

Mukherjee, Alok

1977 East Indians: Myths and Reality. Toronto:
 Indian Immigrant Aid and the Indian Students'
 Association of the University of Toronto.

EAST INDIANS IN TORONTO: GENE

EAST INDIANS MYTHS and REALITY a resource book

editor
Alok K. Mukherjee

published for
Indian Students Association at
University of Toronto
by
Indian Immigrant Aid Services
9 Bloor Avenue
Toronto, Ont. M6E 3Z2

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	. . .	i-ii
SMARTEN UP, INDIANS, AND GO		
WESTERN: A Content Analysis of Ontario's Secondary School Social Studies Texts in Relation to India, by, Suwanda Sugunasiri, Alok K. Mukherjee and Arun P. Mukherjee	. . .	1-68
EAST INDIANS IN TORONTO	. . .	69-158
1. Immigration of east Indians to Canada, by, Arvinder Shergill	. . .	70-89
2. Family Life of Indians in Toronto	. . .	90-158
a. The Traditional Indian Family, by, Ahmad Saidullah	. . .	91-95
b. Families of Indian Origin in Metro Toronto and Vicinity, by, Glen Hastings and Ahmad Saidullah	. . .	95-110
c. Case Studies of 4 Indian Families, by, Alok Mukherjee and Glen Hastings	. . .	111-131
3. The Indian Community in Toronto: Some Useful Resource Lists	. . .	132-158
INDIA: BY WAY OF BACKGROUND	. . .	159-335
1. Indian Geography: The Land and the People, by, Arun P. Mukherjee	. . .	160-184
2. Indian History: The Making of Modern India, by, Arun P. Mukherjee	. . .	185-221
3. The Economy of Modern India, by, Saad A. Saidullah and Shalini Sinha	. . .	222-259
4. The Politics of India, by, Saad A. Saidullah	. . .	260-286
5. Indian Society: Change and Continuity	. . .	287-310
a. Indian Society, by, Krishna Kumar	. . .	288-296
b. Life in a Village, by, Krishna Kumar	. . .	297-301
c. Growing Up in a Small Town, by, Arun P. Mukherjee	. . .	302-310
6. Some Aspects of Indian Culture	. . .	311-329
a. Indian Festivals, by, Krishna Kumar	. . .	312-316
b. A Critique of Indian Music, by, Ahmad Saidullah	. . .	317-323
c. Literature, by, Krishna Kumar	. . .	324-329
7. A Note on Indian Education, by, Krishna Kumar	. . .	330-335

THE "PERSPECTIVE": YOUR BIAS IS SHOWING

OUTLINE OF THE "PERSPECTIVE"

If a student were to study the sections pertaining to India contained in these texts, this is the picture he is likely to get:

There was backward and archaic India. Luckily for her, the benevolent and modernized British colonizers came along. Having taken major strides in ameliorating the condition of Indians over a period of some 200 years -- mind you, they even built railways -- and followed a farsighted policy of gradually preparing Indians to take control of their own destiny, the British granted India full independence. But, alas, what problems India has! To begin with, there is the spectre of Hinduism everywhere: there are the various castes, and there are the sacred cows that roam all over India at will, consuming or destroying the food available for men. But, then, men themselves are a problem. There are just too many of them in India. And most of them illiterate as well. They don't eat beef or pork either. Hinduism just doesn't allow Indians to be otherwise.

Buddhism, an offshoot of Hinduism, looks enlightened. But it's not very helpful either. And the tragedy of it all is that there are tested out solutions to the kinds of problems India faces, but she, in her stupidity, is unwilling to embrace them. We all know, from our own history (i.e. of Europe and North America) that development is coterminous with industrialization, literacy, population control,

mechanization, accumulation of investment funds, private enterprise, private profit and so on. The list can go on and on. But what good is it? We can, and in fact, do propose. But the illiterate and Hindu India disposes! We even give foreign aid to implement our ideas. By the million. But how long will the backward Indian peasant take to make use of our enlightened kindness? They are simply born that way, for surely doesn't Hinduism teach that a man's station in life is determined at birth? The national government...it's a little better. It's trying hard as well. But...the illiterate peasant keeps on producing -- offspring, not food. Do they keep eating up the little progress made!

Oh India...impossible country. You've just got to get rid of your archaic ways, and go western!

* * *

If this scenario seems cynical and abhorrent to the good taste of the reader, let us assure you that it is no fiction of our imagination. It is the view supported, directly or by innuendo, in the texts. In order to establish this, let us take each claim in progression.

THE "PERSPECTIVE" EXPLORED

IN THE BEGINNING WAS BACKWARD INDIA

The countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Oceania, which we call Post-Colonial Nations, or PCNs for short (see Sugunasiri, in progress) are, in the texts analyzed, "the underdeveloped lands" (Trueman et al.: 712), "the underdeveloped countries" (Ricker (2): 19) and "poor nations" (Trueman et al.: 712). Their people are "backward"

and "illiterate" (ibid.: 711). They are "backward countries" (Lloyd: 356). In these PCNs live "two billion people whose lives are one of misery, poverty and despair" (Ricker (2): 19). Among these countries, however, Asia and Africa have "backward economies" (Trueman et al.: 711) and India, in the "wet-dry Tropics", in particular, is "backward" (Lloyd: 356). The "progress of modern industry is very slow" (ibid.), while "the developments of South America are impressive" (ibid.: 357). For example, "on the Brazilian plateau there are big modern industries..." (ibid.). India, further, has an "archaic system" (Trueman et al.: 711), and agricultural methods are "so inefficient" that "agricultural backwardness" is a "major obstacle to industrialization" (Ricker (2): 20). Systems of transportation, storage and distribution of foodstuffs are "inadequate and outdated" (Stanford: 257) as well.

Small wonder, because some people in India still live in "the Stone Age" (Earl: 334) and "do not know how best to utilize...resources" (Trueman et al.: 711), not to mention their "fatalist attitude" (Stanford: 113).

ALONG CAME THE BRITISH

India, according to the textbooks, was in terrible shape at the time the Western powers landed on its shores. Before the British conquest, for example, it was "a country of villages" (Walsh: 172). In fact, it "was never a united national state, but contained many nations and many peoples of varying racial backgrounds" (Snell: 357) and thus "unhomogeneous" (Spencer: 302). "There was no common...language" (Walsh: 72) and "no common religion" either. Instead, there were "scores of religious sects". And "When the Westerners appeared on the scene...India was lapsing into anarchy" (ibid.). Things could not certainly be allowed to remain

Source: "Reality: A Critical Appraisal of the 'Perspective'", from Smarten Up, Indians, and Go Western: A Content Analysis of Ontario's Secondary School Social Studies Texts in Relation to India, by Suwanda Sugunasiri, in collaboration with Alok K. Mukherjee and Arun P. Mukherjee. This entire article is from the book, East Indians: Myths and Realities, a Resource Book, ed. by Alok K. Mukherjee, published for Indian Students' Association at U. of T., by Indian Immigrant Aid Services, May 1978.

REALITY: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF THE "PERSPECTIVE"

In the previous section (from "IN THE BEGINNING WAS BACKWARD INDIA" through "THE ENLIGHTENED NATIONAL GOVERNMENT VS. THE BACKWARD PEASANTS") we have sought to identify the perspective of India and Indians contained in the texts, as outlined in the "Perspective". In this section, we would like to take each of the above mentioned sections and present some evidence to show that the picture of India and Indians portrayed in them is erroneous, unbalanced and prejudicial. As previously, we shall attempt, as far as possible, to do this through the textbook material itself. But we shall abandon this practice in the final two sections, and draw upon our own knowledge of developmental issues, as well as of India and other post-colonial nations in general. The outcome of the exercise is not expected to be a comprehensive picture of India -- this is the task of the next section -- but rather to raise doubts in the minds of the reader as to the validity and fairness of the materials contained in the textbooks. However, one should not expect this section to be an in-depth treatment of the material. Rather, it must be treated as some random thoughts bearing upon issues arising from the "Perspective".

INDIA, A COUNTRY WITH A PROUD HISTORY, WEAKNESSES AND STRENGTHS

India, we agree, is poor, if by that we mean that the amount of money many people can afford to spend on their basic necessities is little, and that some of them also forego certain necessities such as a place of permanent residence, and sufficient and sufficiently nourishing food. It is

also poor because the country is "underdeveloped" (Trueman et al.; Ricker). That is, the resources of the country have not been tapped well, or sufficiently enough to meet the needs of the society. And, perhaps, India is everything else as well that the textbooks claim

However, it also has its strengths. It has a proud history dating back 2,500 to 4,000 years, a great tradition in philosophy, religion, medicine, logic, astronomy, linguistics, and so on.

As the textbook writers recognize, for example, during the Mohenjodaro-Harappa civilization (2500 B.C.), there were "even drainage systems which ran into brick-lined street sewers" (Trueman: 32). Since "rouge, lipstick, tweezers, and ear-piercing implements" have been found, "Apparently the ladies of the Indus valley were at a sufficiently advanced stage of civilization to spend considerable time over their make up" (ibid.: 32). In fact, "There is a strong possibility that this early Indian civilization contributed to the cultural traditions which Europe inherited through Mesopotamia" (Snell et al.: 358). India has a rich living culture as well, rich in dance, drama, music, techniques of moral and psychological development (e.g. meditation, yoga), a variety of peoples, religions, languages, and so on. She is also rich in natural resources, and it has given the world not only Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, but also scientists such as Har Govind Khorana, C. V. Raman (both Nobel Prize winners), Ramanujan, Meghnad Saha and Birbal Sahni as well.

The point then is that while India is a country with its strengths and weaknesses, the image that emerges from the textbooks is a negatively stereotypical one. India, in other words, according to the textbook writers, has no inherent

it not been for the British. The perspective contained in the texts, however, is one of the benevolent British bestowing favours upon a helpless India.

THE BRITISH HAD TO BE FORCED OUT!

In the above characterization, the British are given credit for both the rise of patriotism and the eventual granting of independence. The logic seems to run something like this:

India got independence due to the rise of patriotism.

Patriotism rose as a result of the rise of the middle class.

The middle class rose as a result of Western education.

Western education rose as a result of the British occupation.

Thus, India eventually got independence thanks to the British occupation.

But what is lacking in this chain of argument is how India came to yearn for independence in the first place. Had not the West occupied India, there was no question of "independence". That basic issue is completely ignored in the textbooks. Did the Indians invite the British over? Or did they come over in greed?

Let us now take the "far-sighted policy" of "gradually conceding" self-rule. In reality, what we find is a colonial policy where concessions "have been conferred by imperial authorities in the expectation that alien rule would thereby prove more acceptable to the natives" (Trueman et al.: 658). As is evident from the same author, what we find is a policy of cunning, deceit and treachery by no means based on the

PROBLEMS REVISITED

Some of India's "problems", according to the textbook writers, are overpopulation, poverty, malnutrition, food habits, land redistribution, subsistence agriculture, agricultural methods, lack of industry (and mechanization), lack of money, illiteracy, caste, cattle and so on (see "PROBLEMS GALORE!" for authors). Assuming for a moment that India could be characterized in such terms, why indeed need they be viewed as "problems"? And for whom are they problematic? And, again, how accurate is this picture?

Let us begin with population. There are undoubtedly lots of people in India, but that is not to say that in relation to the land available India is "crowded" (Cottingham). In fact, in terms of density of population, India occupies the sixteenth position in the world. It is, of course, true that a few cities such as Bombay and Calcutta have dense populations (that is, the proportion of people per unit of land is high). However, the number of these cities is small and, moreover, the rural areas are much less densely populated than urban areas. India, it should be remembered, has more villages than cities. In light of these considerations, it seems misleading to portray India as a country with a seething mass of people. It might be pointed out also that the growth rate of India's population is much less than that of many other countries, including some Western countries.

There certainly is poverty in India, but what are the causes? It is not simply that India has a low Gross National Product (GNP) and most certainly not that its peasantry is "backward". More realistically, India's "poverty" reflects an inequitable distribution of the national wealth in a country where this wealth is in the hands of a few. In pre-

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Prejudice or stereotyping, is of two kinds: negative and positive (see Allport, 1958: 6-10 for a discussion). The overall view of India and Indians that emerges from the analysis of the textbooks in this study is one of negative prejudice. This is in striking contrast to the view of Western man, which is one of positive prejudice. McDiarmid and Pratt (ibid.: 25) have observed that while prejudice still manifests itself in textbooks, "it is more subtle" because "it has become less respectable." However, what we find in these textbooks, as seen from the "Perspective" is an open and blatant expression of prejudice, both negative and positive.

This statement might not be acceptable to the textbook writers, and the "Perspective" that has emerged in the study might not be one that any of the original authors individually would want to claim as their own view of India and Indians. In fact, it is even likely that they would themselves each reject the "Perspective" as having nothing to do with them, and as being bigoted. What must be said, however, is that the "Perspective" reflects the collective mind of the textbook writers. In other words, if the authors were to come together and each were to lay out before others his or her particular views of an aspect of India and Indians the overall view that a perceptive outside listener would get is what the "Perspective" represents. Thus, although we do not hold any individual writers responsible for the entirety of the "Perspective" -- although some can be held

more responsible than others -- we must indeed hold them collectively responsible for the negatively prejudicial image of India and Indians and the positively prejudicial view of Western man.

Consider, for example, the words and phrases used to characterize India and Indians on the one hand and the West on the other:

INDIA AND INDIANS

archaic
attached to old ways
backward
illiterate
inefficient
overpopulated
poor
primitive
superstitious
underdeveloped
ungrateful
unscrupulous

WEST

advanced
anxious
brilliant
civilized
efficient
enquiring
experimental
far-sighted
humane
progressive
rich
well-meaning

This partial list of words or expressions picked at random (by going through "The 'Perspective' Explored") amply illustrates that the authors share their views of India and the West. This conclusion can hardly be avoided when we find different authors using different, and sometimes even the same qualifiers with negative connotations to characterize the former, and qualifiers with positive connotations to characterize the latter. The word "problem" is a case in point. Almost nothing in India is not a "problem" for the writers! (see "Problems Galore!").

If the "Perspective" represents the collective views of the writers, as we have claimed, it needs hardly be surprising.

They are all members of the same (Canadian/Western) society, and share a common (Judeo-Christian) cultural base and a common world view. And, despite claims to the contrary, it is, as it emerges from the textbooks used in Ontario, a 'caste'-based world we live in. Based on the present study, as well as two other studies (McDiarmid and Pratt, *ibid.*; and Egan et al., 1976), we can develop this 'model' of the Canadian caste system (as of 1977*). In developing this model, we shall fall upon the categories of caste as found in classical Hinduism. This is aptly suitable here since caste in India is treated by 10 out of 14 books analyzed here.

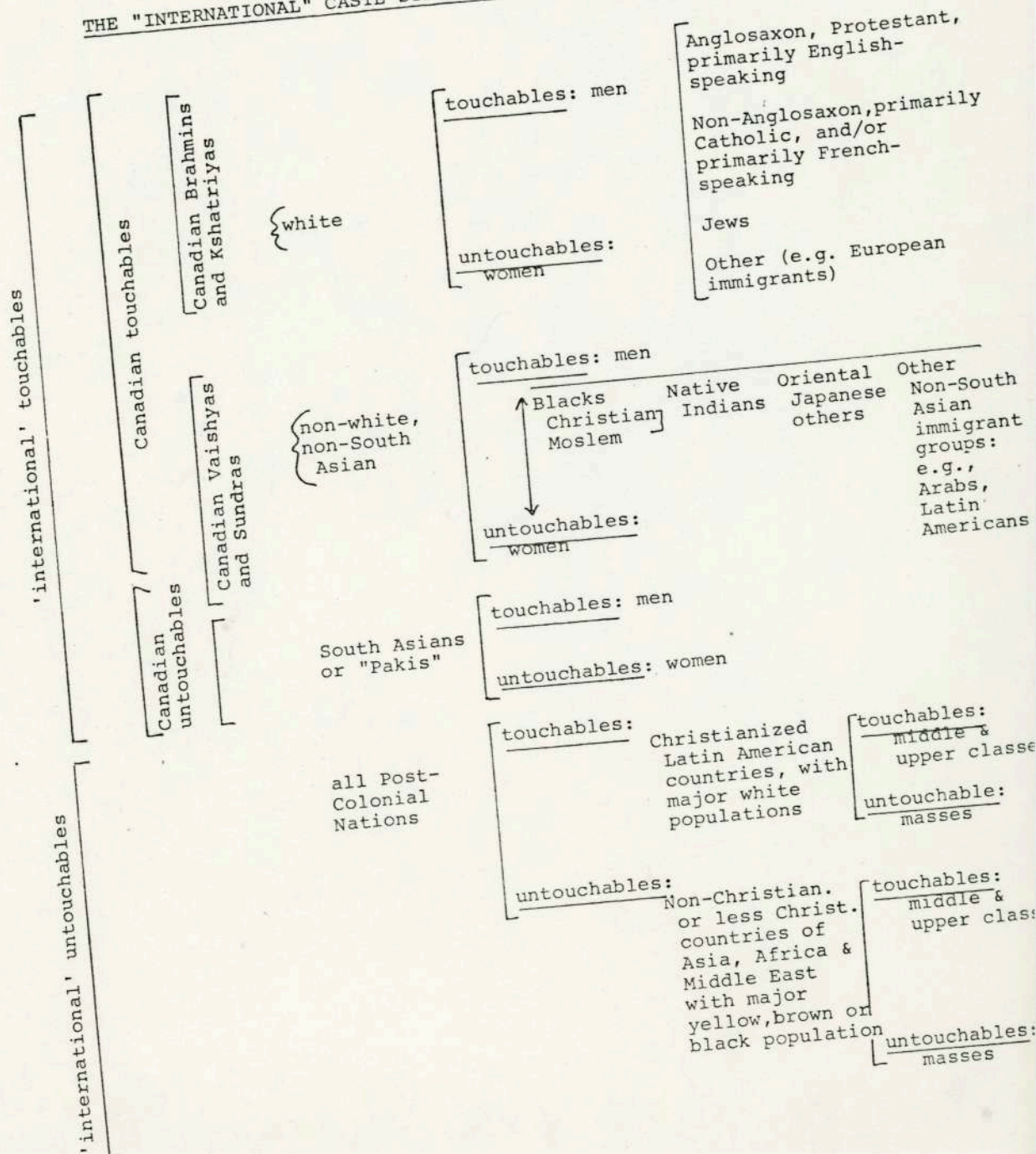
There are, in the Hindu caste system, two broad types: the touchables and the untouchables, or 'persons' and 'non-persons'. The 'touchables' are all born of the various parts of the body of the first mythological man, Purusha, while 'the untouchables' are not. The 'touchables' are themselves a hierarchy, and are made of four levels:

Brahmins:	the priests, wise men, etc. (born of Purusha's head)
Kshatriyas:	the warriors and the rulers (born of Purusha's shoulders)
Vaishyas:	the traders and merchants (born of Purusha's middle part)
Shudras:	the artisans and other manual workers (born of Parusha's lower part)

This explanation will help us understand the following model of the Canadian caste-system.

* The details of the model, particularly at the lower levels, may change in a few years.

THE "INTERNATIONAL" CASTE SYSTEM AS VIEWED FROM A CANADIAN BASE



Going from left to right, and top to bottom of the model: in this caste system are, from the Canadian viewpoint, two basic categories -- those who live in Canada (or the touchables) and those people who live in the PCNs (or the untouchables).

Within the touchable category is a further binary division into Canadian touchables and Canadian untouchables. Of these, the former is made up of two categories: the combined 'Brahmins and Kshatriyas' and the combined 'Vaishyas and Shudras'. The 'whites', in general, make up the 'Brahmin and Kshatriya' category, while the non-white, non-South Asian population make up the 'Vaishya and Shudra' category. The South Asians, that is people from Bangla Desh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka or, more inclusively, the Pakis (i.e. everyone of South Asian origins regardless of the place of residence prior to immigrating to Canada) constitute the untouchable category.

Each of these three categories are further subdivided. The initial division here is sex-based. As the study by Egan et al (ibid.) suggests, women are, in the eyes of the authors of Canadian textbooks, the majority of whom are (what do you expect?) men (ibid.: 57), definitely inferior to men. Thus, men are the touchables within each of the earlier three sub-divisions and women are the untouchables (except their bodies). While the white women are inferior to white men, there are different castes within each category occupying a hierarchical order, the position being determined on the basis of race, religion and the language spoken. At the top of this hierarchy are the English-speaking Anglosaxon Protestants. Next come the primarily Catholic, French Canadians. Next in line are the Jews (McDiarmid and Pratt: 43, table 6). At the lowest level in the white

hierarchy are the 'other', mainly the European immigrants, who, in McDiarmid and Pratt's study receive 3 "favourable" and 4 "very favourable" scores. This then completes the 'white hierarchy'.

The Canadian 'Vaishyas and Sudras' also have the sex hierarchy as in the 'Brahmin and Kshatriyas' category: the men are superior to women. In this category are four other sub-categories, perhaps along a horizontal rather than a vertical axis. There are the Blacks, the Native Indians, the Orientals and the "other non-South Asians", such as immigrants from Arab and Latin American countries. Thus, in the McDiarmid and Pratt study, Muslims occupied the lowest rank among those who received "positive treatment" (p. 43) and they received no "very unfavourable" or "favourable" scores. They received only a combined "favourable" and "very favourable" score of 4. As contrasted with them, the Blacks got 8 "favourable" and "very favourable" scores, and Indians a total of 5. Although the relative positions of Muslims, Blacks and Native Indians thus differ, the treatment of these groups at the hands of the Canadian Brahmins and Kshatriyas, as we know from experience, does not seem to allow a hierarchial order among them. Among the Blacks, however, the Christian Blacks may be more favoured than the Muslim Black. There is a fourth subdivision, perhaps a latecomer to the midst of Vaishyas and Sudras. After having gone through a rough period, particularly in the Western parts of Canada, and having lived here long, the Orientals appear to be gaining greater acceptance in the Canadian society. The Japanese, with their increasing modernization back home, are perhaps held in higher esteem than the Chinese, and other Orientals, such as Koreans, Vietnamese, Filipinos, etc.

Now we come to the Canadian untouchables. They are the brown-coloured, non-Christians from South Asia, or generally anyone who looks brown, whose hair is not curly and speaks a variety of English. These are the "Pakis" -- whether they come from Pakistan or not. Again, within this category is the sex-based hierarchy: the men are superior.

This, then, is the caste system in relation to those who live in Canada. While such a 'rigid' caste-system prevails, with very little upward mobility for the touchable Vaishya-Sudra category and the untouchable South Asians, they are all 'touchables' when compared to those who live in PCNs -- the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. At this international level, PCNs are the untouchables.

There is a binary division within this 'international untouchable' category as well. Latin America, with a primarily white (or white-Indian) and Christian population is the 'touchable' here, while the non-white and non-Christian or less Christianized countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East constitute the 'untouchables'. For example, Brazil, which is industrialized and South America in general, are progressing (Lloyd: 356) while "backward" India is lagging.

Finally, we come to the last touchable-untouchable division. As the present study bears evidence, the government is considered enlightened in India and the masses as really hindering progress and are backward.

The model of the Canadian and international caste system outlined here is not research-based; it is experiential. It must thus be considered as highly tentative and must be

tested out empirically. However, it is the model that emerges from an analysis of the textbooks themselves, and shows the hierarchial nature of Canadian society, as also analyzed by Pratt.

Having given a lengthy treatment of the Canadian caste system, we can now go back to our textbook writers to see to what extent our claim that the "Perspective" indeed represents their collective outlook can be backed up. In order to do this, let us compare the "Perspective" with the model of the 'Canadian caste system'.

In the "Perspective", the West emerges as benevolent, far-sighted, enlightened and progressive while India is backward and problematic. In other words, the image of the West is positive and that of India is negative. If we now compared this to the international caste system in relation to Canada, we find a perfect match. At the top of the hierarchy are the Christian or Jewish white Brahmins and Kshatriyas who, at the international level, reflect the make-up of the Western and industrialized nations. If we considered the Canadian caste system alone, we find that not only are the whites occupying the highest point in the hierarchy, but the South Asians, of whom Indians are a part, hold the lowest position.

While in the "Perspective" India is backward by comparison, the government (made up of the middle class) is enlightened and far-sighted, while the peasants are, by contrast, backward and problematic. If we compared this to the caste system within Canada, the white population holds economic, political and cultural power is predominantly "devoted" and "zealous" (re: Christians), "great", "faithful" and "wise" (re: Jews) while the Vaishyas and Shudras are

predominantly "infidels" and "fanatical" (re: Muslims), "primitive", "fierce" and "superstitious" (re: Negroes) and "savage", "fierce" and "hostile" (re: Indians) (McDiarmid and Pratt: 41).

The point, then, is that the negative stereotyping of India, and Indian masses in particular, and the positive stereotyping of the British and the West are two views that emerge in the same process of thinking. It reflects a certain cultural pattern which the textbook writers share and have inherited from the rest of the society. As D.R. Taft observed (in "Historical Textbooks and Truth", Proceedings of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland) as far back as 1926:

Textbook writers will write the books that publishers will accept; publishers will accept the books that school boards will adopt. School boards will adopt the books that organized public opinion will demand.

It is then clear that the "Perspective" is indeed representative of the collective thinking of the textbook writers.

While we can thus understand the particular view(s) contained in the textbooks, the eventual responsibility must lie with the writers themselves. Their double standard stems from the fact that the textbook writers haven't gone deep enough in making their bold pronouncements. While, for example, they have put the entire blame for India's poverty on the "backwardness" of the Indians, and characterized India as "underdeveloped", they haven't bothered to use the same term in the well-known sense supported by Frank. As forcefully argued by Frank, and a host of others after him, the "underdevelopment" of PCNs (India among them) follows the overdevelopment of the Western nations, not precedes the advent of the Western powers, as the textbooks would have it.

Much of Western prosperity today is the result of 500 years of exploitation of these lands by the West in terms of cheap resources, cheap labour, and so on. This ruthless ability to exploit may have been instilled in Western man by the Protestant Ethic which Weber (1958) links to the rise of capitalism, and the machinery and equipment may have come from the Industrial Revolution. But there is no question that the raw material was 'provided' by the lands we have called PCNs, and that the money invested in capital development came from the enormous profits made out of the exploitation. In other words, what Frank suggests is that the underdevelopment of PCNs took place in the same process as the overdevelopment of the Western countries. Thus, if India is poor, as indeed it is, one must look for its causes and solutions, not merely in the 'backwardness' of Indians but in the international economic, political and cultural orders as well.

The complaint against the textbook writers, then, is that not enough care has been taken to present to the student a realistic and balanced view of India and Indians. Had this been so, India would have emerged, through the pages of the textbooks, as a country which not only has a proud history dating back to 4,000 years ago (as acknowledged), but also as a country which had its own weaknesses and divisions, but strengths as well, and changing at its own pace, following its own cultural patterns. Under the impact of several centuries of Western colonialism, certain aspects of Indian society, related to the colonial enterprise, underwent drastic change, while certain others went untouched. The outcome was that the "cultural invasion" (Freire) that ensued served to heighten the existing weaknesses and compound the divisions (particularly with the rise of a Westernized middle class) without necessarily adding much

meaningful (from the Indians' point of view) strengths. It is a continuation of this historical process that is reflected in Indian society today. And only India herself can come up with solutions suitable for her own problems. Others can help only to the extent that they understand this. It is such a balanced view that we hope has emerged from our own discussion in the section entitled "Reality".

We find the particular view of Indians (and Westerners) that emerges in the textbooks analyzed to be totally unacceptable. Negative prejudice, negative stereotyping and negative feelings towards individuals or groups of people are supposed to stem from ignorance. This may well be true. But what we are faced with here is a situation where such attitudes of mind emerge from 'knowledge', or rather mis-knowledge. The result is that the racism of those not associated with the school system is compounded by the racism of those in school. Allport (pp.14-5) talks of five degrees of "acting out prejudice": antilocution (talking with like-minded friends), avoidance, discrimination, physical attack and extermination. Any wonder that we have, in Toronto and Vancouver, reached the fourth level?

The hidden curriculum of the textbooks that fans racism has a devastating effect as well on the Indian and other students of South Asian origins. They themselves come to believe in their 'natural' inferiority, and this hardly contributes to their self-worth. The effect of such attitudes on their educational performance, and the strains placed on the educational system are only too well-known.

In conclusion, then, the present study has confirmed the general findings of McDiarmid and Pratt(p. 25), upon a survey of textbook analysis studies that history books (or social

studies books in general) are "major repositories of evaluative references to minorities", and that the "main sins of omission ...are the failure to note the positive contributions and qualities,...and (their) persecution". The main "sins of commission" are "...the unscholarly reproduction of stereotypes and the casual use of emotive or pejorative terms...". The study also specifically confirms the original premise that led to the present study, namely the "widespread feeling in Toronto's East Indian community that secondary school curricula in social studies present a distorted picture of India". The view is not merely distorted, but patronizing as well, and loud and clear. It seems to be saying, "Smarten up, Indians, and go Western".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allport, Gordon W. The Nature of Prejudice. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1958.
- Balins, A. H. Sweet and P. Thomas. Man's Economic World. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.
- Barnet, Richard J. and Ronald E. Muller. Global Reach: The Power of Multinational Corporations. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.
- Carnoy, Martin. Education and Cultural Imperialism. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1974.
- Egan, Adrian, Lisa Butler, Deirdre Chalmers, Rosanna White, Susan Wright and Andrew Griffith. Is Anybody Out There Listening? A Study of Sexism in a Secondary School, 1976.
- Fanon, Frantz. Black Skin, White Masks. New York: Grove Press, 1952.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. "The Development of Underdevelopment." In Monthly Review, September 1966.
- Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Trans. Myra Bergman Ramos. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.
- Goleman, David. The Buddha on Meditation and Higher States of Consciousness. Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1973.
- Lerner, Daniel. "Toward a Communication Theory." In Lucian Pye (ed.), 1963.
- McDiarmid, Garnet and David Pratt. Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971.
- Mukherjee, Alok K. "Project Description" submitted to Young Canada Works Program and Student Community Service Program, 1977.

Table 2
Population of East Indian origins for Canada and the provinces,
1911-1971

Province	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Canada	2,342	1,016	1,400	1,465	2,148	6,774	67,925
Newfoundland	-	-	-	-	2	17	450
Prince Edward Island	-	-	-	-	-	1	135
Nova Scotia	-	-	3	15	23	46	1,345
New Brunswick	2	1	1	-	1	22	465
Quebec	14	11	17	29	61	483	6,510
Ontario	17	28	43	21	76	1,155	30,920
Manitoba	13	8	13	7	15	198	3,205
Saskatchewan	-	6	7	2	5	115	1,625
Alberta	3	10	33	48	27	208	4,400
British Columbia	2,292	951	1,283	1,343	1,937	4,526	18,795
Yukon	1	1	-	-	-	1	15
Northwest Territories	-	-	-	-	1	2	55

Source: Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics. CENSUS OF CANADA, (for the years 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951 and 1961) and Statistics Canada, Census of Canada for 1971. Pakistan and Ceylon were combined until 1954 with India.

Table 6

Distribution of East Indians in Ontario's Major Cities

City	Year 1957-71	Year 1972-75
Brantford	49	144
Guelph	178	207
Hamilton	653	626
Kingston	320	132
London	350	302
Oshawa	126	424
Ottawa	1,374	951
Peterborough	31	22
St. Catherines	62	92
Sarnia	56	52
Sault St. Marie	31	7
Sudbury	103	122
Toronto	7,096	10,929
Thunderbay	52	34
Windsor	255	471

Source: Statistics Canada and Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Compiled by Ahmad Saidullah

TABLE III

Numbers of Families/Yearly Income Range

	\$8,000 to \$10,000	\$10,000 to \$15,000	\$15,000 to \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$30,000	\$30,000 and above
Ø	Ø	1	3	4	4

Total Sample = 12 Families

TABLE IV

Religious Groups to which Head of Household & Spouse Belong

	Hindus	Muslims	Jains	Catholic	Atheists
Sikhs					
2	8*	3**	2	6	2

Total Tabulated Sample = 23

the spouses from the Hindu matrix are atheists

TABLE V

# of Members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	...
# of Families		1	3	3	1	1	3*		
# of Members/ Matrix		2	8	12	5	6	21		

Total # of Families = 12

Total # of Members = 55

* 1 Deceased

TABLE VI

Place of Origin # of Families
(Indian States)

	Uttar Pradesh	South Madras	North Madras	Kochin	Punjab	West Bengal	Andhra Pradesh	Gujarat	Maharashtra
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Total # of Families = 12

Compiled by Ahmad Saidullah

TABLE VII

Years of Residence in Canada/# of Families
(Since Year of Arrival)

1 yr. ago	2 yr.	3 yr.	4 yr.	5 yr.	6 yr.	7 yr.	8 yr.	9 yr.	10 yr.	over 10 yr.
1	1	3	2	1	1	1	-	-	3	1*

110

Total Sample of Families = 12

* 14 years ago

Compiled by Ahmad Saidullah