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

To more than any other single individual this researcher is indebted to Prof. A. M. Lutfiyya, who took over the supervision of this thesis after data were gathered and after Prof. D. L. Rennie went on sabbatical leave. Not only did Prof. Lutfiyya bear this extra duty and inconvenience graciously but he gave unstintingly of his time. His questions, suggestions and overall help were invaluable throughout this study.

In draft and in final form the thesis was read by Prof. Stuart Johnson and for his constructive criticisms, I am truly grateful. I wish also to thank Prof. J. Matthiason for his suggestions. In planning the study Prof. D. L. Rennie's comments were very useful while the advice of Professors Danappa Chekki, Shashi Jha, and Gyan Prasad was drawn upon in preparing the interview schedule.

A research grant from the University of Winnipeg made the collection of data and its analysis by computer, much easier. I gratefully acknowledge it.

I would like to thank the interviewers and the respondents who took part in the study and gave of their time and experiences. I also thank my wife Enakshi for her help throughout.
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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 interest 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,


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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⁴Andrew M. Greeley, ibid., p. 109.

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 immigration 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

\(^6\)Eric Rosenthal, \textit{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 international 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. 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." 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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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

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." 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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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 affinity 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 social environment where one's status is based on achievement, will be required to make changes which are different in substance 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.  

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."  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.

group has been fostered as much by those who have little
ingress in it, as from within its own ranks. 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 pop-
ulation 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 differ-
ences 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 respect-
able 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

15 George Delf, op. cit.
16 Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson, The Indian
Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi, Yale University
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) **Significance of the Study.** 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.

(a) **Filling a research gap.** 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 *Post War Immigrants in Canada* 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 gap.

17 A. Richmond, *loc. cit.*, p. 27.
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. In Canada, practically no specific research has been done concerning East Indians with the exception of a working paper by Adrian Mayer. 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. In 1960 there were less than 60 East Indian families in Winnipeg, while in Nov., 1969 their number was in excess of 300 families.

(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 selection,' '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) Definition of Terms

**East Indian.** 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 fait accompli 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

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.

'changes in the interactional system of the migrants,' sets limits to the time and distance involved before a particular 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 boundaries 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.

(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

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 characteristics 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 existing 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 subjective 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 heterogeneous 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

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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{3} Ravenstein arrived at certain laws of migration


which Smith tested in America in 1930. He found these laws to hold true, with some modifications. Atteslander in his study in Zurich, also found these laws tended to hold true. 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 sociodemographic 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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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 migration by the physical variable of distance and the biological 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


8Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities," *A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance*, *American Sociological 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. All were attempts to make sense out of the complex mass of migration data being accumulated.


(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

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

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

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.\textsuperscript{13} For Eisenstadt, it is "the change in social roles."\textsuperscript{14} For Taft and Robbins, it is "population growth, the search for economic satisfaction, racial contacts and conflicts, the development of national loyalties, the establishment of intercultural relations."\textsuperscript{15}

Other problems of immigrants researched include psychological and mental health problems resulting from migration, homelessness, delinquency, crime and general social disorganization.\textsuperscript{16} But the focus of the greatest number


of problem studies has dealt with the finding of immediate solutions to pressing problems of the migrants as individuals. 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


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.

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

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

immigration experience has come to an end. In Canada, assimilation *per se* is not demanded. In fact the maintenance of ethnic customs, traditions and language, seems not only to be tolerated but even encouraged. The term Assimilation 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 renunciation by the immigrant of his ancestral value system, his language and way of life. 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 continuum of attitudes from a *laissez-faire* attitude towards immigration from any part of the world, provided the immigrant 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 moderate 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.

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." 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

result from a blend of biological stocks and of cultural folkways. 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..." 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.

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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 religious 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 nationality 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.

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Melting Pot approaches had envisaged both the disappearance 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 particular 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. 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.


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 immigrants create a plural society in which cultural and language 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 Integration 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.

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31 M. Gordon, op. cit., p. 135.
explaining the various degrees or types or steps in the process of assimilation. Cultural and Structural Assimilation 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 individuals 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 attainment 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 organizations. This indifference to theory is noted by sociologists 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


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...

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

35A. 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."

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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36A. Richmond, Postwar Immigrants in Canada, 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 professional 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 motivation to migrate generally tended to be more of a pull than a push type.38


One could not talk about the subject of immigrants and the effects of their immigration experience without reference 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 phenomenon 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 sociological 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 adjustments. 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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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.

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

CHAPTER III

AN ACCOUNT OF EAST INDIAN MIGRATION OVERSEAS

An account of East Indian migration to points outside 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 obelisk 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. Though the available evidence only permits a broad

\[^1\]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 international 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 voyage 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 contact 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,

²R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 613.

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

⁴The Rig Veda, India's earliest codified literature (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 geographical works (1300 A.D.) mention the existence of East Indian settlements along the coast of East and South Africa and South and East Asia.\(^6\)

\(^5\) 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. 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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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 distinction of great importance in understanding overseas Indian communities. "Passenger and Indentured 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


12 Ibid., p. 28.


14 Dotsons, ibid., 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. Further, 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 restrictive 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.

15Morton Klass, op. cit., p. 55.
16Dotsons, op. cit., p. 28.
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 succeeded to keep out East Indian immigrants. During the sixties the criteria for selection of immigrants was changed 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. 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. (Less than one percent of her total population as compared to over forty


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 legislation 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

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

21Ibid., p. 89.
quota was seldom filled.  

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. 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.

In those days it was practically impossible to make a continuous 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

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.\textsuperscript{25}

The Government of Canada agreed to admit a number of dependants 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:

\begin{quote}
  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 population by means of restriction of immigration from any other communities.\textsuperscript{26}
\end{quote}

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


\textsuperscript{26}Cited in Maurice Davie, \textit{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.  

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. 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 commencement of greater prosperity for the West. Canada had a manpower 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. Mackenzie 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

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

28 Adrian Mayer, A Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver. The declining population becomes evident on comparing this number to the figure of 5,000 in 1908 census.
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 discussions on immigration policy succeeded in revealing the racial and cultural discrimination and the myth of geographical 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 Conservative 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

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

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 grandparent 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 immigrant's admissibility the following criteria in order of importance will be considered: i) education, ii) personal qualities, iii) occupational demand, iv) age, v) occupational 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 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 Immigration Regulations" in International Migration Review, Winter, 1967, p. 48.

32J. 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 grandparent under sixty years; a nephew, niece, uncle, aunt or grandchild.
he can compile fifty assessment 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 relative 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 examination 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

\(^{33}\) J. Kage, op. cit., p. 47.
of the assessment units he compiled 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 immigrant. 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.

\(^{34}\)J. Kage, \textit{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. 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. 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.  


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.\(^3^8\) 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 publication, *Caste in Overseas Indian Communities*, focusses on caste as the variable against which changes in overseas Indian settlements were studied.\(^3^9\) 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."\(^4^0\)


\(^4^0\) 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." 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.

In the opinion of other scholars, however, the conclusions regarding the importance of the caste factor are completely different. 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." 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.


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

Mayer. 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 consciousness 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.

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.

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

46 G. Berreman, "Caste in India and the United States," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (1960) p. 120.
47 G. Berreman, ibid., p. 44.
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 referring to the caste system at home in India."51 Even among the Goans (Catholics) caste-consciousness is very strong.52


49 Ibid., p. 5.


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, speaking for and representing the group, vis-à-vis no other group in collective action, there is no Indian community. Instead there are factional differences based on caste, religion, personal loyalties or generational differences led by leaders more interested in their own prestige vis-à-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, according 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 communities. They maintain these religious cleavages by derogatory stereotypes; Hindus label Muslims as fanatical while


54 Ibid., p. 189.
the Muslims see the Hindus as "undermocratic" because of the caste system, and also devious and untrustworthy.  

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 participant observation, an analysis of newspaper accounts, government reports, census tracts and archival material. Their major guide line was that culture is the "major determinant of human mentality." They showed that the East Indians in Africa (like any migrant group) are continuously reviewing 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.

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 subjective factors of social life. Not only should data on the demographic characteristics (like age and sex) of the immigrant group be obtained, but one should also research social life in terms of valued ends and held attitudes. The

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 identity in overseas settlements, though changes have occasionally occurred. Caste has not been an important referent for the descendants of indentured laborers while free or Passenger 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 schedule.\(^1\) 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

\(^1\)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.

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 statement. 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 immigrants from India could not be obtained readily from any single 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

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. 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. 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. Thus it was necessary to determine the actual percentage of Sikhs in the East Indian population in Winnipeg. 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. 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.

*The Canadian Family Tree*, prepared by the Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of Secretary of State, published in co-operation with the Centennial Commission, Ottawa, 1967.

According to Shakespeare - "What's in a name? A rose by any other name would smell just as sweet." Obviously 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

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- 
lected because they were knowledgeable 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 completed interviews were rejected as unusable because they contained incomplete and contradictory information. Of these five rejected interviews, three interviewees had insisted on self-administering the schedule and had not adequately 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, 1978. 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?

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 technological 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 relative 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 educational 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 dissatisfaction 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 decision 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 perception 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 situation. 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 experience? 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

...
and have it too.\textsuperscript{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 factors that influence the results of the immigration experience. 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 situation.

\textbf{The Interview Schedule}

An interview schedule was designed to return data

\textsuperscript{13} J. J. Mangalam, Human Migration, \textit{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 consequences 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 regulations came into force in Canada, which legislated against discrimination "by reason of race, colour or religion." These regulations finally removed the restrictions placed upon Asian and other non-white immigrants in 1910 and 1919.1

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.2

1 Canadian Immigration Policy 1966, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1966, p. 5.

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 immigrants 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 discussion of those characteristics of East Indian immigrants in Winnipeg which will help us to understand their experiences 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 respondents (30.7%) were over forty years of age on December 31, 1969. Over half of the respondents in the sample specifically, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1909</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1919</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1929</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1939</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1949</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sex

Of the seventy-two respondents included in the sample, sixty-two individuals (86.2%) were male. The remaining ten (13.8%) are females. The sample was drawn from a list of East Indian Immigrants who were the heads of households. 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 females. 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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4A. Richmond, loc. cit., p. 34.
TABLE II

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>East Indians in Winnipeg Per 100</th>
<th>National sample* Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>87.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed single</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced single</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced remarried</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>East Indians&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; Per 100</th>
<th>National sample&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married, widowed or divorced</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>East Indians sampled numbered 72.

<sup>b</sup>Richmond, <cite>op. cit.</cite>, p. 35. The total number sampled was 478.

<sup>5</sup>A. Richmond, <cite>loc. cit.</cite>, 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 nonEast-Indian. The overall opinion regarding choice of mate appeared to be determined 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 participation 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 results in withdrawal from any contact or associations requiring 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 daughter is in high school. All are in India because I do not want my daughters to grow up here and marry these people (Canadians). 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 respondents (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." 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." This desire for a male child among East Indians is not unique, as it exists in other societies as well.

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.

---


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 westernization 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 necessary for an understanding of any cultural phenomena in India." 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; patriarchal or matriarchal; patrilineal or matrilineal; polygamous or

---

9Irawati 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of children</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7 and more</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondents family size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>24*</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per 100</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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." 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. In the ideal form it consists of a man, his spouse and their children, plus their children to the third or fourth generation. 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 countermanded.

Some sociologists argue that most parts of the world are undergoing a revolution in family structure.


11 Ibid., p. 168.

12 Summarized from Mandelbaum, p. 168 ff.

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 hypothesis 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. An excellent study which discusses 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." 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


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family type lived with</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joint family</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>63.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives away from parents</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In an orphanage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 indicate that individuals responded to the question according to their understanding of the term joint family. So

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16 To some the term Joint Family may signify common-salitv, i.e. they eat food from one kitchen. To others it may mean residence, living in one household. Others may
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 individuals (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

---

**TABLE VII**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major decisions made by</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Par 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand parents and all adult members</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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 without 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 (93.2%)

**TABLE VIII**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mate Selection Patterns</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents select mate without couples consent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents select mate with couples consent</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free choice of individuals</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mate Selection Patterns</th>
<th>Parents Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
<th>Respondents Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arranged by elders within Caste and Community</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Caste and Community</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own choice but within Caste</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply/refused</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 personal. 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 community 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 positions 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 categories 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 lifetime 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. 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."

---

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

19 Taya Zinkin, op. cit., p. 127.
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.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{21}Dotson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{22}Dotson, \textit{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 constitution 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 extent 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste Affiliation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't have a caste</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't believe in caste</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshtriya</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaishya</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 interesting 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 explanation 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 interaction.

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 represented in India and, in addition, there are also some local religions.

The Religious Affiliations of Respondents

In this sample, the Hindus form the largest religious 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 percent of the total population. Table XI presents a comparison of the various religious groups of East Indian respondents 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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>India Per 100</th>
<th>Winnipeg Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>83.50</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>10.70</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist and Jains</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others, including Parsees, Jews</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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 celebrating 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 successful 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 immigration 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
The rural-urban percentage distribution in the sample was compared with that of the percentage distribution of India where "from 80 to 85 percent of the Indian people live in villages." 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

---

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.

geographically mobile in India itself. The general direction 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lived</th>
<th>Till age 16</th>
<th>Most of my life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a village</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a small town</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a large city</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of India's more than five hundred million people, less than five percent live in cities. It is from this percentage 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 question '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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Location(s)</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern India</td>
<td>Jammu and Kashmir</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western India</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South India</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andhra</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central India</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern India</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N.E.F.P.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other territories</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(1) NORTHERN INDIA
Jammu & Kashmir 2
The Punjab 16  22  30.5
Delhi 4

(2) WESTERN INDIA
Rajasthan 1  18  25.1
Gujarat 9
Maharashtra 6
Goa 2

(3) SOUTHERN INDIA
Mysore 5, Andhra 3  18  25.1
Madras 4, Kerala 6

(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. James-Assiniboia</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Garry</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vital</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Boniface</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kildonan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Kildonan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down Town Winnipeg</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 traditional socio-demographic characteristics have been described and discussed. The sample showed little dissimilarity, 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 persons, 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 question 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 selection of mate while a large proportion showed awareness of the caste label. The minority groups appeared to be represented in higher proportions than were the dominant majority or the dominant minority. The largest proportion of immigrants were from North India which in the past had been the scene of invasions from the North, and in 1947 was partitioned 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 demographic 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 consensus.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.

¹As 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 included, 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 carried out in America, Britain, Canada and other countries, to develop relevant socio-economic indices. For India an occupations scale was developed by Victor D'Souza. 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." The Hall and Jones list of


4 John Hall and D. C. Jones, loc. cit., p. 31.
occupations was modified by D'Souza to suit Indian conditions 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

5D'Souza, op. cit., p. 159.
6Blishen et al., loc. cit.
7A. Richmond, loc. cit., p. 300.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>D'Souza (students)</th>
<th>Hall &amp; Jones (males)</th>
<th>Blishen (males)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India Class</td>
<td>England Class</td>
<td>Canada Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company Director</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant (C.A.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Official</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus. Executive</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Manager</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner Cultivator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prim. Sch. Teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Contractor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Reporter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Rep.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel Keeper</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Agent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery Dealer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Constable</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Clerk</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Driver</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill Hand</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Cooli</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric. Laborer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi Driver</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dock Worker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweeper</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE XIII**

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL GRADING OF OCCUPATIONS IN INDIA, ENGLAND AND CANADA ACCORDING TO D’SOUZA, HALL AND JONES AND BLISHEN
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. So the Blishen, Hall-Jones, and D'Souza grading was used to interpret the prestige ranking 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' occupation 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), engineers (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.

---

### Table XIV

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Origin</th>
<th>Occupation of Parents</th>
<th>Occupation of Immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number Per 100</td>
<td>Number Per 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major professionals, higher executives, large business owners.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser Professionals, medium size business owners.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative personnel, small business owners, farmers.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, Sales and Technical personnel.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled workers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 emigrated 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 classification 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. Intergenerational 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Class origin Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
<th>Origin by class Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class I</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>69.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>99.6*</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>99.6*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*.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 employment 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 attributed to the fact that being married and in a foreign land

¹¹ Jocas and Rocher, op. cit., p. 443.
they are less inclined to take risks. Also as professionals, 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 educated 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 illiterate 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>East Indian Number</th>
<th>East Indian Per 100</th>
<th>National* Number</th>
<th>National* Per 100</th>
<th>U.K. and other English Immigrants* Number</th>
<th>U.K. and other English Immigrants* Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 years or less</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 years to 12 years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 years or more</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>99.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 private 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

---

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 frustrating 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 following 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 factors 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.\(^\text{13}\)

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 required 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 figure which represents their total income was reported. These data are presented in Table XVII.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE XVII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANNUAL INCOME OF EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECEMBER 1969</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| THE SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION OF SOCIAL POSITION IN CANADA BY EAST INDIANS IN WINNIPEG |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social status</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\textsuperscript{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 industrial urban society. However, in absolute terms they claimed to be as well off on the average, as in their former country.

\textsuperscript{14} A. Richmond, \textit{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 immigrant's image of the new society and conditions his predispositions 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

¹Guido 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 professional 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 important 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 converted 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>1st reason</th>
<th>2nd reason</th>
<th>3rd reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Economic</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To join family</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personal ambition</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Political reasons</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Educational</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Religious</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Adventure</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Security</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Accessibility</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. No reply</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mentioned 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 second reason for emigrating, fourteen (19.4%) stated the economic reason for immigrating to Canada, while thirteen respondents each (16.0%) 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 personal 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 arbitrary 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

\(^3\)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

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

influenced other religious communities in India. For instance, 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 dissatisfaction 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

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 Spirit 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

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

*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 mentioned 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 analysis 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 communities (Muslims, Christians, Parsee and Jews) mentioned it as a reason for migration. Personal ambition, defined by respondents 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 discuss 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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason why Winnipeg</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job offer here</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>76.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives here</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean friendly place</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsor here</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furthest from home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The overall reason for migrating to Winnipeg was not high wages as much as existing opportunity for employment. 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 education. 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 Winnipeg 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In-Migration and length of stay</th>
<th>Lived in Canada</th>
<th>Lived in Winnipeg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6 years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

\(^1\)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.  

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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Table XXV

Conditions which New East Indian Immigrants Found Disappointing in Winnipeg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of disappointment</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No servants</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No friends</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No proper food</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No disappointments</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 manner 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. He had not yet modified his accent to what was considered as operational in Canada.

The climate of Winnipeg was a source of disappointment for twenty individuals (27.9%) of the sample. This number is not large considering the fact that all the respondents 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.

The assumption underlying the policy of most immigrant-receiving countries has been the hope that the immigrants would become permanent residents in the new

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3Milton Gordon, loc. cit., p. 77.
4A. 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 respondent 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 positions 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 corresponds with the findings of Richmond, who reported that a large majority of immigrants returning to Britain had fulfilled 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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I would like to spend the rest of my life in:</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native country</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native country if</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

different groups have a minimum of contact between each other at the intimate equal-status level we have what Gordon calls "structural separation." 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.


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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendship</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Friends Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Canadian</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equally mixed</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Indian</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 structurally separated either because of their desire to maintain their own communal distance or because they do not feel comfortable 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Functions</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Canadian</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equally mixed</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Indian</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Canadian 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 surface 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. 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. 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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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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self concept of East Indians</th>
<th>Canadians label me</th>
<th>East Indians label me</th>
<th>I label myself</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number Per 100</td>
<td>Number Per 100</td>
<td>Number Per 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Canadian</td>
<td>11 15.7</td>
<td>16 22.2</td>
<td>3 4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As East Indian</td>
<td>46 63.9</td>
<td>35 48.7</td>
<td>66 91.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>15 20.9</td>
<td>21 29.1</td>
<td>3 4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72 100.0</td>
<td>72 100.0</td>
<td>72 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XXIX

COMPARING THE SELF CONCEPT OF EAST INDIANS WITH HOW THEY THINK CANADIANS AND OTHER EAST INDIANS LABEL THEM
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. 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 de-vested himself of his Sikh identity including his name.  

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. In this study, forty-six respondents (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 immigration 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class status</th>
<th>Class in Canada</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle class</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle class</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self appraisal of social class mobility</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Evaluation of Jobs in Canada**

As pointed out in Chapter VI, over seventy-four percent of East Indian immigrants in Canada are professionals. The respondents 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 dissatisfaction. 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>East Indian respondents</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Struggling to make ends meet</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just making a living</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making a good living</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy and very wealthy</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five respondents (6.9%), though they stated they were struggling to make ends meet, were not from the working 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 respondents 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 appeared 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 no 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 normal, 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 second 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 evils in Canada, namely the defilement 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 subjective 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 motives 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, regardless 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 population 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 respondents could seldom be dichotomized and so were distributed 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 misleading 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

\(^1\) 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 cooperative. 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 thirty-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."

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 instance, 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, without 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.

\[1^2\] 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. 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

---

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 shelter 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." 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 Immigration. Only those trained in needed professions and trades are initially allowed into the country. Finding a

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 offsprings. 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." The East Indian in Winnipeg appears to have done this, since he draws on both

---

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. 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

6Cf 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 objectively, the East Indian respondents are self-accepted, moderately successful and well-integrated people. In Winnipeg their major achievement has been their accepted participation in the economic life of the larger society and the absence of large scale social problems.

In discussing intergroup (racial or ethnic) contacts, 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 different group. ⁸

⁷In Africa the East Indian "can make sense of themselves 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.

1. Stage I. The cultural assimilation stage during which the newcomer modifies his accent and behaviour according 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 assimilation occurs, that is, the absence of large scale discrimination and prejudice exists. This enables the immigrant 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 professional), 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 observed 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 longitudinal 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 technological base of the immigrant, his economic absorption and the maintenance of a sense of identity.

3. There is a relationship between the technological 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 Rajasthan
   002 Assam 60 Uttar Pradesh
   003 Bihar 70 West Bengal
   004 Gujarat 80 Andaman 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?
   a) I was raised in a village
   b) In a small town 2,500 - 10,000
   c) In a city 10-100,000 people
   d) In a large city 100,000 - 1 million or more

15. Till age 16 did you live mostly
   a) in a joint family with parents and relatives
   b) in a single family with parents
   c) with relatives away from parents
   d) in an orphanage
   e) Other, specify

16. What is your community?
   a) Hindu
   b) Muslim
   c) Sikh
   d) Jew
   e) Zoroastrian
   f) Christian (specify Church)
   g) Other (specify)

17. What is your caste? Specify sub-caste also.
   a) Don't have one
   b) Don't believe in caste
   c) Brahmin
   d) Kshatriya
   e) Vaishaya
   f) Sudra
   g) Harijan
   h) Other

18. How many (real) brothers and sisters do you have?
    I have ____ brothers and ____ sisters.

19. In your family were you the
    a) Eldest  b) Middle  c) Youngest.

20. What is/was your father's occupation? (specify)
    My father is/was ___________________________
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?
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:

   Degree     Year     Institution

35. Did you attend any co-education institution?
   Yes/No

36. If yes, 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
   ii) Ear piercing
   iii) Shaving hair
   iv) Sacred cord (boys)
   v) Pubert (girls)
   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)
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
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 accompanied
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 observances

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 predestined by God.'
   Do you agree
   Not sure
   Disagree
   Don't know
Section-C

1. Did you arrive in Canada with a:
   i) Student visa    iii) Landed immigrant
   ii) Visitors visa  iv) Other (specify)

2. What kind of visa do you now hold?
   i) Student visa    iii) Landed immigrant
   ii) Visitors       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 | Not a former emigrant

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
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)
20. Why did you settle in Winnipeg?

21. Have you lived elsewhere in Canada? Yes/No.

22. If yes, specify:
   Town/City   Time there   Reason for move

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)
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
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.

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
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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. Worse Same Better

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<tr>
<th>Income</th>
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<tr>
<td>Type of work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of renting home</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

41. Have you made any change of house in Canada? Yes/No

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place of residence</th>
<th>Year Entered/Left</th>
<th>Reason</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>10.</td>
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</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Same</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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 facilities 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 Hrs. Assoc. above a member HeId of time 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) Picnicking

viii) Other
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
   ii) Canadians
   iii) 50% of each
   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
C-8

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
   ii) Swantantra
   iii) D.K.M.
   iv) R.S.P.
   v) H.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 (specify)

64. What were your three most significant experiences in Canada?
   i) ________________________________
   ii) ________________________________
   iii) ________________________________

65. In what way has your life in Canada changed?