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1975 Third World Immigrants and the Policies of Multiculturalism in Canada: A Case of East Indian Immigrants. Edmonton. Mimeo.

THE THIRD WORLD IMMIGRANTS AND THE POLICIES OF MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA: (A Case of East Indian Immigrants)

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Introduction

Multiculturalism has become the focus of increased debate in Canada in recent years. This development has been furthered by the tabling of the response to Book IV of the Royal Commission Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B&B) in the House of Commons (October 8, 1971). The federal and provincial governments (except Quebec) have since accepted in principle that Canadian society is multicultural rather than bicultural. Government policies are said to emphasize cultural "unity in diversity".

Consequently, instead of encouraging cultural assimilation of various groups into a larger melting-pot of Canadian society, maintenance and promotion of ethnic identities are professed to be desirable societal goals in official circles. It is suggested in the Federal Government's response to the B&B Commission's report that:

> The sense of identity developed by each citizen as a unique individual is distinct from his national allegiance. There is no reason to suppose that a citizen who identifies himself with pride as a Chinese-Canadian...will be less loyal or concerned with Canadian matters than a citizen of Scottish origin...(p. 2).

It is further suggested in the government's position on multiculturalism that:

> It believes the time is overdue for the people of Canada to become more aware of the many cultures and rich traditions we have in Canada. Canada's citizens come from almost every country in the world, and bring with them every major world religion and language. This cultural diversity endows all Canadians with a great variety of human experience. The government regards this as a heritage to treasure and believes that Canada would be the poorer if we adopted assimilation programmes forcing our citizens to forsake and forget the cultures they have brought to us. (p. 2)

In spite of the recent debate on the definition of multiculturalism, and despite several federal and provincial conferences concerned with implementing multicultural programmes, a precise direction in terms of long-range objectives is largely absent. For instance, does the acceptance of multicultural policies imply that all ethnic groups, including colored Canadians and the new immigrants from the third world countries (i.e. the Asians, the Caribbeans, the Africans, the South Americans, etc.) become equal participating members in the eyes of the law, education, economic, political and other Canadian institutions?[1] The policy of multiculturalism, of course, gives no guarantees that institutional[2] and attitudinal racism have or will disappear in Canada. Nor are the mechanisms outlined by which minority ethnic groups will gain opportunities for equal participation in the decision-making processes of Canadian society.

Multiculturalism, in short, remains a vague term conceptually, and an ambiguous public policy. It includes the learning of various ethnic dances and music, and the appreciation of various ethnic foods. It may even include learning ethnic languages, history and literature as an attempt to maintain ethnic identity over the generations. However, multiculturalism activities frequently ignore the relationship of multiculturalism to the broader problems of pluralism.

The main purpose of this paper is to analyze the situation of East Indian immigrants in Canada in order to test the basic assumption of the alleged cultural and racial equality of multicultural society. The paper is divided

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[1] It should be noted here, that the federal and provincial human rights legislations deal with individual rights. The implementation of multicultural policies has more to do with collective or group rights for cultural and structural equality.

[2] "Any nation that permits race to affect the distribution of benefits from social policies..." practices institutional racism. (Knowles, Louis L. and Kenneth Prewitt, eds., Institutional Racism In America, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1969.

into three main parts. The first deals with the pre-World War II anti-East Indian sentiment in Western Canada. The second part is devoted to delineating recent trends in the immigration of East Indians and the citizens of other third world countries. A brief review of some of the empirical studies will also be undertaken in order to understand the effects of recent changes on race relations in Canada. The concluding part includes a general discussion focusing on the relationship between the present racial situation in Canada and the multicultural policies of recent years.

I. Pre-War Anti-Asian Sentiment in Western Canada

Background:

In spite of the constitutional duality of Canadian society, the pressures to conform to Anglo-Saxon values can be easily traced in Non-French Canada. The overt and covert discrimination against East European groups is well documented.[3] The ideals of the "vertical mosaic" generally seen to have received lip service from the dominant Anglo-Saxon groups. However, it was understood that Anglo conformity was essentially the desired goal for East-European immigrants, if they were to attain social mobility. For example, in 1918, J.T.M. Anderson, Inspector of Schools at Yorkton, Saskatchewan, who

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[3] For example see: Kaye, Vladimir Julian
Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900,
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.
Yuzyk, Senator Paul
Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadians Life,
Toronto: Ukrainian, Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967.
Makowski, William Boleslaus. History and Integration of Poles in Canada,
Lindsay, Ontario: Canadian Polish Congress, 1967.
For further references on this subject see, Gregorovich, Andrew,
Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography, Toronto: Department of Provincial
Secretary and Citizenship of Ontario, 1972.

later became premier of that province, did not have any doubts what it meant to be a Canadian. He advocated that Canadian citizenship should be less freely granted because:

> The people of foreign countries who come to Canada after having reached maturity--the middle-aged and the aged--will never become true Canadian citizens, involved with the highest Anglo-Saxon ideals (1918: 8).

The pressures to conform to Anglo-Saxon values were not limited to cultural or educational institutions. In the economic sphere, for example, pressures for upward social-mobility encouraged many a second-generation youth with Eastern European background to adopt Anglo-Saxon values (and even names), and to explicitly deny their own cultural and social background. Thus Senator Yuzyk, concerned about the diminishing importance of the Ukrainian culture among youth, expresses the fear that:

> ...an ever increasing number of young people attempt to caste off what they consider to be usefless and impractical Ukrainian culture of their fathers, by changing their names, by refusing to speak Ukrainian and by avoiding Ukrainian acitivites. They often profess to be English or just Canadian, even though their features, some of their manners, and often their accent betray their Ukrainian identity. (1953: 208)

The Asian Immigration

The issue of the Asian immigrants in Canada before World War II, however, was different from the Eastern Europeans, both in terms of racial antagonism as well as the legal restrictions placed on such movement.

Historically, Asian immigrants were outcasts in Canadian society, both occupationally and socially. Continuous efforts were made to deny rights of citizenship and permission to bring their immediate families to settle in Canada.

The first traces of the Chinese in Vancouver area are found in the 1850's when the Caribou Gold Rush started (Straaton 1973: 8). During the early 1880's close to 17,000 unskilled Chinese were imported from China to work on the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. With the completion of the railway in 1885, the Chinese were left without an economic base. Some moved to other heavy labour and moderate skill industries such as lumbering, fishing, farming and domestic service in British Columbia, while others moved to the East in search of new economic opportunities.

Palmer, in his study of the "Anti-oriental sentiment in Alberta 1880-1920" (1970: 31-57), shows from extensive newspaper coverage in Alberta that the Chinese were frequently treated both by the media and by community leaders as less than human. He points out, for example, that Calgary's mayor organized a branch of the Anti-Chinese League in 1892 to keep the Chinese out of the city. The terms used for the Chinese, in Calgary, Edmonton and Lethbridge newspapers, as quoted by Palmer, were "the repulsive-looking Chinese men", "fearful-looking Mongolians", and "sweaty laundrymen".

The East Indian immigration to Canada is said to have started around the beginning of the twentieth century (Jain, 1970: 3), some 20 years after the first significant influx of Chinese. The East Indians' interest in emmigrating from India to Canada seems to have been initiated by Sikh soldiers returning from Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 by way of Canada (Department of State, 1967: 89). Their population grew to about 5,000 people by 1912 (Jain, 1970:4).[4] Apart from a few exceptions in Eastern Canada, almost all of the East Indians

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[4]Almost all of the initial Indian immigrants to British Columbia were Sikhs. Their bearded appearance, which made them much more visible than the Chinese and the Japanese, probably contributed to the already existing anti-Asian feelings.

lived in British Columbia and engaged in the lumber industry, railway construction and farming.[5]

East Indian immigration began when anti-Asian attitudes had already become wide-spread. "The province of British Columbia had already passed legislation affecting Asiatics in 1902, when they were dis-franchised" (Jain, 1970: 4). In 1907, partly because of the anti-Asian feelings and partly due to the economic recession, anti-Asian riots took place in Vancouver. In one of the rare early systematic studies of the East Indians in North America, conducted by Misrow in May, 1915, the following reasons were given for the anti-Asian attitudes during the first and second decades of this century:

1. The opposition of the trade unions.
2. Tactics of demogogue politicians and yellow press.
3. Anti-oriental propaganda on the coast.
4. The instinctive hostility toward the colored race; or race prejudice.
5. The fear of a new race problem.
6. Antipathy against possible race intermixture, and fear of overpopulation by immigration.
7. Exclusion policies advocated by the Bureau of Immigration.
8. Political impotence of East Indians in International affairs.
9. The East Indian's own racial peculiarities. (Misrow, 30: 1915)

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[5]Sushil Kumar Jain has compiled an extensive bibliography in his monograph on the East Indians in Canada, The Hague: Mouton, 1970.

Anti-Asian feelings were certainly not limited to the conservative few. James Woodsworth, then a reformist and later leader of CCF, while feeling sorry for the plight of the Asian immigrants, suggested that:

> Certain objections hold good with regard to all these Eastern Peoples. It is true that they may be able to do much of the rough work for which it is difficult to secure sufficient while labour; but where they enter, the whites are out, and out permanently....The Orientals cannot be assimilated. Whether it is in the best interests of Canada to allow them to enter in large numbers is a most important question, not only for the people of British Columbia but for all Canadians. (1909: 154-155)

While Chinese immigration was discouraged by such direct legislation as the passage of a head tax of $500 in 1904, legislation against East Indian immigration was more difficult to pass because of their status as British subjects. In April, 1908, "continuous voyage" legislation was passed by the Canadian government which required that:

> ...any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the countries of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country, may be excluded. (Smith, 1920: 163).[6]

As a result of the new legislation the immigration of East Indians almost completely stopped since there was no means by which a continuous journey from India to Canada could be accomplished. During 1907-1908; for example, only six East Indians entered Canada, as compared with 2,623 in 1906-1907. During the 1920's and the 1930's the number of East Indians in Canada substantially declined. Some of them returned to India and others went to the United States. During the 25 years from 1920 to 1945 inclusive, only 675 East Indian immigrants entered Canada (The Secretary of State, 1967: 90).

There is no benefit in repeating the well-documented historical studies concerning the anti-Asian attitudes of white Canadians, especially in British

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[6]Several attempts of East Indians to enter Canada in groups or as individuals, including the well-known Komagata Maru incident in 1914, failed even when the requirements of the new legislation were met. For more details see Jogesh Misrow, East Indian Immigration on the Pacific Coast, San Francisco: R & E Associates, 1971.

Columbia.[7] It should be sufficient to quote Sandhu, who suggested that for over forty years, from 1900 to 1940's:

> ...the issue of Asian immigration was a primary consideration in the politics of British Columbia. Many a politician won his spurs fighting for the preservation of British Columbia as 'a White Man's Country...(Sandhu, 19: 37).

At a more general level Corbett's comments are noteworthy when he suggests that:

> Canadians, whatever may be their general level of prejudice compared with that of other people, seem to share their strongest prejudices against Oriental immigration... (Corbett, 1957: 31).

The strong opposition to Asian immigration was continued into the 1940's by major Canadian institutions. For example, Percy Bengough, speaking for the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in 1947, said that:

> We recognize the need for selection and the exclusion of all races that cannot properly be assimilated into the national life of Canada....It must be recognized that there are citizens of other countries who may be good brothers and sisters internationally, but yet would not be good brothers and sisters-in-law to Canadians. Experience has clearly demonstrated that because of this fact, certain nationals who have in the past been admitted to Canada remain a distinct race and will remain a problem for future generations (Quoted in Hawkins, 1972: 85).

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[7] Among the historical studies of the Chinese and the East Indian in Canada the following are note-worthy:

Lee, David, T.H., A History of the Chinese in Canada, Taipei: Hai-Tien Printing Co., 1967

Willmott, W.E., Chinese Communities in British Columbia Towns, unpublished manuscripts, University of British Columbia, (undated) p. 21

Cheng, Tien-fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, Shanghai, China, Commercial Press; 1931

Hoe, Bang Seng, Adaptive Change and Overseas Chinese Settlements with Special Reference to a Chinese Community in the Canadian Prairies, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1971.

Angus, H.F., "East Indians in Canada", International Journal, Toronto, C.I.I.A., Vol. 2, 1947, p. 47-50.

Smith, M.W., and Boulter, H.W., "Sikh Settlers in Canada", Asia and the Americas, Vol. XLIV, No. 8, pp. 359-364.

Prime Minister King's well-known announcement in 1947 on the federal government's stand on Asiatic immigration is quite significant in this regard. King attempted to justify restrictive immigration on the basis of international relations. The Prime Minister suggests that:

> Large-scale immigration from the orient would change the fund-a mental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations. The government, therefore, has no thought to making any change in immigration regulations which would have consequences of the kind. (quoted in Corbett, 1957: 33).

The major arguments advanced against the Asian immigrants throughout the pre-World War II period emphasized the belief that Asians cannot be assimilated into Canadian society. It was suggested, for example, that Asians physiologically cannot tolerate the Canadian weather, or bear the pioneering conditions of the Canadian West where the majority of the Asians were settling. Socially and culturally, the Asians were considered to be so completely divergent from the Europeans that it was assumed that they would never be able to assimilate into the Anglo-Saxon value structure.

The Immigration legislation of 1908 concerning the East Indian immigration states for example, that:

> It is clearly recognized in regard to immigration from India to Canada, that the native of India is not a person suited to this country, that accustomed as many of them are to the conditions of a tropical climate, and possessing manners and customs so unlike those of our own people, their inability to readily adapt themselves to surroundings entirely different, could not do other than entail an amount of privation and suffering which render a discontuance of such immigration most desirable in the interests of the Indians themselves (quoted in Misrow, 1951: 33).

The cultural melting-pot, was never intended to integrate Asians - except perhaps as occasional cheap labour--into the developing Canadian culture. In most of the opposition to Asian immigration, white racism and intolerance of non-Western ethnic groups were never openly admitted. However, throughout the pre-war period, the superiority of white Canadians was reinforced by labelling Asian immigrants as unsuitable for the cultural and physical conditions of Canada.

II. Post-War East Indian Immigration

In this section of the paper an attempt is made to present a brief analysis of the changing trends in immigrant sources in recent years (e.g. the rapidly growing number of East Indian Communities in Canada). Our purpose is to evaluate the extent of racial tolerance by white Canadians during the 1960's and the 1970's, as the racial composition of the Canadian society has been changing more markedly during that time.

Methodologically, it is difficult to present a systematic review of the trends and the studies of East Indian immigrants in Canada, especially for the purposes of visualizing future trends. It is, for example, difficult to compare the attitudes of the white Canadians towards less than 7,000 East Indians in British Columbia during the pre-war period as compared with the over 85,000 East Indians all over Canada in 1973[8] (India Times; March 3, 1974: 1).

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[8]The East Indian community is used only as special case which faced racial discrimination. We do not intend to imply, however, that these are the only groups which faced racial discrimination. There are several important studies which have studied the Blacks in Canada both from historical as well as from empirical point of views. For an extensive historical study see: Winks, Robin W., The Blacks in Canada, Montreal: Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971. For an empirical study of the Blacks in Nova Scotia see: Henry, Frances, The Forgotten Canadians, Don Mills: Ontario, Longman Canada Limited, 1973. For the studies of other groups see Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography, Toronto, Department of Provincial Secretary and Citizenship of Ontario.

Moreover, the white Canadian in various geographical regions in Canada may show differences in degree of racial discrimination, depending upon historical contact. For instance, as a substantial majority of East Indians lived in British Columbia during the Pre-World War II period, there would perhaps be more built-in racial antagonisms than in areas where such earlier contact was minimal. The level and structure of industrialization, available employment opportunities, skill level of new immigrants etc. may also have some bearing on the degree of racial tolerance by the white Canadians. Without stringent controls for the above mentioned variables, an analysis of race relations in Canada will remain speculative. Furthermore, because the influx of colored immigrants into Canada has been of more recent origin (e.g. the late 1960's and the early 1970's), a better understanding of the reaction of white Canadians to this influx can be achieved only gradually. However, because the issue at hand is clearly an important one, especially for the development of multiculturalism in Canada, some tentative estimates of the direction of race relations are warranted.

Immigration Policies:

Since World War II there has been a gradual liberalization of anti-Asian (or anti-coloured) immigration policies. Even though the Liberal government of Mackenzie King and the labour unions, among other institutions and individuals, as mentioned earlier, remained opposed to Asiatic immigration, it was becoming increasingly difficult after the late 1940's to defend racial distinctions made on the basis of color or religion. The Senate Committee on Immigration, established in 1946, for example, recommended that:

> Any suggestion of discrimination based upon either race or religion should be scripulously avoided both in the Act and in its administration, the limitation of Asiatic immigration being based, of course, on problems of absorption (Hawkins, 1972: 13).

The first changes in the immigration policies were brought about in 1947 when the Chinese Immigration Act of 1933 was repealed. Sponsorship categories for the Asians were extended, though Europeans could still sponsor a much wider category of relatives until 1947. The regulations under the immigration act passed by the Pearson government in 1967 removed racial quotas and any other limitations to immigration based on race, color or religion. The Department of Immigration was brought together with the Department of Manpower, and as a consequence immigration policies under a point system were to provide for needs of the Canadian economy.

The liberalization of Canada's immigration policy in 1967 reflected several important changes in political and economic structures, both in Canada and around the world. The changes in the immigration regulations in 1967 recognized the political decolonization of many Asian and African countries. During the post-war period Canada was rapidly industrializing, and it was natural for Canada to desire to establish economic and political ties with the newly independent countries. The new regulations also reflected the genuine desires of some liberal Canadians, including perhaps the internationally-minded Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson. However, the internal needs of the Canadian economy were perhaps the most important impetus in liberalizing immigration policies. The White Paper on Immigration proposed by the Minister of Manpower and Immigration in 1966 clearly recognized the need for expanding immigrant sources. The White Paper suggested that:

> The existing pattern of immigration seems bound to change in some degree even without any positive action on Canada's part. Europe by and large has become fairly prosperous. Professional people, the well educated and the highly skilled are as much in demand there as in Canada. Other countries, notably Australia are in competition with us for immigrants....It...means that increasingly, we will have to explore new sources of well-qualified immigrants... (1966: 11).

The ensuing change in immigration policies, as expected, brought about considerable shifts in the composition of new immigrants. As indicated in Table 1, the total population of East Indians remained around 2,000 until 1951. Their number increased to 6,774 by 1961, due to changes in sponsorship categories for Asian residents in Canada. However, the 1971 Census of Canada showed a ten-fold increase of East-Indian immigrants, to approximately 68,000. By the end of 1973 there were approximately 85,000 East Indians in Canada, which, of course, excluded Pakistani, Ceylonese and other East Indians with British or other passports.

Chart 1 below gives the yearly immigration of the East Indians since 1954, the year when their influx into Canada seems to have started. A comparable diagram of the growth of the Chinese community is also presented. With some minor fluctuations, the East Indian community continued to grow until 1970. However, from 1970 to 1972 it stabilized at around 7,000 per year. In 1973, the number of East Indian and other third world immigrants is expected to be substantially higher because of the amnesty offered by the Canadian government allowing "non-resident visitors" to apply for landed immigrant status.

Not only has there been a dramatic upward swing in the number of new immigrants of East Indian origin; there are important changes in their

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

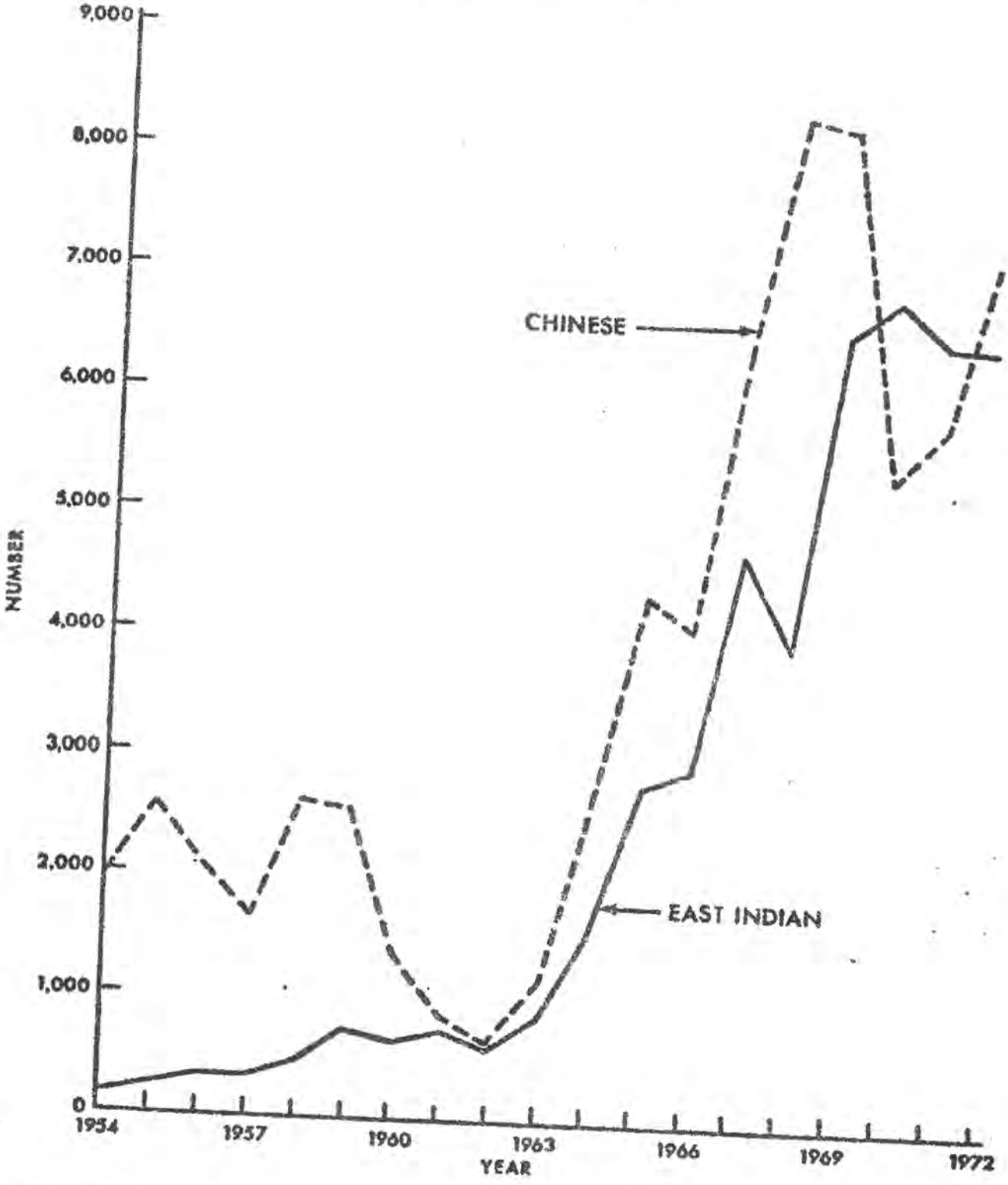
TABLE I

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	460
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.

Chart I

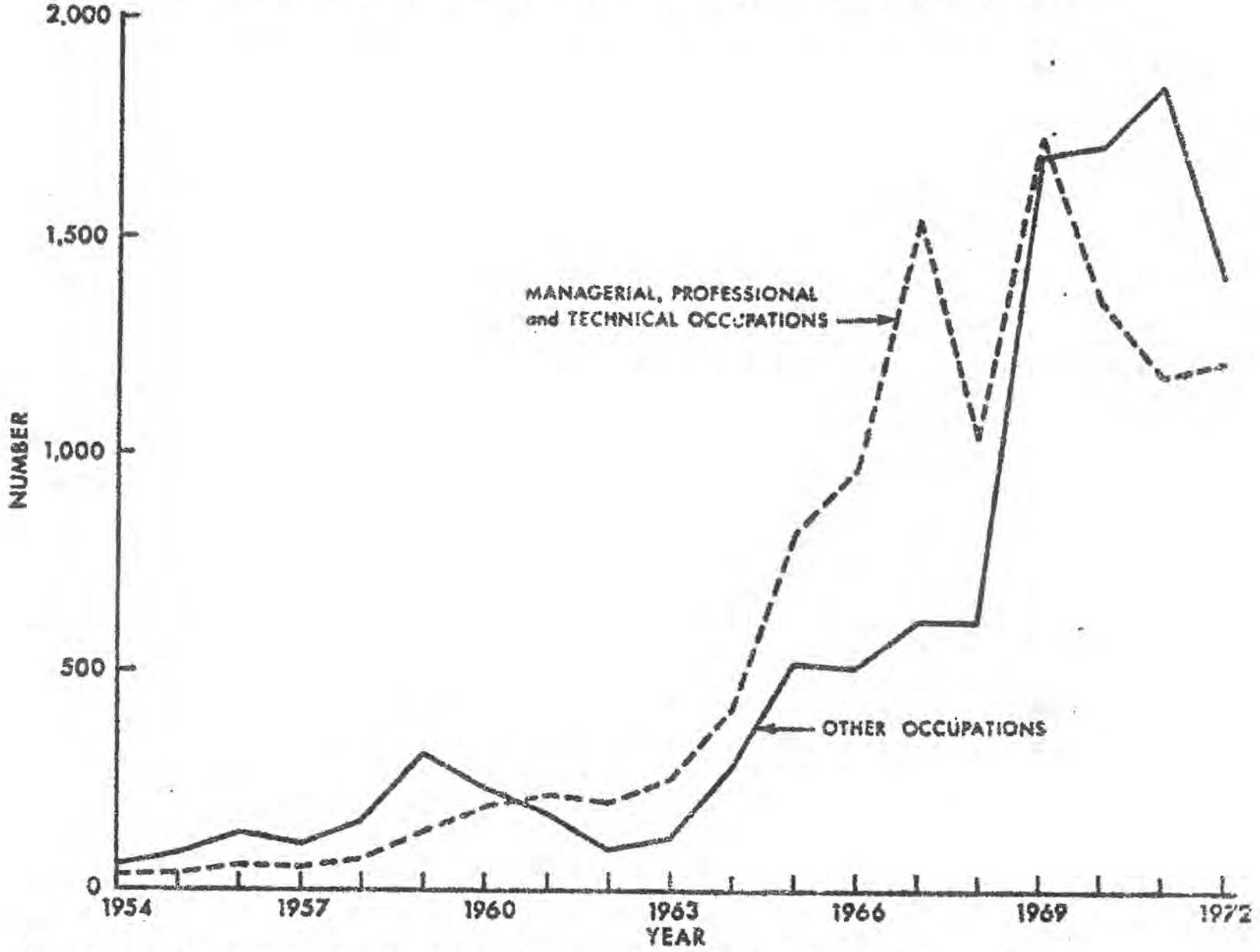
Chinese and East Indian Immigrants in Canada Since 1954



Source: Yearly Immigration Statistics, Ottawa, Department of Manpower and Immigration. The Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and the mainland China are combined.

Chart II

Intended Occupation of Head of Household of East Indian Immigrants in Canada



Source: Yearly Immigration Statistics, Ottawa, Department of Manpower and Immigration.

intended occupation as shown in Chart II. While a large majority of the immigrants from India were unskilled until World War II, managerial, professional and technical personnel[9] out-numbered the immigrants in other occupational categories[10] during most of the 1960's. From 1967 there have been considerable fluctuations in the immigration of managerial and professional Indians, partly because of the changes in the immigration regulations of 1967. These changes may also reflect the demands of the Canadian economy for highly trained manpower. The entry of "other occupational" groups increased much more dramatically during 1967 and 1968. This trend stabilized during 1969-1971, and showed a downward trend in 1972. Since the early 1970's the percentage of professional and immigrants in other occupational categories from India has been somewhat similar.

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[9]The definition of managerial, professional and technical personnel were derived from the Immigration Statistics, a yearly publication of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ottawa. The following categories were included in this category:

Managerial, Administrative, Professional and technical professional, physical scientists, biologists, agricultural professionals, teachers, health professionals, law professionals, religion professionals, artists, writers, musicians, other professionals (i.e. architects, economists, dietitians, accountants, etc.).

[10]Other occupational categories (derived from the Immigration Statistics) included clerical, transportation trades, communication trades, commercial sales workers, financial sales workers, farmers, loggers, fishers, hunters, trappers, miners, construction trades, manufacturing and mechanical trades, labourers and others.

III. Some Empirical Studies of East Indians in Canada

Considering the liberalization of immigration policies and the acceptance of multiculturalism as the long-range goal of Canadian society, it would seem that the problem of racial discrimination would gradually disappear. In the pages that follow, a brief review of some recent studies of East Indian immigrants and their level of acceptance by white Canadians is presented.

It has been suggested earlier that the equality of various ethnic groups must be the bases of a multicultural society. In the case of the East Indian community in Canada, it has been well established that there was wide-spread anti-East-Indian feelings during the pre-war period. However, in more recent years both the size of the community and the quality of new immigrants of Indian origin have dramatically changed. A review of recent empirical studies of East Indians in Canada would give some idea of the recent situation of race relations in Canada, and would shed some light on the potential success of multicultural policies. The information presented is not meant to be exhaustive; rather, an effort is made to understand the overall trend in race relations with a special emphasis on East Indian migrants. Before reviewing the limited number of studies it may be appropriate to quote Howard Palmer's comments on the state of ethnic research in Canada, especially as it concerns the newly arrived groups.

> Those groups which are least culturally similar to the established Canadian norm have been most studied. Mennonites, Doukhobors, Hutterites, Ukrainians and Blacks have received a good deal of attention....Groups which are relatively invisible on the Canadian scene - Scandinavians, Dutch, Americans, and Belgians have received less attention. Interest in newly arrived groups -- Koreans, Philippinos, South Americans and West Indians - would seem high, but little research has been published to date (1973: 13).

We are not aware of any published empirical studies conducted of East Indians in British Columbia and Ontario, where the majority of them have settled. However, a fairly dependable study was conducted in Montreal in 1973 (Chandra 1973). The study included 180 respondents of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. The major attempt was to study the perception of racial discrimination of these individuals. The study also interviewed 51 employers, 10 labour unionists, and 10 employment agencies. The above groups were picked on the basis of their dealings with the respondents in the study. It was found that over 40 per cent of the Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the sample perceived the major source of disappointment with life in Canada to be "color and racial discrimination". Close to 30 per cent of the above group perceived employment difficulties through prejudice or discrimination. The study also found that the employers frequently gave negative stereotypes of them. The South Asians, for example, were said to be inefficient, unreliable, docile, dependent and tempermentally incapable of concentrating on anything. One employer in the study said that,

> The immigrants from India and Pakistan are very dishonest. I read in the newspapers about the immigration racket they run in Canada. This makes it difficult to consider them for important positions (1973: 41).

The study did not find any person working at senior or executive levels in any of the organizations visited. One senior executive of a major organization indicated that they

> ...follow the basic policy of equality in an organization. However, on some occasions, [they] ... can't employ a colored person despite his qualifications. The higher the level, the greater is the pressure for not employing colored people (p. 44).

Another interesting aspect of the problem is highlighted by the following comments of an employer:

> Instead of receiving complaints from colored people we receive complaints from French Canadians. They say that colored people come to Canada and take their jobs away from them. They do not like colored people coming over here (p. 45).

A Toronto study of West Indians conducted by York University's Ethnic Research Program may have some relevance to the general problem of racial discrimination in housing and employment (Ramcharan, 1973). Two hundred and ninety heads of households of West Indian immigrants were interviewed during the summer of 1972. Some of the findings of the study suggest that:

> Most of the respondents felt that there was discrimination in housing in Toronto. Only 15 percent of the respondents felt that there was no discrimination in this area. Sixty-four per cent felt that blacks were more likely to be discriminated against, and 21 per cent perceived discrimination against all non-whites (p. 14).

It is also reported in the above study that such factors as recent arrival in Canada, lower-status, darker-skin color, and being male--contribute more to the perception of racial discrimination in housing and employment than to the immigrants who are lighter-skinned, or of relatively higher status, or who are females.

The 1973 study also made some comparison of the perception of housing discrimination with an earlier study of West Indians and Asians in Toronto. Richmond reported that 30 per cent of West Indians, as opposed to 13 per cent Asians and 3 per cent white householders, perceived racial discrimination (1967). Ramcharan, however, found that 51 per cent of the dark skinned, 16 per cent of the light-skinned, and 20 per cent of the East Indian respondents perceived discrimination in the area of housing (1973: 14). Though it is too early to draw specific conclusions from the above comparison, one can speculate that with the increasing number of Asian and West Indian immigrants in Toronto, the perception of racial discrimination is also on the increase.

In Western Canada Frideres (1973) also studied subjective perception of discrimination among different racial and cultural groups. He found that among the post-war immigrants in Alberta, 64 per cent of the Jews claimed to have been discriminated against. "Lebanese and Asians were next highest (58 per cent) white Italians, Yugoslavians, Ukrainians and Austrians hovered about the 50 per cent mark"[11] (Frideres, 1973: 216). It may be argued that while most newcomers perceive racial discrimination, the degree and the duration of such feelings may be considerably greater among the third world immigrants than among the Eastern or Southern European immigrants because of their skin color and marked cultural differences.

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[11] There has been an interesting development in the hiring of Asian teachers in Alberta. Because of the shortage of teachers in Alberta during the late 1950's until the mid-1960's, especially in the more isolated communities, Asian teachers were issued interim certificates to teach in Alberta schools. By 1967, when the pressure of teacher shortages was less serious, Asian teachers suddenly became a threat to the "culture of Alberta". Dr. R. E. Rees, Chief Superintendent of Schools in Alberta, addressing the opening session of a three-day provincial conference of superintendents, suggested that "foreign teachers in Alberta could be educating whole class-room of little aliens..." (Edmonton Journal, Jan. 24, 1967). The chief superintendent is further quoted as proclaiming that "...schools are set up to transmit the culture of our society to children. If children are constantly exposed to teachers from another culture ... there may be a danger to the children's development." After further questioning by the press, Dr. Rees agreed that he was particularly referring to the teachers from India and the Phillipines. He admitted that "because there is a shortage of teachers in Alberta, school boards have had to seek teachers from other countries."

The statements above raise several important issues. For example, it is clearly implicit in the chief superintendents' remarks that Asian teachers were introduced only because of the serious shortages that existed. Further, the culture of Alberta is still understood to be Anglo-Saxon, particularly when in 1965 there were only 105 Indian teachers in Alberta (forty per cent of them had taught in at least one foreign country other than India and Canada). A majority of them were teaching in senior high schools; only Indian teachers were teaching in elementary schools in 1965. During the same period (1955-1965) 605 teachers had migrated from England to teach in Alberta. (Pannu, 1967). Obviously, in the minds of our educationalists, the teachers from England were teaching the "native culture" and there was no fear of Albertans becoming non-Canadians under their guidance.

From the limited number of studies referred to in this paper, it would be difficult to generalize whether or not racial intolerance has been increasing in Canada during recent years. It maybe argued that the overt racial discrimination against East Indian and other third world immigrants that existed during the pre-war period, is less frequently advocated and relatively less visible. However, racial discrimination remains a serious problem and may become more serious as the concentration of third-world immigrants in the major Canadian cities increases. Hawkins' statement is quite instructive in this regard. She warns that:

> ...We cannot assure, because of ... (the) peaceful scenes and because Canada is at present free from racial, though not from other kinds of conflict, that this will necessarily remain so. We have no special immunities. We must remember also that militant minorities within minority groups now have world-wide communication. This surely emphasizes even more the need for much greater effort and imagination now on the part of federal and provincial governments... (1972: 363).

IV. Multiculturalism and Race Relations

It has been pointed out that several Canadian institutions historically have practiced racial discrimination at the expense of Asian immigrants, despite a professed policy of ethnic equality. With the liberalization of immigration laws in more recent years, the population of East Indian and other third-world immigrants has increased very rapidly. While the first major influx of East Indian immigrants in the 1960's included a considerably higher percentage of professionals; the more recent trends indicate that the percentage of immigrants in "other occupations" is almost as high as, if not higher than, the professional group.[12]

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[12] Similar trends have been calculated for all third world immigrants into Canada. A discussion of these trends is presented in another paper.

This new trend in immigration is expected to continue, partly because the first wave of immigrants tends to facilitate the immigration of relatively less qualified individuals. It is also clear that present needs of the Canadian economy would tend to encourage certain categories of non-professional immigrants, including perhaps a certain percentage of farm workers on temporary work permits as announced by the Minister of Manpower and Immigration in recent months.

It has also been suggested from the evidence presented earlier that racial discrimination continues to exist in Canada and may tend to increase in spite of the relatively quiet racial situation that exists at present.[13] Considering the existing racial conflicts on the one hand and the proposed policies of multiculturalism on the other, what are the viable alternatives for the third-world communities in Canada?

The acceptance of multicultural programs, as initiated by the federal as well as by various provincial governments, may help to create some distinct benefits for the colored ethnic groups.

Probably one of the major benefits will be the gradual acceptance of relative equality of various ethnic groups living in Canada--at least on a verbal level. The development of multicultural policies function to promote awareness and respect for one's own cultural heritage as well as to create greater mutual understanding among various ethnic and cultural groups. Ideally speaking, the success of multicultural policies might substantially

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[13] The recent attack by the so-called "White-Power group on a meeting of the black Africans at the University of Toronto, (The Edmonton Journal, April 14, 1974) and other similar racially inspired attacks frequently reported by The Contrast (Toronto) does point to facets of the worsening racial situation in Canada.

reduce skin color as a factor in multi-ethnic participation in Canadian institutions.

Having received financial and legislative support, the concept of ethnic and cultural organizations may also prove to be a training ground for ethnically orientated social, political and economic leaders. It may also be less difficult for a colored ethnic group member, to achieve wider community support and recognition with the help of multi-ethnic organizations. By being a representative of an ethnic group to multi-ethnic or multi-cultural associations, it may be possible for this representative to bring about greater understanding for the colored ethnic groups and to gain support for their problems and general concerns.

Even though such benefits may be substantial, many areas of serious concern exist. First of all, regardless of how serious and well-intentional the legislators of multicultural policies have been or may be, the dominance of charter groups - the Anglo-Saxon and the French Canadian - in political and economic institutions still exists. Further, with the prevalance of racial discrimination, the dangers of a minority group being forced into accepting an inferior position are quite real. While multicultural policies are designed to encourage respect and pride for one's own cultural identity, it is implied that participation is always voluntary. However, the existence of racial discrimination may force a colored ethnic group to

> ...withdraw into its own 'closed community' where members can effectively isolate themselves from the larger society (in an attempt to reduce their chances of experiencing discrimination). The result is that a moral order emerges which embellishes the idea that immigrants should play subordinate roles in Canadian society. Not only is this moral order accepted by the dominant group, it also becomes to be accepted by the immigrants (Frideres; 1973: 221).

Predictable consequences of such relative isolation would be a reduction in communication channels, and an increase in racial distrust and conflict.

Secondly, government policies regarding multiculturalism make almost no attempt to point out the interdependence of this concept with other facets of pluralism. Though various other aspects of pluralism have been differentiated by some writers,[14] an understanding of the terms cultural and social or structural pluralism are directly relevant here.

Cultural pluralism, though not wholly distinct from social or structural pluralism, more closely described the situation of the primary ethnic group relations. Gordon, for example, suggests that cultural pluralism:

> ...posits the right of ethic groups in a democratic society to maintain their communal identity and their own sub-cultural values. We have already argued that since ethnic communality rests principally on personal choices in primary group relations and private organizational affiliation, it falls well within the scope of those areas of free choice guaranteed by democratic values (1964: 262-63).

While there does seem to be some concensus on the definition of cultural pluralism, the debate on the definition of social and/or structural pluralism is still raging in the literature. For our own purpose it will suffice to give Schermerhorn's definition on structural pluralism. He suggests that:

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[14] For a theoretical discussion of the concept of pluralism see the following:
Kuper, Leo, and M.G. Smith. Pluralism in Africa, Berkeley: University of California Press 1971. (also see bibliography of pluralism included in the above work)
Despres, Leo A. "Cultural Pluralism and National Politics in British Guiana." Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.
Banton, Michael. Race Relations, New York: Basic Books, 1967.
Schermerhorn, R.A. Comparative Ethnic Relations, New York: Random House 1970.

> A multicultural or multiethnic society is by implication a society with plural structural units. These units have different cultures or subcultures, are segmented or compartmentalized into 'analogous, parallel, non-complementary, but distinguishable sets of institutions' at least in their most pronounced form (1970: 124).

The important point that needs to be emphasized here is that both cultural and social or structural pluralism may only be analytically separated. The cultural tendencies which encourage normative separation of one group from another almost certainly slant the participation of this group in the broader societal institutions in a certain way, at least to a minimal degree (Gordon, 1964: 123-124; van den Berghe, 1971). This interrelationship of two facets of pluralism is generally ignored in the conception of multicultural policies by various governments. Third, Porter's opposition to multiculturalism comes from a somewhat broader perspective than mentioned earlier. He argues that:

> It is possible that ethnic communities because they set themselves apart can produce strong sub-cultures emphasizing values which are inappropriate for the kind of post-modern, post-industrial society which is emerging." Porter suspects that "... cultural pluralism has a strong ideological component by which the group which feels itself to be superior can continue its dominant role, and so ethnic pluralism becomes an important aspect of social control by the elite ethnicity. (1968: 5)

It can be argued that Porter's prediction that minority groups would tend to isolate themselves in closed communities in a multicultural society may be justifiable only if minorities demand an extreme form of pluralism (Abu Laban, 1974: 12). However, the failure of multicultural policies may prove to be extremely serious for race relations in Canada. Any developments which create possibilities of increased racial antagonisms should, quite evidently, be studied extremely carefully before wider implementation. It

should also be noted that French Canadian opposition to the multicultural policies largely continues and many Anglo-Saxon groups tend not to take these programs seriously. Such a situation can hardly be judged as harmonious.

The failure of multicultural policies may make coloured ethnic groups more obvious targets of racial hatreds and distrust, especially during the periods of slower economic growth and high unemployment--as has been the case in Britain. Furthermore, as a result of the increasing population of the third world groups in Canada and the formulation of ethnic organizations with vocal leaders in recent years, racial hostility may prove to be even more serious than has been the case in the past decades.

The question of political parties and the future of multiculturalism should also be seriously considered. It is quite evident that the visions of multiculturalism involve the generations to come as much as, if not more than, the present generation. The failure of these programs has direct implications for social mobility, as pointed out by Porter (1968). Multicultural programs should not remain at the whim of party politics where long-range policies can be dropped on the opposition of some powerful interest groups in the society. Some basic objectives of multiculturalism must be agreed upon and supported by the major political parties so that the chances of discontinuing various ethnically supported programs can be substantially diminished.[15]

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[15]This does not, of course, exclude the possibility of haulting or modifying poorly conceived programs, after their evaluation.

To summarize, racial discrimination continues to exist and may become more serious as the proportion of coloured groups in Canadian society continues to increase. Any serious implementation of the policies of various governments concerning multiculturalism will remain suspect unless the achievement of equality of various ethnic groups through multicultural programs is clearly planned. Without well-defined and coordinated programs--taking into account the consequences of multiculturalism for social or structural pluralism --have the potential of raising aspirations of ethnic groups to unrealistic levels. The failure of such programs will certainly create bitter racial antagonisms, especially when the members of coloured ethnic groups find themselves being treated as second-class citizens.

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