, in
order to adapt themselves to Canadian life. This study

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[35]A. Richmond, loc. cit.

demonstrated, as Reynold's earlier study had done, that by following such a policy, Canada was encouraging immigrants who were most likely to return to their country of origin without making Canada their permanent home. The study showed that British immigrants in particular, in spite of the fact that they are Anglophones who share a common heritage with the Core Canadians and are not separated by visible cultural or physical characteristics, have not assimilated any faster than any other group. This may be due to the British attitude which still regards Canada as their Colony. The study suggests that the commitment of the immigrants to the new country are "as much a function of previous experience and expectation as they are of experiences after migration."[36] Richmond also showed insight in this matter by suggesting that the British, unlike other immigrants, do not have the traumatic experience which immigrants from other parts of the world are confronted with. Non-British immigrants into society are expected to shed their value systems, their heritage, to cease to be German, Ukrainian, Italian, and eventually to become like the Core Canadians.

The trauma experienced by such change forged their commitment to the new milieu and hence they were more likely

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[36]A. Richmond, <u>Postwar Immigrants in Canada</u>, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1967, p. 27.

to make their home here than were those immigrants who
experienced little difficulty adjusting to Canadian life.

In recent years, a few empirical studies and a few
discussion papers have focussed on the new breed of pro-
fessional immigrants and have dealt with either the motives
for migration and/or the economic consequences for both the
recipient or donor countries. Besterman's comments in
connection with the flow of professionals is particularly
significant:

> the evidence shows that migration flow of
> professionals, technical and skilled workers
> is not unnaturally, towards those countries
> where the individual rewards are greatest
> rather than to those countries where needs
> are more acute.[37]

Lawless and others, studying the motives of British
graduates migrating to Canada, concluded that their motiva-
tion to migrate generally tended to be more of a _pull_ than
a _push_ type.[38]

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[37]W. M. Besterman, "Immigrants As a Means of Obtain-
ing Needed Skills and Stimulating Economic and Social Advan-
cement," _International Migration_, Vol. III, 1955, p. 204-11.

[38]D. J. Lawless, "The Emigration of British Grad-
uates to Canada," _Occupational Psychology_, Vol. 39, 1965,
p. 115-9. See also Brinley Thomas "Trends in the Internat-
ional Migration of Skilled Manpower" cited in _International
Migration_, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1966, p. 29, and Enrique Oteiza,
"Emigration of Engineers from Argentina. A case of Latin
America 'Brain Drain'" in _International Labour Review_, Vol.
92, No. 2, Dec. 1965, and G. Beijer, "Selective Migration
for 'Brain Drain' from Latin America," in _International
Migration_, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1966, p. 30.

One could not talk about the subject of immigrants
and the effects of their immigration experience without ref-
erence to the classical work by W. I. Thomas and Florian
Znaniechi, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. In
their eighty-six page Methodological Note the authors
observe that:

> The cause of a social or individual phenomenon
> is never another social or individual phenom-
> enon alone, but always a combination of a social
> and an individual phenomenon.[39]

They stressed the need for understanding the
migrants and their problems in terms of both their area of
origin and that of their destination. Further the socio-
logical conceptualizations are held to be sound although it
appears that in actual analysis emphasis was given to social
psychology.[40] Most of the discussion dealing with the
Polish Peasant in America is concerned with personal adjust-
ments. The analysis appears to be primarily in terms of the
interplay of the four wishes of the individual, viz:

> (1) the desire for new experience, for
>   fresh stimulation
>
> (2) the desire for recognition, for sexual
>   response and general social appreciation

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[39]W. T. Thomas and F. Znaniechi, The Polish Peasant
in Europe and America, Dover Publications, New York, 1958,
ed. p. 49.

[40]Ibid., p. 73.

(3) the desire for mastery exemplified by ownership, domestic tyranny or political despotism

(4) the desire for security based on the instinct of fear.[41]

The study demonstrated the need for more research into the subjective factor in social life, the disorganization of social attitudes due to the breakdown of group cohesion. It contributed insights into sociological theory, method and research.[42]

So far, an attempt has been made to highlight some of the more salient contributions in the field of human migration. A complete review of all research on the subject would be an impossible task for any one scholar. In the following chapter a historical sketch of East Indian migration shall be presented and to enable one to put this study in its proper perspective, Canada's immigration policy and its relevance to East Indian immigration shall also be considered.

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[41] W. T. Thomas and F. Znaniechi, op. cit., p. 73.

[42] For an excellent review of The Polish Peasant, turn to John Madge, The Origins of Scientific Sociology, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1962, p. 52-82.

CHAPTER III

AN ACCOUNT OF EAST INDIAN MIGRATION OVERSEAS

An account of East Indian migration to points out-
side of India shall be discussed in this chapter, which will
be divided into three parts. Part I will sketch the history
of East Indian immigration in general. Part II will refer
specifically to an account of East Indian migration to
Canada. Part III will review some recent studies relating
to the immigrant East Indian.

I. A Brief History of East Indian Migration

Archeological evidence outside India, like the
figures of Indian elephants on the oblelisk of Shalmaneser
III (860 B.C.), the finding of Indian teak in the Temple of
the Moon at Ur (600 B.C.), and the discovery of the Boghaz
Koi inscriptions containing the names of Indian deities,
indicate that cultural and trade contacts between India and
Western Asia existed at least as early as the ninth century
B.C.[1] Though the available evidence only permits a broad

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[1] R. C. Majumdar, The History and Culture of the
Indian People, Bharitya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Vol. II, 1960,
p. 611 ff. Chapter XXIV is an excellent account of inter-
national relations between India and the Western countries.

conclusion, viz. that trade and cultural contact existed,
it can be used with other sources to map routes between
India and Western Asia. Both overland and sea-routes were
used, though ocean going vessels kept close to the coast.[2]
Among other foreign sources are some Jewish chronicles from
the reign of Solomon (800 B.C.). These mention a sea voy-
age which returned from the East with merchandise bearing
Indian names. Some scholars have used these loan-words to
show that international relationships existed between India
and the outside world from antiquity.[3]

On the Indian side, there are illusions in the Rig
Veda to land and sea voyages which brought India into con-
tact with her western and eastern neighbours.[4] Buddhist
literature also contains references to sea voyages and to
close contact between India and other civilizations. These
early contacts were mainly inspired by commerce. But
evidence exists to indicate that this was followed,

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[2]R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 613.

[3]H. G. Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the
Western World, Cambridge, 1916. He has summarized the
opinion of scholars.

[4]The Rig Veda, India's earliest codefied litera-
ture (about 1000 B.C.) is a collection of sacred hymns
sung by priestly families during sacrifices to the Gods.
Reference to sea voyages and to eastern and western oceans
are made in it (1.116.3) and (x.136.5) quoted by Majumdar,
ibid.

especially in the countries north, east and south-east of

India by Buddhist missionary activities. Such missionary

activities led to an almost complete cultural conquest of

these regions, and later to the establishment of colonies

and the establishment of political authority, over almost

all of south-east Asia by immigrant (East) Indians.[5]

This trade and cultural domination continued from

antiquity until the Muslim conquest of India in the tenth

century A.D. The lull in the overseas activities of East

Indians, which began with the Muslim conquest continued,

for about two centuries after the advent into India of

European colonizers beginning in 1498 A.D. (Portuguese,

Dutch, British, French). While little evidence exists of

any migration during this period (1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D.),

both navigational accounts (80 A.D.) and Chinese geographi-

cal works (1300 A.D.) mention the existence of East Indian

settlements along the coast of East and South Africa and

South and East Asia.[6]

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[5]R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 654. Some Hindus have
argued that since religious sanctions against crossing the
oceans existed, India has never established any colonies.
Their basic argument is sound, for religious sanctions do
exist, but the same faith provides both (a) rituals to guard
the voyager during his journey abroad (b) purification rites
for the traveller on his return.

[6]One of the earliest recorded navigational accounts
is Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (circa A.D. 80) cited in
G. Delf, Asians in East Africa. Oxford University Press,

During the pre-Muslim period, migration from India was a function of commercial and cultural expansion. After the advent of the Europeans into India, emigration was "the result primarily of artificial pressure to secure cheap labor in undeveloped areas."[7]

According to Maurice Davie, the Government of India at one time or another sanctioned organized emigration to the Colonial Empires and to other states.[8] He divided East Indian migration into three periods.

> (1) 1833-1908 from abolition of slavery to the recruiting of unskilled labor under indenture.
>
> (2) The dawn of a national policy, 1908-22... indenture labor was stopped.
>
> (3) From 1922 to the present, the execution of a national policy.[9]

1. There were two classes of emigrants from India during the first period (1833-1908). One was the unskilled laborer who emigrated under the system of indenture; the second was the free business or professional person who followed indentured immigrants "to cater to their special

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New York, 1963, p. 1. Also see Majumdar, op. cit., p. 613 ff.

[7]Maurice Davie, World Immigration, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1963, p. 338.

[8]Ibid., p. 338.

[9]Ibid., p. 339.

needs."[10]

The difference in origin between the indentured laboring class and the "free" business class provides the basis for an enduring social destinction of great importance in understanding overseas Indian communities. "<u>Passenger</u> and <u>Indentured</u> carry to this day heavily freighted status connotations."[11]

Indentured labor is a kind of half-way house between free labor and slavery.[12] The laborer was bound to the employer and was subject to social and economic tyranny during the period of the contract.[13] According to the Dotsons the indentured laborers were without exception miserably poor in India.[14] The conditions under which they were forced to live while abroad were degrading, and demoralizing and quite un-Indian when judged by Indian values. Some indentured laborers came from respectable castes but the

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[10]K. Davis, <u>The Population of India and Pakistan,</u> Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1951, p. 51.

[11]Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson, <u>The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi.</u> Yale University Press, New Haven, 1968, p. 27.

[12]<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 28.

[13]Morton Klass, <u>East Indians in Trinidad. A Study of Cultural Persistence</u>, New York, Colombia University Press, p. 8.

[14]Dotsons, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 28.

stigma of indenture made other Indians view their claims
to caste status with suspicion.[15]

The _Passenger_ immigrant, because he had paid his own
fare to the new country had proved that he could not have
come from the lowest level of society in India.[16] He prided
himself on the fact that no matter how low his standard of
life, he had not been the property of another man as this
gave him higher status than the indentured laborer. Fur-
ther, since he was a free agent, he modelled his life-style
according to Indian norms and values and 'measured his success
by referring to the caste system at home.'[17]

2. The second period (1908-1922) is important
because it marked the end of the indenture system of labor
recruitment, except in Ceylon and Malaya. In some immigrant
receiving countries, it was during this period that restric-
tive immigration policies were enacted to exclude immigrants
from certain areas of the world. India was one such area
and Canada one of the countries that restricted the entry of
East Indians.

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[15]Morton Klass, _op_. _cit_., p. 55.

[16]Dotsons, _op_. _cit_., p. 28.

[17]H. S. Morris, "Indians in East Africa." _British
Journal of Sociology_, 1956, No. 7, p. 194 ff.

3. During the third period (1922 to 1961) the
national policy regarding emigration has been utilized to
its fullest extent to check Asian migration. It has suc-
ceeded to keep out East Indian immigrants. During the
sixties the criteria for selection of immigrants was chang-
ed so that no prospective immigrant for North America is
refused entry on racial or/and cultural grounds.

East Indian immigrant population to overseas
settlements has been categorized by Adrian Mayer and others
into those who are descended from indentured laborers and
those who are not.[18] Settlements containing descendents
of indentured laborers are found in Mauritius, South
Africa, Trinidad and the West Indies and Guyana. Countries
containing East Indian settlements consisting of non-
indentured laborers are Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia,
Britain, U.S.A. and Canada. Taken collectively, East
Indians overseas form an impressive group of emigrants,
though their number, in proportion to India's size and
population has been (and is) very small.[19] (Less than one
percent of her total population as compared to over forty

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[18]Adrian C. Mayer, Indians in Fiji, Oxford Univer-
sity Press, 1963, p. 1. Cf. The Dotsons, op. cit., p. 28,
who also refer to this difference.

[19]Maurice Davie, loc. cit., p. 338. Also, Kingsley
Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan, loc. cit.,
p. 48.

percent of Europe's total population). Reasons for this
low representation of East Indian immigrants abroad lay in
two facts. First, India was ruled by foreign powers until
1947. Second, the emigrants found that restrictive legis-
lation prohibited entry into the lands of their choice.

II. East Indians in Canada

The 1961 census of Canada showed 6,774 people of
East Indian origin in Canada of which number 4,526 resided
in British Columbia. Since then their number has increased
by an estimated forty percent, bringing their present total
to more than 10,000 individuals.[20]

Canadian immigration statistics mentioned East
Indian for the first time in 1905, when forty-five East
Indians were admitted to Canada. This number increased to
2,124 East Indians in 1907 and 2,632 East Indians in 1908.
This was the first wave of East Indian immigration to
Canada. The immigrants were mainly Sikhs who emigrated
with a view to make money and return home.[21] The second
wave of East Indian immigration did not begin until 1947
and even then the influx has not been significant as their

[20]Department of Secretary of State, The Canadian
Family Tree, The Queen's Printer, 1967, p. 89.

[21]Ibid., p. 89.

quota was seldom filled.[22]

In 1908 and 1910 legislation was passed in Canada to restrict Asian immigrants. (Japanese, Chinese as well as East Indian). One such measure was the increasing of the amount of money a _Hindu_ immigrant was required to have in his possession on arrival.[23] The normal $25 required to be in the possession of _other_ immigrants was raised to $200 for immigrants from India. This requirement could not have been very restrictive, since another regulation, referred to as _the continuous passage clause_ was passed under section 38 of the Immigration Act of 1910. According to this regulation immigrants, if they came to Canada,

> otherwise than by continuous journey from
> the countries of which they were natives or
> citizens, and upon through tickets purchased
> in that country may be refused entry.[24]

In those days it was practically impossible to make a continious journey from India to Canada and this regulation efficiently restricted immigration from India. Only twenty-nine East Indians were admitted from 1908-1913 according to the _Canada Year Book_. In 1914 a Sikh (Gurdit Singh) attempted to test the regulations of 1910. He chartered a

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[22]A. Richmond, _op. cit._, p. 27.

[23]_Hindu_ was the term used for East Indian immigrants.

[24]Cited in Maurice Davie, _op. cit._, p. 350.

Japanese ship, The Kamagata Maru, and brought some three

hundred and seventy-six East Indian settlers to Canada.[25]

The Government of Canada agreed to admit a number of depend-

ants of earlier settlers but refused admittance to the rest.

After waiting two months aboard the The Maru in Vancouver

harbour, they returned home. This incident left a great

deal of bitterness towards the immigration policy of Canada,

partly because it raised another issue. East Indians were

British subjects and as such were guaranteed the legal

right to move freely from one part of the Empire to another.

Canada, a British Dominion, denied this right. The issue

was resolved by the Imperial War Conference of 1918, in

which a resolution was adopted which declared:

> it is the inherent function of Governments
> of the several communities of the British
> Commonwealth that each should enjoy complete
> control of the composition of its own pop-
> ulation by means of restriction of immigration
> from any other communities.[26]

The same Conference recommended that wives and

dependants of East Indians already domiciled in Canada be

permitted to join their husbands as an act of grace. An

Order in Council to this effect was passed in 1919. During

the next decade (1920-1930) only 418 East Indian immigrants

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[25]H. F. Angus, "People of East Indian Origin" in
Encyclopedia Canadiana, Vol. 3, p. 331 ff.

[26]Cited in Maurice Davie, op. cit., p. 350.

were admitted while from 1930-45 only 157 entered Canada.

The immigrants were unskilled Sikh laborers who came to

work on farms or in the lumber or construction industries.[27]

It is estimated that in Vancouver, at the outbreak of the

Second World War, the population of East Indians consisted

of not more than fifteen families and 1,100 single males.[28]

The unbalanced sex-ratio prevented any rapid increase in the

number of East Indians in Canada and indicated the extent

to which the regulations were successfully implemented.

The end of the Second World War marked the commence-

ment of greater prosperity for the West. Canada had a man-

power shortage which could be filled by immigrants. On May

1st 1947 in a House of Commons debate, the existing criteria

for immigrants was defended by Prime Minister W. L. Macken-

zie King, who admitted that the desired growth of Canada's

population should be encouraged by immigration but the

restricted countries were not considered, since large scale

immigration from them would alter the fundamental composition

of the Canadian population. King continued his speech by

suggesting that the entry of orientals would..."give rise to

social and economic problems of a character that might lead

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[27]H. F. Angus, loc. cit., p. 331.

[28]Adrian Mayer, A Report on the East Indian Commun-
ity in Vancouver. The declining population becomes evident
on comparing this number to the figure of 5,000 in 1908 cen-
sus.

to serious difficulties in the field of international
relations."

In 1951 a quota of 150 immigrants a year was set
up by Ottawa. It was increased to 300 in 1957 but little
if any use was made of it by East Indian immigrants and the
quota was seldom if ever filled. During this period dis-
cussions on immigration policy succeeded in revealing the
racial and cultural discrimination and the myth of geo-
graphical determinism which lay at the roots of Canada's
immigration policy. According to Mr. Harris (Minister of
Immigration 1957) the Canadian way of life "...was to no
small extent determined to climatic conditions to which
immigrants from tropical countries do not become readily
adapted."[29]

This policy of discrimination on geographical
grounds continued until the January of 1962 when the Conser-
vative Minister of Immigration, Mrs. E. Fairclough, issued
a statement concerning a new immigration policy. According
to section 31, the main consideration for admissibility
would be placed upon the education, training and skills of
the immigrant. But in spite of the above, the quota of 300
immigrants from India was still considered to be in full

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[29]D. C. Corbett, Canada's Immigration Policies,
University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957, p. 57 ff.

force.[30] The claims made by Mrs. Fairclough that equity

and justice were to be the guiding principles of the new

regulations was, in reality, absurd. The discrepancies

between the policy and its lack of implementation were,

interestingly enough, either not observed or not contested

until the publication of the White Paper on immigration

policy by the Liberal Minister of Immigration, Jean Marchand

in 1966. The discussion which was stimulated by this White

Paper resulted in a set of revised regulations which came

into force on October 1st, 1967. The new policy aimed at

abolishing discrimination on the basis of locality, race,

colour, religion or ethnicity. The selection standards were

linked to manpower and economic needs in Canada. Immigrants

qualify for entry if they can compile fifty assessment units

based on education and professional skills and point ratings

in nine other categories.

Immigrants were divided into three different

classes—sponsored, nominated, and independent.

A - Sponsored Dependants. A Canadian citizen or a permanent

resident of Canada is entitled to SPONSOR his dependants.[31]

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[30]Cited in A. Richmond, op. cit.

[31]Sponsored dependants are emigrants within the
following categories: husband or wife; an unmarried son or
daughter under 21; a fiance or fiancee; a parent or grand-
parent aged sixty or older; a parent or grand-parent under
sixty if widowed or unable to work; orphans in the following

If the dependant is in good health and of good character,
sponsorship can assure that he will qualify for admission
to Canada.

B - Nominated Relatives: A Canadian citizen or a permanent
resident of Canada is entitled to nominate his relatives.[32]

C - Independent Applicants: Any individual who does not
come within the sponsored or nominated categories or anyone
who applies for admission to Canada will be considered as an
independent applicant. In considering a potential immi-
grant's admissibility the following criteria in order of
importance will be considered: i) education, ii) personal
qualities, iii) occupational demand, iv) age, v) occupation-
al skill, vi) employment arrangements, vii) knowledge of
English and/or French, viii) relatives, and ix) area of
destination.

The independent applicant will qualify for entry if

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categories: grandchild, brother, sister, nephew, or niece,
nearest relative in cases where the applicant has no living
dependant, other than husband or wife. An applicant can
sponsor only one relative in this way. These details are
discussed in J. Kage's "The Recent Changes in Canadian Immi-
gration Regulations" in International Migration Review,
Winter, 1967, p. 48.

[32]J. Kage, ibid., p. 48. Immigrants included within
the nominated relative category are an unmarried son or
daughter twenty-one years or over; a married son or daughter
under twenty-one, a brother or sister, a parent or grand-
parent under sixty years; a nephew, niece, uncle, aunt or
grandchild.

he can compile fifty <u>assessment</u> units from the total of a

hundred assessment units allocated thus:

- 20 units, one for each successful year of
  formal education or occupational training.

- 15 units based on the immigration officer's
  personal assessment of the applicant's
  adaptability motivation, initiative and
  similar qualities.

- up to fifteen units depending on demand for
  the applicant's occupation in Canada.

- ten units maximum for professional status in
  an occupation, ranging down to one unit for
  the unskilled.

- ten units for applicants under 35 with one
  unit deducted for each year over 30.

- ten units if the applicant has a job arranged
  in Canada.

- up to 10 units depending on fluency in English
  and French.

- up to five units if the applicant has a rela-
  tive in Canada unable to sponsor or nominate
  him but able to help him become established.

- up to five units if the applicant intends to
  go to an area in Canada where there is a
  generally strong demand for labor.[33]

The prospective immigrant is required to submit a

formal application, be interviewed, pass a medical examina-

tion and, in most countries, be cleared for security. In

spite of these criteria an immigration officer is empowered

to recommend admission or refusal of an applicant regardless

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[33]J. Kage, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 47.

of the assessment units he compiles if "there is good reason why the assessment does not reflect the particular individuals chances of successful establishment in Canada."[34]

As a result of this new policy, the number of immigrants from all parts of the world has been increasing steadily. In 1967, Canada received its second largest group of immigrants since World War II. Moreover since 1961, the number of professionals coming to Canada has not been less than fifty-four percent of the total number of immigrants. What is true of immigrants in general is also true of the East Indian inmigrant. The new policy has attracted East Indian immigrants and, annually, a larger number is arriving in Canada than in previous years. Many of these, however, have not come directly from India, but via other countries such as U.S.A., England and Africa. The domestic unrest in these countries was, in part responsible for their emigration to Canada. In spite of the recent increase of East Indian migration to Canada, they still constitute one of the smallest groups in this country. They are also one of the least known of ethnic groups in Canada, perhaps because in the past their number was too small to warrant attention.

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[34] J. Kage, op. cit., p. 49.

III.   Recent Studies of East Indians Abroad

The dearth of studies on East Indian immigrants in Canada is evidenced by the fact that during the last ten years or so, four studies of East Indian immigrants have appeared. Of these four, two deal with a specific group of immigrants, the Sikhs, who live in Vancouver. One is by Adrian C. Mayer entitled A Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver.[35] It deals only with the Sikh Community and its title is misrepresentative of its content. The Sikhs are part of the East Indian Community but represent 1.79% of India's total population. This tiny Indian minority cannot be said to be representative of East Indians (Hindu 83%). The second study by R. A. Button, Sikh Settlement in Lower Mainland of British Columbia 1904-1964, is what its title indicates.[36] A third study, an unpublished M.Ed. thesis by R. S. Pannu called - A Sociological Survey of Teachers from India Teaching in Alberta 1958-65.[37]

[35]Adrian C. Mayer, A Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver. A working paper published by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, The University of British Columbia, 1959.

[36]R. A. Button, Sikh Settlement in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia 1904-1968. Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1964.

[37]R. S. Pannu, A Sociological Survey of Teachers from India Teaching in Alberta 1958-65. M.Ed. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1966.

It addresses itself exclusively to a small group of East
Indian professionals engaged in high school teaching.
There is a fourth publication entitled The Indo-Canadian
which studies East Indian immigrants in Canada.[38] The
absence of more empirical research on immigrants from India
leads to a broad conclusion--this field is virgin territory
which merits greater investigation.

Although there is a dearth of literature on East
Indian immigrants in Canada, the results of a number of
studies on them as immigrants in settlements in other parts
of the world have recently appeared. One recent publica-
tion, Caste in Overseas Indian Communities, focusses on
caste as the variable against which changes in overseas
Indian settlements were studied.[39] The findings were
interesting in that in the view of some of the contributors,
caste was not as important a factor in social interaction
for East Indians Overseas as it is for them in India. For
instance, according to Smith and Jayawardena, who studied
the Guyanese Indian Community the "economic, political and
juridic (systems) are not structured on caste lines."[40]

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[38] Joy Inglis and Michael N. Ames, "Indian Immigrants
in Canada." The Indo-Canadian 3rd and 4th quarter, 68, p.
2-6.

[39] Barton M. Schwartz (ed.), Caste in Overseas Indian
Communities. Chandler Publishing House, San Francisco, Cal.,
1967.

[40] Smith and Jayawardena, "Caste and Social Status

Burton Benidict also observes that "Caste is not a very

important phenomena in the Social Structure of Mauritius."[41]

Caste was also "functionally a matter of little concern" in

the Hindu community in Trinidad according to Arthur Niehoff,

who was reporting on the situation in that country.[42]

In the opinion of other scholars, however, the con-

clusions regarding the importance of the caste factor are

completely different.[43] Morris points out that in Uganda,

East Africa, "the need for caste exclusiveness...was one of

the most important structural principles in organizing

Indian social life."[44] This difference in the importance or

otherwise of caste in overseas East Indian Communities can

be better understood by placing the study of East Indian

Overseas Settlement into one of the two categories,

indentured or non-indentured, suggested by Adrian C.

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among the Indians of Guyana" in Caste in Overseas Indian
Communities. Chandler Publishing House, San Francisco, Cal.,
1967.

[41]Burton Benidict, Caste in Mauritius" in Caste in
Overseas Indian Communities, B. M. Schwartz (ed.), Chandler
Publishing House, 1967.

[42]Arthur Niehoff, "The Function of Caste among the
Indians of Oropuche Lagoon, Trinidad," in Caste in Overseas
Indian Communities, B. M. Schwartz (ed.), Chandler Publish-
ing House, 1967.

[43]Dotson, Delf and Morris are some who feel that
caste is an important variable.

[44]H. S. Morris, "Caste Among Indians in Uganda" in
Caste in Overseas Indian Communities , B. M. Schwartz (ed.),
Chandler Publishing House, 1967.

Mayer.[45] The difference in the origin and composition of
those East Indian immigrants in East Africa and their
counterparts in other parts of the world could be the reason
for the emphasis on Caste by the former. The descendants
of indentured immigrants were less caste conscious because
their earliest experiences abroad in terms of gang labor
and life in barracks may have destroyed the caste values of
exclusion and touchability. The difference in caste con-
sciousness or absence of caste consciousness observed in the
various settlements of East Indians abroad may also be due
to semantics since caste has several sociological referents.[46]
For the purpose of this study the definition of Caste given
by G. Berreman will be used. He defines Caste as

> a hierarchy of endogamous divisions in which
> membership is hereditary and permanent.[47]

In the absence of research on East Indians in Canada,
the next best thing is to review the literature for existing
studies on East Indian immigrant groups similar in origin
and composition to the group in Canada. Two other studies
will be reviewed here. One is George Delf's - _Asians in_

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[45]A. C. Mayer, _Indians in Fiji, loc. cit._, p. 1.

[46]G. Berreman, "Caste in India and the United
States," _American Journal of Sociology_, 66 (1960) p. 120.

[47]G. Berreman, _ibid._, p. 44.

East Africa.[48]   Here the author attempts to describe the

East Indian Community in East Africa. He also attempts to

analyze recent trends and developments and the relationships

between the Asian and other ethnic groups in Kenya, Uganda

and Tanzania. Delf warns that:

> any attempt to depict the peculiar quality
> and purpose of Indian settlements in East
> Africa must soon come to terms with religious
> beliefs which divide the entire community
> into mutually exclusive compartments.[49]

It is also important to note the function of the caste

system in East Africa. It is used as a social frame of

reference "since they do not gain prestige in the African

hierarchy by their wealth alone."[50] Delf maintains that

the pattern of East Indian interaction in East Africa stems

from the fact that their social status in Africa is halfway

between European and African Communities. So they could

"make sense of themselves and their success only by refer-

ring to the caste system at home in India."[51] Even among

the Goans (Catholics) caste-consciousness is very strong.[52]

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[48]George Delf, _Asians in East Africa_, London Insti-
tute of Race Relations, Oxford, 1963.

[49]_Ibid._, p. 5.

[50]H. S. Morris, "Indians in East Africa," _British
Journal of Sociology_, 1956, No. 7, p. 194 ff.

[51]_Ibid._, p. 200.

[52]G. Delf., _op. cit._, p. 9.

Another recent study by Floyd and Lillian Dotson
is _The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi._[53]
The Dotsons call it an ethnography of (East) Indians in
Central Africa. They describe and discuss the nature of the
social interaction of this group of immigrants who live in
the plural societies of Africa. In the chapter on "Unity
and Disunity with the Indian Community" the authors state
that:

> in terms of an organized group headed by a
> legitimately established leadership, speak-
> ing for and representing the group, _vis-á-vis_
> no other group in collective action, there is
> no Indian community. Instead there are fact-
> ional differences based on caste, religion,
> personal loyalties or generational differences
> led by leaders more interested in their own
> prestige _vis-á-vis_ one another than in the
> interest or welfare of Indians as a whole.[54]

Religion, for the immigrant from India, draws the
sharpest and most persistent line of cleavage. This, ac-
cording to the Dotsons is supposed to be true especially in
large settlements overseas where reference is made by them
to _Hindu_ or _Muslim_ communities rather than to Indian commun-
ities. They maintain these religious cleavages by derog-
atory stereotypes; Hindus label Muslims as _fanatical_ while

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[53]Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson, _The Indian
Minority in Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi._ Yale University
Press, New Haven, 1967.

[54]_Ibid._, p. 189.

the Muslims see the Hindus as "undermocratic" because of the caste system, and also _devious_ and _untrustworthy_.[55]

Religious cleavages, the Caste system and the inter-generational conflict are some of the variables described at length in this in-depth study. The data-gathering techniques included semi-structured interviews, direct partic-ipant observation, an analysis of newspaper accounts, govern-ment reports, census tracts and archival material. Their major guide line was that culture is the "major determinant of human mentality."[56] They showed that the East Indians in Africa (like any migrant group) are continuously review-ing what they have inherited from the past and what they are learning from the present, in order that they may meet the needs presented by their life conditions.[57]

These studies showed, as did the earlier study by Thomas and Znaniechi that to obtain an understanding of a community there is a need to study the objective and sub-jective factors of social life. Not only should data on the demographic characteristics (like age and sex) of the immi-grant group be obtained, but one should also research social life in terms of valued ends and held attitudes. The

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[55]Dotsons, _ibid._, p. 191.

[56]Dotsons, _ibid._, p. 8.

[57]Dotsons, _ibid._, p. 192.

information gained from the above studies points the
prospective researcher to areas that are likely to be
ignored in studies of East Indian Communities, viz., caste,
religion, and regional origin which thereby helps to choose
the variables necessary to understand the East Indian
immigrant in Canada.

In this chapter a review of East Indian Migration
Overseas was undertaken. The East Indians appear to have
been successful in establishing and maintaining their iden-
tity in overseas settlements, though changes have occasion-
ally occurred. Caste has not been an important referent
for the descendants of <u>indentured laborers</u> while <u>free</u> or
<u>Passenger</u> immigrants have, according to some scholars, used
it as an important referent. Other variables discussed by
researchers of East Indian settlements are religious and
regional differences.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

In the following pages an attempt shall be made to
discuss the major methodological procedures utilized in this
study. The problems encountered during the various stages
in this research on East Indian immigrants in Winnipeg will
also be described here. The main source of data for this
study were obtained through the use of an interview sched-
ule.[1] This schedule was administered by the interviewer to
seventy-two independent heads of households selected at
random from the East Indian population in Winnipeg.[2] Use
was also made of available 1961 census data, of participant
observation and of information obtained from informants. No
psychological tests were used though the Bernreuter and Bell
were considered at first.[3] They were abandoned because they
appeared to be culture-bound and applicable fundamentally to

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[1]See Appendix I.

[2]The word _population_ was used instead of "community"
because, as pointed out earlier by scholars like Dotson and
Delf, though East Indians are culturally unified, internal
cleavages based on caste, religion and region, appear to be
present among them. Dotson, _loc. cit._, p. 189. Delf, _loc.
cit._, p. 9.

[3]Robert G. Bernreuter, _The Personality Inventory_,
Palo Alto, Calif. Consulting Psychologists Press Inc., and
Hugh M. Bell, _The Adjustment Inventory_, Palo Alto, Calif.,
Consulting Psychologist Press Inc.

the North American situation. Had these tests been used
on East Indians, the outcome could conceivably have led
to erroneous conclusions. Further, no attempt was made to
explore the unconscious aspects of East Indian satisfaction
with their immigration to Canada.

Defining the Universe

Anthony Richmond writing on research procedure
observes that:

> A difficulty facing anyone engaged in research
> concerning post-war immigrants in Canada is the
> absence of any listing of immigrants which would
> make the selection on a random sample basis
> possible.[4]

Richmond is partially correct in making this state-
ment. Some of the East Indians in Winnipeg, like members of
other migrant groups, come to this city and after a short
stay unobtrusively drift away. Reasons for leaving included
inability to find satisfactory work, dislike of the weather,
or better opportunities elsewhere. Therefore a list of immi-
grants from India could not be obtained readily from any sin-
gle source. This problem was compounded by another factor;
namely, the refusal of the India Association of Winnipeg to
release its mailing list to anyone, including its members.[5]

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[4]Anthony Richmond, op. cit., p. 282.

[5]A list of East Indians in Winnipeg prior to 1968
was obtained from the India Students Association which had
no such restrictive policy.

In compiling a list of East Indians in the city several sources were consulted.[6] The Henderson's Directory was checked and all Indian-sounding names were taken from it. In doubtful cases, the individual was phoned and asked if he was from India. A list compiled from these sources contained a roster of three hundred and thirteen names and addresses. It is possible that a few names might have been missed, but it is felt that this index of names and addresses is the most comprehensive of its kind for East Indians in Winnipeg.

The next step was defining the parameters of this study. It was to consist of immigrants, born in India, who were or had been gainfully employed in Canada. Moreover, the immigrants were required to have been in residence in Winnipeg for at least a year at the time data were being collected. By defining the universe of this study in that manner, a number of names were deleted from the list. These belonged to new arrivals, full time students, persons of East Indian origin from the West Indies and visitors to Canada. The final list consisted of two hundred and seventy-eight independent heads of households.[7] The sample for this

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[6]Among the other sources were East Indians in the insurance business who willingly exchanged names and addresses. Some Canadians and East Indians also co-operated in suggesting names of their East Indian friends.

[7]An independent head of a household is a person who

study was drawn from this universe.

The Population Characteristics

A recent publication prepared by the Canadian
Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of
State entitled, The Canadian Family Tree reported that the
number of East Indians in Canada according to the 1961
Census was 6,774, of which 4,526 were in British Columbia.
Ninety-five percent of this figure were Sikhs from the
Punjab.[8] Thus it was necessary to determine the actual
percentage of Sikhs in the East Indian population in Winni-
peg. To that end, copies of the index of names were given
to four East Indian informants (two University professors
and two Insurance agents) who were then asked to identify
the region, caste, and religion of persons whose names
appeared on the list.[9] By using this identification of

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may or may not be married, but resides in an independent
residence and is gainfully employed.

[8]The Canadian Family Tree, prepared by the Canadian
Citizenship Branch, Department of Secretary of State, pub-
lished in co-operation with the Centennial Commission,
Ottawa, 1967.

[9]According to Shakespear - "What's in a name? A
rose by any other name would smell just as sweet." Obvious-
ly he was referring to flowers not people. In the East
Indian context a name indicates the region of origin, the
religion, and the caste of the owner. Though this may not
always be true, the accuracy of the predictions was ninety-
eight percent. Indians, Jews, Parsees, and Christians can
also be identified by their names.

names technique, it became evident that the Sikhs in Winnipeg only constituted about twenty-five percent of the total population. The Hindus accounted for sixty-five percent, while others namely Muslims, Christians, Parsees and Jews together totalled ten percent.

The Winnipeg East Indian population, therefore, could be said to be a more inclusive sample of immigrants from India than was the over-representation of Sikhs in the population in Vancouver reported by the authors of the Canadian Family Tree.[10]

Further, though Hindus constitute the majority of the East Indian population in Winnipeg there appear to be cleavages based on regionalism and caste. The Sikhs form the majority from any one region or community though their overall percentage in Winnipeg is small.

The Sample

Since the East Indian population in Winnipeg appeared to be an adequate representation of East Indians overseas, it was decided that a random sample of the universe be drawn for the purpose of this study. The names of the two hundred and seventy-eight independent heads of households were arranged alphabetically. Beginning with the second name

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[10]Canadian Family Tree, op. cit., p. 89.

from the top of the list, every third name thereafter was
selected to be interviewed. This provided a new list of
ninety-two names. Eleven members from the proposed sample
had left town and hence, could not be interviewed. Three
in the sample were from Pakistan, two from the West Indies
and one was a student. Since these seventeen individuals
were not eligible for inclusion in the study their names
were deleted from the list. The remaining seventy-five
persons were interviewed by this researcher and his team.[11]
On completion of these interviews a substitution of other
names, at random, was done, to replace the names deleted.
But few of these persons were actually interviewed for
reasons discussed below.

Non-Response and Refusals

There were five outright refusals. Another seven
individuals agreed to be interviewed but failed to be at
home when the interviewer called. This occurred during the
later stages of data collecting and was attributed to a

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[11]The Dotsons, loc. cit., p. 187, observed that the
East Indians are a "people capable of understanding each
others behaviour and motivations in a way that outsiders
cannot." Hence East Indian graduates were used to do the
interviewing. Three had post-graduate degrees, one a B.A.
degree. They were the wives of professionals and were sel-
ected because they were knowledgable about the various
immigrants from India. They also recorded their impressions
of the interview and their insights proved to be very valu-
able later. They were permitted to select their interviewees
from the sample, because it was assumed that they would
thereby be able to get useful information more easily.

rumor among East Indians that the purpose of the research
was to collect data to be used against the respondents. The
rumor inhibited further interviews, and so interviewing was
stopped altogether.[12] Five of the total seventy-seven com-
pleted interviews were rejected as unusable because they
contained incomplete and contradictory information. Of
these five rejected interviews, three interviewees had in-
sisted on self-administering the schedule and had not ade-
quately completed it. The data from seventy-two subjects
provides the basis from which the conclusions of this study
will be drawn.

Collection of Data

Data for the study were collected during the months
of May, June and July, 1970. An interview schedule was
administered by the researcher and his aides to a randomly
selected sample of the East Indian population in Winnipeg.
The interview schedules were designed to provide answers to
the three major questions outlined below:

    1) Who are the immigrants?

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[12]An East Indian was found to have caused the rumor.
He admitted, when confronted with the interview schedule and
the purpose of the study, that he had made negative comments
to others. He promised to rectify them, and added "Why
didn't you come to me earlier, I could have helped you?" He
obviously had felt slighted at not being interviewed or
consulted.

2) Why did they emigrate?

3) What are the consequences of the immigration

experience for them?

1) Who are the immigrants? In attempting to answer

this question information relevant to four basic variables

namely, demographic, technological, historical and social,

were sought. These appear to be vital in answering who are

the immigrants. Characteristics, like age, sex and marital

status are included in the demographic variable. The tech-

nological variable refers to special skills produced by

education and training. The social variable delineates the

social class of the immigrants by origin, and by achievement.

The historical variable refers to the special historical

antecedents of the group.

2) Why did they emigrate? If any society is to

survive it must meet the minimum needs of its members. What

these needs are and the order of their importance is rela-

tive to the members of each society. When one or some or

all of these needs are not met by the conditions existing

within their society or a sector of it, certain members

develop dissatisfactions. Two points need to be stressed:

First, almost all people in all societies have some kind of

dissatisfactions with their respective social system. All

people generally have the capacity to tolerate some, though

not all, their dissatisfactions. For instance, they may be

dissatisfied with their financial status, with the educa-
tional system, with the religious traditions or with values
like religious freedom, or free enterprise. Whatever these
dissatisfactions are, individuals arrange them on the basis
of more highly-valued and less highly-valued needs. The
mere existence of dissatisfaction with unmet goals, does not
result in emigration.

Second, even if dissatisfaction with being deprived
of some valued goal exists, the society may have other ways
of meeting its members' needs. For example, the need for
material comfort may be met by emphasizing the value of
comfort in the Next World. Economic or social dissatis-
faction may be explained by religious doctrine as indeed,
caste inequalities are explained. Thus it would appear that
a high degree of dissatisfaction, caused by the deprivation
of some valued ends, is not a sufficient condition for
emigration. What is also required if emigration is to occur
is the perception, on the part of some members, that the
means to overcome the dissatisfactions of valued needs are
closed off permanently in the present situation, but that
these needs can be gratified elsewhere. Put differently,
the existence of a high degree of dissatisfaction due to the
deprivation of valued goals and the belief that the means to
overcome these deprivations do not exist in the present
setting, would perhaps make members ready to emigrate,

provided that they perceive better ways of gratifying

their unmet needs in some other social setting. The dec-

ision to emigrate has three preconditions: (i) a high

degree of dissatisfaction with the deprivation of some

important values, (ii) perception of the inability to meet

these deprivations in the place of origin, (iii) the per-

ception of better ways of meeting unmet needs in another

place. These elements are present in varying degrees in

any given case of immigration, although emigrants may not

be able to articulate them. Detecting and isolating these

needs is an important task for the researcher. Although an

emigrant may have arrived at a decision to emigrate, he is

seldom able to take cognizance of new dissatisfaction

caused by new deprivations which may arise in the new situ-

ation. If these new deprivations are unbearable, the

emigrant may regret his initial move. This leads to the

third question.

3) What are the results of the immigration exper-

ience? Immigrants seek a destination where they perceive

the satisfaction of unmet wants occurring with as little

disturbance as possible to their original social values.

They tend

> to emigrate to places where they see ways to
> overcome felt deprivations, but without giv-
> ing up, as far as possible, the satisfactions
> they were enjoying in the first place. In
> other words (the group) tries 'to eat its cake

and have it too.'[13]

If new dissatisfactions develop due to new deprivations or
if immigrants are unable to satisfy the deprivations which
initially motivated the emigration, then isolation into
enclaves or social stress or re-immigration may occur.
Further, the results of the immigration experience depend
not only upon the satisfaction of unmet needs; they also
depend upon the nature and kind of social exposure that the
immigrant experiences in the new situation. The friendship
circles, the self-identity and the new associational ties
and the intensity of such activities are some of the fac-
tors that influence the results of the immigration exper-
ience. The immigrant may find that he has to abandon some
of his values; he may have to compromise other values; he
may have to adapt new ones in the new situation. The
results of the immigration experience depend upon how these
three factors are combined into a new hierarchy of values
developed by individual immigrants. This has important
implications for immigrant satisfaction in the new situa-
tion.

The Interview Schedule

An interview schedule was designed to return data

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[13]J. J. Mangalam, Human Migration, loc. cit.,
p. 10.

in the three areas discussed above namely, who are the immigrants, why did they immigrate and what are the consequences of the immigration experience? The immigration experience was to be measured in terms of the items like income, type of work, job satisfaction and, in addition, perception of identity and participation in formal associations. Also included were certain subjective aspects such as assessment of social status, standard of living and the likes and dislikes of the country of origin and destination. The interview schedule used was adapted from one designed by the researcher and given to three East Indian professors of Sociology for comments and criticisms. The revised version was pre-tested on eight East Indian housewives and five students. After rewording and deleting a few questions for purposes of clarity, this schedule was used in the present study.

Test of Significance

As the sample was selected randomly the X^2 will be used to test for significance in interpreting the differences between caste, religion and other variables or in substantiating or rejecting the exploratory hypotheses.

Consistent with the literature and with the conceptualization of migration discussed in Chapters II and III, the following three exploratory hypotheses were postulated:

1 - There is a relationship between the
    origin of the immigrants and their
    motives for immigrating.

2 - There is a relationship between the
    social origin of the immigrants and
    the consequences of immigration.

3 - There is a relationship between the
    motives for migration and the conse-
    quences of the immigration experience.

As this is an exploratory study further hypotheses
will be developed as the data suggests.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF EAST INDIANS IN WINNIPEG

On October 1, 1967, revised immigration regula-
tions came into force in Canada, which legislated against
discrimination "by reason of race, colour or religion."[1]
These regulations finally removed the restrictions placed
upon Asian and other non-white immigrants in 1910 and 1919.[2]
Previously, immigrants were considered undesirable because
their culture or their climatic conditions were different
from those contained in Canada. The present regulations,
by emphasizing education, professional skills and the point-
ratings of the potential immigrant on the assessment unit
system, have enabled immigrants from Asia to enter Canada
in increasing numbers.[3]

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[1]Canadian Immigration Policy 1966, Queen's Printer,
Ottawa, 1966, p. 6.

[2]Orders-in-Council under an Act of 1910 used the
'continuous' journey clause. This has been discussed in
chapter III, p. 49. The Orders-in-Council in 1919 deemed
'undesirable' immigrants from Tropical countries. See
chapter III (above) for details.

[3]The Canadian Family Tree, loc. cit., reports that
increase in East Indian immigration since 1961 has been
forty percent. This increase is not alarming when one keeps
in mind the fact that the quota system allowing 300 immi-
grants from India was removed in 1967. Asians totaled 2.66%
of immigrants entering Canada during 1946-65. Cf A. Richmond,
loc. cit., p. 5.

The objective of this chapter is to present a dis-
cussion of those characteristics of East Indian immigrants
in Winnipeg which will help us to understand their exper-
iences in Canada. The characteristics discussed are: age,
marital status, number of children, family type, linguistic
region, caste and religion.

Age

At the time data were collected twenty-two respon-
dents (30.7%) were over forty years of age on December 31,
1969. Over half of the respondents in the sample specif-
ically, thirty-seven individuals (51.3%) were in their
thirties, while thirteen respondents (18%) were less than
thirty years of age (Table I). The two oldest individuals
in the sample were sixty-two years and fifty-five years of
age respectively. The two youngest respondents were both
twenty-two years old. All were post-war immigrants and
none had been in Canada for more than twelve years. In
other words, the majority of East Indian immigrants to
Winnipeg is a relatively young group, who will for a number
of years, contribute its skills to the labour force of
Canada. These immigrants, it should also be noted, are not
related to the first batch of East Indian settlers who came
to Canada at the turn of the century.

TABLE I

AGE OF EAST INDIAN RESPONDENTS IN WINNIPEG
ON DECEMBER 31, 1969

Age	Number	Per cent
Before 1909	2	2.6
1910-1919	4	5.4
1920-1929	16	22.7
1930-1939	37	51.3
1940-1949	13	18.0
Total	72	100.0

Sex

Of the seventy-two respondents included in the
sample, sixty-two individuals (86.2%) were male. The remain-
ing ten (13.8%) are females. The sample was drawn from a
list of East Indian Immigrants who were the heads of house-
holds. It excluded working wives and hence was similar in
this respect to the sample used by Richmond in his study.[4]
A second point of similarity is noted when comparing the
percentage distribution, in terms of sex, of males to fe-
males. Richmond reported eighty-seven percent male and
twelve percent female in a national sample size of four
hundred and seventy-eight respondents. These data are
shown in Table II below.

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[4]A. Richmond, loc. cit., p. 34.

TABLE II

COMPARISON BY SEX OF THE WINNIPEG EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS
AND THE IMMIGRANTS IN RICHMOND'S NATIONAL SAMPLE

Sex	East Indians in Winnipeg Per 100	National sample* Per 100
Male	86.2	87.4
Female	13.8	12.6
Total	100.0	100.0

*From A. Richmond, loc. cit., p. 35.

Marital Status

The marital status of the East Indian immigrants is
presented in Table III. This table shows that sixteen were
single at the time data were collected. Of the remaining
fifty-seven immigrants, fifty-three (73.5%) were married.
One respondent in the Sample was widowed single and one
divorced single.

TABLE III

MARITAL STATUS OF A SAMPLE OF EAST INDIANS IN WINNIPEG
AT THE TIME OF INTERVIEW

Marital status	Number	Per cent
Single	16	22.7
Widowed single	1	1.3
Divorced single	1	1.3
Married	53	73.4
Widowed married	1	1.3
Divorced remarried	0	0.0
Total	72	100.0

The year of marriage and the year of entry into Canada were also obtained, and from these dates the marital status of East Indian immigrants at the time of entry into Canada was computed. When the ratio of married-to-single East Indian respondents was compared to a similar ratio reported by Richmond, in his study it was noted that the East Indian immigrants had a much higher married-to-single ratio than other post war immigrants.[5] The difference in the married ratios is more than fifteen percentage points. The demands made for consumer goods and on the construction industry by about three quarters of the immigrants from India in Winnipeg, cannot but help the economy of Manitoba.

TABLE IV

A COMPARISON OF MARITAL STATUS ON ENTRY BETWEEN THE
SAMPLE OF EAST INDIANS IN WINNIPEG AND RICHMOND'S
NATIONAL SAMPLE

Marital status	East Indians[a] Per 100	National sample[b] Per 100
Single	26.4	42.1
Married, widowed or divorced	73.6	57.9
Total	100.0	100.0

[a]East Indians sampled numbered 72.

[b]Richmond, op. cit., p. 35. The total number sampled was 478.

_____

[5]A. Richmond, loc. cit., p. 35.

While nineteen of the respondents in the sample were single immigrants on arrival in Canada, three of the bachelors had changed their marital status by the time of the interview. Two others were engaged to marry East Indian spouses from their region and their caste in India. Of the three who had married, two had married spouses from the home country, while one had married a non East-Indian. The over- all opinion regarding choice of mate appeared to be deter- mined by cultural similarity and to a certain extent by caste considerations. This will be discussed under caste later. East Indian immigrants, in comparison to other immigrants to Canada, have a greater tendency to marry before they leave their home country. This fact colours their participa- tion in Canadian society and their subsequent experiences in Canada, in a significant manner. Where the spouse knows very little English, the extent of cultural shock often res- ults in withdrawal from any contact or associations requir- ing communication in English. At the same time, interaction may be increased within a small group composed of members of the same region from India. Though the opposite is possible, the traditional submissive, non-aggressive role of the Indian woman is likely to prevent that alternative from occurring.

Size of Family

It was only among the older couples, thirty-five years and older, that families consisting of three or more

children were found. A representative respondent from
this older group gave the following explanation. "My family
was completed and was the size it is today (4 children)
before I went abroad twelve years ago." Another respondent
who is a University professor explained his family situation
in this manner:

> As you know, we men in India marry early, often
> by age twenty. I have five children, the oldest
> a son is in a University, the youngest a daugh-
> ter is in high school. All are in India because
> I do not want my daughters to grow up here and
> marry these people (Canadian). I dislike being
> separated from my family, but I'm here for their
> sake. If my children came here, they would be
> set back in their education program because they
> don't know English.

It appears as if older East Indian immigrants who
have grown-up children who do not know English, have given
immigration and amalgamation a great deal of thought before
permitting themselves no family life in Canada.

The sample showed that younger couples have smaller
size families: these range in size from no children,
reported by six respondents (8.3%); while eighteen respond-
ents (25%) each had only one child and nine (12.5%) each had
two children. This small size of the East Indian family
could be explained by the fact that most of the couples were
young adults who had either married recently or just before
they had emigrated to Canada. However, three young couples
below thirty-five years of age, each had three children.
The reason for the third child was similar in each case. It

was based on the desire of the couple to have a son. As
Mandelbaum observed, "No marital union is thought to be
really complete unless it is blessed with a son."[6] For the
wife, the first son,...."gives her higher esteem in the
family, a greater degree of independence, and the right to
have her voice heard in the women's quarters."[7] This
desire for a male child among East Indians is not unique, as
it exists in other societies as well.[8]

When the family size of East Indian couples in
Winnipeg (family of procreation) is compared to the size of
their parent's family, (family of orientation) a remarkable
difference is observed. Among the East Indian immigrants
in Winnipeg, couples having one-child families constitute
the largest group. There is only one respondent who has
five children. Among the East Indian immigrant's parents
the opposite appears to be the case. Only two respondents
(2.7%) stated that they were the only child in their family.

[6]D. Mandelbaum, "The Family in India" in Ruth Anshen
(ed.) The Family its Functions and Destiny. Harper and
Brothers, 1959, p. 179.

[7]F. H. Das, Purdah, London, George Routledge and
Sons, 1934, p. 107.

[8]Abdulla M. Lutifiyya, Baytin - A Jordanian Village.
Mouton and Co., The Hague, The Netherlands, 1966, p. 146.
Also Francis L. K. Hsu, "The Family in China - The Class-
ical Form," in Ruth Anshen (ed.) The Family its Functions
and Destiny. Harper and Brothers, 1959, p. 131.

Twenty-three respondents (31.9%) stated that they were one

of seven children in their parent's homes. The trend from

large family size to smaller families is a result of the

processes of urbanization, industrialization and western-

alization according to some scholars and it has sparked a

great deal of controversy in sociological circles. Table

V shows the intergenerational change in family size of East

Indians in Winnipeg.

Type of Family Organization

Irawati Karve, a cultural anthropologist from Poona,

India, points out that "Three things are absolutely necess-

ary for an understanding of any cultural phenomena in

India."[9] As these three factors the family organization,

the institution of caste and the linguistic regions, supply

the basis of all aspects of Indian culture, no study of East

Indian culture and therefore no study of East Indians is

complete without a discussion of each one of these three

characteristics.

In India almost all types of family organizations

are joint or extended; nuclear or single; patriarchial or

matriarchial; patrilineal or matrilineal; polygamous or

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[9]Irawati Karve, Kinship Organization in India.
Deccan College Monograph Series, 11, Poona, India: Deccan
College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1953, p. 1.
See also "Family Jati, village" in Structure and Change in
Indian Society.

TABLE V

A COMPARISON OF THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION WITH THE SIZE OF THE
FAMILY OF PROCREATION OF EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG

Number of children		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 and more	Total
Respondents family size	No.	24*	18	9	12	8	1	0	0	72
	Per 100	33.3	25.0	12.0	16.6	11.1	1.3	0	0	100
Respondents parents' family size	No.	0	2	6	13	7	10	11	23	72
	Per 100	0	2.7	8.8	18.0	9.7	13.8	15.2	31.9	100

*18 respondents (25%) in this column are single.

polyandrous are all features of the Indian family mosaic.

This means that any generalization about the family "must

be subject to numerous exceptions and amendments in local

particulars."[10] In spite of these variations, the model of

the family in India, prescribed by the sacred Hindu books

and in existence for centuries is the Joint Family.[11] In

the ideal form it consists of a man, his spouse and their

children, plus their children to the third or fourth genera-

tion. The women of the household are the wives, unmarried

daughters and the widows of deceased kinsmen. There is a

common kitchen in which food is prepared for the whole

household. The senior male is the manager of family funds

and the decision-maker whose authority is seldom counter-

manded.[12]

Some sociologists argue that most parts of the

world are undergoing a revolution in family structure.[13]

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[10]D. Mandelbaum, The Family in India, Milton Singer
and Bernard Cohn (eds.). Aldine Publishing Company, Chica-
go, 1968, p. 167.

[11]Ibid., p. 168.

[12]Summarized from Mandelbaum, p. 168 ff.

[13]William Goode, World Revolution and Family Pat-
terns, London: The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier Macmillan
1963. Talcott, Parsons, et al., Theories of Society, New
York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, p. 257.

They predict that the predominant type of family in the
future will be the nuclear family—consisting of parents and
their unmarried children. The forces that appear to whittle
down the size of the joint family are industrialization,
urbanization and Westernization. Variations of the hypo-
thesis that the nuclear family is functionally appropriate
for the modern, urban, industrial setting are associated by
different students with the names of Parsons, Weber, Wirth,
Linton, Burgess and Locke.[14] An excellent study which dis-
cusses the variables, processes and issues involved in
testing the hypothesis that the nuclear family is functional
or otherwise for the modern, industrial economy is Pauline
M. Kolenda's paper, "Region, Caste and Family Structure."[15]
The relevance of the type of family organization for this
study lies in the fact that the East Indian respondent has
been socialized in a specific type of family organization
which will have an influence on his experiences as an

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[14]E. Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended
Family Cohesion." American Sociological Review, 25 p. 9 ff,
attributes the hypothesis to Parsons. Erwin Johnson "The
Stem Family and its Extension in Present Day Japan."
American Anthropologist 66, p. 839 ff, attributes it to Max
Weber while Aileen Ross, The Hindu Family in its Urban
Setting, Toronto University Press 1961, attributes it to
Linton, Burgess and Locke, p. 26 ff.

[15]P. M. Kolenda, "Region, Caste, and Family Struc-
ture" in M. Singer and Cohn (eds.) Structure and Change in
Indian Society. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1968.

immigrant. Respondents were therefore asked about their

family of orientation and their replies are recorded below.

TABLE VI

THE TYPES OF FAMILIES OF ORIENTATION IN WHICH
VARIOUS RESPONDENTS WERE SOCIALIZED

Family type lived with	Number	Per 100
Joint family	19	26.7
Nuclear family	46	63.7
Relatives away from parents	6	8.3
In an orphanage	1	1.3
Total	72	100.0

Nineteen of the respondents (26.7%) said they lived

in India in a joint family setting. Forty-six (63.7%)

lived in nuclear families, while six individuals (8.3%)

lived or were looked after by relatives. As only eight of

the respondents were from rural areas (Table VII), it

appears as if the joint-family type is also found in at

least fifteen percent of the urban areas in India, from

which these respondents originate. The data could also in-

dicate that individuals responded to the question according

to their understanding of the term joint family.[16]   So

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[16]To some the term _Joint Family_ may signify common-
sality, i.e. they eat food from one kitchen. To others it
may mean _residence_, living in one household. Others may

TABLE VII

LOCATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION
OF EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG

Major decisions made by	Number	Per 100
Father	34	47.4
Mother	5	6.9
Grand parents and all adult members	31	43.0
No response	2	2.7
Total	72	100.0

when the replies to this question are compared with the ones
given on family authority, the picture changes. This shift
is presented in Table VII.

Though nineteen respondents (26.3%) said they were
socialized in a joint family, thirty-one respondents (43%)
stated that major decisions were made by grandparents and
all adult members. As the authority of elders is typical of
the joint family system, one can interpret these data as
showing that thirty-one persons (43%) and not nineteen in-
dividuals (26.3%) as mentioned by the respondents themselves,
live in a joint family setting. According to this criterion
kinship responsibility and the authority of the elders
extend beyond the sphere of locality--a fact succinctly

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refer to _authority_ as the criterion of a joint family set-
up.

pointed out by B. R. Agarwal.[17]

Mate Selection

Regarding marriage and the choice of spouse, two important factors must be investigated; one deals with who chooses the mate, the other concerns itself with how selection is done. One respondent (1.3%) felt that the elders should choose the spouse <u>without</u> the consent of the individual to be married. Forty-seven individuals (65.4%) felt that the elders should be consulted, while twenty-four persons (33.3%) favoured the exercising of free individual choice.

Respondents who said that they would choose a mate after consulting their parents, gave the following typical reason for the decision: "The elders have greater knowledge about the prospective mate's family." Table VIII shows who ought to select the marital partner according to the respondents.

Mate Selection: Parents' Marriage

Respondents were asked to indicate whether their parents' marriage had been arranged or not. One respondent (1.3%) refused to answer the question. Sixty-seven (<u>93.2%</u>)

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[17]B. R. Agarwal, "In a Mobile Commercial Community" in <u>Sociological Bulletin</u>, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1955, p. 141.

TABLE VIII

WHO SHOULD DO THE SELECTION OF THE MARITAL PARTNER
IN EAST INDIAN HOUSEHOLDS?

	Number	Per 100
Parents select mate without couples consent	1	1.3
Parents select mate with couples consent	47	65.4
Free choice of individuals	24	33.3
Total	72	100.0

stated that their parents' marriage had been arranged, while

four (5.5%) said that their parents had made their own choice

of mate. Details are shown in Table IX.

TABLE IX

SHOWING HOW MATE-SELECTION PATTERNS HAVE CHANGED
IN ONE GENERATION OF EAST INDIAN FAMILIES

Mate selection patterns	Parents		Respondents	
	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100
Arranged by elders within Caste and Community	67	93.2	29	40.3
Outside Caste and Community	4	5.5	18	25.1
Own choice but within Caste	--	--	21	29.1
No reply/refused	1	1.3	4	5.5
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0

Mate Selection: Respondents' Marriage

Regarding their own marriage and the selection of
their own marital partner, four respondents (5.5%) refused
to answer the question on the grounds that it was too per-
sonal. Eighteen other respondents (25%) stated that they
had decided not to marry any person of East Indian origin.
The remaining fifty respondents (70%) stated that regarding
a marital partner, they did not look beyond their own com-
munity and caste. Of these fifty respondents, twenty-one
(29.1%) stated that they alone would choose their life-
partner. The remaining twenty-nine respondents (40.3%)
admitted that the choice of _their_ mate was the concern of
their parents. They were traditional-directed and would
marry a person from their community whom their parents had
chosen for them. A comparison of inter-generation choice
of mates among East Indians is shown in Table IX.

Caste

As Caste appears to be an important factor in choice
of mate, it will be described in the following pages. To
most non-East Indians Caste epitomizes the undemocratic and
unprogressive aspect of a social stratification system. It
is undemocratic because the superordinate/subordinate posi-
tions which characterize the Caste system are based on
ascription of status rather than its achievement. This

situation is rationalized by the theories of reincarnation:
one is supposedly born into a certain Caste because of one's
performance in previous lives (Karma). One moves into a
higher Caste in the next life if one does one's Caste duty
in this life (Dharma). There are four traditional Castes
in India: Brahmin (priests), Kshatryia (soldiers), Vaishas
(merchants), and Sudras (Artisans). Outside these categor-
ies is the untouchables. Each Caste has innumerable sub-
castes. If a Brahmin does not perform his duty according
to the requirements of his Caste he may be reborn in the
next incarnation into a Sudra Caste, while a Sudra could, if
he did his duty, be reborn into a higher Caste (Rebirth and
the transmigration of souls).

An individual is born into a caste which is his for
a life-time and, in this sense, caste is viewed as being
unprogressive. The son of a cobbler is a son of a cobbler,
regardless of his education, occupation and skills. Higher-
caste members will not give their daughters in marriage to
this person. The caste structure has endured for four
thousand years because of the adherence to the rule of
endogamy.

Caste does not equate to occupation, though in the
past members of a certain caste performed specific types of
work and the caste was identified by the type of work. But
this situation has changed in recent years. Although most

Sudras are still artisans, potters, cobblers and craftsmen, one may find members of this caste performing services that were not available to them earlier, i.e. there are Sudra physicians, engineers and professors. What has been said about the Sudra caste is applicable in a lesser degree to the upper castes: many castes have priests who are not Brahmin; farming is open to all. One does not have to be a Vaishya to be a trader or a Kshatriya to be a soldier, but caste is not equivalent to class. In every caste there are educated and uneducated, rich and poor, well-born and low-born members. Within each caste there is an open class structure where social mobility prevails.

There is another dimension to caste to be described.. Caste is not synonymous with skin colour. A Brahmin is no less a Brahmin if he is jet black, an untouchable is no less an untouchable if fair.[18] If one compares skin colour with reference to regions, a Brahmin from the South is darker than a Sudra from the North as people from these two regions have different skin colours. Since colonial rule there has been some mixing of gene-pools among non-Indian and Indian populations of lower castes, which has led to the folk saying "Beware of a fair Brahmin from a region where the people are dark and a dark Brahmin from a region where people are fair."

[18]Taya Zinkin, <u>Caste Today</u>, Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 127.

People in India refuse to have social intercourse with the untouchable not with the black man. "White men after all are also untouchables."[19]

Finally, though caste is traditionally structured with the Brahmin on top of the hierarchy and the Sudra below, the social position of a caste varying from region to region in India. For instance, the Sudra are lower caste in the Uttar Pradesh and the top caste in Bengal.[20]

During this study, an individual (also an academic) referred to a certain professor who was from his region as "putting on airs in Canada because he was a Brahmin." According to this informant, Brahmins from that area had for centuries performed low level clerical tasks for his (the informant's) caste, which was at the top of the proverbial totem pole. This story was checked with other individuals from the same region who admitted it to be true. This would indicate that socially, one cannot judge an individual by his caste without knowing how the caste structure is set up in a specific region.

The Muslims, Christians, Jews and Sikhs who were converted from Hinduism into these religions were usually from the lower castes, though a few from the higher castes

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[19]Taya Zinkin, op. cit., p. 127.

[20]Op. cit.

were also converted. It is the latter group who maintain their caste-identity, though their claims to status even if valid is viewed with suspicion by all.

For the reasons discussed above, the institution of caste is a subject of considerable delicacy and embarrassment to the East Indian abroad.[21] The accepted public stance is "to deny its validity, to deny that one ever individually accepted it, and to deny any concrete application of it."[22] In fact, East Indians, born and educated in a caste setting, have internalized its values despite verbalized claims to the contrary. In an urban environment like Winnipeg, caste practices regarding defilement and distance are supposed to be difficult to adhere to, especially since the rules of social reciprocity demand that cocktails and dinner parties be occasionally given in one's home to work-colleagues. During this research, it was observed how, in one East Indian family, modern technology aided the maintenance of the rules of defilement. Disposable plates and mugs were given to non-caste guests--European and Indian alike-- while caste-equals at the same gathering were served in china plates. The conveniences of modern industry can thus be used either to minimize defilement of one group by another or to

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[21] Dotson, op. cit., p. 27.
[22] Dotson, op. cit., p. 27.

increase contact between various groups. The reader ought
to be warned, moreover, that in most cases East Indians who
use disposable plates in Canada do so for its convenience
rather than to maintain distance.

Respondents' Caste Affiliations

Some eight individuals (11.2%) refused to answer the
question on caste. They cited the fact that the constitu-
tion of India did not require this information, or that they
did not believe in it. Of the thirty-nine respondents who
said they were Hindu by religion, twenty-eight gave their
caste as being either Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaisha. Of the
sixteen (22.4%) who were Sikh by religion, half the number
equated being a Sikh to having a caste, while the other half
claimed they did not have a caste. In other words, some
Sikhs showed awareness of the fact Sikhism grew to some ex-
tent out of the desire to get away from the caste system.

The conclusion from this data is that though Sikhism
is a religion which denies the caste system it has not been
able to rid itself of caste overtones since some Sikhs in the
sample (50%) regarded being a Sikh as being a member of a
specific caste. What is true of Sikhs is true of Christians
and other religious minorities of India. Two Christians also
stated that they were high-caste members, thereby showing
that even Christianity was not free of caste overtones in
India and among East Indians, education and foreign experience

notwithstanding. The responses to the caste question are shown in Table X.

TABLE X

HOW RESPONDENTS IN WINNIPEG REPLIED TO THE
QUESTION ON CASTE AFFILIATION

Caste Affiliation	Number	Per 100
Don't have a caste	11	15.3
Don't believe in caste	24	33.3
Brahmin	11	15.2
Kshtriya	10	13.8
Vaishya	8	11.2
Refused to answer	8	11.2
Total	72	100.0

The researcher also probed the respondents' attitude towards caste by asking the question 'what is your opinion about caste?' To this question sixty-six (91.6%) of the respondents, almost the same number as those in the upper professional occupations in Canada, stated that caste was either not essential or was wrong morally, socially and in other ways. Of the remaining six respondents, four (5.5%) felt that caste was essential while two refused to answer the question. When the identification of names technique was applied, it was usually found that the questions on caste annoyed those bearing prestigious caste names more than it did those who did not have such names, indicating their sensitivity to this issue.

When the responses discussed above are compared to
the responses on selection of mates (Table IX) an inter-
esting development occurs. Above ninety-one percent stated
either that caste was wrong or not essential, yet only one-
quarter on the question of mate-selection felt that a mate
could be found outside one's caste. The discrepancy between
the lip-service opinion and the actual attitude cannot but
be observed. This does not mean that the respondents were
trying to deceive the researcher. A more probable explan-
ation is that they view caste as two levels. The primary
group level and the secondary group level. At the primary
group level of mate selection caste is important while it is
wrong or not essential at the secondary group level of inter-
action.

Besides the diversity arising from family type and
caste there are further divisions due to religion, and
region. All the major religions of the world are represent-
ed in India and, in addition, there are also some local
religions.

The Religious Affiliations of Respondents

In this sample, the Hindus form the largest relig-
ious group, being represented by thirty-nine respondents
(54%). The Sikhs, sixteen in number in the sample (22%)
formed the next largest group, while Muslims and Christians
each have six respondents (8.3%). The Parsees and Jews in

the sample are greatly over-represented in the sample. In
India they are a microscopic minority of less than one per-
cent of the total population. Table XI presents a compar-
ison of the various religious groups of East Indian respond-
ents in Winnipeg with the religious groups in India.

TABLE XI

A COMPARISON OF EAST INDIAN RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN WINNIPEG
WITH THAT OF SIMILAR GROUPS IN INDIA*

Religion	India Per 100	Winnipeg Per 100
Hindu	83.50	54.3
Muslim	10.70	8.3
Christian	2.44	8.3
Sikh	1.79	22.1
Buddhist and Jains	1.20	--
Others, including Parsees, Jews	0.37	7.0
Total	100.00	100.00

*Figures are taken from The Gazetter of India, Vol.
1, The Government of India 1965, p. 501.

The Hindus, it is observed, are under-represented
in the sample in Winnipeg for (probably) the same reason
that the Muslims are under-represented. Not all members of
these groups would qualify for immigration nor would all be
desirous of leaving India. Christians are over-represented
because the Christians have ties through Christianity and
missionary activities in India. The noticeable difference
is in the absence of members of the Buddhist and Jain

religions in Winnipeg. Small numbers could be a reason.
On the other hand, both religions stress the spiritual,
ascetic aspects of life rather than the material aspects of
life. Since the West is looked upon as a materialistic
society, members of these faiths probably do not view Canada
as an attractive place to emigrate to.

The high Sikh representation has a historical
reason. The Sikh soldiers in 1887 returned after celebrat-
ing Queen Victoria's Jubilee by way of Canada. Their
reports of Canada resulted in the first large group of
immigrants arriving in Vancouver in 1904. After the suc-
cessful implementation of the restrictions on East Indian
immigration (1919) only relatives were allowed. Hence the
Sikhs have been more aware of opportunities in Canada than
any other group from India. From this one may conclude
that, except for certain ascetic religious groups, the
religious minorities tend to have a higher ratio of immigra-
tion than do both the dominant group and the dominant
minority.

Geographical Mobility

Data regarding the Rural or Urban background of
respondents were sought by the questionnaire. The response
shows that eight individuals (11.1%) had, until sixteen
years of age, spent most of their life in a village setting,
while sixty-four persons (88.9%) were from town or city

backgrounds.[23] The rural-urban percentage distribution

in the sample was compared with that of the percentage dis-

tribution of India where "from 80 to 85 percent of the

Indian people live in villages."[24]

The sample from the East Indian population of

Winnipeg shows that it is not representative of the rural-

urban population in India, since it is predominantly urban,

while the population in India is predominantly rural. It

may, however, be representative of all immigrants from India

in the last decade for according to one of Ravenstein's

"Laws of migration" internal migrants move in short steps

or hops from village to town, to large town, to city and

from city to another city.

When a comparison was made between those who

lived in a particular setting till age sixteen and those

who have lived in that setting all of their life (Table XII),

it was found that nineteen of the respondents had been

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[23]The term village or rural setting is used if the
majority of persons are engaged in agricultural occupations,
while city or urban setting is one in which occupation is in
the main, non-agricultural. In India, where cultivation is
non-mechanized, a village may have a larger population than
a town. Likewise, social differentiation based on caste and
family may be greater in a village than in a town and son of
a cobbler is just that in a village setting, while in the
city he may be a professor of repute.

[24]G. Breeze, Urbanization in Newly Developing
Nations. Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966,
p. 24.

geographically mobile in India itself. The general direc-
tion of the migrants had been from a small town to a large
town, thereby verifying Ravenstein's statement on migration.

TABLE XII

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY IN INDIA, OF RESPONDENTS
IN THE WINNIPEG SAMPLE

Lived	Till age 16		Most of my life	
	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100
In a village	8	11.1	6	8.3
In a small town	38	52.9	21	29.3
In a large city	26	36.0	43	59.7
No response	0	0	2	2.7
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0

Of India's more than five hundred million people,
less than five percent live in cities. It is from this per-
centage of the urban population of India that ninety percent
of the present sample of Winnipeg population represents.

Region of Origin of East Indians in the Sample

Data regarding the region of origin of East Indian
respondents in the sample were obtained by asking the ques-
tion 'what State or territory are you originally from?'
Twenty-five alternatives were possible. These were then
collapsed on the basis of broad cultural similarity and
geographical proximity, into the following six categories:

Northern India:	Jammu and Kashmir	2
	Punjab	16
	Delhi	4
		22 respondents
Western India:	Rajastan	1
	Gujarat	9
	Maharastra	6
	Goa	2
		18 respondents
South India:	Mysore	5
	Madras	4
	Kerala	6
	Andhra	3
		18 respondents
Central India:	Uttar Pradesh	4
	Bihar	5
	Orissa	0
	Madhya Pradesh	0
		9 respondents
Eastern India:	West Bengal	4
	Assam	1
	Manipur	0
	N.E.F.P.	0
		5 respondents
Other territories:	--	0

The reasons for the largest number of respondents coming from the North have already been discussed above. The respondents from Gujarat appear to be the group with the next highest representation in the sample. Traditionally they have been traders who, in the past, used both overland and sea routes. Their awareness of opportunities in other parts is linked to that body of traders and professionals who catered to the needs of 'indentured' laborers in the early nineteenth century. From the State of Kerala, four of the

AREA OF ORIGIN OF RESPONDENTS IN THE WINNIPEG SAMPLE
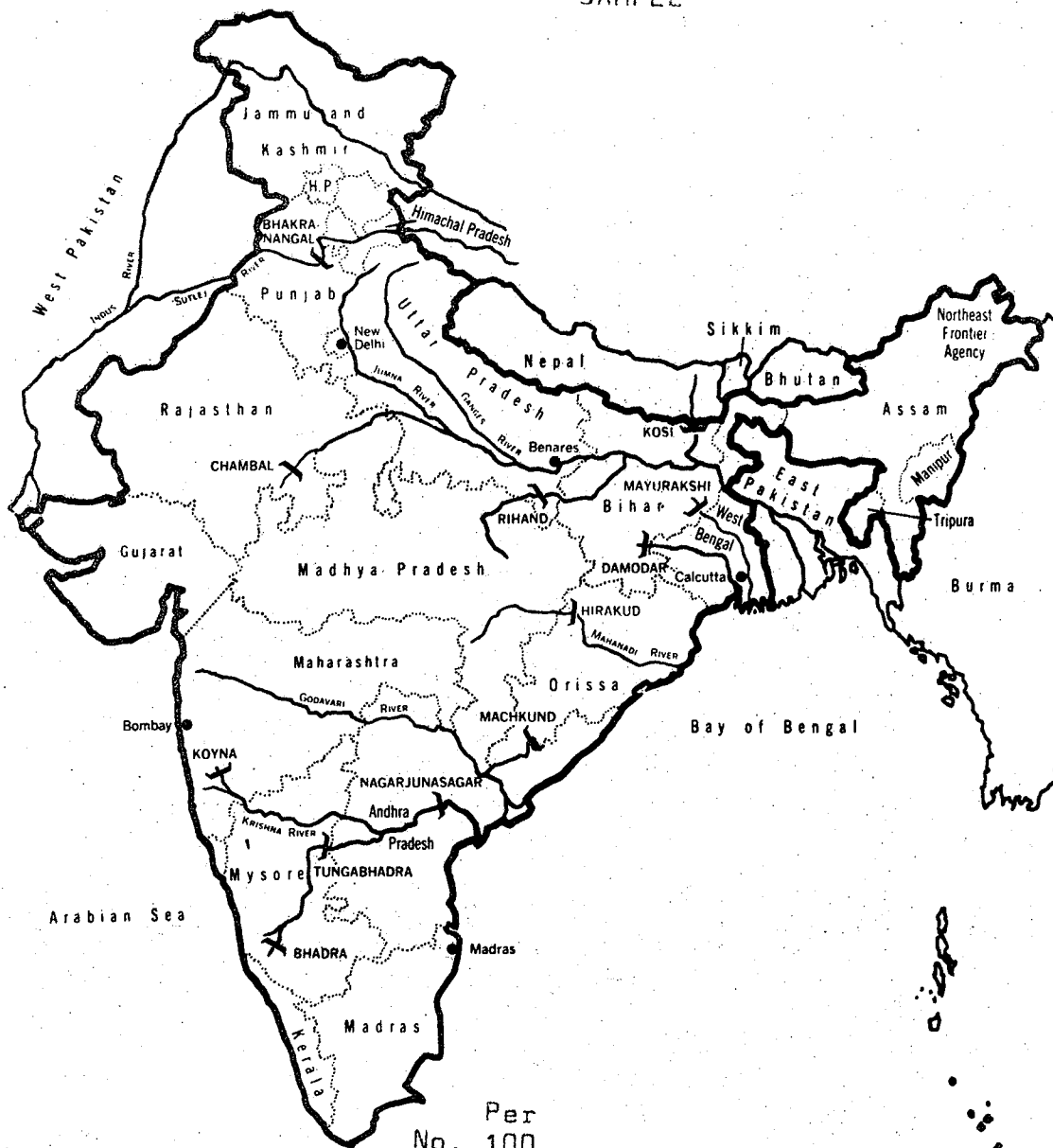
		No.	Per 100
(1)	**NORTHERN INDIA**		
	Jammu & Kashmir 2		
	The Punjab 16	22	30.5
	Delhi 4		
(2)	**WESTERN INDIA**		
	Rajasthan 1		
	Gujarat 9		
	Maharashtra 6	18	25.1
	Goa 2		
(3)	**SOUTHERN INDIA**		
	Mysore 5, Andhra 3		
	Madras 4, Kerala 6	18	25.1

		No.	Per 100
(4)	**CENTRAL INDIA**		
	Uttar Pradesh - 5		
	Bihar 4, Orissa 0	9	12.4
	Madhya Pradesh 0		
(5)	**EASTERN INDIA**		
	West Bengal 4		
	Assam 1	5	6.9
	Manipur 0		
	N.E.F.A. 0		

DISTRIBUTION OF EAST INDIAN RESPONDENTS IN WINNIPEG
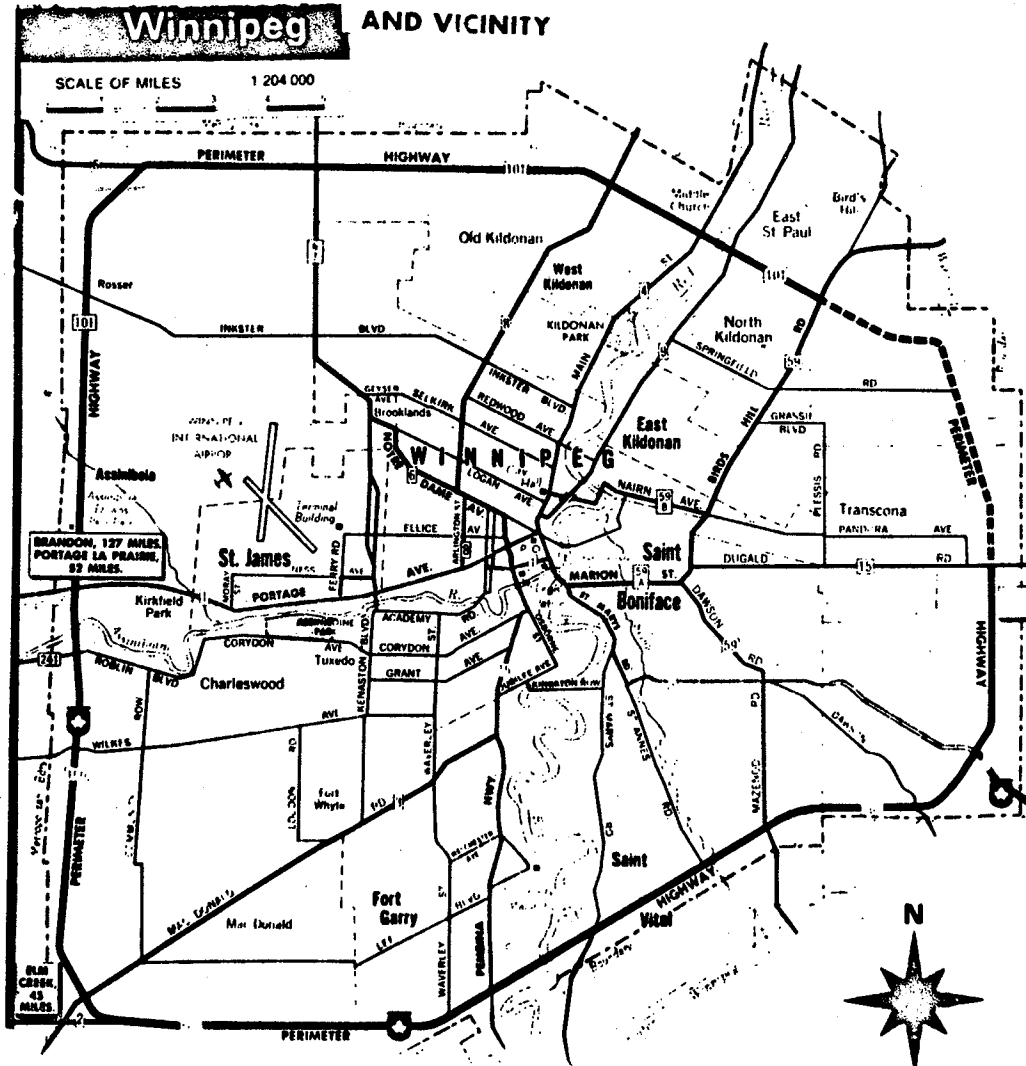
	No.	Per 100
St. James-Assiniboia	43	59.9
Fort Garry	12	16.7
St. Vital	8	11.2
St. Boniface	5	6.9
East Kildonan	1	1.3
West Kildonan	1	1.3
Down Town Winnipeg	2	2.7
	72	100.0

six Christians in the sample. This is representative
of the population of that region where the majority are
Christian.

In Winnipeg, the greater number of respondents
appear to reside in the St.James-Assiniboia municipality.
This should not be construed as indicating the formation of
an Indian ghetto in Winnipeg. Most East Indians appear to
desire to live away from their fellow-countrymen because as
one respondent put it "I didn't come here to live with East
Indians." In explaining the absence of an East Indian
ghetto, another respondent said, "There are beautiful houses
all over Winnipeg and I guess we'll go where we can afford
to." The clustering in the St. James-Assiniboia area is
understandable, as it is traditionally the residential
district of the middle and the upper-middle class Canadian.

In this chapter the characteristics of a sample of
the immigrants from India in Winnipeg, in terms of the trad-
itional socio-demographic characteristics have been des-
cribed and discussed. The sample showed little dissimilar-
ity, in terms of the sex ratio, between the East Indian
respondents in this sample and the respondents in Richmond's
National Sample. But East Indian immigrants appear to be
migrating as married immigrants rather than as single per-
sons, thereby creating a large demand on the consumer market
and indirectly aiding Canada's economy. Moreover, since the

majority are married prior to coming to Canada, the Canadian
population, by and large, has had no need to raise the ques-
tion which immigration raises, namely ...what kinds of
strangers shall... marry our daughters, and hence a possible
tension-creating area is avoided.

Another interesting fact shown from the data was
that the spouses of about forty percent of the respondents
had been chosen by their elders. The immigrants were young
(thirty-three average age) from urban areas and those who
were married had on the average, small families (2 children).
The caste variable was believed to be important for selec-
tion of mate while a large proportion showed awareness of
the caste label. The minority groups appeared to be repre-
sented in higher proportions than were the dominant majority
or the dominant minority. The largest proportion of immi-
grants were from North India which in the past had been the
scene of invasions from the North, and in 1947 was partition-
ed to form Pakistan. No East Indian Colony or ghetto appears
to be developing though the largest number are living in the
typical middle class district of St. James-Assiniboia.

The next chapter deals with the technological base
of the respondents. Their class by origin and their origin
by class will be examined.

CHAPTER VI

TECHNOLOGICAL BASE OF EAST INDIANS IN WINNIPEG

The previous chapter discussed traditional demo-
graphic variables, namely the sex, age and marital status of
East Indian immigrants in Winnipeg. It also described
social variables like the family, the caste, the region and
religion of this group of respondents from India. Though
the social variables mentioned above are important they do
not constitute a measure of social status which has consen-
sus.[1]

The present chapter will, therefore, deal with the
social status of the East Indian respondents as measured on
the basis of the socio-economic variables of education,
occupation, and income. The reader must be alerted to the
fact that in India an individual's education, occupation or
income do not count as much in social relationships as do
his caste, family and region.

In order to determine the socio-economic origin of
immigrants from India, data were gathered on the occupation,
income and education of the parents of the respondents in
the sample as well as for the respondents themselves.

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[1]As discussed in chapter V, Caste is not a uniform
measure of social status since stratification based on it
varies from region to region.

The question concerning parents' education seemed
to make respondents uncomfortable, and therefore was not
asked. Parents' income, also a touchy question, was includ-
ed, but only forty percent gave information concerning this
variable. Therefore, to evaluate the East Indian immigrants
social class by origin, the criterion used consisted of data
regarding parents' occupation only.

Interest in the social grading of occupations is not
new to Sociology, and over the years studies have been car-
ried out in America, Britain, Canada and other countries, to
develop relevant socio-economic indices.[2] For India an
occupations scale was developed by Victor D'Souza.[3] The
occupations selected by him were based on the list used in
England by Hall and Jones in an article entitled, "Social
Gradings of Occupations."[4] The Hall and Jones list of

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[2]"Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation."
Bendix and Lipset (eds.) Class Status and Power, Glencoe,
The Free Press 1953, p. 411-26. Also Robert W. Hodge, Paul
M. Siegal and Peter H. Rossi, "Occupations and Prestige in
the United States." American Journal of Sociology, LXX, No.
3, Nov., 1964, p. 286 ff. Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-
economic Index for Occupations in Canada," in Canadian Soc-
iety, Blishen, et al. (eds.) 3rd ed., McMillan of Canada,
Toronto, 1968, p. 741. John Hall and D. Caradog Jones,
"Social Grading of Occupations" in British Journal of Soci-
ology, LI, March 1950, p. 31, and Alex Inkeles and Peter H.
Rossi "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige"
American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXI, No. 4, Jan. 1956,
p. 329-339.

[3]Victor S. D'Souza, "Social Broadening of Occupations
in India," Sociological Review, 1962, Vol. 10, p. 145 ff.

[4]John Hall and D. C. Jones, loc. cit., p. 31.

occupations was modified by D'Souza to suit Indian condi-
tions and then was empirically graded by students of Bombay
University on a subjective basis. The results were compared
with the "Hall-Jones" Prestige Categories and then ranked:
D'Souza's study showed that a high degree of similarity
existed between social grading of occupations in India and
England.[5]

For Canada, Bernard Blishen devised a scale of
occupational status, based on the 1951 census.[6] He used a
combination of income and education as criteria to reflect
the prestige ranking of occupations. Blishen found that his
scale correlated highly to the one devised by the National
Opinion Research Center in the United States (correlation of
0.94) and with similar scales used in Germany, Great Britain,
New Zealand and Japan.[7] This confirmed the observation of
Inkeles who did a comparative study of Occupational Prestige
in Five Urban Industrial Societies, that "the difference in
occupational prestige between urban industrial societies is
not substantial and that some consensus probably exists
between them."[8]

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[5]D'Souza, op. cit., p. 159.

[6]Blishen et al., loc. cit.

[7]A. Richmond, loc. cit., p. 300.

[8]A. Inkeles and P. Rossi, "National Comparisons of
Occupational Prestige," American Journal of Sociology, LVI,
No. 4, 1956, p. 329 ff.

TABLE XIII

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL GRADING OF OCCUPATIONS IN
INDIA, ENGLAND AND CANADA ACCORDING TO
D'SOUZA, HALL AND JONES AND BLISHEN

D'Souza (students) Occupation	India Class	Hall & Jones Eng. Class	Can. Class	Blishen (males) Occupation
Doctor	1	1	1	Medical Officer
Company Director	1	1	2	Company Director
Lawyer	2	1	1	Solicitor
Accountant (C.A.)	2	1	2	Accountant
Govt. Official	2	2	2	Civil Servant
Bus. Executive	2	2	2	Bus. Manager
Works Manager	2	2	2	Works Manager
Priest	2	2	2	Non-conform. Min.
Owner Cultivator	3	2	5	Farmer
Prim. Sch. Teacher	3	3	3	Elem. Sch. Teach.
Labor Contractor	4	3	3	Master Builder
Newspaper Reporter	3	3	2	Newspaper Rptr.
Sales Rep.	3	3	3	Commercial trav.
Hotel Keeper	4	4	7	Chef (cook)
Insurance Agent	3	4	4	Insurance Agent
Stationery Dealer	4	4	5	News and Tob. Agt.
Police Constable	4	5	5	Policeman
Office Clerk	4	5	5	Routine Clerk
Fitter	5	5	5	Electrician
Carpenter	5	5	6	Carpenter
Shop Assistant	4	5	5	Shop Assistant
Mason	5	5	6	Bricklayer
Bus Driver	5	6	6	Tractor Driver
Mill Hand	6	6	5	Coal Hewer
Railway Cooli	7	6	6	Railway Porter
Agric. Laborer	6	6	7	Agric. Laborer
Taxi Driver	5	6	6	Carter
Waiter	6	7	7	Barman
Dock Worker	6	7	7	Dock Laborer
Sweeper	7	7	7	Road Sweeper

Blishen found a high correlation between the
scores and ranking on his scale and the classification of
occupational status by Hall and Jones. There were seven
categories of occupations which with slight adjustments,
were almost exactly the same.[9] So the Blishen, Hall-Jones,
and D'Souza grading was used to interpret the prestige rank-
ing of this group of respondents with reference to the
situation in Canada as shown in Table XIII above.

Class Origins

Table XIV presents the class origin of the East
Indian immigrants in the sample, based on parents' occupa-
tion and compares it with the respondents' achieved class
status. The largest number of respondents, twenty-seven
(37.5%) stated their parents' occupation as either clerical
or in sales. The parents of thirteen others (18.0%) were
administrative personnel while twelve (16.6%) reported
parents' occupation as doctors (3), professors (3), engin-
eers (2), school principals (1), and lawyers (3). Six
respondents (8.3%) were the children of farmers, while one
(1.3%) reported his parent's occupation as a semi-skilled
person. This individual had obtained a Fulbright scholarship

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[9]See J. Clyde Mitchell, "The Differences in an
English and American Rating of the Prestige of Occupations:
A Reconsideration of Montague and Pustilnik's Study." Brit-
ish Journal of Sociology, Vol. XV, No. 2, June, 1964, p. 166.

TABLE XIV

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE* DISTRIBUTION OF EAST INDIAN
RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO THEIR OCCUPATION
AND TO THAT OF THEIR FATHERS

Class Origin	Occupation of Parents		Occupation of Immigrants	
	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100
Major professionals, Higher executives, Large business owners.	12	16.6	37	51.3
Lesser Professionals, Medium size business owners.	10	13.8	13	18.0
Administrative personnel, small business owners, farmers.	19	25.4	7	9.7
Clerical, Sales and Technical personnel.	27	38.5	14	19.3
Skilled workers	0	0	0	0
Semi-skilled workers	1	1.3	0	0
Laborers	0	0	0	0
Refused to answer	3	4	1	1.3
Total	72	99.6	72	99.6

*The difference in the total of the percentage
figures is due to rounding off the numbers.

but after a course of study in the United States had emigra-

ted to Canada.

The seven points scale was collapsed into three

classes I, II and III and the results are presented in

Table XV below. Only twenty-two (30.4%) of the respondents'
parents were in occupations that qualified for classifica-
tion in Class I. The parents of forty-six other respondents
were placed according to occupation in Class II, while the
parents of only one respondent were from Class III. Inter-
generational mobility was greatest for the one who originally
came from the labor class and had lifted himself, through
scholarships, from his lower status into the ranks of the
professionals in Canada.

TABLE XV

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY OF EAST INDIANS IN
THE WINNIPEG SAMPLE ACCORDING TO CLASS

Class	Class origin		Origin by class	
	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100
Class I	22	30.4	50	69.3
Class II	46	63.9	21	29.0
Class III	1	1.3	0	0
Refused	3	4.0	1	1.3
Total	72	99.6*	72	99.6*

*.4 percent lost in rounding off numbers.

Researchers like Yves de Jocas and Guy Rocher have
shown that "The sons of unskilled workers who get out of
their father's occupation generally become skilled workers
or go to personal services."[10] The leap over one or two

[10]Yves de Jocas and Guy Rocher, "Intergeneration

steps up the occupational status ladder are exceptions

rather than the rule, since "...it takes in general at

least two generations for the passage from the occupations

of farmers or workers to those of occupations requiring

higher education."[11]   Thus the East Indian respondents

appear to be exceptional and a highly upwardly mobile group.

The upward intergenerational mobility of respondents

from India cannot, however, be attributed to their move to

Canada. Fifty-five persons (76.3%) were already in that

occupation since they had been offered their job before they

entered Canada. Ten respondents (13.8%) found jobs after

arrival. The four (5.3%) who had difficulty securing employ-

ment in Canada arrived here as students who had their visas

and status changed from student to that of landed immigrant.

They spent up to six months after graduation searching for

a job. Further, half the sample were, at the time of the

survey, still with their first Canadian employer while

twelve persons (16.6%) changed their employment within the

first three months. All twelve were in Class II of the

social grading mentioned earlier. It appears as if East

Indians are slow to change employers. This could be attrib-

uted to the fact that being married and in a foreign land

Occupational Mobility in the Province of Quebec" in <u>Canadian
Society</u>, Blishen <u>et al</u>., <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

[11] Jocas and Rocher, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 443.

they are less inclined to take risks. Also as profession-
als, they are in contact with employers.

Education and Training

Immigrants from India were required to satisfy
strict immigration regulations to qualify for entry into
Canada. Strict, because when these immigrants came to
Canada, the immigration policy was oriented towards keeping
Asians out. In India also, during the last two decades, a
tight foreign currency-control policy made travel and study
abroad difficult. There was, however, no objection on the
part of the Government of India, to East Indians working
overseas if they could obtain employment. The employment of
East Indians overseas can be looked upon as a 'brain-drain'
for India, where professional personnel are desperately
needed. The Government of India however was unable to match
the salary-offers of foreign governments, and when the
clamour of the educate d unemployed became loud, it adopted
a laissez-faire policy towards emigration from India by
qualified professionals.

In short, even for India, emigration has been
selective. The wealthiest, the best educated, and the most
securely established do not emigrate. They have almost no
reason to do so. The outcaste, the very poor or the illit-
erate do not emigrate either. They lack the education, the
financial means, the awareness of the opportunities

elsewhere, and most probably the health to meet the immigration requirements of Canada. So, only those who could meet the immigration requirements and who have motives and money to emigrate, that is, the middle or upper-middle classes in India, do so. Most of the respondents in the study were from this class bracket (see Table XIV) and had emigrated for employment overseas. In most of these cases the immigrants had received their formal education and training before arriving here. Few came on student visas. These were already in government or private employment in India, and had come to Canada with a lien on their jobs, either for further education or for work experience.

Level of Education

The East Indians in the sample also appear to have a high level of formal education. In this study only two persons (2.7%) had eight years or less of formal education. Fifteen others (20.8%) had between nine and twelve years of education, while fifty-five persons (76.3%) had thirteen or more years of education. Table XVI below shows the distribution of the education level of East Indian Immigrants in Winnipeg.

Of the two respondents who had less than eight years of education, one had come to Canada to set up his own business. His qualifications for entry into Canada were that he showed evidence of having sufficient capital to support

TABLE XVI

LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF EAST INDIAN RESPONDENTS IN THE WINNIPEG
SAMPLE COMPARED WITH THE NATIONAL, UNITED KINGDOM
AND OTHER ENGLISH IMMIGRANTS

Education Level	East Indian		National*		U.K. and other English Immigrants*	
	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100
8 years or less	2	2.7	--	36.2	--	8.3
9 years to 12 years	15	20.8	--	44.1	--	68.8
13 years or more	55	76.5	--	17.8	--	22.2
Total	72	100.0	--	98.1	--	99.3

*A. Richmond, loc. cit., p. 40. The figures are taken from his study for comparison. The absence of a complete percent is due to Richmond not reporting individuals who had not stated their education level.

himself and his family and to enter the business world.
This he has done with success. The second respondent was
brought to Canada by his Canadian employer who employed him
in his business. Among the male immigrants who have had
more than thirteen years of education, the majority were
professionals who had found employment in Universities as
professors or researchers, or in Hospitals as doctors, or
in Government offices as engineers or architects, lawyers,
social workers and researchers. Some were employed by priv-
ate enterprise in administrative capacities and in executive
positions, while a few, like mechanics, hospital and computer
technicians, were in service occupations.

The female respondents with more than thirteen years
of education were also professionals employed as doctors,
teachers, nurses and research workers. Most of these career
women stated that they had come to see how the Western World
lives. The female respondents in the sample, however, do
not represent the complete work force potential of East
Indian women in Winnipeg.[12]

In most occupations and trades, the immigrant was
required to pass an examination before being given a license

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[12]A vast number of wives of respondents, though
qualified, were either unable to find work because their
qualifications were not recognized at par, or because they
did not desire to work due to family responsibilities.

to practice. This requirement could often cause frustrat-
ing delays, especially for married immigrants with family
responsibilities. To avoid these hardships four immigrants
stated that they had re-trained as technicians at a lower
level because they were unwilling to wait until unions or
professional associations gave them formal recognition of
their qualifications and skills. They were quickly absorbed
into the economic work force at this lower level as hospital
technicians, research assistants or even factory help.

Though this kind of integration into the work force
has occurred, this absorption enables one to draw the follow-
ing conclusions about the effectiveness of the selective
criterion used by the Immigration Department of Canada. The
recruitment of immigrants is done on a selective basis to
fill certain manpower needs of this country. There are fac-
tors in the structure of Canadian Society which do not permit
it to utilize the qualifications, skills, and training of
those recruited. Changing occupations or re-training after
arrival may often put these immigrants in competition with
Canadian-born citizens for jobs which are not scarce. So
planned immigration is often a contradiction in terms.[13]

[13]W. Peterson in <u>Selected Studies of Migration Since
World War II</u>. The Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1958,
Part III, p. 89. See also the discussions in William Peter-
son's <u>Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the
Dutch-Canadian Movements</u>. University of California Press,
Berkeley, California, 1955.

While the professionals qualified for immigration
to Canada on the basis of their education and skills, the
non-professionals were normally nominated/sponsored by
either their relatives or by employers who desperately re-
quired their skills. Such immigrants came to Canada as
nurses, mechanics and office or hospital help.

Annual Income of Respondents

Education and Occupation are related to Income. It
was, therefore, no surprise to observe that the East Indians
in Winnipeg reported incomes in higher income-brackets.
Occasionally both husband and wife were employed and a fig-
ure which represents their total income was reported. These
data are presented in Table XVII.

TABLE XVII

ANNUAL INCOME OF EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG
DECEMBER 1969

Family income	Number	Per 100
No response/refused to answer	6	8.3
Under 3,000	2	2.7
3,000 - 5,999	16	22.3
6,000 - 8,999	16	22.3
9,000 -11,999	17	23.6
12,000 -14,999	12	16.7
Over 15,000	3	4.1
Total	72	100.0

Of the six who refused to answer the question about income, one was a businessman, one a 'manager' who also refused to give any particulars about the organization he 'managed'. One was an Assistant Professor, another a post-doctoral fellow. Two medical doctors also refused to discuss their income.

The two respondents who reported salaries of less than $3,000 per annum stated that they were in the process of upgrading their professional standing by taking a part-time course of study which would increase their earning power later. They viewed their present economic situation as temporary, having chosen it themselves, and were living on money they had saved when fully employed earlier.

Thus far, the socio-economic criteria of the East Indian immigrants to Canada have been described and an attempt has been made to evaluate class by origin, on the basis of parents' occupation. A further attempt was made to evaluate class by achievement. One could conclude that the East Indian immigrants in the sample have shown that in India they were an upwardly mobile group who have often moved more than two steps up the status ladder in one generation. Even those accepted in professions appear to be willing to take courses of study to improve their professional and/or economic worth. Their overall social position appears to be high in Canada.

Subjective Evaluation of Social Position

An additional comparison was made by asking the respondents to evaluate their perceived class status in Canada with the original class status occupied by them in India. The results are shown in Table XVIII below.

TABLE XVIII

THE SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION OF SOCIAL POSITION
IN CANADA BY EAST INDIANS IN WINNIPEG

Social status	Number	Per 100
Higher	11	15.2
Same	47	65.4
Lower	12	16.7
No response	2	2.7
Total	72	100.0

Subjective Evaluation of Status

The largest number, forty-seven respondents (65.4%), stated that their social status had not changed at all. Twelve (16.7%) stated that they had experienced a lowering of social status in Canada, while an almost equal number, eleven (15.2%), stated that they had experienced an improvement in their class status in Canada. In other words, while some respondents had experienced upward mobility, an almost equal number evaluated their status as being lower in Canada. The result is that the sample as a whole evaluates little change in its status in Canada. If this is true, then only

a small proportion are likely to experience a traumatic
shock which may result in them severing their attachments
to the former country and identifying more closely with
Canada.[14]

The Immigrants from India in the sample were
urbanized, and had a high education and income level and
enjoyed the high material standard of living of this indus-
trial urban society. However, in absolute terms they
claimed to be as well off on the average, as in their for-
mer country.

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[14]A. Richmond, loc. cit., p.27.

CHAPTER VII

MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION TO CANADA

In this chapter the motives behind East Indian
immigration to Canada will be examined. As mentioned
earlier, "the motives prompting migration colours the immi-
grant's image of the new society and conditions his pre-
dispositions to adapt or not adapt to the new cultural
milieu."[1] Further, not all immigrants migrate for the same
reasons. While some may have economic reasons, others may
migrate for religious, political or social motives. The
broadest categorization of the motives for migration comes
under the Push or Pull dichotomy: The _Push_ motives are
those factors which make an individual realize that the
present setting does not provide the means to satisfy his
most valued needs, be they religious, economic or political
needs, or a combination of all the above. The _Pull_ motives
are those factors that combine to make an individual realize
that his highly-valued needs may be satisfied with less
discomfort and with greater speed in a social setting other
than his own. Most immigrants today migrate because of a
combination of both _Push_ and _Pull_ motives, though some

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[1]Guido Baglioni, _loc. cit._, p. 127.

ethnic groups are motivated more by the push than the

pull factors, as for example, the recent refugees from

Czechoslovakia who were forced out of their country because

of political strife. According to Mangalam the factors

responsible for migration have received less attention from

Sociologists than have the problems resulting from migration

and hence forms an area that needs further investigation.[2]

Respondents were asked to list their three main

reasons for leaving their country. Three refused to answer

the question, saying that the reasons were obvious and that

they did not care to elaborate. Those who did answer were

classified according to the categories below:

1) Economic, that is higher salaries, better

financial prospects, greater economic return

for special skills.

2) Family reasons, that is one member or more of

respondent's family were already settled here

and had urged the individual to emigrate.

3) Personal Ambition, such as the desire to live

in an environment "more in keeping with one's

training."

4) Political reasons, like the desire for greater

political freedom.

_____

[2] J. J. Mangalam, Human Migration, op. cit., p. 2.

5) Education: for instance further profess-
   ional training, specialization or experience.

6) Religious persecution.

7) For travel and adventure.

8) For all round security such as, economic,
   political, religious.

9) For reasons of easy accessibility since
   Canada was a member of the Commonwealth it
   was "the easiest place to emigrate to or to
   teach, amass capital and return."

An analysis of the results of the first of the
three important motives for emigration are shown in Table
XIX. Regardless of age, sex or the religious factor, the
economic motive for immigration was listed as the most im-
portant reason by twenty-three respondents (32.2%).

Education was mentioned by twenty respondents
(27.8%) as their prime reason for migrating to Canada. The
number of respondents who entered the country on student
visas, closely approximated this figure. Sixteen of the
respondents (22.2%) entered Canada for higher education and
later had their student visas coverted to landed immigrant
status. Respondents had come to Canada to improve their
professional standing on student visas. Most were expected
by their sponsors to return to their native country after
completion of their studies. The study shows that a large

TABLE XIX

THREE MOST IMPORTANT MOTIVES FOR IMMIGRATION TO CANADA,
GIVEN BY EAST INDIAN RESPONDENTS

Motive	1st reason No.	%	2nd reason No.	%	3rd reason No.	%
1. Economic	23	32.2	14	19.4	13	18.0
2. To join family	4	5.5	5	6.9	1	1.3
3. Personal ambition	6	8.4	13	18.1	19	26.3
4. Political reasons	4	5.5	2	2.7	2	2.7
5. Educational	20	27.8	11	15.2	8	11.1
6. Religious	0	0.0	1	1.3	0	0.0
7. Adventure	7	9.6	13	18.1	10	14.0
8. Security	0	0.0	1	1.3	0	0.0
9. Accessibility	5	6.9	1	1.3	1	1.3
10. No reply	3	4.1	11	15.2	18	25.0
Total	72	100.0	72	99.5	72	99.7

number (22.2%) did not do so.

The desire for adventure or personal ambition was
reported as the main reason for migrating by the third
largest group of thirteen respondents (18.1%). None mention-
ed religion as the main reason for migration though political
reasons were given by four (5.5%) who assessed the political
situation as untenable in the countries to which they had
immigrated prior to re-migrating to Canada. It should be
noted here that these respondents did not object to the
Indian political climate but to the situations that they had
experienced in the countries, such as the United States,

England or East Africa, to which they first emigrated.
These data are presented in Table XIX.

When the respondents were asked to give their sec-
ond reason for emigrating, fourteen (19.4%) stated the
economic reason for immigrating to Canada, while thirteen
respondents each (18.0%) gave personal ambition and the
desire for adventure as their second motive for immigrating.
Eleven of the respondents (15.2%) stated that they had no
second reason for immigration. They were specific regarding
their one and only motive for migration to Canada, which was
to improve their lot at home by making money in Canada. For
a summary of frequency of the second motive for migration
see Table XIX.

The third reason for migrating to Canada was person-
al ambition stated thus by nineteen respondents (26.3%),
thirteen respondents (18.0%) gave an economic reason, while
ten respondents (14.0%) had come to Canada initially for
travel and adventure.

As all motives interlock with each other it is
difficult to differentiate between them except in an arbit-
rary manner. The Educational Motive may be the manifest
reason for the latent economic motive, the adventure for the
personal motive. Often the respondents, when first asked
the question said they had no reason for their emigration.
By probing into events leading to their coming to Canada,

however, one was able in most cases to find the reasons

for migration expressed as a desire for a new experience,

for security or for recognition. There were a number of

respondents who had completed their education and training

in England or the U.S.A. and were recruited from these

countries by the Canadian organizations which employed them.

Those who had come from Britain stated that they earned

higher salaries in Canada while those from the U.S.A. had

either the same or lesser salaries here. Their motives for

emigration were often similar since they believed that

Canada had opportunities which would enable them to achieve

personal goals. It was this same motivation that enticed

some individuals to look to the United States as the place

to emigrate, though many admitted that the draft system and

racial problems were important factors which had to be given

more consideration before any decision to move was made. By

counting the number of times each motive is mentioned the

following interesting Table XX shows that economics would

rank as the overall main motive for migration to Canada.

Religious Communities and Motives for Immigrating

In India the major religion is Hinduism: more than

eighty-three percent of the Indian population are nominally,

at least, Hindus.[3] As the dominant group, the Hindus have

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[3]Hinduism is a way of life more than a belief in God

TABLE XX

RANKING OF THREE MOTIVES FOR IMMIGRATION TO CANADA,
GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS IN SAMPLE, IN ORDER
OF FREQUENCY MENTIONED

| Ranking of Motives | Rank | Actual | |
		Male	Female
Economic	1st	44	6
Education	2nd	35	4
Personal ambition	3rd	34	4
Travel and adventure	4th	25	5
To join family	5th	8	2
Political	6th	6	2
Miscellaneous	7th	7	0

influenced other religious communities in India. For in-
stance, the caste system found in varying degrees in almost
all Indian communities is a reflection of Hindu influence.
It was, therefore, of interest to compare the motives for
emigration of Hindus and non-Hindus in the present sample.
Such a comparison would indicate stresses within the society
in India, and would also provide an insight into the actual
workings of the social systems of India. The areas of dis-
satisfaction with India would be in part spelled out in this
manner.

Table XXI presents frequency distribution of motives
for immigration with respect to the variable: religious

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as Hindus may believe in one, or many, or no God. As a way
of life it supposedly is oriented to other worldliness,
which according to Max Weber resulted in the absence of Spir-
it of Capitalism. See R. Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual
Portrait, New York, Doubleday and Co., 1960, p. 193.

TABLE XXI

NUMBER OF TIMES THE DIFFERENT MOTIVES FOR IMMIGRATION
WERE MENTIONED BY THE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES
IN THE SAMPLE OF EAST INDIANS

Religious group	Each column number represents a motive as explained below*						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hindu	27	24	24	15	4	4	3
Sikh	10	7	7	7	6	1	0
Muslim	4	4	2	2	0	0	0
Christian	6	2	3	3	0	2	0
Parsee and others	3	2	2	3	0	1	2
	50	39	38	30	10	8	5

*The key for numbers to the motives is: 1-Economic,
2-Educational, 3-Personal Ambition, 4-Travel and Adventure,
5-Family Here, 6-Political, 7-Accessibility of Canada.

community. The economic motive was mentioned most frequently
by members of all communities. Among the smaller minorities
of India such as Christians, Parsees and Jews, it was men-
tioned in seventy-six percent of the total cases, i.e.
thirteen out of a possible total of seventeen times (76%).
Sixty-four percent of the Sikhs gave the economic motive as
a reason for migration (ten out of a possible sixteen).
Sixty-nine percent of all Hindu respondents also mentioned
the economic motive. In other words, about two-thirds of the
sample had migrated primarily for economic reasons. The
religious factor does not appear to be relevant to the analy-
sis of data on motives for migration.

Education as a motive for migration was the

second most frequently-mentioned motive for coming to Canada.

Sixty-one percent of the Hindus, forty-three percent of the

Sikhs and forty-one percent of the other religious commun-

ities (Muslims, Christians, Parsee and Jews) mentioned it as

a reason for migration. Personal ambition, defined by res-

pondents as a desire to make maximum use of special skills

and/or talents, was the third important motive for migration

given by most of the respondents. Among those who mentioned

accessibility of Canada as a motive for immigration were East

Indians from England, East Africa and the United States.

These individuals wished to leave the countries they were

residing in because the domestic political atmospheres were,

according to their assessment, very _tense_. Canada accepted

their applications with little hesitancy and hence they came

to this country. Though two respondents (a Christian and a

Muslim) mentioned that membership in a non-Hindu community

in India made life unbearable in India--they refused to dis-

cuss or talk about the extent of the mistreatment that they

or those of their religions suffered. When the motives for

migration are analyzed against the variable of religion it

would appear that the latter is not a significant factor.

The awareness that goals can be achieved more easily in

Canada appears to be the main motive for migration. These

data are presented in Table XXI.

Level of Education and Motive for Migration

The two respondents in the sample who stated that they had less than eight years of education gave economics, personal ambition and education as their main reasons for migrating to Canada. Among those with an educational level up to grade 12, the main motives were similar to those who had grade 8 or less; namely, economic, personal adventure and education. Five individuals from this group stated that they had come to Canada to be with their families and their relatives. Even among those who had a University degree, more than two-thirds stated that the economic motive was the main reason. From the data it would appear that the economic motive was the main reason, regardless of educational level.

TABLE XXII

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND FREQUENCY OF DISTRIBUTION
OF MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION

Level of education	Less than Grade 8	Up to Grade 12	One degree or more
Economic	2	15	33
Education	2	8	29
Personal Ambition	2	8	28
Travel and Adventure	0	4	26
Join Family	0	5	5
Political	0	3	5
Easy accessibility	0	0	8

Choice of Winnipeg

Information was obtained regarding the reasons why immigrants choose Winnipeg over other cities in Canada. An open-ended question was used for this purpose. Most of the responses fell into category one, which was that of employment. Fifty-five respondents (76%) had job offers from Winnipeg and had come to this city for that reason alone. Ten others (13.8%) had relatives in the city and had come to Winnipeg to be near them. Four individuals (5.5%) had chosen Winnipeg because they found it was quiet, comparatively clean, and not over-crowded. Two came to Winnipeg because their sponsors were in Winnipeg. One individual saw Winnipeg as the "Northernmost city furthest away from India and so chose it to rebuild a broken life!" These data are presented in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII

REASON WHY IMMIGRANTS CHOOSE WINNIPEG OVER OTHER CITIES IN CANADA

Reason why Winnipeg	Number	Per 100
Job offer here	55	76.6
Relatives here	10	13.8
Clean friendly place	4	5.5
Sponsor here	2	2.7
Furthest from home	1	1.3
Total	72	98.9

The overall reason for migrating to Winnipeg was
not high wages as much as existing opportunity for employ-
ment. Of the total sample, forty-five respondents (62.5%)
had lived in Winnipeg for a period of three years, eighteen
(25%) had been in Winnipeg for more than three but less than
six years, four (5.5%) for more than six and less than nine,
while five (6.9%) had been in Winnipeg for over ten years.
Of these respondents only six had moved into Winnipeg from
other Canadian cities. Three of the six who had lived in
another city prior to coming to Winnipeg were students who
had decided to stay in Canada after completion of their edu-
cation. Three others had been transferred from other cities
by their employers. In other words, the East Indians in
Winnipeg are not highly horizontally mobile in Canada. Or,
it could also mean that those who can avoid coming to Winni-
peg do so at all costs by choosing some other Canadian city
in which to live.

TABLE XXIV

IN-MIGRATION AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN WINNIPEG

In-Migration and length of stay	Lived in Canada		Lived in Winnipeg	
	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100
1-3 years	41	56.9	45	62.6
4-6 years	16	22.3	18	25.0
7-9 years	7	9.9	4	5.5
Over 10 years	8	10.9	5	6.9
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0

As no figures exist of the migration flows of East Indians from Winnipeg a comparison of the in and out migration cannot be made. It should be noted that more than fifty percent of the sample are relatively new to Canada and to Winnipeg, having come here within the last three years. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize about their behaviour in this regard except for the apparent fact that the East Indians in Winnipeg have not been highly mobile in Canada.

In this chapter the motives for migration were discussed and the data showed that the economic motive was the most often-mentioned, regardless of the other variables like educational level or religion. One can conclude from these that the economic conditions in India was a prime reason for emigrating among this predominantly young and educated urban group of East Indian respondents. Greater awareness of the political and social situations elsewhere was the additional incentive required to make these respondents choose Canada over other countries. The next chapter will discuss the consequences of the immigration experience.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE

The previous chapter discussed the three main reasons given by East Indian Immigrants for emigrating from India. We have noted above that the economic reason was the motive most frequently stated by the group under study. The second and the third most frequently given motives for immigration were the desire to improve one's education and skills and the desire to utilize one's talents.

In this chapter the consequences of the immigration experience shall be discussed by focussing attention on the following questions. Have the immigrants from India been able to fulfill their motives for immigration? Have the immigrants any desire to remain in Canada? Is there a relationship between the results of the immigration experience and activities at the associational and primary group level?

In the past, most studies of ethnic immigrant groups focussed on the economic absorption (also called integration) of these new groups into society.[1] If the newcomers were economically absorbed, emigrating from one social setting to another was deemed a success. If they were not economically

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[1]Guido Baglioni, loc. cit., p. 127.

absorbed or did not integrate, then they were labelled as a problem to be researched and perhaps as a problem for a social agency to resolve. Once they had been absorbed economically, the immigrants were forgotten. The modern immigrant is not only a qualified professional; he also has skills which can be used in many parts of the globe and so is also capable of re-migrating if he thinks he has made a mistake. The researcher into the consequences of immigration must investigate the objective variables of economic absorption of immigrants but ought not to overlook the subjective assessment of the immigration experience in the process.

Fulfillment of the Motives for Immigration

The basic assumptions of this study which were discussed in Chapter IV are that immigration occurs when (a) dissatisfaction at the deprivation of some valued goals exists and when (b) the individual perceives that in the place of origin these goals cannot be met, though (c) another place may be perceived as being able to offer opportunities whereby these valued goals are gratified.

The immigrants of East Indian origin in this study were asked if they had been able to satisfy their motives for immigration. Four (5.5%) stated that they had not achieved their objectives at all. Twenty-four (33.3%) answered in the affirmative, while forty-five respondents

(61.6%) had been only partially able to fulfill their

motives. Some reasons why the largest number of respondents

stated that they had achieved only partial fulfillment of

their objectives could lie in the fact that these immigrants

had been in Canada for a short period of time, in most cases,

not exceeding three years. A second factor could be the

absence of an established East Indian group in Winnipeg to

act as a bridge between old and new cultures.[2]

Generally speaking, most immigrants on arrival find

that some aspects of life in their new society are a source

of disappointment to them. Sociologists and Anthropologists

refer to this as 'cultural shock.' In the absence of any

record showing who left Winnipeg because of overwhelming

disappointments and factors responsible for them leaving,

the researcher queried his respondents about conditions

which they viewed as disappointing on arrival. Table XXV

shows the factors which are a source of disappointment for

immigrants from India.

The fact that more than a third of the immigrants in

the sample, twenty-seven respondents (37.8%), admitted a

language difficulty upon arrival prods one to question the

generally held assumption that because India is a former

British Colony, its inhabitants would have no problems with

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[2]Milton Gordon, <u>Assimilation in American Life</u>,
Oxford University Press, New York, 1964, p. 244.

TABLE XXV

CONDITIONS WHICH NEW EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS FOUND
DISAPPOINTING IN WINNIPEG

Source of disappointment	Number	Per 100
Language	27	37.8
Climate	20	27.9
No servants	5	6.9
No friends	3	4.1
No proper food	1	1.3
No disappointments	16	22.0
Total	72	100.0

English. In the Indian setting, many members of each
linguistic region believe that they are proficient in English
and this is probably true. However, those people speak
English with specific accents, peculiar to the region from
which they come. The South Indian accent differs from that
of the Punjabi or Bombayite. As a matter of fact, many
Indians can tell the regional background of most of their
countrymen by the way they speak. The ordinary Canadian,
not being familiar with these variations in accents may
experience difficulty in understanding the East Indian man-
ner of speaking English. This was frankly admitted by one
respondent, who said:

> You know, at home I worked for an American
> Company as their Liaison Officer because my
> English was excellent. But when I came to
> Canada I lost my job as a salesman, within a
> month after arrival, because the manager told

> me that these people (Canadians) could not
> understand my pronunciation!

This individual, was indicating that at the time he had lost

his job he had not even reached that stage of assimilation

which Milton Gordon categorized as cultural or behavioural

assimilation.[3] He had not yet modified his accent to what

was considered as operational in Canada.

The climate of Winnipeg was a source of disappoint-

ment for twenty individuals (27.9%) of the sample. This

number is not large considering the fact that all the res-

pondents have migrated from Tropical India to "eight months

of snow and four months of bad sledging." Perhaps awareness

of Canadian climatic conditions prior to immigration accounts

for this lack of shock in this respect. Some respondents

found the lack of servants an initial problem which they

solved by hiring help to do chores which, in India, were

done by their servants. Sixteen respondents (22%) stated

that they found nothing disappointing when they first came

to Winnipeg. No trauma on arrival and hence, no need for

the reassessment of values.[4]

The assumption underlying the policy of most immi-

grant-receiving countries has been the hope that the

immigrants would become permanent residents in the new

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[3]Milton Gordon, loc. cit., p. 77.

[4]A. Richmond, op. cit., p. 27.

country. This has also been the assumption of the

Government of Canada. It would have been premature to ask

East Indians whether they were or were not naturalized

citizens of Canada, as forty-one of the immigrants had been

in the country for less than five years. Instead each res-

pondent was asked "where they wanted to spend the rest of

their lives?" Three alternatives were suggested: Native

Country; Canada; elsewhere. The assumption underlying this

question was that if the immigrant was not satisfied with

Canada he would desire to re-emigrate.

Fifteen of the respondents (20.8%) indicated that

they intended to return to the native country and at the

time of writing this, five had already resigned their pos-

itions in Winnipeg and left for India. One must exercise

caution in interpreting either the intention to return or

the act of returning indicate that the returnees were

failures in Canada. Rather, the opposite in these cases was

true. All five had indicated a high satisfaction in work,

income and life in Canada. They had returned because family

obligations required their presence in India. Their motive

for immigrating had been economic and having achieved their

goal, they returned to their country of origin. This corres-

ponds with the findings of Richmond, who reported that a

large majority of immigrants returning to Britain had ful-

filled their goals and were not "frustrated" and

"disillusioned."[4]

Nineteen of the respondents (26.4%) indicated conditional return to India: if the economic situation improves, if business commitments allow, if children's education would permit it. Twelve (16.8%) were undecided, while two individuals (2.7%) stated that they intended to return to the United States, where they had spent some time before emigrating to Canada.

One-third of the respondents, twenty-four persons, stated that they intended to remain in Canada unconditionally. This, again, is no indication of social integration. Some respondents stated that they were not satisfied with their life in Canada. They had not seen any way by which they could achieve their goals here, but they could not return without "losing face," and hence these respondents had decided to spend their frustrated lives in Canada.[5] These data are presented in Table XXVI.

Investigators into group relationships have referred to the mediating role of primary group type contacts between dominant and minority groups in reducing prejudice.[6] When

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[4] A. Richmond, loc. cit., p. 234.

[5] The desire for naturalization and citizenship has been shown to be associated with 'uncertainty' and 'insecurity,' Richmond, p. 277.

[6] Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., The American Soldier

TABLE XXVI

EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS INTENTIONS REGARDING
PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN CANADA

I would like to spend the rest of my life in:	Number	Per 100
Canada	24	33.3
Native country	15	20.8
Native country if	19	26.4
Undecided	12	16.8
Elsewhere	2	2.7
Total	72	100.0

different groups have a minimum of contact between each

other at the intimate equal-status level we have what Gordon

calls "structural separation."[7] The extent to which East

Indians were structurally separate from non-East Indians was

explored by asking the respondents to indicate whether their

friends were predominantly Indian or non-Indian. They were

also asked whether the majority of social functions they

attended were, in terms of ethnic origin, homogenous or not.

Finally they were asked whether or not they participated in

associational activities and if they did, to what extent.

Adjustment During Army Life. Princeton, N.J., Princeton
University Press, 1949, p. 586 ff. John Harding (ed.)
"Intergroup Contact and Racial Attitudes," Journal of Social
Issues, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1952. Gordon W. Allport, The
Nature of Prejudice, Cambridge, Mass., Addison, Wesley Pub-
lishing Co., 1954.

[7]M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, Oxford
University Press, New York, 1964, p. 235.

Composition of Friendship Patterns

With reference to the friendship pattern as shown in Table XXVII, fifteen respondents (20.8%) stated that most of their friends were East Indians. An almost equal number, sixteen (22.3%) stated that most of their friends were Canadian. The remaining forty-one respondents (56.9%) indicated that both Canadians and Indians made up their friendship circle.

TABLE XXVII

COMPOSITION OF EAST INDIANS' FRIENDSHIP CIRCLES

Friendship	Friends	
	Number	Per 100
Mostly Canadian	16	22.3
Equally mixed	37	51.5
Mostly Indian	15	20.8
Others	4	5.4
Total	72	100.0

Ethnic Composition of Social Functions attended by Respondents

The replies to the question on the ethnic composition of most social functions attended by the immigrant show that more than one-third of the sample, twenty-five respondents (34.8%), usually attend social functions where the majority of the guests are Canadian. On the other hand, a quarter of the sample, eighteen respondents (25%), stated

that most of the social functions attended by them have an
over-representation of East Indians (90%). The latter are
members of the immigrant group who can be termed as struc-
turally separated either because of their desire to maintain
their own communal distance or because they do not feel com-
fortable outside their sub-culture. The composition of the
friendship circles is shown in Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SOCIAL FUNCTIONS
ATTENDED BY EAST INDIAN RESPONDENTS

Social Functions	Number	Per 100
Mostly Canadian	25	34.8
Equally mixed	28	38.9
Mostly Indian	18	25.0
Others	1	1.3
Total	72	100.0

The fact that more than half the respondents, fifty-
one percent, stated that they had an equal number of both
Canadian and Indian friends may not essentially indicate
that respondents are integrated. It may mean that they are
living in two separate worlds. Their East Indian and Canad-
ian friends often remain separate and one not aware of the
existence of the other. In other words, such immigrants may
live in two different types of circles: the first being a
circle of East Indian friends, while the second is a circle

composed of Canadians. The East Indian identifies with

other East Indians because of the cultural ties and the

factor of ethnicity. He identifies, on the other hand, with

Canadians because he desires to be accepted by his peers

from the Canadian-born group. One respondent expressed it

thus:

> I won't let my wife go in saree to my office-
> parties, because I don't want to be labelled
> as an Indian. I would also not like my wife
> to wear a dress to an Indian party, because
> people would laugh at us. There are some
> functions like the N.D.P. parties where we
> are treated with dignity because we are new
> immigrants, you know, international flavor and
> all that, and that's one place where I insist
> she wear the saree.

Thus he lives a double life. To one group he is East Indian

and to the other he is Canadian of East Indian descent.

Associational Participation

Regarding membership in associations/organizations

the data showed that eighty percent stated that they were

members of ethnic or other associations. Though on the sur-

face the East Indians look like 'joiners' their contribution

appears to consist of paying membership dues only. Few held

offices or participated in the planning or programs or

activities of the various associations of which they were

members. This absence of participation could be due to the

recent arrival of the respondents in Canada. It could also

be due to an absence of commitment which according to the

Sociologist, Dhirendra Narian, is a national trait in the Hindu character.[8] Narian attributes this absence of commitment to both social and cultural systems and states that the domination by Muslims and Europeans and the Caste and Family authority have all been contributing factors.[9] As the actual role of the group under study in associations was minimal the content and intensity of social participation at this level could not be analyzed.

Concept of Self

Regarding concept of self a comparison was made of the responses to three questions, namely: How do you feel Canadians here consider you? How do you feel your East Indian friends consider you? And finally, How do you view your own identity? Eleven respondents (15.2%) said they believed that their Canadian friends regard them as Canadians. Another forty-six respondents in the sample (63.9%) said that Canadians regard them as Indians while fifteen individuals (20.9%) could not decide. Regarding the second

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[8]Dhirendra Narian, "Indian National Character in the Twentieth Century," The Annals of The American Academy, March 1967, Vol. 370, p. 124.

[9]Narian, ibid., p. 124, also mentioned the existence of an inferiority complex. In Winnipeg this could be observed in the manner in which the President of the India Association (1969-70) notified the public about its cultural activities. These were always in co-operation with: The School of Music or some other association. It did not appear to have confidence to venture out alone.

TABLE XXIX

COMPARING THE SELF CONCEPT OF EAST INDIANS WITH HOW THEY
THINK CANADIANS AND OTHER EAST INDIANS LABEL THEM

Self concept of East Indians	Canadians label me		East Indians label me		I label myself	
	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100	Number	Per 100
As Canadian	11	15.7	16	22.2	3	4.1
As East Indian	46	63.9	35	48.7	66	91.8
Don't know	15	20.9	21	29.1	3	4.1
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0

question, sixteen respondents (22.2%) stated that they felt that their East Indian friends regarded them as Canadians, thirty-five others (48.7%) believed that East Indians regarded them as East Indian, while twenty-one (29.1%) were undecided.

When asked the third question, namely: How they regarded themselves, three respondents (4.1%) said they were Canadian. An equal number were undecided, but the remaining sixty-six respondents (91.8%) viewed themselves as East Indians. Of the three who were undecided about their own identity one was a person from Goa who resented being classified as an East India, calling himself Portuguese, though the only visible Portuguese element about him was his name.[10] The other two individuals having problems of identity were an East Indian Jew who had re-migrated, after a six month stay in Israel, and a former Sikh who had devested himself of his Sikh identity including his name.[11]

As discussed above, twenty-seven individuals stated that they had experienced some language difficulty on arrival. The Use of the native language has been a technique employed by immigrants as a 'cultural antibiotic' to

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[10]G. Delf, Asians in East Africa made mention of this also, p. 9.

[11]The Sikhs can be identified in Canada by their beard and their turban. Their names also identify them.

prevent loss of identity.[12] In this study, forty-six res-
pondents (65.8%) stated that they always or often used their
native tongue in conversation in the home. This was most
probably due to the fact that the couple found conversing
in the native tongue natural and comforting, especially
when (and this was not uncommon) one of the spouses knew
little or no English. Some did not use English in the home
although they had married across linguistic boundaries in
India and although each partner was not comfortable in the
language of the other. In these cases it was observed that
communication was usually in an Indian language common to
both rather than in English. Only in those cases where one
partner knew no other Indian language was English the main
language used.

Self-Assessment of Social Position in Canada

The consequences of immigration depend in part upon
the experiences of the immigrant in the new country, so that
in the past an immigrant's success used to be assessed on
the basis of economic improvement in the new country. Though
an East Indian may be earning more than twice the salary he
earned in India, he may regard the consequences of immigra-
tion as adversely affecting his social status. This could
occur although one could, on objective criteria, classify

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[12]See chapter II for a discussion of this issue.

the individual as having moved upwards in his profession in Canada.

Respondents were asked to evaluate their class position in Canada. Table XXX shows that two respondents (2.7%) stated they belonged to the upper class; forty-four persons (61.2%) said they were members of the upper-middle class, nineteen (26.3%) said they were in the lower-middle class, while four (5.5%) replied that they were in the working class in Canada. Three respondents did not answer the question.

TABLE XXX

A SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT BY EAST INDIANS OF THEIR
SOCIAL CLASS STATUS IN CANADA

| Class status | Class in Canada | |
	Number	Per 100
Upper class	2	2.7
Upper middle class	44	61.2
Lower middle class	19	26.5
Working class	4	5.5
No reply	3	4.1
Total	72	100.0

Comparison of Status

When asked to compare their class status in Canada with that of their class status in India, eleven persons (15.2%) said they had experienced upward social mobility and that their class status was higher in Canada than it had

been in India. An almost equal number, twelve (16.7%)

claimed no change in class status since migrating to Canada.

Table XXXI indicates how East Indians assess their social

status in Canada.

TABLE XXXI

SELF ASSESSMENT OF EAST INDIAN RESPONDENTS TO THEIR
SOCIAL STATUS IN CANADA

Self appraisal of social class mobility	Number	Per 100
Higher	11	15.2
Lower	12	16.7
Same	47	65.4
No reply	2	2.7
Total	72	100.0

Evaluation of Jobs in Canada

As pointed out in Chapter VI, over seventy-four

percent of East Indian immigrants in Canada are professionals.

The responden's were asked to consider their jobs in Canada

and rate them in terms of satisfaction or dissatisfaction

with their employment. Ten respondents (13.8%) expressed

great satisfaction in their work here; half that number

indicated an opposite view; while fifty-six (77.5%) were in

the twilight zone of moderate satisfaction and dissatis-

faction. They were then asked whether they felt that in

Canada they were wealthy or just struggling to make ends

meet. Table XXXII shows how they replied to it.

TABLE XXXII

EAST INDIAN RESPONDENTS EVALUATE THEIR WAY
OF LIFE IN CANADA

East Indian respondents	Number	Per 100
Struggling to make ends meeet	5	6.9
Just making a living	21	29.2
Making a good living	43	59.8
Wealthy and very wealthy	--	--
No reply	3	4.1
Total	72	100.0

Five respondents (6.9%), though they stated they
were struggling to make ends meet, were not from the work-
ing class category but were professional post doctoral
fellows. Twenty-one (29.2%) were "just making a living"
while forty-three (59.8%) indicated that they were making a
good living. In other words, sixty percent of the respond-
ents in the sample were well-off in Canada, according to
their own evaluation.

Attitudes Towards Canadian Life

Finally, the respondents in the sample were asked
which aspects of Canadian life they liked and wished to
adapt for themselves and which aspects they disliked and
wished to keep away from themselves and their children.

Almost every respondent stated that they disliked

the almost complete lack of mutual concern, interest or
care by parents for children and by children for parents.
In some form or another, the East Indian respondents appear-
ed to think that all the problems facing the Western World
stemmed from the fact that the Westerner had violated the
norms of the family unit as known to them.

The indifference and coldness of people towards
their kith and kin was expressed by one respondent who said

> Oh yes, there are a great number of days for
> sentimentality and remembering, but you remem-
> ber with a card and flowers. You don't visit,
> even if you are three blocks away from the old-
> age home where you have put your parents.

The problems of the youth and the aged in Canada appeared
to be of great concern to all the seventy-two respondents
in the sample.

Regarding those aspects of Canadian life which they
liked and wished to adopt, East Indians praised the hard
work, the absence of interference in the private affairs of
others, and the zest for life which characterize Canadian
society. One respondent expressed admiration for the honest
and open way in which sexual matters and love were discussed.

Attitudes Towards Indian Culture

Respondents liked what Sociologists would term, the
primary group setting, of East Indian life. "There's more
heart, genuine good feeling and neighbourliness in India and
among Indians." Again, all respondents admired the sincerity

and closeness of family and friendship bonds in India. They

disliked the parochial outlook in India and the inability of

the Indian to say <u>no</u> which they looked upon as a lack of

straight-forwardness. A few individuals expressed dislike

for the strictness of the caste system, while one individual

spoke about the nepotism, bribery and corruption in both

Government and private enterprise in India and ended his

monologue with the following significant comment:

> You know I thought that the corrupt practices
> so common in India were <u>normal</u>, found in every
> part of the World. It's only after coming to
> Canada that I've realized this isn't so.

In this chapter the consequences of the immigration

experiences were discussed. When a subjective evaluation

of the immigrants' experiences in Canada was undertaken two

trends appeared to be developing. One was that the majority

of the immigrants were in a twilight zone--undecided or

partly satisfied with Canada. This could be explained as a

function of their recent arrival in this country. The sec-

ond trend was that East Indians saw that valued goals which

were blocked off in India could be achieved in Canada with

a minimum of readjustment of values; for instance, they

valued economic success and they achieved it in Canada. They

had strong views about nepotism and corruption in India.

They also dissociated themselves with what they considered

to be a source of all the <u>evils</u> in Canada, namely the defile-

ment of the institution of the family. Hence they appeared

to have achieved the goal of every immigrant, namely to achieve, in part at least, the motives for migration without a marked change in their status or norms.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was undertaken, basically to explore the immigration experiences of East Indian immigrants in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. To achieve this objective, changes in occupation, income, culture, and social class of the East Indian immigrants in Canada as well as their sub-jective assessment of social status, job and income satisfaction, and interest in life in Canada were researched. Since an immigrant's expectations of life in a New Country are conditioned by both his social background and his mo-tives for migrating, these aspects were also investigated.

In view of the fact that former studies on East Indians in Canada were narrow in scope dealing with segments of East Indians who had come from either a given region or specific profession, this may be looked upon as a pilot study addressing itself to East Indians in Winnipeg, regard-less of the region they came from in India or the occupation they held before or after immigration. The respondents incorporated in this study were randomly selected from the East Indian population in Winnipeg in 1969. In terms of size, the sample was large (over 25%). It also appeared to be representative of the immigrants from India who had arrived in Canada in the last decade or so. However, no

member of the Harijan group (Untouchables) appeared in the
sample.[1] This could be explained in one of the following
ways: One could assume that either they were not present
in sufficient numbers in Winnipeg to be represented in the
sample or that the sample included Harijans who claimed
identity with another group.

Although the sample represented twenty-five percent
of the Winnipeg East Indian population, it numerically
consisted of only seventy-two respondents. This, together
with two other factors, made the use of statistical tests
and inferences difficult. The sample represented a popula-
tion of urban adult immigrants from a large heterogenous
nation which has numerous religious, castes and cultural
variations. As a result, the answers provided by the res-
pondents could seldom be dichotomized and so were distrib-
uted through a number of cells, with some being virtually
empty. One could not increase the value of these cells by
the usual method of combining them without robbing the data
of their meaning. To do so would merit the label of
spurious scientism since inferences drawn would be mislead-
ing and not therefore scientific at all. Hence, it was felt
that the study would contribute more if the differences
found in various categories were described, enabling general

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[1]The name _Harijan_, Children of God, was given to the
Untouchables by Mahatma Gandhi.

conclusions to be drawn from them. On the other hand, the respondents were a researcher's dream, intelligent and co-operative. They deliberated each question and gave coherent and complete answers.

The main data-collecting instrument was an interview schedule administered to the respondents by an interviewer. Participant observation and the information obtained from knowledgeable informants were also utilized to interpret data, in order to arrive at the conclusions reached and to generate certain hypotheses.

A Summary of the Study

The conclusions of this study are drawn from data on the respondents background, motives for immigration and the consequences of the immigration experiences.

In demographic terms, the East Indian respondents in this sample may be described as predominantly male urban, married, with an average of two children per family and with an average age of thrity-three years. The sample included representatives of all major regions, all major caste levels, except the Harijans, all major religions in India except Buddhism or Jainism. Nearly all of the respondents claimed middle or upper-middle class origin. All are highly educated as indicated by the fact that seventy-six percent claim to hold at least one college degree. As professionals they were holding well paying jobs.

In Winnipeg, the East Indians do not seem to segregate themselves into ethnic enclaves or ghettos. Although the majority seem to prefer to live in the St. James-Assiniboia area, one can hardly find two families living on the same street.

In terms of achieving the objectives that initially motivated them to emigrate, most claimed to have partially achieved their goals. However, this achievement was secured at a price. Many of the respondents from India acquired, for the first time, such amenities as dish-washers, vacuum cleaners, washing machines and automobiles but they lost the services of the one or two servants who did the washing, cleaning and grocery shopping for them.

As far as social interaction is concerned, the East Indian respondents seem to lack commitment to organizational activities. Though some religious and cultural ethnic associations have developed among them in recent years, the majority do not take membership in these associations too seriously. Their participation tends to be minimal. When queried about leisure-time activities, respondents indicated that in Canada they enjoyed the same activities which they had enjoyed in India, namely, playing cards, visiting friends and relatives or going for picnics and drives. In other words, they appear to have integrated into Canadian Society "without that desocialization that appears to be a

precondition of any fundamental change in political
loyalty."[2]

When asked about their likes and dislikes _vis-a-vis_
India and Canada almost all of the respondents indicated
that the Canadian aspects of life which appealed to them
were related to the secondary group characteristics of
anonymity, individuality and independence, while the Indian
valued modes of life that they desired to retain connected
with primary group characteristics such as strong parent-
child relationships, informality and sincerity. They seem
to maintain, in theory at least, many of the cultural traits
which they brought from the home-country. On occasions,
however, they do deviate from traditional norms, for in-
stance, if meat-eating is tabooed in their community in
India, they occasionally break the taboo in Canada. As one
Brahmin jokingly put it, "After all it's the Indian, not
Canadian cow, which is sacred to the Hindus." Not only do
they deviate but they appear to do so, in most cases, with-
out anxiety or tension. Their educational level may be a
factor which accounts for this easy adaptation to the local
environment. The principal motive for migration was the
economic situation in India and this was true regardless of
community or region, caste, age or sex.

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[2]A. Richmond, _loc. cit._, p. 275.

From the above summary, one may conclude that:

1. The East Indian respondents in the sample represent a group of people that could contribute a great deal to the development of Canadian Society. They are young, educated, and they provide wanted skills. They pay their way in this society shortly after, if not immediately, on entry into Canada.

2. The fact that East Indians in Winnipeg do not concentrate in a ghetto reduces the possibility of tension that could arise between them as a group and the Canadian-born population and allows for gradual acceptance on an equal status basis.

3. Though the immigrants are residentially integrated into the host society, this factor should not be construed as indicating that little contact exists among the members themselves. Earlier studies have shown that in cities and metropolitan districts the telephone and automobile make selective socializing possible without spatial monopolization.[3] That members of this group were in contact with each other was evidenced by the fact that the rumor concerning this study spread quickly. Not only were individuals having similar professions aware of the study, but the linguistic

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[3]Amitai Etzioni, "The Ghetto - A Re-Evaluation," Social Forces, Vol. 37, No. 3, March, 1959, p. 258.

and caste or religious group-members were also alerted.
Hence residential integration is no indication of the lack
of ethnic group contact or of neighbourhood cliques.

4.   Since the majority of East Indians came to Canada as
heads of families, rather than as single individuals, they
find less pressure to adjust. The family provides a
familiar milieu, a primary group setting that affords shelt-
er and ego-support during a period of stress. He is less
likely to desire entry into Canadian kinship circles. And
as a family man he is likely to ease any anxiety that the
Canadian-born population may experience regarding social
interaction with strangers. As Davis observed "immigration
raises the problem of what kinds of strangers ...shall
marry our daughters."[4] As most East Indians are married or
show the tendency to marry East Indian spouses, they do not
compete with Canadians for spouses, and hence are not viewed
by them with suspicion or prejudice.

5.   Another factor which in part contributed towards
easier cultural assimilation of the East Indian is the
selective criteria of the Department of Manpower and Immi-
gration. Only those trained in needed professions and
trades are initially allowed into the country. Finding a

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[4]Kingsley Davis, "Preface" to William Peterson,
Planned Migration. The Social Determinants of the Dutch-
Canadian Movement. University of Berkeley, California, 1966,
Vol. 11, p. V.

job does not, normally become a serious problem.

6.   The familiar family setting and the ease with which jobs are found, provide a situation which, in keeping with Canada's policy, emphasizes _integration_ rather than _assimilation_. The East Indian in Canada can therefore live at two levels. On one level, that is, at home, he is Indian: in food tastes, religion and ways of socializing his off-springs. On the other level, at work, he is as professional, pragmatic and efficient as his Canadian counterparts. But, surprisingly enough, living at these two levels does not mean that he is marginal to both cultures. Most Indian immigrants appear to have separated the roles of secondary activities from those of primary activities, while synthesizing the values of both levels of activities within their persons.

Edward Shils, in an article entitled, "The Culture of the Indian Intellectual," indicates that the problem of the Indian intellectual in India who has tried to reconcile the conflicting demands of modernity and tradition will be solved by the emergence "of traditions and institutions which foster individuality and creativity."[5] The East Indian in Winnipeg appears to have done this, since he draws on both

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[5] Edward Shils, "The Culture of the Indian Intellectual" in _The Sewanee Review_. Quarterly published by the University of South Sewanee, Tennessee, 1969, Vol. 67.

his cultures, traditional and modern, to solve his own problems.

7. One of the objectives of this research was to learn where and when caste norms were applied by East Indians in social relations in Canadian Society. The literature pointed to caste as an important variable among "free immigrants" from India who settled in East and Central Africa. Caste was inconsequential for descendents of indentured laborers in Trinidad and Mauritius.[6] In the Winnipeg sample caste taboos were observed in the area of mate selection only. A high caste Hindu, of marriageable age, normally feels the pressure to select a mate from his region and his caste, even though he (or she) may have to spend several thousands of dollars to travel to India for this purpose. On the other hand, the superficial aspects of caste, like interdining and intermixing are not observed in Canada. The phenomena of urbanization, industrialization and education are hardly adequate explanations since urban East Indians in India and in East Africa also share these characteristics. The East Indian immigrants in Winnipeg can make sense of themselves and their success on the basis of achievement and hence feel no need to refer to caste for security or ego support. In other words, the absence of

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[6]Cf Chapter III for a discussion of this issue.

caste as a referent in social relationships in Canada
appears to be related to the social system in Canada which
awards prestige to persons in the local environment on the
basis of achievement rather than on ascription.[7]

8.   Finally, although the study employed no techniques
of investigation which reach the deeper unconscious layers
of personality, it seems that, subjectively as well as ob-
jectively, the East Indian respondents are self-accepted,
moderately successful and well-integrated people. In Winni-
peg their major achievement has been their accepted par-
ticipation in the economic life of the larger society and
the absence of large scale social problems.

In discussing intergroup (racial or ethnic) con-
tacts, Sociologists have attempted to show a cycle of events,
a pattern of interaction which follow some steps or stages.

On the evidence of this and of other studies and
in keeping with Milton Gordon's theory, the following steps
or stages can be projected for the modern professional
immigrants to Canada, with some variations for each differ-
ent group.[8]

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[7]In Africa the East Indian "can make sense of them-
selves and their success only by referring to caste system
at home in India. See H. S. Morris Indians in East Africa.
The British Journal of Sociology, 1956, No. 7, p. 194.

[8]M. Gordon, loc. cit., p. 71. See chapter II, p. 34
and A. Richmond, loc. cit, p. 277 ff.

1.   Stage I. The cultural assimilation stage during
which the newcomer modifies his accent and behaviour accord-
ing to the norms of the host society. Initial intergroup
relationships are symbiotic. The immigrant provides needed
professional skills and in return is economically integrated
into the new setting.

2.   Stage II. Behaviour and attitude receptional assi-
milation occurs, that is, the absence of large scale dis-
crimination and prejudice exists. This enables the immi-
grant to be assimilated residentially as well as occupation-
ally. It is due, in part, to the immigrant's lack of desire
to gain entry into cliques or primary group settings (as he
has his own primary group). It is in part due to his lack
of competition for jobs which are scarce (as he is a pro-
fessional), and in part to the existence of legislation
which is designed to punish those that discriminate on
racial or ethnic grounds.

3.   Stage III. Due to the absence of tension, cultural
or behavioural assimilation proceeds rapidly. The immigrant
changes the pattern of the origin-group culture. This
leads to:

4.   Stage IV. Either Old-Country Blues, cured by return
(or a visit) or involvement in ethnic associations. If this
stage is passed:

5.   Stage V. Identificational assimilation, where the

immigrant develops a sense of peoplehood based exclusively
on the host society. Citizenship papers are taken out and
naturalization occurs.

6. Stage VI. Structural assimilation and marital
assimilation is the stage where entry into cliques at the
primary group level and large-scale intermarriage occurs.
Though this stage may be reached earlier by some members and
by some groups it ought not to be regarded as indicating the
disappearance of the ethnic group. Some individuals and
their offsprings may retain their origin-group identity and
thereby keep the ethnic group structurally separate though
culturally or socially equal.

While some stages may be interchanged, it was ob-
served that most of the respondents in the sample in this
study appear to be in stages one, two and three. Whether
the other three stages will be reached is a matter for long-
itudinal studies to investigate. The data collected for
this study were unable to investigate further because the
East Indians in Winnipeg had not been here long enough to
test whether or not these stages would follow.

The following hypotheses are suggested for future
researchers in this area.

1. There is a relationship between the motive for
immigration and the sense of identity of the
immigrant.

2. There is a relationship between the tech-
    nological base of the immigrant, his economic
    absorption and the maintenance of a sense of
    identity.

3. There is a relationship between the tech-
    nological base of the immigrant and his changes
    in occupation in the new country.

4. The presence of the primary (family) group is
    related to the absence of overall tension
    between the new immigrant and his hosts.

5. First generation adult immigrants generally
    prefer to associate with fellow countrymen
    rather than with host country-born populations.

6. The creation of ethnic associations is related
    to both the erosion of old country values and
    to cultural assimilation.

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APPENDIX I

EAST INDIANS IN WINNIPEG

In this schedule, an attempt is being made to investigate the consequences of immigration to Canada for people of East Indian origin.

You will be asked to indicate your reason for immigration, as well as your experiences in Canada.

Some data about your life in India will also be gathered.

There are no right or wrong answers, so please feel free to be frank and honest in your replies.

Although your case may appear unique, when put together with the situations which others have experienced, it is likely to form a pattern. So try to answer every question.

This schedule is anonymous and no attempt will be made to identify you. The information you give will be kept confidential.

Thank you for your valuable time and assistance.

Cecil Pereira.

Section-A

1. What was your age on December 31st, 1969?

2. What is your sex?   i) Male   ii) Female

3. Is your present marital status

    i) Single   v) Widowed married
   ii) Widowed single   vi) Divorced married
  iii) Divorced single   vii) Other (specify)
   iv) Married

4. What was the year of your present marriage?

5. How many children do you have?

6. How many are i) Preschoolers, ii) Elementary,
        iii) Secondary, iv) University, v) Other

7. What state/territory are you originally from:

    001 Andhra Pradesh   50 Rajastan
    002 Assam   60 Uttar Pradesh
    003 Bihar   70 West Bengal
    004 Gujarat   80 Andamon and Nicobar
    005 Jammu-Kashmir   90 Dadra and Nagar Haveli
    006 Kerala   100 Delhi
    007 Madhya Pradesh   200 Goa
    008 Madras   300 Himachal Pradesh
    009 Maharashtra   400 Laccadive and Amindivi
    010 Mysore   500 Manipur
     20 Nagaland   600 Pondacherry
     30 Orissa   700 Tripura
     40 Punjab   800 Other (specify)

8. What state is your wife from?

9. Where were you born? Please give name.

        City, town or village _____
        State/Territory _____

10. Were you born

      i) Before 1900   v) 1930 - 1939
     ii) 1900 - 1909   vi) 1940 - 1949
    iii) 1910 - 1919   vii) 1950 - 1959
     iv) 1920 - 1929

11. Till age 16, was most of your life lived in:

        a village
        a small town or city
        a large city

12. During this time what was the language
    most often spoken in your home?

13. What is your mother tongue?

14. In India where did you spend most of your life?
      i) I was raised in a village
     ii) In a small town 2,500 - 10,000
    iii) In a city 10-100,000 people
     iv) In a large city 100,000 - 1 million or more

15. Till age 16 did you live mostly

      i) in a joint family with parents and relatives
     ii) in a single family with parents
    iii) with relatives away from parents
     iv) in an orphanage
      v) Other, specify

16. What is your community?

      i) Hindu
     ii) Muslim
    iii) Sikh
     iv) Jew
      v) Zorastrian
     vi) Christian (specify Church)
    vii) Other (specify)

17. What is your caste? Specify sub-caste also.

      i) Don't have one
     ii) Don't believe in caste
    iii) Brahmin
     iv) Kshatraya
      v) Vaishaya
     vi) Sudra
    vii) Harijan
   viii) Other

18. How many (real) brothers and sisters do you have?

       I have _____ brothers and _____ sisters.

19. In your family were you the

       i) Eldest ii) Middle   iii) Youngest.

20. What is/was your father's occupation? (specify)
       My father is/was _____

A-3

21. During childhood would you say your parents were

     i) very wealthy
    ii) wealthy
  iii) making a good living
   iv) making a decent living
    v) struggling to make ends meet
   vi) very poor

22. What was his average annual income?

23. Did your father ever live out of India? Yes/No

24. If _yes_, list country, length of stay and reason.

25. What was your mother's occupation?

26. Did your mother ever live out of India? Yes/No.

27. If _yes_, list country, length of stay and reason.

28. Do you keep contact with your family in India?
    Yes/No.

29. If _yes_ to above, how?

    i) by letters, ii) by gift parcels, iii) money,
  iv) by sending information about jobs etc.
    v) Other

30. Is this

    i) every week
   ii) every month
  iii) every six months
   iv) annually

31. In Canada do you read or receive any Indian papers
    or magazines? Yes (specify)
                   No.

32. If yes, what language are they in?

A-4

33. Please check last grade you passed.

      i) Did not attend school
     ii) Grade 1 - 5
    iii) Grade 6 - 8
     iv) Grade 9 - 11
      v) S.S.L.C. Passed
     vi) University 1st year
    vii) University 2nd year
   viii) University 3rd year
     ix) University Degree received

34. List all degrees received in columns below:

    <u>Degree</u>   <u>Year</u>   <u>Institution</u>

35. Did you attend any co-education institution?
    Yes/No

36. If <u>yes</u>, specify grade and period attended and also
    the place.

    From grade _____ In _____
    For   _____ Years.

37. Did your father have:

    More education than you have?
    Less education that you have?
    About the same education?
    Don't know.

Section-B

Retention of Cultural Traits

1. Back home we observed the following ceremonies:
    i) Cradle and naming   iv) Sacred cord (boys)
   ii) Ear piercing   v) Pubert (girls)
  iii) Shaving hair   vi) Other

2. In my family in Canada I intend to celebrate:
    i) The same ceremonies
   ii) More ceremonies
  iii) Fewer ceremonies

3. When my father made decisions regarding me:
    i) I never opposed him
   ii) I sometimes opposed him
  iii) I often opposed him

4. When my mother made decisions regarding me:
    i) I never opposed her
   ii) I sometimes opposed her
  iii) I often opposed her

5. As a child my favourite stories were:
   Religious
   Non-religious

6. In my family the major family decisions were made by:

    i) My father
   ii) My mother
  iii) My grand parents
   iv) All adult members

7. In my opinion, teenage boys and girls

    i) Should not be allowed to meet and associate
      with members of the opposite sex
   ii) Should be allowed to meet under supervision
  iii) Should be allowed to meet freely and without
     supervision.

8. In my opinion, family authority should be the
   responsibility of:

   i) Father, ii) Mother, iii) both (equally)
  iv) Other (specify)

B-2

9. In my opinion, boys and girls should attend the same school for:

   i) Elementary   iii) University
   ii) Secondary   iv) Post graduate

10. My parents marriage was:

    Arranged
    Their own choice (a love-match)

11. In my opinion, marriages should be:

    Arranged by elders without consent of the couple
    Arranged by elders with consent of the couple
    A love-match

12. The reasons for this are:

13. In my opinion a marriage should be:

    Within the sub-caste community
    Within the caste
    Within the religion
    Within Indian community
    With anyone

14. My reasons for this are:

15. My marriage was, or when I marry it will probably be:

    Arranged within sub-caste
    Arranged within caste/community
    Of own choice but with caste
    Out of caste and community

16. I favour the marriage ceremony:

    i) In traditional style
    ii) In Western style

B-3

17. Suppose an Indian girl fell in love with a Western
    boy and wanted to marry him, what do you think
    her parents should do?

    i) Prevent marriage by all means
    ii) Allow only if boy becomes Hindu
    iii) Advise her not to marry him
    iv) Allow on condition children become
    v) Don't interfere
    vi) Don't know
    vii) Be indifferent
    viii) Other

18. In my opinion the most important factors in the choice
    of mate are:

    i) Caste
    ii) Family
    iii) Dowry
    iv) Age
    v) Position and job
    vi) A good person
    vii) My love for him/her
    viii) Looks
    ix) Other (specify)

19. By 'good person' I mean:

20. Women should work:

    i) Only when unmarried
    ii) When the family needs money
    iii) If their work doesn't result in neglect of
        family
    iv) If they wish to work

21. In my opinion women should be encouraged to:

    i) attend, unaccompanied if they wish, any
       function
    ii) attend 'mixed' functions only if accom-
        panied

22. In my opinion our women should not be allowed to
    adapt the following fashions/fads:

    Lipstick and cosmetics
    Short hair
    Wigs
    Drinking
    Smoking
    Ballroom dancing

23. If any of the above in your opinion is unacceptable,
    why?

24. My parents are:

    i) Strict about caste observances
    ii) Do not take caste too seriously
    iii) Do not practice caste observencies

25. In my opinion:

    Caste is essential
    Caste is not essential
    Caste is wrong
    Because (state reason)

26. My parents observe the following festivals:

    i) Harvest   iv) Divali
    ii) New Year   v) Birthdays of Gods
    iii) Dusserah   vi) Other (specify)

27. My parents strictly observe:

    i) Meatless food
    ii) Purification ceremonies
    iii) Religious ritual at home
    iv) Religious festivals and holy days
    v) Auspicious occasions
    vi) Going to the temple
    vii) Going on pilgrimages
    viii) Having family priest
    ix) Other

28. I do not observe:

      i) Meatless food
     ii) Purification ceremonies
   iii) Religious ritual at home
    iv) Festivals and holy days
     v) Auspicious occasions
    vi) Going to temple
   vii) Going on pilgrimages
 viii) Need for family priest
    ix) Other

29. My parents go to temple/mosque etc.

      i) Never
     ii) Once a year
   iii) About once a month
    iv) Once a week
     v) Once a day
    vi) Several times a day

30. If available I would go to the temple, etc.

      i) Never
     ii) Once a year
   iii) Once a month
    iv) Once a week
     v) Once a day
    vi) Several times a day

31. The statement 'everyone's future is prdestined by God.'

    Do you agree
    Not sure
    Disagree
    Don't know

Section-C

1. Did you arrive in Canada with a:
   - i) Student visa
   - ii) Visitors visa
   - iii) Landed immigrant
   - iv) Other (specify)

2. What kind of visa do you now hold?
   - i) Student visa
   - ii) Visitors
   - iii) Landed immigrant
   - iv) Other (specify)

3. Were you nominated by someone in Canada? Yes/No

4. What is your relationship to the nominator?

5. Is he/she a former emigrant from India? Yes/No

6. If yes, what has been his/her experience in Canada?

7. Apart from this person have you (your wife) any relatives and/or friends in Canada?

Relationship to Head	A former emigrant give year	Not a former immigrant

8. How long were you thinking about emigrating before you decided to leave India?

9. Why did you leave your country?
   - i) Economic
   - ii) One member or more was here
   - iii) Personal ambition
   - iv) Political
   - v) Educational
   - vi) Religious
   - vii) No reason

C-2

10. What would you say were your three main reasons?

11. Have you been able to fulfill them in Canada?
    i) Yes, ii) No, iii) Partly

12. Did you make inquiries about entering any other
    country besides Canada? Yes/No

13. If yes
      i) U.K.
     ii) Africa - East/West
    iii) U.S.A.
     iv) Other

14. How did you know about Canada?
      i) Through relatives
     ii) Spouse
    iii) Parents in Canada
     iv) Through Canadian friends
      v) Through friends in Canada
     vi) Movies
    vii) Reading
   viii) Other

15. Which most influenced your decision?

16. How long have you lived out of India?
      All my life
      Since the age of

17. How long have you lived in Canada? No. of years.

18. Did you arrive: i) alone   ii) with family

19. How long have you lived in Winnipeg? Specify.
      1 - 3 years
      4 - 6
      7 - 9
      10 and over (specify)

C-3

20. Why did you settle in Winnipeg?

21. Have you lived elsewhere in Canada? Yes/No.

22. If yes, specify:

    <u>Town/City</u>   <u>Time there</u>   <u>Reason for move</u>

23. What did you find most disappointing when you came
    here?

    i) Language   iii) No servants   v) Other
    ii) Climate   iv) No friends

24. In general, would you say that you use your mother
    tongue in conversation in your home in Canada?

    Always
    Often
    Seldom
    Never

25. What social class would you say you belong to here?

    i) Upper class   iii) Lower-middle class
    ii) Upper-middle class   iv) Working class

26. Is your class here, compared to your class in India:

    i) Higher, ii) Lower, iii) Same

27. In general, do you feel that Canadians here consider
    you:

    Canadian
    Indian
    No definite feeling   High Medium Low
    Other (specify)

28. What do you consider yourself in Canada?

    Indian
    Canadian
    No definite feeling   High Medium Low
    Other (specify)

C-4

28b. What do you feel your Indian friends here consider
     you?

          Canadian
          Indian
          No definite feeling   High   Medium   Low
          Other (specify)

29. Would you want to spend the rest of your life:

          Native country
          Native country but children's education or
             business prevents return
          Native country if economic condition improves
          Here
          No definite feeling
          Other

30. The parts of the Canadian way of life I admire and
     want for myself and family are:

31. The parts of the Canadian way of life I dislike and
     do not want for myself and family are:

32. The parts of the Indian way of life I like and want
     for myself and my family are:

33. The parts of the Indian way of life I dislike and do
     not want for myself and family are:

34. Before coming to Canada, in what country other than
     India have you lived?

          Country   Length of Stay   Reason

C-5

35. Was any member of your family living in a foreign
    country when you migrated to Canada? Yes/No

36. If yes, give relationship of individual to you and
    name of country.

    Country   Relationship

37. What is your main occupation now?

38. How long did you take to find your first job in
    Canada?

39. How long were you with your first employer?

40. In the following items, would you say your present
    Canadian experience has been different from
    previous non-Canadian one. <u>Worse</u>   <u>Same</u>   <u>Better</u>

    Income

    Type of work

    Working conditions

    Savings

    Cost of renting home

41. Have you made any change of house in Canada? Yes/No

    <u>No.</u>   <u>Place of residence</u>   <u>Year Entered/Left</u>   <u>Reason</u>
    1.
    2.
    3.
    4.
    5.
    6.
    7.
    8.
    9.
    10.

42. Is present rent

    i) higher, ii) lower,   iii) same as previous house
                                         in Canada?

43. Would you say that your last change of address has
been an improvement, in terms of:

                                Yes   No   Same

      i) Area in which you
            now live
     ii) Kind of house you now
            live in (space, etc)
    iii) Kind of neighbours
            you have
     iv) Kind of conveniences
            and social facil-
            ities available

44. Are you a member of any organization/association in
Canada?   Yes/No

45. If yes, is it a:

      i) Social/cultural association
     ii) Sporting clubs
    iii) Church groups
     iv) Political party
      v) Professional association

45b. Name of   Type No.   No. of yrs.   Position   Length   No.
     Assoc.   above   a member   Held   of time Hrs.
                                                             Month

46. Most of the Social functions attended by me usually
are attended by:

      i) Canadians (90% in number)
     ii) Canadians and Indians (50% of each)
    iii) Indians (90%)
     iv) Other

47. In India, my family's leisure-time was spent in:

      i) Reading and story telling
     ii) Visiting friends and relatives
    iii) Music
     iv) Sports
      v) Movies
     vi) Playing cards
    vii) Picnicing
   viii) Other

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48. I myself, in Canada, enjoy these activities most:
    (List three most important)

    i) _____
    ii) _____
    iii) _____

49. My favourite kinds of leisure reading:

    i) Indian classics (specify)
    ii) English literature
    iii) Modern Indian fiction
    iv) Modern Western fiction
    v) Indian love stories
    vi) Western love stories
    vii) History (specify)
    viii) Other (specify)

50. Most of my friends are:

    i) Indians   iii) 50% of each
    ii) Canadians   iv) Other

51. When you consider your job in Canada, would you say
    you are:

    i) Satisfied
    ii) Dis-satisfied
    iii) Other

52. When you consider your life in Canada, would you say
    life here is:

    i) Less interesting than expected
    ii) As interesting as expected
    iii) More interesting than expected
    iv) Other

53. In my family in India there is:

    i) Much interest in politics
    ii) A little interest in politics
    iii) No interest in politics

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54. I myself am:

    i) Much interested in politics
   ii) A little interested in politics
  iii) Not interested in politics

55. I myself was:

    i) Congress   iv) R.S.P.
   ii) Swantantra   v) H.M.
  iii) D.K.M.   vi) Communist

56. In Canada I identify with:

    i) Liberal
   ii) Conservative
  iii) N.D.P.
   iv) Other (specify)

57. The Hindu, Muslim riots in India are a sign of:

    i) _____
   ii) _____
  iii) _____
   iv) _____

58. Besides the Indian Association the Sikhs are now
    forming their own Association. To me this is a
    sign of:

    i) _____
   ii) _____
  iii) _____

59. The U.N. in my opinion is:

    i) Useless
   ii) Should have more power
  iii) Should have less power
   iv) Is doing a good job
    v) Is a puppet of the big powers, viz.

_____
_____
_____

60. Indira Gandhi's power struggle with the Congress
    party seems to me to be:

       i) _____
      ii) _____
     iii) _____

61. Compared with Canadians as a whole do you think that
    Indians are as fair, more fair or less fair in
    social relations?

       i) Indians as fair
      ii) Indians more fair
     iii) Indians less fair
      iv) Don't know

62. Do you feel you are:

       i) Struggling to make ends meet
      ii) Just making a living
     iii) Making a good living
      iv) Wealthy
       v) Very wealthy

63. To the best of your knowledge, what will your total
    family income be this year?

       i) Under $3,000
      ii) 3,000 - 5,999
     iii) 6,000 - 8,999
      iv) 9,000 - 11,999
       v) 12,000 - 14,999
      vi) Over 15,000
     vii) Other 9specify)

64. What were your three most significant experiences in
    Canada?

       i) _____
      ii) _____
     iii) _____

65. In what way has your life in Canada changed?