

**IMMIGRATION POLICIES OF CANADA WITH
REFERENCE TO IMMIGRATION FROM
INDIA**

**Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment for the requirements
for the award of the degree of**

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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**CANADIAN STUDIES PROGRAMME
CENTRE FOR AMERICAN & WEST EUROPEAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI
2003**



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CERTIFICATE

June 2, 2003

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "IMMIGRATION POLICIES OF CANADA WITH REFERENCE TO IMMIGRATION FROM INDIA" submitted by **KAMARAN M.K. MONDAL**, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**, has not been previously submitted for any degree of this university or any other university. This is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Abdul Nafey
(CHAIRPERSON)

Prof. Abdul Nafey
(SUPERVISOR)

Dedicated to

My Parents

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PREFACE

Immigration policy of a country broadly delineates and projects the decision of a state as to who should be its members, under what conditions, and of what kind. Generally, immigration indicates a state's conception of itself; of the kind of polity it deems it is; and how it believes itself to be constituted and held together. Canada's immigration policy is therefore an expression of, and ultimately grounded in and legitimised in terms of its definition of national identity.

Immigration policy is as old as Canada itself. Two years after Confederation, the first Statute was enacted in 1869. The federal government had introduced restrictions right from the beginning, which prohibited the landing of pauper or destitute immigrants. The gate was guarded against the Chinese by levying a head tax intended to make immigration financially unfeasible. A Chinese Immigration Act, passed in 1923 virtually excluding all Chinese from Canada. Similar measures were taken to limit Indian and Japanese immigration in 1907-08. The discriminatory Immigration Act of 1910 permitted the Governor-in-Council to introduce regulations on the volume, ethnic origin, or occupational composition of the immigrant flow. The restrictions were, however, lifted in the 1920s, and in 1933 various categories of immigration were done away with.

Prime Minister, Mackenzie King (1935-1948) did the tight rope walk, and in May 1947 called for higher immigration as a support for higher population growth. Immigration was to be just and advantageously absorbable. He was, however, against massive arrival lest it affects the character of the Canadian population. The implication was to depend largely on the traditional sources of immigration viz., Europe and U.S.; in other words, keeping Canada a land of Whites only. This was a time when an administrative procedure to widen the eligibility for sponsored relatives were introduced. The relatives would too come from the traditional sources.

The Immigration Act of 1953 equipped the Governor-in-Council to prevent the entry of immigrants on a number of counts, namely, nationality, ethnic origin, peculiar customs, habits, modes of life or methods of holding property etc. The most preferred reasons were to be of 'British-birth' along with those from France and the US. The next in preference were those coming from West European countries. Persons coming from other countries were barred entry unless sponsored by a close relative. However, the period between 1951 and 1962, allowed, as a compromise, on

a selective basis Asian Commonwealth immigrants into Canada and annual quotas were fixed for India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

The discrimination on the basis of place of origin was criticised in certain quarters, and the Canadian government officially lifted national origin restrictions to immigration in 1962. But the real policy change occurred in 1967 with the introduction of a 'points system' for the selection of independent immigrants. The policy outlined the education, training, skills and other special qualifications as parameters for immigration selection. As a consequence, the flow of immigrants has since become highly selective.

The period 1973 to 1975 was the period of review of immigration policy. The result was the 1976 Immigration Act, which became operational in 1978. The major shift introduced by the Act was setting annual targets for immigration. The procedure also called for consultations with the provinces to assess regional demographic and labour market requirements. Through the Act, Canadian government explicitly affirmed the fundamental objectives of Canadian immigration laws, including family reunification, non-discrimination, concern for refugees and the promotion of Canadian demographic, economic and cultural goals. The year 1982, the most restrictive period of immigration, required job offer for entrance in the industry category. The years 1985 to 1988 saw another shift in policy leading to higher global targets. New business and economic classes were added to the three traditional admission categories. Canada's immigration objectives have been explicitly stated in Section 3 of the Immigration Act, 1993, in which immigration is linked to Canada's demographic and economic goals. At the same time it is concerned with keeping the social fabric harmonious and fostering of family ties. It has to serve Canadian foreign policy aims too.

The acts of terrorism on 11 September 2001 in US have raised some new questions about Canada's immigration policies. As a response to the perceived terrorist threats, a re-examination of the manner in which foreign nationals are permitted entries to and through Canada's borders is on. Bill C -11, now called Immigration and Refugee Protection Act of November 2001, carries a dual mandate: closing the 'back door' entry to suspected criminals and others who could abuse Canada's openness and generosity; while opening the 'front door' to genuine refugees and to immigrants who will help in the development of Canada.

An analysis of the migratory flows indicates that the White Europeans were preferred in the earlier so called 'settlers' phase' in the later half of nineteenth century. Nevertheless, essentially for economic considerations, Asians too, especially Chinese and Japanese labour, was admitted during the "settlers' phase" in railroads, lumber industry and in other public sector projects. The size and number of immigrants rose steadily; more so after Second World War; and from the 1970s, an ever-larger number of immigrants have come from Asia.

Immigration of Indians has its own dynamics. In the beginning the Indians mostly Punjabis went to become a part of the working class. They had never intended to stay back; most of them returned eventually. Among those who returned, however a substantial number went back to the US or Canada. One major reason for their going back was their maladaptation and marginalisation in their own social setting. In the later phase, they never intended to come back to India. They went with a clear understanding that they would settle in the country of their destination i.e. Canada.

There is now a large Indian community in Canada in spite of stiff restrictions to allowing Indians entry into Canada right up to the second half of 1960s. Since then, the Indian community has grown rapidly. Immigrants of Indian origin have come not from India alone but also come from Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, East Africa, South Africa, Fiji, Mauritius and many other countries. South Asians accounted for 1.2 per cent of the population of Canada in 1986; now they constitute one fifth of 'visible minority' population of the country.

Earlier in the beginning the Indians went Canada to be a part of working class. A study of those who had applied for immigration, conducted by Winchic and Carment in 1989, indicates that the economic and prestige related factors are not at the forefront to motivate immigration of Indians. Career related aspects and better education for children were main considerations for migration.

Though the immigrants of independents may have gone up, the major type of movements from India and South Asia over the last two-decade have been for family reunification. It accounts for almost 80 per cent of all immigration. Furthermore, the destination of immigrants has also diversified in the post 1960s-phase. Whereas, well up to the 1960s western provinces particularly British Columbia were where most people of South Asian origin could be found. In the later phase, eastern provinces particularly Ontario and to a lesser extent Quebec have become major destinations.

The present monograph is a modest attempt to trace the factors that attracted Indians towards Canada at a time when the host country was reluctant to accept them; and how eventually they succeeded in securing an honourable and dignified place in Canadian society. Today Indians are a part of a multicultural Canadian society and visible in all important walks of Canadian life.

The study is based mainly on the secondary source material. Though, access to some primary source material in the form of data and some government records have been possible through the internet.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. The introductory chapter deals with the historical background of major waves, sources and pattern of immigration. And how the European explorers, followed by immigrants from America, Asia and Africa helped in shaping Canada as a multicultural society. As variety of people have immigrated to Canada, bringing many distinctive outlooks, talents, experiences, traditions and culture, issues of 'integration' and 'assimilation' have become significant.

The second chapter emphasises on the factors responsible in the evolution of Canada's immigration policy and the way immigration policy evolved from being restrictive to liberal and from discriminatory to non-discriminatory. Today the overarching goal of immigration policy is to build a stronger, ever more inclusive Canada and to secure a higher quality of life for all Canadians.

While the second chapter outlines briefly the evolution of immigration policies, the third chapter analyses the factors and process of the immigration from India to Canada, more particularly since the 1950s.

The fourth chapter delineates broadly the economic profiles of Indians, their geographical concentration and aspects of political participation. The concluding chapter presents a summary and some modest concluding observations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the course of this work, my supervisor, **Prof. Abdul Nafey** has been a continuous source of help and encouragement. Without his critical suggestions and sympathetic support, this work would not have been completed. For all this, I am immensely grateful to him.

I am truly indebted to Prof. Christopher S. Raj for his support and valuable helps to tackle the subject of my research work. I am personally indebted to Prof. James W. St. G. Walker, Waterloo University, Canada, for the encouragement and time to time suggestions I received from him. My sincere acknowledgement is also due to Prof. B. Rahamathulla, Aligarh Muslim University, for his valuable suggestions.

I take this opportunity to express my heartiest feelings to Prof. Ashok Baksi, Bolpur College, West Bengal. In true sense without his unconditional support and proper guidance I would not have been here today.

My special thanks goes to Ms. Archana Ojha who is always with me in each and every moment, with her moral support.

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance help and services rendered to me by Ms. Poonam Kalia, the Librarian Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, New Delhi. I appreciate her gesture of kindness and helpful nature to the researchers. I owe my gratitude also to the staff of JNU Library for their kind co-operation.

My special thanks to all of my friends and well-wishers who have helped one way or the other in bringing this dissertation into the present shape. Though some names are missing but they are not missing from my heart.

Finally I am alone responsible for all the errors, factual otherwise, that might have crept into this dissertation.

JNU

June 2, 2003

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CHAPTER - 1

IMMIGRATION: MAJOR WAVES, SOURCES, AND PATTERNS

A country of immigrants, Canada even today is admitting two hundred thousand to two hundred fifty thousands immigrants every year from the different parts of the world.¹ An analysis of the immigratory flows indicates that the White Europeans were preferred to land in Canada in the earlier, so called 'settlers, phase' in the later half of nineteenth century. Initially there were several issues related to language, race, culture, and religion. But more important issues came into forefront how such alien immigrants would be able to assimilate into Canadian society? Preferences were for British and American 'settlers' or people from the West Europe. It was a vertical mosaic in Canada beginning at the top with the English followed by Americans, Northern and Western Europeans, then Central and Eastern Europeans.²

In recent years, however, this trend has changed, with increasing numbers immigrating to Canada from Asia, Africa, and Central and South America.³ Nevertheless, essentially for demographics and economic considerations, Asians too, especially Chinese and Japanese labour was admitted during the 'settlers phase' in railroads, lumber industry and in other public sector projects. The size and number of immigrants rose steadily, more so after Second World War. With the liberalisation of Canadian immigration policy, the decade of 1970s saw the first significant waves of immigration from Asia from such countries as Hong Kong, South Korea, the Philippines, and Taiwan.⁴ Today, a third of the Canadian population is comprised of people other than the Charter member groups - the French, the British and the Native people. These other ethnic groups have come to Canada from all parts of the world: some have come to escape political and military oppression, others to seek economic betterment.⁵

¹ <http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/971104.htm> 199,6 census: Immigration and Citizenship.

² Kavita A. Sharma, *The Ongoing Journey: Indian Migration to Canada* (New Delhi, 1997), pp.1-2.

³ Census: Immigration and Citizenship, n.1.

⁴ <http://www.asiapacific.ca/about/Pressreleases/archive2003.cfm>

⁵ Jean R. Burnet and Howard Palmer, *Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples* (Ontario, 1989), p.57.

For thousands of years a variety of peoples have dwelt there in Canada, bringing many distinctive outlooks, ideas, talents, experiences, and traditions to help shape Canada's response to the challenges of its environment.⁶ Twenty thousand years ago, the settlement of North America began with the migration of Aboriginal peoples. Around A.D. 1000 earlier Norse colonists arrived on their shores. In sixteenth century European explorers such as John Cabot, Jacques Cartier and Samuel De Champlain discovered valuable fishing grounds and other rich natural resources.⁷ The Viking voyages around A.D.1000 are one of the exceptions to the stress on French and British explorers in most Canadian histories. A German named Tykir, was part of the Viking expedition of A.D.1001. From the time of exploration of the coasts of what became Canada, people from many parts of the world have been involved in Canadian history. The colonizing powers have stressed the exploits of those whom they themselves could claim and have been justified in doing so to the extent the work of French and British explorers and colonizers has had more obvious consequences than that of explorers from other nations. Nonetheless, the claim that can be made, with much or little evidence to support the, indicate the diversity that has characterized the population of what is now Canada.⁸

The Italians claim that Verazzano explored the coast of Nova Scotia in 1524 and provided knowledge of which Jacques Cartier made use. Slavs, including Poles and Croats, claim to have participated in earlier explorations. At the end of the century, the Greeks and Spanish visited the west coast⁹. In seventeenth century, the first European settlement was founded at Port Royal in Acadia in 1604. Throughout the century, French settlers established homes in New France. Eighteenth century witnessed the growing numbers of immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland who settled there seeking a better life. After the American Revolution in 1776, United Empire loyalists fled to Canada to maintain their loyalty to Britain. These were Canada's first refugees. In nineteenth century, British immigrants continued to arrive. Later in the century, Canada

⁶ Ibid., p.3.

⁷ <http://www.cicsgroup.com/shaping.htm>

⁸ Ibid., p.11.

⁹ Burnet, n.5, pp.13-15.

welcomed immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe to develop the land. Chinese labours were brought in to build the transcontinental railway. But then measures were introduced to exclude or restrict Asian immigrants for a number of years. The government of Sir John A. Macdonald in 1869 passed the first act dealing with immigrants.¹⁰ However, this present chapter describes how the European explorers, consequently followed by Asian, African immigration helped to shape Canada. The chapter is divided into three parts. First part describes the immigration flows and the settlement pattern in the nineteenth century. Second part about the immigration flows and settlement pattern during the twentieth century and the last part concerns with the major factors of Canadian immigration.

Immigration Flows and Settlement Pattern in the Nineteenth Century

The French and British had taken possession of the northern parts of North America. French immigration was low, averaging only six persons a year. It is sometimes considered to have been confined, as the official policy long required, to French Roman Catholics. The conquest in 1763 led on the one hand to the departure of the French population and end of the French immigration, and on the other hand to the beginning of British and other European immigration. The growth of the French Canadian population was not arrested, in as much as the rate of natural increase was high enough to double the population every 25 years between 1760 and 1850. Nor did British immigration begin with a rush, except for the merchants who had been poised to take immediate advantage of the change of rulers - the depressed state of agriculture made the province unattractive to many. The number of British was barely 200 when civil government was instituted and scarcely more than 600 in 1770. In 1780 the Anglophone population was about 3,000. But the arrival of United Empire loyalist and disbanded soldiers, following the American revolutionary war changed the situation: these were of many origins, including German, Swiss, Dutch, Indian and Jewish, but considerable numbers of them were British even more were Anglophone.¹¹

¹⁰ <http://www.cicsgroup.com/shaping.htm>

¹¹ Burnet, n.5, pp.13-15.

Social and economic changes created by the Industrial Revolution were major factor in waves of immigrants crossing the Atlantic Ocean to North America during nineteenth century.¹² Earlier in the nineteenth century, the Ottawa valley's timber resources attracted new Englanders, Scotch settlers, and Irish sawmill and logging camp workers, French Canadian also flocked into the lumber camps. The British were less exclusionary than the French regarding the Jews. Jews had settled in Halifax soon after it was founded in 1749, and occasionally settled in the Maritimes thereafter.¹³

In the Atlantic province of Nova Scotia, Scottish immigration was for the most part dominant when the founding of the coalfields and the steel industry took place in the heart of Scottish settlement lands bordering the Northumberland Strait and Cape Breton Island.¹⁴ In pre-Confederation days, at least two ethnic groups other than the British, French and Aboriginals played an important part in maritime history: viz. Africans and Germans. Germans were first brought to the Maritimes from south western Germany. They were the Protestants, intended by the British government to be settled among and to serve as a counterweight to the Roman Catholic Acadians. The first organized German group arrived in Halifax in 1750. About 2,400 peoples came in three years beginning in 1750.¹⁵

African had been in Nova Scotia from the beginning of European settlement. Loyalist migration brought a considerable increase of the African population. Between 1,000 and 1,500 Africans were brought as slaves, and about 3,000 as free peoples. During the American Revolution the British had proclaimed that freedom, land and provisions would be granted to slaves, who would desert their masters and join the British. Many took advantage of the proclamation. They and several hundred previously freed Africans were shipped to Nova Scotia. Between 1813 and 1816 more than 2,000 Africans had settled in Nova Scotia.¹⁶

Its vast timber resources rather than its place as a homeland would define New Brunswick for immigrants. The boom periods were pull factors for immigration; and

¹² Larry Turner, *19th Century Canadian Settlement Pattern*, <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/heirloom-series/volume1/chapter5/136-139.htm>, p.1.

¹³ Burnet, n.5, pp.16-18.

¹⁴ Turner, n.12, p.1.

¹⁵ Burnet, n.5, pp.16-18.

¹⁶ Ibid.

during the busts, pattern of settlement evolved in the timber colony. By 1861, the Prince Edward Island was on its way to fill up with a major population of Scottish highlanders and southern Irish, Ulstermen, west countrymen and East Anglians among others.¹⁷ Few other ethnic groups entered the Maritimes. By the 1881 census, only 3.5per cent of the population of the three Maritime Provinces was other than British, French, or German in ethnic origin.¹⁸

The population of Upper Canada in 1791 had no previous settlement tradition outside the Niagra and Windsor border areas before the coming of the Loyalist in 1784. The early settlement process was directed by military policy in order to establish a colony capable of defending itself.

A number of towns and cities developed rapidly in the industrial heart land of Ontario, including the northern Ontario cities of North Bay as a railway crossroad and Sudbury with the discovery of nickel, zinc and copper deposits. Available agricultural land in Ontario was rapidly filling up by the 1860s. Railway development and a new mining frontier opened the Nippissing basin and north shore of lake Huron to thousands of land hungry French Canadians, Finns, Italians, and Dutch.¹⁹ Africans came in small numbers as slaves with earlier settlers and later in larger numbers as fugitives and as free men. A group of kashubs from Poland arrived from 1885 on and established an enduring community in the Renfrew area. Most became farmers, although their land was stony. Others worked in lumber camps, on the roads, or as labours.²⁰

On a simplicity level, southern Ontario was settled by remarkable waves of immigrants from British Isles who filled up the pioneers colony from South to North, moving inland when prime lakeside and riverside locations became occupied. However, the colony formed a mosaic of settlements based on site, ethnicity and religion. In town and country, pattern of protestant and catholic orientation were frequently the most visible.²¹

¹⁷ Turner, n.12, p.2.

¹⁸ Burnet, n.5, p.18.

¹⁹ Turner, n.12, pp.4-5.

²⁰ Burnet, n.5, p.20.

²¹ Turner, n.12, p.4.

W.L. Mackenzie described the heterogeneity of an election crowd at Niagra in 1824:

“there were Christians and Heathen, Menonists and Dunkards, Quakers and Universalists, Presbyterians and Baptists, Roman Catholics there were Frenchmen and Yankees, Irishmen, and Mulattoes, Scotchmen, and Indians, English, Canadians, Americans and Negroes, Dutch and German, Welshmen and Swedes, Highlanders and low Landers...”²²

The vast territory between the Great Lakes and the Rockies attracted from the beginning an ethnically diverse population. The founding of the province of Manitoba was based to a degree on French-English and Protestant-Catholic duality. Icelanders began arriving in 1875 to establish a number of communities including Gimli on Lake Winnipeg. Combining farming and fishing, they created the republic of New Iceland, a self-governing settlement later inundated by waves of greater migration. More than 14 cultures were encouraged by Government to take up company colonization including Germans, Scotts, Belgians, Hungarians, Finns, Romanians, Swedes and Jews. The construction and completion of Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 brought a new focus to the pattern of settlement.²³

However, the Canadian prairies were not suddenly inundated with immigrants. Between 1870 and 1896, the national economy went through periods of weakness. In spite of the national policy encompassing railways and settlement, the boom in immigration would have to wait for more favorable circumstances toward the end of the century. New demands and better prices for wheat, breakthroughs in farm technology, a maturing frontier in the US, continuing problems in Europe and the enthusiasm of Clifford Sifton as minister of the interior all combined to turn the era between 1896 and 1930 into the greatest migration in Canadian history. Along with the traditional migrants from northern Europe and British Isles came the eastern and southern Europeans.²⁴

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Spanish were active on the West Coast, but by 1795 they had withdrawn. From then until the discovery of gold, British Columbia's population was composed chiefly of Indians and British. The gold rushes of the Pacific area exerted a powerful attraction on men of all conditions of life:

²² Burnet, n.5, p.18.

²³ Turner, n.12, pp.6-7.

²⁴ Ibid., p.7.

and all ethnic backgrounds. The majority of the newcomers were American and eastern and central Canadian among many other European groups.²⁵

Germans mainly from south Germany came north from California with the gold miners. In 1858, not only because of the gold rush but also because of increasingly restrictive legislation against them in California.²⁶

One of the largest nineteenth century groups of immigrants in British Columbia was the Chinese. In the early 1850s, gold was discovered north of the border. Most of the Chinese who came to British Columbia in the 1850s and 1860s came directly from California as the gold rush in California was coming to a close; the rush was just beginning in the north.²⁷ In 1860s, an estimated 7,000 Chinese reached in British Columbia. They were almost all men and they engaged not only in prospecting for gold but in various other enterprises: prospecting for jade, importing, transporting, fishing, gardening, and serving as laundryman, restaurateurs, and labour. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway revived Chinese immigration to British Columbia with more than 15,000 arriving between 1881 and 1885. By late in the century, Chinese had become a largely urban population. In spite of the discriminatory Chinese immigration act of 1885 and Vancouver's Brighthouse Estate Riots of 1886 and 1887, the Chinese had become partners in the early foundation of British Columbia.²⁸

Immigration Flows and Settlement Pattern During the Twentieth Century

Some two and half million immigrants came to Canada between 1896 and 1914. Of these, it is estimated that close to a million came from Britain; more than three quarters of a million came from US, many of them returning Canada; and more than half a million came from continental Europe. Many were attracted to the growing cities and towns in the east. While the majorities were English-speaking, there were considerable numbers from Germany, Scandinavia, Netherlands, Russia including

²⁵ Burnet, n.5, pp.20-21.

²⁶ Ibid., p.21.

²⁷ Nadine, Fabbi Shushan, *Early Asian pioneers in Canada*, this project was made possible by funding from the US Department of Education, Title VI, 1998. in <http://depts.washington.edu/canada/asian.html>, p.2.

²⁸ Turner, n.12, p.8

many from the Ukraine, Austria, Hungary, Italy and Poland as well as a large Jewish group.²⁹

Until the nineteenth century, the settlement of the west was slow and constituted in the main of people, from Eastern and Central Canada and Great Britain. Americans played a role, but primarily as traders rather than settlers. Clifford Sifton, minister of the interior in the Wilfred Laurier government from 1896 to 1905, planned to settle the west with farmer - experienced farmers from the American middle west and Britain if available, peasant farmers from Europe or simply people who had been born on the land, preferably in northern regions and who were accustomed to a pioneering life.³⁰

The immigrants drawn to the industrial towns and cities of central Canada included many from the Britain and the US, but also many from other countries. They were of a great variety origin.³¹

Sifton disapproved of the immigration of Asians but on the West Coast the Chinese continued to increase in spite of discriminatory regulations and mob violence directed against them. By 1921, the number of Chinese in Canada was 39,587 of these 23,533 were in British Columbia. From the turn of the century, Japanese began to immigrate in large numbers. In 1921, the number of Japanese in Canada was 15,868.³²

In addition, about 5,000 South Asians came to British Columbia between 1905 and 1908. Although, chiefly Sikhs, they were usually referred to as Hindus. They found work mainly as unskilled labour in railroad construction and in the logging and lumbering industry. After 1908 the movement of Indians was halted by an order in council, requiring "a continuous journey from the country of origin" since it was impossible to come from India by a continuous journey, the measure was an ingenious attempt to restrict immigration of British Indian subjects. There was also an attempt to persuade the South Asian to move from British Columbia to British Honduras, but it failed when delegates reported on the condition of South Asian there. In 1914, 376 east Indians arrived in Vancouver on the Komagata Maru – a Japanese steamer that an enterprising Sikh, Gurditt Singh, had hired to test the requirement for a continuous

²⁹ Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, second edition (Montreal, 1991), pp.3-4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.4-5.

³¹ Burnet, n.5, p.30.

³² *Ibid.*

journey. They were refused entry and eventually returned to India after the supreme court had ruled against their admission.³³

The Canadian immigration was tightly controlled during the inter-War period, which witnessed a dire depression in Canada. The major immigration objectives of the 1920s implemented through assisted passages and settlement schemes of various kinds, was to attract and recruit British immigrants. In Canada, American immigrants and to a limited extent immigrants from what were called “preferred countries” of central and Northern Europe were welcomed. The preferred countries designated as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium and France. Canadian government offices were opened or reopened in these countries and railway and private agencies were also encouraged to start recruiting immigrants. Only agricultural workers, domestics, and family-sponsored applicants were to be admitted from “non-preferred countries”, listed as Austria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.³⁴

During the inter-War period, hostilities created difficulties for many, not only for Germans, previously among the most welcome of immigrants but also for other “enemy aliens”. Romanians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Poles and Ukrainians were among those interned but had to register, be fingerprinted, surrender their firearms, and lose the right to vote. Naturalization was suspended for all aliens, and Ukrainians in particular had a deep sense of having been treated unjustly as a people because of this. Poles were divided: those from the Congress Kingdom or the Russian part of Poland were highly regarded as Canadian friends and allies, but those from Germany and Austria were subject to internment as enemy aliens.³⁵

Table 1 provides the numbers of population by ethnic origins other than British Isles and French for Canada.

³³ Ibid., p.31.

³⁴ Hawkins, n. 30, pp.25-27.

³⁵ Burnet, n.5, pp.32-33.

TABLE - 1

POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGINS OTHER THAN BRITISH ISLES
AND FRENCH FOR CANADA, 1871,1881, AND 1901-1971

(Numbers in 1,000s)

Ethnic Groups	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Other European	240	299	458	945	1,247	1,825	2,044	2,554	4,117	4,960
Austrian	-	-	11	44	108	49	38	32	107	42
Belgian	-	-	3	10	20	28	30	35	61	51
Czech-Slovak	-	-	-	-	9	30	43	64	73	82
Finnish ¹	-	-	3	16	21	44	42	44	59	59
German	203	254	311	403	295	474	465	620	1,050	1,317
Greek	-	-	-	4	6	9	12	14	56	124
Hungarian ²	-	-	2	12	13	41	55	60	126	132
Italian	1	2	11	46	67	98	113	152	450	731
Jewish	-	1	16	76	126	157	170	182	173	297
Lithuanian	-	-	-	-	2	6	8	16	28	25
Netherlands	30	30	34	56	118	149	213	264	430	426
Polish	-	-	6	34	53	146	167	220	324	316
Romanian ³	-	-	-	6	13	29	25	24	44	27
Russian ⁴	1	1	20	44	100	88	84	91	119	64
Scandinavian	2	5	31	113	167	228	245	283	387	385
Ukrainian	-	-	6	75	107	225	306	396	473	581
Yugoslavian	-	-	-	-	4	16	21	21	69	105
Other	4	6	5	7	18	9	10	36	88	195
Asiatic	-	4	24	43	66	85	74	73	122	286
Chinese	-	4	17	28	40	47	35	33	58	119
Japanese	-	-	5	9	16	23	23	22	29	37
Other	-	-	2	6	10	15	16	19	34	129
Other	52	174	177	158	153	158	190	354	463	519

1. Includes Estonian prior to 1951
2. Includes Lithuanian and Moravian in 1901 and 1911
3. Includes Bulgarian in 1901 and 1911
4. Includes Finnish and Polish in 1871 and 1881

Source: Jean, R. Burnet and Howard Plamer, *Coming Canadians: An Introduction To A History Of Canada's Peoples* (Canada: McClelland and Stewart inc. 1989). Pp. 42-43.

In this period, Asian groups increased slowly due to the adoption of Canadian governments 'excluding' policy. At the outbreak of Second World War Japanese were

some 23,000 in number; 22,000 lived in British Columbia. After Japan entered the War, much of their property was confiscated and they were uprooted from the west coast and placed in relocation centres. At the War's end, about 4,000, over half of them Canadian born and third of them Canadian citizens, left the country under the governmental "repatriation" scheme, which was intended to rid the country of as many Japanese as possible.³⁶

(i) Immigration Since the 1950s

At the end of the War perception was in favour of the liberalization of immigration. After War, the Liberal government made some decisive moves in this field. Impelled by the plight of displaced persons, the general post-War dislocation in Europe and the requirements of Canada's external relations, immigration was accepted as an area of higher priority in Canadian national policy than hitherto.³⁷ However, as the post-War economic boom got underway in the late 1940s, the need for both skilled and unskilled labour in many of the growth sector of economic became obvious and widely acknowledged. Thus the economic context of the post-War period led to a gradual liberalisation of admission policies and a dramatic increase in immigration.³⁸ By 1961, 2,500,000 people had come to Canada between 1961 and 1971; almost 1,500,000 entered. Although many of those were of origins other than British and French and in addition many pre-War immigrants returned to Europe after the war. Nonetheless by the 1971 census, 25 per cent of the Canadian population claimed ethnic origins other than British, French or native Indian and Inuit. Since 1971 immigration has faltered somewhat, but the proportion of the population belonging to other ethnic groups, social classes, and occupations has continued to rise.³⁹

The larger waves of immigrants had hardly began when Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King stated in the House of Commons in May 1947, which served as the official formulation of Canadian immigration policy until 1962. It envisaged selective immigration as an instrument of population growth and economic development at a

³⁶ Ibid , pp.37-39.

³⁷ Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*, second edition (Kingston, 1988), p.117.

³⁸ Ninette, Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto, 1998), p. 313.

³⁹ Burnet, n.5, p.39.

rate consistent with absorptive capacity. The principles of selection were to include preservation of the fundamental composition of the Canadian population.⁴⁰ For many years, the principles enunciated by prime minister King were cited as governing immigration policy. However, an exception was made for refugees and later recruitment of immigrants was broadened in response to public opinion.⁴¹

To implement the policy, a department of citizenship and immigration was created in 1950 with responsibility also for Indian affairs. The authority of this department to manage Canada's overseas immigration operations was established.⁴²

There was a dramatic change in the demographics of immigration during this period. A 1956 order-in-council continued the practice of giving preferential status to western European and some Commonwealth source countries. However, immigrants from Britain declined from 44 per cent of the intake in 1946-50 to 27 per cent in 1956-61, while Italian immigrants increased from 4-5 to 18 per cent of the intake over the same periods. With the exception of a small Chinese intake between 1952 and 1955, non-European immigrants were not represented at all in the top ten source nationalities.⁴³ The ethnic origins most strongly represented among the immigrants from 1945 to 1967 were British, Italian, German, Dutch, Polish and Jewish.

The discrimination on the basis of place of origin was criticized in certain quarters, and the Canadian government officially lifted national origin restriction to immigration in 1962. But the real policy change occurred in 1967 with the introduction of points system for the selection of independent immigrants. The policy outlined the education, training, skills and other special qualifications as parameters for immigration selection. A change, which was an outgrowth of the declining supply of European immigrants and the need for human capital, assumed relevance.

In sum, the new immigration policy was not simply to shift the occupational distribution towards more skilled categories but to shift the occupational distribution towards perceived demand. Almost immediately considerable increase in the numbers

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Burnet, n.5, p.39.

⁴² Hawkins, n.37, p.117.

⁴³ Kelly, n.38, pp.313-314.

of immigrants from China, India, Pakistan and the West Indies occurred so that they eclipsed some of the traditional donor countries.⁴⁴

The vast majority of post-War immigrants settled in towns and cities largely because Canada was becoming increasingly urban and industrial during this period. A substantial number settled in Montreal. Toronto, however, became the immigrants' metropolis of Canada. In the 1970s immigration as a whole declined and its destinations became more varied: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver remained popular, where Edmonton and Calgary advanced.⁴⁵

One important wave of immigration was made up of displaced persons and refugees. Nearly a quarter of a million refugees were admitted between 1947 and 1962. Of the 1,650,000 refugees admitted in this period Poles were 23 per cent, Ukrainians 16 per cent, Germans and Austrians 11 per cent, Jews 10 per cent, Latvians 6 per cent, Hungarians 5 per cent, Czechs 3 per cent, Dutch 3 per cent and Russians 3 per cent comprised most of the intake.⁴⁶

The Hungarian crisis of November 1956, which by the end of December 1958 brought 37,566 immigrants to Canada. It was a perfect liberal cause and the Canadian liberal government responded swiftly to it. A special section of the immigration branch was set up immediately to deal with the Hungarian movement on an emergency basis. Additional staffs were assigned to Austria. Canadian eligibility to sponsor refugees was enlarged. Free transportation to Canada was provided for every refugee and ships and planes were chartered in co-operation with the intergovernmental committee for European migration.⁴⁷

In the immediate post-War years the government had tended to favour farmers, domestics and industrial labours rather than skilled technicians and professionals. But one of the outstanding characteristics of modern urban societies is the rapid rate of technological innovation and consequent redundancy of specific skills. Occupational titles such as 'doctor', 'teachers', 'electrician', or machine operators are misleading because they disguise the fact that the actual work performed

⁴⁴ Burnet, n.5, pp. 39-41.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.39.

⁴⁶ Kelley, n.38, p.313.

⁴⁷ Hawkins, n.37, pp.114-115.

may be changing all the time in the light of new applications of scientific knowledge. The trained workers are constantly re-learning their job, either informally or through special refresher courses providing retraining and upgrading designed to increase efficiency and ensure that the most modern method is used. Albeit, recruitment in terms of particular occupational qualifications does not necessarily lead to immediate employment in that field, but it has important implications for Canadian immigration.⁴⁸

As time went on those who came to Canada were drawn increasingly from the lower-middle and upper middle classes. They were urban and generally well educated, people with professional training, trades training, artistic talents, linguistic skill or experience in business, government or the military. They found the greatest opportunities to exercise their abilities in the expanding economy of Ontario, and about half of them chose to settle there. They included Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians and Jews. Among the Poles were a group of approximately 4,500 ex-soldiers who entered Canada under a special scheme just after the war.⁴⁹

During the immediate post-War period some sending countries have been very active in promoting emigration and in assisting their own emigrants after arrival. Both the Netherlands and Italian governments for example have been particularly energetic and persistent in this field. Their concern includes the well being of their countrymen long after emigration. The Italian government has negotiated regularly with the Canadian government on a wide range of matters concerning immigrants in Canada, including at one point, the high accident rate among Italian construction workers in Toronto.⁵⁰ The Italian immigration was the most spectacular of the Post-War period, specially between 1951 and 1960, when over 2,50,00 Italian entered into Canada. By 1971 the Italians ethnic origin category was considerably larger than any other non-British and non-French category except the German. Persons of Greek and Portuguese origin had always been few in Canada, but in the early 1950s immigration from these countries increased sharply and the increase has since been maintained. Immigrants

⁴⁸ Antony H. Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants in Canada* (Canada, 1967), p.271.

⁴⁹ Burnet, n.5, p.41.

⁵⁰ Hawkins, n.37, p.5.

from Italy, Greece, Portugal and Malta were to a large extent sponsored by relatives in Canada rather than selection on the basis of education and skill.⁵¹

When entry of persons from South Asia was restricted, the number admitted each year was obviously quite small. The total number of immigrants of Indian origin in the period 1946-55 was 1139 persons. In the seven years period 1956-62, 4088 persons of Indian origin were admitted. During 1963-67, before discriminatory barriers were removed, there were 12,856 immigrants from South Asia. In 1968-72, the first five years following the removal of barriers, the number rose to 30,501.⁵² The total population of South Asian origin in Canada in 1986 was 3,14,040. The proportion of immigrants from South Asia in relation to total immigration had been rising continuously. In 1963-67 it represented 1.7 per cent of all immigrants while in 1983-87 the proportion had risen to 9.4 per cent.⁵³

The intended destination of immigrants from South Asia is different from that of all immigrants while the majority in both cases go to Ontario, in the case of South Asians, for historical reasons of early settlement, the second important destination is British Columbia. The provinces of Quebec and prairies have become the third important region of destination followed by the Atlantic region and the territories.⁵⁴

Immigration of those of Chinese origin, however, which had been virtually non-existent since 1923, revived with the removal of some of the restriction measures in 1947; and about 21,000 people of Chinese origin entered between 1949 and the end of 1961.⁵⁵ By 1981 Chinese ranked to Italians in number in metropolitan Toronto. Immigration from India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka also resumed and began to increase in the late 1950s, and in the 1960s.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Burnet, n.5, p.44.

⁵² Ronald, D'costa, "Socio-Demographic Characteristics Of The Population Of South Asian Origins in Canada" in Milton Israel and N.k. Wagle, eds, *Ethnicity, Identity, Migration: The Asian Context* (Toronto, 1993), pp 184-185.

⁵³ Ibid., p.185.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Burnet, n.5, p.44.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

(ii) Immigration Since the 1970s

By 1971 one quarter of the Canada claimed an ethnic origin other than British, French, or native Indian and Inuit. The increase in the proportion of other origins was related to a decrease in those of British origin from 60.5 per cent in 1871 to 44.6 per cent in 1971. British immigration had always been high: in most years the number of immigrants of British origin, especially from the UK and the US was highest or second highest. French immigrants had been a slow trickle until 1951, when it showed a slight increase. The natural increase however, while the British proportion steadily declined, except between 1961 and 1971, when it increased slightly.⁵⁷

In spite of the volume of post-War immigration, a large proportion of those of non-British and non-native origin were Canadian born. According to 1971 census, 82 per cent of those of Ukrainian origin, 78 per cent of those of Scandinavian origin, and 75 per cent of those of German origin were born in Canada. Only such groups as the Italians, Hungarians, Greeks and Portuguese among the larger ethnic groups and Indian and Pakistani among the smaller were predominantly foreign born. Moreover, the Canadian in some origin categories included not only first-generation and second generation Canadians but also ninth-generation and tenth-generation Canadians as well.⁵⁸

(iii) Recent immigration

The increase in the immigrants population reflects higher annual immigration level during the 1990s. Data from citizenship and immigration showed that an average of about 2,35, 000 immigrants were admitted to Canada each year between 1990 and 1995, peaking at 256, 000 in 1993. That compares with an average of around 150,000 during the 1950s, and less than 150,000 for the subsequent three decades.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.45.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ <http://www.statcan.ca/daily/english/971104.htm> 199.6 census: immigration and citizenship.

The sources of immigration to Canada have changed greatly. Through much of this century, the United Kingdom, the US and Europe have been the main source of immigrants to Canada. In recent years, however this trend has changed with increasing numbers immigrating to Canada from Asia and the Middle East, Africa, and Central and South America. In 1981, 67 per cent of all immigrants living in Canada were born in Europe. By 1996, this proportion had declined to 47 per cent. In contrast, the share of Canada's immigrants population born in Asia and the West Asia increased from 14 per cent in 1981 to 31 per cent in 1996.

Prior to the 1960s, China and India were the only countries in the Asia Pacific region, which represented a significant source of immigrants. With the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy, the 1970s saw the first significant waves of immigration from Asia from such countries as Hong Kong, South Korea, the Philippines and Taiwan. Regional unrest also brought immigrants from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Immigration brought from Asia-Pacific continued to rise during the 1980s with expanding numbers from other countries in the region including Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. The largest source of immigrants from the region has been Hong Kong, followed by traditional sources, China and India.⁶⁰

Major Factors in Immigration

(i) Economy: From the very beginning many immigrants have come to Canada mainly for economic reason; all immigrants on their arrival have faced the problem of making a living for themselves and their families. Government immigration policy has based to a considerable extent on economic factors; so has its policy about deportation of illegal or indigent immigrants. Before the era of mass migration at the end of the nineteenth century, those immigrants belonging to the other ethnic groups who came as individuals were hard to characterize occupationally. Adventurers, sailors, soldiers, farmers, fishermen, traders, merchants of noble or humble rank, they came to take advantage of economic expansion in new France or in British North America, or to avoid economic or political hardships in their homeland. Some like many of these who came later, had no intention of staying: they intended to get rich

⁶⁰ <http://www.asiapacific.ca/about/pressreleases/archive2003.cfm>

and return home. But again like many others who came later, they sometimes ended up living out their days in Canada.⁶¹

During the mass influx of immigrants before World War I, the northern Europeans who came to the prairies either directly or by way of the US established themselves after initial hardships as prosperous farmers and merchants. By 1911 over 57 per cent of all mineworkers were immigrants; in Alberta the percentage was 88 and in British Columbia 84. Some were experienced miners; others took work in the mines, because, lacking knowledge of English and having only farming experience, they could find no other jobs. A government inquiry in 1918 found that in Alberta 90.5 per cent of mine workers were immigrants.⁶²

The Rocky Mountain range long to south border of Alberta and British Columbia was the site of the most difficult and dangerous and work to be done on the railway. Tunnels had to be blasted to and railway laid along dangerous mountain passes. Thousands of labourers needed to be complete the railway but the company soon realized that millions of dollars could be saved by employing Chinese immigrants at less than half the wages paid whites. In the end over half the railway workers were Chinese lured by promise of a decent wage and return passages to China. Unfortunately, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, these promise were not kept and as many as, 5,000 of the men who had hoped to return to China were unable to do so.⁶³

Though the wages were low and the conditions were harsh in the camps and the mines. For some immigrants they were better than wages and condition at home. Hence they were at times accepted with less protest that the trade unions and concerned individuals considered natural or desirable. Jews were commonly impoverished when they arrived, but they were more prepared for urban living and for certain types of industrial employment than most immigrants. Italians, who also

⁶¹ Burnet, n.5, p.57.

⁶² Ibid., pp.58-59.

⁶³ Shushan, n.27, p.3.

moved chiefly into the cities, gravitated to labouring jobs. The labour demands of such industries as the railways, mines and steel mills encouraged Italians and other Europeans by the agriculture-oriented policy to flock to Canada from the US or from Europe.⁶⁴

In heavy industry, many employers were only willing to hire immigrants for work that the Canadian born refused. When workers were blinded or maimed as a result of accident on the job, there was little compensation, and they were thrown back on their ethnic communities for assistance.⁶⁵

(ii) Planned Immigration

The post-War period saw the beginning of a significant economic boom in Canada that, with minor fluctuations, endured until the early 1970s. Large-scale private investments in the natural resources and manufacturing sectors and government investments in physical infrastructure and educational facilities, combined with pent-up consumer demand from the depression and war years, fuelled the boom.⁶⁶ Thus assumption underlying post-War immigration policy in Canada was that the needs of the Canadian economy could be assessed annually and estimated shortages of labour in particular industries and occupations met by recruiting immigrants with appropriate occupational qualifications and experience to fill these needs. Elaborate administrative machinery was set up to achieve this end.⁶⁷

During this period, labour shortages tended to lessen discrimination due to rapid industrial expansion. Like other Canadian: those belonging to the other ethnic groups profited from the prosperity and their occupational distribution moved towards conformity with the distribution of the total population.

During the 1960s the trend towards more even distribution of various ethnic groups throughout the occupational and income structures continued. Those of British origin by 1971 ranked third, behind the Jews and Asian. To some degrees this was a statistical artefact related to such factors as the age composition and concentration in

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.62-63.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.65.

⁶⁶ Kelly, n.38, p 311.

⁶⁷ Richmond, n.48, p.47.

high-income areas of different groups; but there is little doubt that a real change in occupational opportunities, in the direction of greater equality was occurring.⁶⁸

The numbers of Asians went high following the introduction of the nine-point system in 1967 regulations: those of Chinese origin increased from 58,000 to 119,000, those of Japanese origin from 29,000 to 37,000 and those of other Asian origin from 34,000 to 129,000 between 1961 and 1971.⁶⁹

National economic development and individual professional opportunity became key factors in immigration. The pursuit of skills and talents by government is world wide, as is the keen response of professional and skill immigrants to opportunities in affluent countries. It has become more and more difficult now for the unskilled to migrate, except in the categories of dependents and close relatives.⁷⁰

In fact, the administrative procedures for the admission of immigrants were concerned mainly with short-term considerations that are the absorptive capacity of the immigrants in Canadian economy. The only influential long-term consideration was the underlying assumption that immigration should be encouraged as a means of increasing the Canadian population.⁷¹

(iii) Racism: White Canada

There have been several important immigration acts since Canadian Confederation in 1867, as well as number of amending acts, orders in –council relating to immigration, immigration regulations and law to discourage the entry of or exclude the Chinese or non-white immigrants. While Canada did not have an act specifically called a restriction act, elements of restriction directed first against the Chinese and later against all potential non-white immigration were present in her immigration legislation from the 1880s onwards. The power to exclude would be immigrants in certain categories and of certain origin on which the white Canada was based laid down in the immigration act of 1910, amended by the act of 1919. Laws to

⁶⁸ Burnet, n.5, p.71.

⁶⁹ *bid.*

⁷⁰ Hawkins, n.37, p.3.

⁷¹ Richmond, n.48, p.61.

discourage the entry of the Chinese or to exclude them altogether were passed by the federal parliament in 1885, 1900, 1903, and 1923.⁷²

Since 1945, Canadians has increasingly introduced legislation with which to fight many forms of discrimination almost all of which have economic implications. Provincially, human right codes, equal pay acts, fair employment practices acts, and fair accommodation practices acts proliferated; federally, the Canadian bill of rights of 1960 and the Canadian charter of rights and freedoms of 1982 gave support against discrimination. Legislation has, however not eliminated discriminatory behaviour, and groups have various in their willingness to resort to legislation to fight against discrimination.⁷³

One of the cardinal assumptions underlying Canadian policy in the Post-War period was that British immigrants would be more readily absorbed than those from other countries. Extra efforts were made to encourage immigrants from the UK. There were fewer formalities, speedier procedures for obtaining visas, a larger numbers of immigration offices and officials in Britain and a more promotional campaign there than anywhere else in the world. Both Liberal and Conservative parties in Canada supported the special encouragement given to British immigrants.⁷⁴ Among the nine criteria which are the basis of Canadian immigrants selection system, "education and training" is the most important, followed by "personal qualities" and "occupational demand". These preferences have replaced racial discrimination as the major criterion in the selection and control of immigration in Canada.⁷⁵ And in this highly technological development and globalisation era economic-consideration gets a prominent place in admitting the immigrants in Canada.

To sum up briefly, the Europeans were preferred to land in Canada from the very beginning of Canada's birth as a Confederation to keep Canada a White man's country. Gradually for the demographic and economic goal Canada allowed the immigration from all over the world. As a result, today, a third of the immigration are apart from the Charter groups - the French, the British and the Native people. The

⁷² Hawkins, n.29, p.16.

⁷³ Burnet, n.5, p.72.

⁷⁴ Richmond, n.48, pp.3-4.

⁷⁵ Hawkins, n.37, p.11.



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next chapter will discuss the evolution of immigration policy, more particularly on the factors responsible for changing immigration policy from restrictive to liberal that Canada following since 1950s, more particularly from 1960s.

CHAPTER - 2

EVOLUTION OF IMMIGRATION POLICIES AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Immigration policy of a country broadly delineates and projects the decision of a state as to who should be its members, under what conditions, and of what kind. Generally, immigration indicates a state's conception of itself; of the kind of polity it deems it is; and how it believes itself to be constituted and held together. Canada's immigration policy is therefore an expression of, and ultimately grounded in and legitimised in terms of its definition, of its national identity.¹

Immigration policy is as old as Canada itself. Two years after Confederation, the first statute was enacted in 1869. The federal government had introduced restrictions right from the beginning, which prohibited the landing of pauper or destitute immigrants.² During this initial period, Canada was seen by the majority of its inhabitants as an offshoot of Britain, which should remain British both institutionally and demographically. At the time of World War I, Canada entered a 'White Dominion' phase - a free member of British Empire with the right to determine its own selection policies. This trend was accentuated in the era of 'middle power', when Canada saw its role as an honest broker and a force for international decency and toleration. It was only the economic boom after the Second World War, with Canada's commitment to domestic diversity, and the inauguration of 'multicultural society', that the system of quotas and discriminatory categories could be eliminated.³ The present Chapter illustrates the evolution of Canada's immigration policy since the period of Second World War. Three phases: 1946 to 1962, 1963 to 1978, and since 1978 can be clearly identified and have been dealt with in separate sections.

¹ Surjit Sing, "Immigration Policies and Earning Behaviour of Immigrants in Canada", *IASSI Quarterly* (New Delhi), vol.19, no.1, 2000, p.2.

² Ibid.

³ James W. St. G. Walker, "A Jewel in the Mosaic: India in Canadian Immigration Policy and National Identity" a paper presented to the conference on *Canada's Global Engagements in the 21st Century*, Canadian Studies programme, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 9-10 may 2002, p.2.

In the first phase 1946-1962, Canada witnessed the significant economic boom, which had a strong impact on the formation of immigration policy. Another factor was the international environments, which was undergoing dramatic changes in this period with the formation of several international organisations and Canada actively participated in the world affairs as a 'middle power'.⁴ Thus, at the end of the Second World War perception was in favour of the liberalisation of immigration policies, as Canadians believed that immigration was necessary to populate and develop the country. The second phase 1963-1978, witnessed immigration policy formation as a much more democratic process, as a broad public consultation has been taken into account in policy formulation process; and since 1978 Canada's immigration policy is linked to demographic and economic goals, and keeping the social fabric harmonious by fostering family ties. At the same time, Canada promotes international order and justice, closing the door for the criminals and others who could abuse Canada's openness and generosity; while opens the front door to genuine refugees and to immigrants who will help in the development of Canada.⁵

The Post-War Boom, 1946-1962: Opening the Doors Selectively

The Canadian immigration policy evolved most rapidly after the Second World War. At the end of the War, many groups in Canada wanted liberalisation of immigration. It was argued that immigration was necessary to populate and develop the country. During this period immigration policy had closely followed the twists and turns of national economic policy. This is even reflected in the administrative location of immigration within the Ottawa bureaucratic structure. Except for one period in which immigration was twinned with citizenship, the responsibility for immigration has rested in ministries with a labour or economic management mandate. Other factors also had influenced the Canadian agenda; among them the issues swirling around race and ethnicity. At War's end, Canada's regulation and laws

⁴ Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making Of The Mosaic: A History Of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto, 1998), p.311.

⁵ The reasons for a new law, "Bill-C11 Immigration And Refugee Protection Act", overview in <http://cienet.ci.gc.ca/english/irpa/c-11/overview.html>

against the admission of Asian immigrants and its draconian regulations restricting immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe were still in place.⁶

Lobbying by business interests had been very effective and, lobbying by pro-refugee and ethnic groups also had become both more sophisticated and more effective in keeping family reunification and humanitarian consideration on the public policy table. Canada's post-War immigration experience had also been subject to constitutional pressures. In Canada, the provinces share legal jurisdiction for immigration with the federal government. The degree to which any one province might choose to exercise that jurisdiction has varied from province to province and period to period. Whether directly or indirectly, provincial concerns influenced immigration policy. This was particularly true of Quebec. In recent years that province has pressed its own social and economic priorities and has worked with the federal government to ensure that immigration into Quebec fulfilled those priorities. Finally Canadian immigration law has traditionally left great discretionary power in the hands of the ministers responsible for immigration.⁷

During the post-War period, two prevailing trends had a strong impact on the formation of immigration policy. First; the significant economic boom in Canada; and secondly, the international environment, which was undergoing dramatic changes in that period. The period from 1946 to 1962 saw the beginning of a significant economic boom in Canada that, with minor fluctuations, endured until the early 1970s. Large-scale private investments in physical infrastructure and educational facilities combined with pent-up consumer demand from the depression and war years fuelled the boom. Canada's gross national product rose from \$5-7 billion in 1939 to \$36 billion in 1962. The unemployment rate through to 1958 ranged from about 2-8 to 5-9 per cent, and over the periods average real incomes doubled, initiating nearly 30 years of almost uninterrupted prosperity. In urban centers, manufacturing industries continued to expand, requiring new capital investments in plant and machinery, and new types of skilled labour. Low birth rates during the depression and War years had also led to shortage of many forms of skilled and unskilled labour and created ample

⁶ Harold Tropper, "Canada's Immigration Policy Since 1945", *International Journal (Canada)*, vol.18, no.2, Spring 1993, p.255.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.256-7.

job opportunities. The strong performance of the post-War economy had favoured the opening up of Canadian immigration policy.⁸

In the post-War Canadian economy, exports led the way. Demand for Canadian raw materials and manufactured goods were strong in Britain and the War-ravaged Europe. Demand became almost insatiable as the Marshall Plan poured additional billions into shoring up the post-War economic infrastructure of Europe. And so long as the US was intent upon beating back the threat of Soviet expansion with American dollars, Canadian raw materials found ready markets.⁹

Nor was the export market the only area of Canadian economic strength. Canadians had earned good wages during the War but rationing, forced savings, and social sanctions against ostentatious consumptions kept a lid on spending. At War's end, delayed gratification gave way to consumer spending on goods and services beyond the reach of most since the onset of the depression of 1929. The problem was a shortage of goods not money; of labour, not jobs.¹⁰

For the first time in thirty years Canada was faced with a peacetime shortage of workers. By late 1946, labour-intensive industries, especially in the core economic sectors of agriculture, mining, and lumbering were lobbying Ottawa for a relaxation of the immigration restriction cemented into place during the so-called Great Depression.¹¹

Another factor influencing immigration policies was the international scenario, which was under going dramatic changes in this period. Following the end of the World War II, Canada played an active role in the creation of UN in 1945 and in the UN Relief And Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), designed to restore and rebuild those countries devastated by the War. Canada was also involved in the promotion of a multiracial Commonwealth following the granting of independence to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Israel in 1947-8, and to many other former colonies in succeeding years. As well, the Canadian government participated in the negotiations that led to the formation in 1947 of the General Agreement on Tariffs

⁸ Kelley, n.4, p.311.

⁹ Tropper, n.6, p.258.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., pp.258-9.

And Trade (GATT), which provided the basis for a multilateral, non-discriminatory international trading regime. However, there was increasing pressure during this period to strengthen the Western alliance in the face of growing rivalry with the Soviet Bloc. Canada had become a signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. In short, Canada's increasingly active participation in world affairs led politicians, interest groups, and the general public to favour a selectively more open immigration policy.¹²

After the Second World War, those pressing to open Canada to immigration could not have foreseen where their first tentative steps would lead. As it was, many officials had trouble getting their minds around the very idea of opening Canada to immigration in the first place. Who could blame them? In 1945, only the eternally optimistic would have endorsed renewed immigration. Many were still wagering that Canada and the West generally would slip back into a 1930s-like depression once War time economic stimulation was ended.¹³

At the same time, the country faced the immediate task of reintegrating its returning servicemen and women back into Canadian civil life. Impelled by the plight of the displaced persons, the general post-War dislocation in Europe, and the requirements of Canada's external relations, immigration was accepted as an area of higher priority in Canadian national policy.¹⁴

In terms of immigration policy, a widely quoted speech by prime minister Mackenzie King in 1947 served as the official formulation of Canadian immigration policy until 1962. It is usually regarded as a special emanation of the King's mind in its sober and cautious tone, its firm sense of propriety, and its dislike of the world beyond

the North Atlantic triangle. The statement was in fact drafted by Gordon Robertson, secretary to the Office of the PM, redrafted by J.W.Pickersgill, King's special assistant, and submitted to the prime minister and cabinet. In short, it was the product of several minds.¹⁵

¹² Kelley, n.4, pp.311-2.

¹³ Tropper, n.6, p.258.

¹⁴ Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*, Second Edition (Kingston, 1988), p.117.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.91.

The prime minister had begun with his statement:

“The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy... . I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a ‘fundamental human right’ of any alien to enter Canada, it is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy... . The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population... . “Any considerable Oriental immigration would be certain to give rise to social and economic problems.”¹⁶

The speech affirmed some of the key principles of earlier immigration policies: admission was a privilege, and therefore properly left to the discretion of the government, with few due-process protections; and immigrants were to be viewed in terms of their potential contribution to the economy.¹⁷ The prime minister’s statement was cautious and unenthusiastic one, which effectively preserved the ‘White Canada’ immigration policy for the next fifteen years. It established that the general objectives of Canadian post-War immigration policy must be to enlarge the population of the country, because it would be dangerous for a small population to try to hold “so great a heritage as ours”; to improve the Canadian standard of living; and to help to develop Canadian resources, enlarge her domestic market and reduce her dependence on the export of primary products.¹⁸

Mackenzie King retired as prime minister in November 1948. His successor, Louis St. Laurent, on November 6, 1949, introduced bills in the House of Commons to create three new government departments, including a department of citizenship and immigration, which began functioning on 18 January 1950. A new immigration act was passed in 1952, became effective on 1 June 1953, and it was to stay on the statute book until 1976. The act gave the minister and his officials substantial powers over the selection, admission, and deportation of immigrants; and it gave the governor-in-council all embracing powers to refuse admission on grounds of nationality, geographical area of origin, peculiar customs, habits and modes of life,

¹⁶ Kelley, n.4, p.332.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, Second Edition (Montreal, 1991), p.37.

unsuitability with regard to the climate, probable inability to become readily assimilated, and other similar reasons.¹⁹

In the federal election of June 1957, a conservative government was elected for the first time since the early 1930s. John Deifenbaker became prime minister, and in his election campaign he had promised that a Conservative government would develop a vigorous immigration policy in co-operation with the provinces and would overhaul the immigration act. Canada must “populate or perish”, he had proclaimed. In 1959 a cabinet committee was established to consider the issues, and in the fall of 1960 it was announced in the speech from the throne that the government would produce a new immigration act. However, owing to what was seen as the difficulty of setting such an act through parliament, the then minister of citizenship and immigration, Ellen Fairclough and her deputy minister Dr. George Davidson decided to introduce new immigration regulations.²⁰

In 1962, Fairclough tabled new immigration regulations in the House of Commons. The regulations were the culmination of a long process of review instituted by the conservatives following their election in 1957. The goal of the government was to reduce the number of unskilled workers entering Canada, and correspondingly increase the number of skilled workers.²¹

At the same time, there was recognition that explicitly racist immigration policies were no longer defensible. This change in perspective reflected both the growing domestic political influence of church, community, ethnic, and other public interest groups, and international considerations whereby Canada’s credibility in a multi-racial British Commonwealth of newly independent nations, and its middle power role as an honest broker, and peace keeper in the larger global theatre, made many of its former immigration policies increasingly anachronistic, and indeed an embarrassment.²²

Removal of racial discrimination was the major feature of the changed Canadian immigration policy, retaining only one privilege for European immigrants

¹⁹ Ibid., p.38.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Kelley, n.4, p.332.

²² Ibid., p.319.

over most non-Europeans; the sponsoring of a wider range of relatives. This clause - Section 31(d) - was inserted at the last minute. Though the clause was later removed in the immigration regulations of 1967.²³

With the introduction of the 1962 regulations, however, the 'White Canada' policy was virtually dead. The demographic profile of immigrants began to change significantly. British immigration had declined substantially, while southern Europe, especially Italy, and central Europe became much more important sources. King's promised restrictions on Asian immigration had been, for the most part, eliminated. In addition, even if admission to Canada was still considered a privilege, and not a right, basic protections of due process were coming to be seen as properly extended to aliens in the sense that the rules governing their admission or deportation were reasonably well specified and transparent; and deportation decisions made in particular cases by immigration officials were open to challenge before a neutral tribunal. Thus, with respect to both substance and process, immigration policy was beginning to take a shape that was sharply different from that which had obtained throughout most of Canada's history.²⁴

To conclude the first part of this chapter, it is to be said that the immigration policy evolved most rapidly after the Second World War. During the period 1946 to 1962, two prevailing trends had a strong impact on the formulation of immigration policy. First, the significant economic boom in Canada, which were lobbying Ottawa for a relaxation of the immigration restrictions. Secondly, Canada's increasingly active participation in world affairs had led politicians, interest groups and the general public to favour selectively more open immigration policy.

Immigration Policy: 1963-1976

Two important features characterize the period 1963-1976. First, immigration policy formulation became a much more democratic process with the publication of 1966 White Paper and 1974 Green Paper and the appointment that followed of the two joint Senate-House of Commons committees to undertake a broad public consultation process. Second was the enactment of the Immigration Appeal Board Act

²³ Hawkins, n.18, p.39.

²⁴ Kelley, n.4, p.345.

in 1967 and the elimination of most administrative discretion in the application of admission policies.²⁵

In terms of the politics of immigration policy, a broad range of private and public interest groups had begun participating extensively in the political and consultative processes surrounding policy formulation. Church, ethnic and community organizations began to play a particularly vocal and prominent part in this process. Since most post-War immigrants had acquired citizenship, sizeable ethnic political constituencies had developed, particularly in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Consequently, members of parliament from these ridings were apt to take a closer interest in the practices of department of manpower and immigration. For instance, after the 1974 election, the Liberals had held thirty-six swing seats that contained high ethnic concentrations.²⁶

With the strong post-War economic conditions that continued to prevail in Canada until near 1970s, manpower development became the most important issue, which became an important aspect of economic policy²⁷. Rapid technological changes transformed the world creating shortages of certain skills and obsolescence of others. Unemployment had remained high even in times of prosperity. This had made the government realize that more attention needed to be paid to workers training and to integrating Canada's working population with the labour market. It also became clear that workers would have to be periodically retrained, and this could only be done if they themselves were prepared to undertake the retraining and benefit from it.²⁸

The translation of workforce development perceptions into immigration policy led to an increased emphasis on the educational qualifications of immigrants and the suitability of their personal characteristics. The 1966 white paper paved the way for the 1967 regulations. Close co-ordination was attempted between manpower planning and immigration.

²⁵ Ibid., p.380.

²⁶ Ibid., p.350.

²⁷ Kelley, n.4, p.347.

²⁸ Kavita A. Sharma, *The Ongoing Journey: Indian Migration to Canada* (New Delhi, 1997), p.46.

In the mid 1960s, immigration officials also confronted another issue, viz. the problem of illegal immigrants. Included among illegals in Canada were those who had overstayed tourist visas, Asians who were smuggled in, and extended family of persons in Canada who misrepresented the closeness of the relationship in order to gain entry. In the main, however, illegal were those desperate for a safe harbour from poverty, persecution, and social decay.²⁹

Canada tried to stem the flow. It granted landed immigration status to existing applicants, if they met the normal immigration requirements, were successfully employed, had ten years of education and had married Canadian residents. It refused all others. It was supposed to discourage future flow of unskilled and under-educated workers without causing serious hardship to others.³⁰

Responsibility for immigration had shifted from Citizenship and Immigration to the newly established Department of Manpower and Immigration in January 1966. The Immigration and the National Employment Service of the Department of Labour were also amalgamated. An independent commission of inquiry under Joseph Sedgwick led to the establishment of the Immigration Appeal Board. It was empowered to deal conclusively with all deportation appeals.³¹ The government's underlying intent was clear enough. While not denying the social impact of immigration, the priority for Ottawa's economic planners was to kick start a sluggish economy. The new immigration administration signaled that further attempts would be made to tailor immigration to short-term national employments goals.³²

Partly in hope of finding a solution to the problem of illegal entry and restructuring immigration to match a trimmer economy, Ottawa commissioned a major review of Canadian immigration.³³ Jean Merchand, the Minister of Manpower and Immigration had tabled the white paper on immigration in parliament in 1966. The 1966 white paper was the outcome of a two-year study. Its major thrust was that government should increase the integration between immigration policy and Canada's labour needs. According to the white paper, this

²⁹ Tropper, n.6, p.267.

³⁰ Sharma, n.28, pp.46-47.

³¹ Ibid., p.47.

³² Tropper, n.6, p.266.

³³ Ibid., p.268.

new direction meant that Canada should cease orienting its immigration policy to short-term factors and base its admission standards on long-term needs.³⁴

The call for tightening up of family reunification provisions was particularly contentious. Cabinet referred the white paper to a special joint committee of the Senate and the House of Commons for discussion. The committee got an earful. Ethnic leaders rejected any narrowing of the family and sponsorship categories. They warned that ethnic voters would take revenge on any political party that slammed the door on their kith and kin. Church and labour groups joined in demanding broadening, not a narrowing of family reunification provisions of the immigration regulations. Members of parliament, especially those fearing that campaign contributions and ethnic votes would go elsewhere, waded in on the side of family sponsorship. As a result family migration may have been restructured but it was not curtailed. The largest single group of immigration admitted into Canada would continue to be in the family or other sponsored categories.³⁵

One of the critical dates in policy evolution was 1967 when completely new immigration selection system - the Canadian points system - was invented and incorporated in the immigration regulation of 1 October 1967.³⁶ The 1967 regulations were influenced by the white paper and the proceedings of the joint parliamentary committee. In the 1967 regulations, the standards for immigrant selection were explicitly spelt out with the creation of a 'points system' that assigned prospective immigrants a score in the following categories: age; education; training; occupational skills in demand; knowledge of English or French; a personal assessment made by an immigration official in an interview; relatives in Canada; arranged employment; and employment opportunities in area of destination.³⁷

The new regulations addressed the sponsorship controversy by creating three categories of immigration: independent, sponsored, and nominated. The sponsorship immigration policy issue was a continuing source of concern to

³⁴ Kelly, n.4, p.353.

³⁵ Tropper, n.4, p.268-9.

³⁶ Hawkins, n.18, p.39.

³⁷ Kelley, n.4, pp.358-9.

immigration officials because relatives were allegedly sponsoring too many unskilled workers, a process, which was largely beyond the department's control. Although immediate relatives could continue to be sponsored. The new regulations subjected more distant 'nominated' relatives to five factors in the points system-education, personal assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, and age that assessed the long-term suitability of an applicant. It is to be noted that there was no formal quota in the 'points system'. This meant that, if an immigrant passed the points criteria, he or she would be admitted to Canada, regardless of the number of immigrants that Canada had already admitted in that year.³⁸

The 'points system' has been found as a more satisfactory system, with both immigration officials and immigrants. The 'points system' was simple, easy to understand, and could be used anywhere. However, it required regular monitoring and adapting from time to time to changing circumstances. This did not happen for the first few years, but with the new immigration act of 1976, and the immigration regulations, which followed it, this principle was adopted and some more changes were made. The selection criteria for independent immigrants were revised again in 1985.³⁹

In the 1967 regulations, there was also the category of refugees who may not have the usual qualifications for admission into Canada but who may be given permission to enter on humanitarian grounds.⁴⁰

The features of these regulations included the elimination of discrimination based on nationality or race from all classes of immigrants and the creation of a special provision that allowed visitors to apply for immigrant status while in Canada.⁴¹ Closely related to this provision was the passage of the Immigration Appeal Board Act of 1967, which set up a new and fully independent appeal board. The board has had a tumultuous history and had to deal with some difficult problems, particularly relating to illegal immigration and refugee status

³⁸ Ibid., p.359.

³⁹ Hawkins, n.18, p.39.

⁴⁰ Sharma, n.28, p.48.

⁴¹ Ibid.

determination.⁴² Anyone who had been ordered deported could appeal the board; no matter what his or her status was under the immigration act.

As the visitor could apply for landed immigration status and there was the option of appealing to the Immigration Appeal Board (IAB), the number of people applying for landed immigration status increased dramatically. As a result, the effectiveness of the selection process abroad was seriously undermined and the appeal board was soon confronted by a staggering backlog of cases.⁴³ Visitors who could not otherwise meet immigration criteria applied for landing soon after they reached Canada. If unsuccessful, they insisted on full deportation proceedings placing their cases to the appeal board and thus gained the chance of being allowed to stay. Further while awaiting decision by the board, the immigrants took up jobs and made useful connections.⁴⁴ By then the political pressure from the ethnic community and perhaps even the general public would make it extremely difficult for the government to deport them.⁴⁵ Even, if they were deported, they could return and start the whole process again.

Canada Manpower and Immigration Council Act was passed on 21 December 1967. This was Canada's first attempt to establish a formal process of consultation and advice to the minister in the manpower and immigration field. The act provided for the creation of a Canada Manpower and Immigration Council, consisting mainly of generalists, and four advisory boards specialists on adult occupational training, the adjustment of immigrants, the co-ordination of rehabilitation services for disabled persons, and manpower and immigration research.⁴⁶

In the early 1970s, Canada also witnessed the espousal of 'multiculturalism' as a national policy, which was the product of diverse immigration. With the introduction of non-discriminatory regulations of 1967, a huge number of immigrants from the so-called non-preferable countries had entered into Canada. For example, the immigrants from India in 1962 were 529; in

⁴² Hawkins, n.18, p.40.

⁴³ The points system, "Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977", in <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/legacy/chap-6.html>, p.5.

⁴⁴ Sharma, n.28, p.48.

⁴⁵ Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977, n.43, p.5.

⁴⁶ Hawkins, n.18, p.40.

1974 this number was 12,868. It was therefore, a Canadian route to demographic transformation to adopt an official policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' as announced by prime minister Pierre Trudeau in October 1971.⁴⁷

In 1970s, the good times in Canada were beginning to come to an end. The inflation rate, which had been at 1 per cent in 1961 had increased to over 10 per cent by the mid-1970s in part as a result of the first OPEC oil-price shock in 1973, and the unemployment rate rose to about 7 per cent.⁴⁸ The worsening economy in this period led to increased restrictions on immigrants and visitors intending to work in Canada. In 1973, the immigration department made employment visas mandatory for all immigrants wishing to work legally in Canada. These visas valid for up to one year were granted only to fill specific job vacancies for which no Canadian workers were available. Also, in an attempt to keep better track of foreigners, all visitors intending to stay for more than three months had to register with the department on entry. The government met the demand for cheap labour without recourse to increased immigration by issuing visas for temporary work to migrant workers. Many seasonal workers, by that time, came from Mexico and the Caribbean.⁴⁹

Prime minister Pierre Trudeau had appointed Robert Andras as minister of manpower and immigration in November 1972, who would oversee the production of not just a new immigration act but also a radically new immigration statute. By the virtue of his skills as a minister, and his strong voice in cabinet, he had the good fortune to take on the challenge at a time when there was a general recognition that change in immigration policy was long overdue.⁵⁰ Andras lost no time in introducing reforms designed to prevent the government from losing further control over immigration policy. The most important of these was Bill C-197, which amended the Immigration Appeal Board Act. Assented to on 27 July 1973, it contained provisions designed to clear up the board's backlog of cases and to prevent the recurrence of the current crises. Notable among these was the provision that abolished the universal right of appeal and that allowed only

⁴⁷ Walker, n.3, pp.19-20.

⁴⁸ Kelley, n.4, p.347.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.360.

⁵⁰ Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977, n.43, p.5.

permanent residents of Canada, valid visa holders, and individuals claiming to be refugees of Canadian citizens to have a right of appeal to the IAB.⁵¹

This provision was intended to address the problem for the long-term, but in the meantime the IAB still faced a staggering backlog of cases - over 17,000 at the end of May 1973. In the interests of immediate relief, Bill C-197 provided for establishment of the adjustment of status programme. Under this programme persons who had lived in Canada continuously; legally or illegally, since 30 November 1972 and who had registered with an immigration officer within 60 days of the proclamation of the legislation could apply for permanent residence. An amnesty in all but name, the programme was a conspicuous success, resulting in approximately 39,000 people obtaining landed immigration status.⁵²

Managerial problems and an illegal immigration backlog spiraling out of control had caused deep morale problems among immigration officials. Radically new legislation was desperately needed as the realities of modern-day Canada had long since overtaken the Immigration Act of 1952.⁵³ Andras brought in a senior bureaucrat, Alan Gotlieb, as deputy minister to assist in devising new policies to address these problems.⁵⁴ Andras's first step towards formulating a new immigration act was to commission a green paper to be prepared under the supervision of department officials and to canvass options for a fresh approach to immigration. This comprehensive review was finally published in December 1974 under the title: A Report of Canadian Immigration and Population Study.⁵⁵

A special joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons was appointed in March 1975 to examine the green paper and to hold public hearings on it across Canada. Brief summaries of the hearings in each province or region were prepared so that members could keep records of the local concerns and interests. After the hearing, the committee met the minister of manpower and immigration and his senior officials in Ottawa. To supplement the evidence received, members of the committee visited Canada Manpower Centres and

⁵¹ Ibid., pp.5-6.

⁵² Ibid., p.6.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Kelley, n.4, p.371.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp.371-2.

Canada Immigration Centres at different points of entry. A group of members also went to Washington D.C. for informal consultations about American systems and policies.⁵⁶ Finally, after holding 50 public hearings in 21 cities across Canada and reviewing more than 1,400 briefs submitted to it, the hard-working committee produced a report whose recommendations formed the basis of a new immigration act.⁵⁷

The Immigration Act, the cornerstone of present-day immigration policy, was enacted in 1976 and came into force in 1978. It broke new grounds by spelling out the fundamental principles and objectives of Canadian immigration policy.⁵⁸ Included among these are the promotion of Canada's demographic goals; enriching the cultural and social fabric of Canada, taking into account its federal and bilingual character; family reunion; federal-provincial-municipal and voluntary sector collaboration in the settlement of immigrants, the fostering of trade, commerce tourism, cultural and scientific activities, and international understanding; non-discrimination in immigration policy; refugee policy; economic prosperity in all Canadian region; the health, safety and good order of Canadian society; and the exclusion of persons likely to engage in criminal activity. The act makes it clear that the admission of immigrants and the admission and stay of visitors to Canada are matters of privilege and not of right.⁵⁹

The major shift introduced by the act was setting annual targets for immigration by the immigration minister. The procedure also called for consultations with provinces to assess regional demographic and labour market requirements. Consultations with such other persons, organizations and institutions if desired or considered appropriate by the minister also form a part of the act.⁶⁰ The inclusion of an identifiable class for refugees, selected and admitted separately from immigrants, is another significant innovation in the new act.⁶¹ This is one of the shorter but more complex parts of the act. In part I, Canada's

⁵⁶ Sharma, n.28, pp.49-50.

⁵⁷ Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977, n.43, p.7.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Hawkins, n.18, p.71.

⁶⁰ Singh, n.1, p.5.

⁶¹ Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977, n.43, p.7.

commitment to fulfill its international legal obligations in relation to refugees, and “to uphold its humanitarian tradition with respect to the displaced and the persecuted” was established as a fundamental principle of immigration policy for the first time in Canadian immigration law. The act also formally established a Refugee Status Advisory Committee to advise the minister on the determination of refugee status in individual cases and includes important new provisions for refugee sponsorship.⁶²

The act recognizes four classes of individuals eligible for landed-immigrant status: first, a family class, which includes the immediate family and dependent children, as well as parents and grand parents over 60, or if widowed or incapable of earning. Second, humanitarian class, which includes (a) refugees as defined in the 1951 UN’s convention relating to refugees and (b) persecuted and displaced persons who do not qualify as refugees under the rigid UN definition but who are members of a specially designated class created by the cabinet for humanitarian reasons. Third, independent class, which comprises of applicants who apply for landed immigrant status on their own initiative and are selected on the basis of points system. Fourth, assisted relatives that are more distant relatives who are sponsored by a family member in Canada and who meet some of the selection criteria of the independent class.⁶³ In addition the act requires all visitors and students, to obtain prior authorisation abroad. Temporary workers who change jobs and students who change their course of study without proper authorization and all visitors who remain in Canada beyond the period, for which they were admitted, are subject to removal.⁶⁴

The 1976 Immigration Act received almost unanimous support from all parties in the House of commons as well as the widespread approval of public and private interest groups, the media, and academics. Nearly all the interested observers lauded it as a liberal and a progressive measure.⁶⁵ The new immigration regulations were approved by the governor-in-council on 23 February 1978.⁶⁶ The Immigration Regulations of 1978 complement the Immigration Act and specify

⁶² Hawkins, n.18, p.72.

⁶³ Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977, n.43, p.7.

⁶⁴ Hawkins, n.18, p.72.

⁶⁵ Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977, n.43, p.7.

⁶⁶ Hawkins, n.18 p.79.

the conditions of admission relating to the points system, employment authorizations, visitors visas, and student authorization as well as the admissible classes. Since April 1978, all parents under 60 and their dependents have been included in the family class provided they are sponsored by a Canadian citizen.⁶⁷

Immigration Policies since 1978

The post 1976 policy regime has explicitly been based on the argument that immigrants at best provide a small net gain to the economy.⁶⁸ But the refugee issues dominated the Canadian immigration policy in the 1980s and continued as the focal point of public debate and controversy. In the subsequent years many policy initiatives were introduced to limit the size of the larger number of refugees and the flow of immigrants without any documents. Bill C-55 and C-84 were passed to deter people from arriving and clamouring for entry. It was an attempt to restore effective control over the borders.⁶⁹

The years 1985 to 1988 saw another shift in policy, leading to higher global targets. New business and economic classes were added to the earlier traditional categories.⁷⁰

In 1992, Bob White, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, argued strongly and publicly that immigrants do not, in general, take away jobs from existing citizens, but rather create employment and wealth. His public support of this expansionary immigration policy, despite the difficult economic times, exemplified the new consensus.⁷¹

Canadian immigration objectives had been explicitly stated in Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1993, which was linked to Canada's demographic and economic goals. It was concerned with keeping the social fabric harmonious and to fostering of family ties. One of the features of this act was to fulfill Canada's international legal obligations with respect to the displaced and the persecuted and

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.72.

⁶⁸ Singh, n.1, p.6.

⁶⁹ Sharma, n.28, p.52.

⁷⁰ Singh, n.1, p.6.

⁷¹ Kelley, n.4, pp.438-9.

also to promote international order and justice by denying the use of Canadian territory to persons who are likely to engage in criminal activity.⁷²

The government affirmed that in the new millennium, the “overarching goal will continue to be to build a stronger, ever more inclusive Canada and secure a higher quality of life for all Canadians.” As Canada enters the new millennium, poised to capitalize on the global economy and increase its wealth in the knowledge society, it needs immigration and refugee protection legislation that can respond

quickly to rapidly evolving environment and to emerging challenges and opportunities. New legislation was essential to ensure that Canada can preserve immigration as a source of diversity, richness and openness to the world.

The need for protection of people fleeing war or persecution continues to grow; there are millions of refugees in the world today. More effective policy and legislative tools are required to maintain and enhance Canada’s strong humanitarian tradition by ensuring rapid responses to alleviate human suffering. At the same time, global migration pressures and the promise of significant profits from transporting and exploiting immigrants have led powerful transnational criminal organization to extend their activities to migrant smuggling and trafficking. Canada like many developed countries, has in recent years, witnessed a growth in forced labour of human beings. Canada wants to ensure to deter migrant trafficking and work out multilateral action plans against this form of modern slavery.

Canadians want an immigration and refugee system and legislation that are faster but remain fair. They want legislation that strikes a balance between Canadian tradition of protecting refugees and welcoming immigrants and dealing firmly with those who would abuse Canadian systems and processes.⁷³ Moreover, the events of 11 September 2001 in US have raised some new questions about Canadian immigration policies. As a response to the perceived terrorist threats, indeed necessitates a re-examination of the manner in which foreign nationals are

⁷² Frank N. Morocco and Henry M. Goslet, eds., *The Annotated 1992 Immigration Act of Canada* (Toronto, 1991) pp.15-16.

⁷³ Bill C-11, Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, n.5, pp.1-2.

permitted entry to and through Canadian borders.⁷⁴ Bill C-11: Immigration and Refugee Protection Act contains clauses related to refugees and security issues, such as provisions for condensing the security certificate protection procedure. Though the bill had been drafted before 11 September incident, it received royal assent on 1 November 2001 and came into force in June 2002.⁷⁵ The act carries a dual mandate; closing the backdoor entry to suspected criminals and others who could abuse Canada's openness and generosity; while opening the front door to genuine refugees and to immigrants who will help in the development of Canada.⁷⁶

To sum up, the immigration has been used to meet a variety of goals. Before World War I, in the 1920s and again in the 1950s, immigration was used to fill open lands and provide labour for developing resource sectors. In the 1960s and 1970s, immigration was used to increase the skill level of the Canadian workforce and fill perceived gaps in the occupational structure. At the outset, this was viewed as a useful goal for immigration because Canada's own educational and training institutions were not fully developed. In the late 1980s, large numbers of immigrants were admitted in an attempt to offset the aging of the native born population. In each of these cases, large immigration inflows were targeted at a specific problem. In between each of these periods there were substantial cut backs in immigration inflows in response to poor domestic labour market conditions. This was an embodiment of the concept of 'absorptive capacity' - only accepting a number of immigrants that the Canadian economy could easily absorb.⁷⁷

Thus, the Canadian immigration policies have evolved by considering Canada's demographic goals, perceived demand of labour from time to time as human resource, to build Canada a strong developed nation in the world. Thus, the process of change in immigration policy is evolutionary rather than revolutionary. Having discussed the evolution policies of Canada above, the next chapter will

⁷⁴ <http://usa.canadausaemployers.com>

⁷⁵ Howard Adelman, "Canadian Borders and Immigration Post 9/11", *International Migration Review* (New York), Vol.36, Spring 2002,p.22.

⁷⁶ Bill C-11, Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, n.5, p.1.

⁷⁷ <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~echist/immpol.htm#1.5>

discuss on immigration from India: Indians arrival in the early twentieth century and more particularly since the 1950s and how the immigration policies had an impact on the Indian immigrants in emigrating process and in their settlement in Canada. The chapter also will discuss the criteria, pattern and adjustment of the Indians in Canada.

CHAPTER – 3

NATURE AND PATTERN OF INDIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Preceding Chapters have described the major waves of immigration and the evolution of immigration policy of Canada, more particularly from the 1950s. The present Chapter explains the immigration from India to Canada. It is divided into three parts. The first part describes the early period of arrival of Indians in Canada as Indian immigration to Canada had begun in the first decade of the twentieth century. As the first recorded immigrants landed in 1903-04, there began the movement that increased rapidly, so much so that by 1907-08 over 5,000 persons had immigrated from India. Majorities were Sikh men, and most had originated from some small areas in Punjab. Although they had been mostly farmers at home, the Sikhs became mainly labourers in Canada, often in sawmills and lumber camps of British Columbia - where they could earn five times the amount paid for manual labour in India. Soon the fear - real or imaginary - of taking away jobs from the Canadian citizens and fear of some loathsome diseases, which could be transmitted to Canada beside the presence of Indians among Canadian people could be a menace to the well being of the community, which led to a series of discriminatory immigration acts that curbed the inflow of Indians to Canada. It was only after the Second World War that the developments in Canadian economy forced Canada to liberalise its immigration policy. The second part explains the quota system for Indians, which was introduced in 1951, and the third part describes the pattern of Indian immigration, which includes class-wise immigration, immigration by age group and immigration by occupation. This part also provides some data on other aspects of the pattern of Indian immigration.

Arrival of Indians in Canada

The first Indians to visit Canada were members of Sikh army regiments that were passing through Canada in 1897 en route home from Queen Victoria's diamond

jubilee celebration in England.¹ In 1902, a small contingent of eighty-three officers and men, both Chinese and Punjabis, mainly from the crown colonies of Hong Kong, Singapore, and Shanghai went to join the coronation celebrations of Edward VII, and passed through Victoria on board the 'Empress of Japan'. On their way back they once again passed through Canada but shortly after their return to Hong Kong, their regiment was disbanded. This event initiated the first Indian migration to Canada, as Indians who had transited through it, had already perceived it to be a land of economic opportunities.²

In the early years of the twentieth century all receiving countries had either greatly restricted or completely excluded Asians, and Indians in particular. Canada's immigration policy primarily encouraged only select type of immigrants i.e., who would develop the country's vast agricultural resources and to keep its British character and allegiance to the British. As a consequence, there were very few Indians in Canada till the World War II when Sikh soldiers started coming to Canada and slowly the process extended to their friends and relatives in India.³

Persons of Indian origin simply inherited the attitudes and policy momentum that had already been established against other Asians. While that number was small, Indians were ignored in the regulations; there was not even a category for registering arrivals from India. The first recorded Indian immigrants landed in 1903-04 their numbers rapidly increasing to 1907 when over 5,000 persons immigrated from India.⁴

The first Indians who had come to Canada in 1904 were encouraged by the Hong Kong agents of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) who were seeking to replace steerage traffic lost after the Canadian government had raised the head tax on Chinese immigrants. Five Sikhs bearded, turbaned, and wearing light cotton Europeans-style clothing, had arrived on the *Empress of India* in March 1904; ten came on the *Express*

¹ Subash Ramcharan, "South Asian Immigration: Current Status and Adaptation Modes", in Rabindra N. Kanungo, ed., *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic* (Montreal, 1987), p. 33.

See also, James W. St. G. Walker, *Race, Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies*, (Canada, 1997), p. 253.

² Kavita A. Sharma, *The Ongoing Journey: Indian Migration to Canada: Historical Case Studies* (Canada, 1997), p. 253.

³ Surjit Singh, "Indian Immigration to Canada: Some Aspects", *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* (New Delhi), Vol. 41, No.4, 1998, p. 774.

⁴ James W. St. G. Walker, "A Jewel in the Mosaic: India in Canadian Immigration Policy and National Identity" A paper presented to the Conference on *Canada's Global Engagements in the 21st Century*. Canadian Studies Programme, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 9-10 May 2002, p. 5.

of Japan in May and each succeeding month brought two or three more. It was a strange country; few of the Sikhs could read, write or even speak English, and so, while there was work for them, especially in the absence of continued Chinese immigration, it would take them some time to find it. Some were taken on by sawmills and cement factories; others were hired by Contractors who employed them on the roads or in cutting wood and clearing lands.⁵

From August until December of 1906, almost every CPR liner brought Indians in ever-large numbers: 696 persons on the *Tartar* in mid-November 1906; and they kept coming in spite of a daunting reception.⁶ Two thousand in total had arrived during the later half of 1906. By the end of December, with the exception of some 300 who had taken streamers for Seattle and San Francisco in USA, all but fifty or sixty had found employment in British Columbia, most of them in saw mills.⁷

By this time, Asiatic Exclusion League was founded by the native Whites in Vancouver, as a result of apathy towards Indian immigrants. The white Canada felt that India is a hotbed of the most virulent and loathsome diseases, which could be transmitted to Canada and besides the presence of Indians among Canadian people could be a menace to the well being of the community.⁸ In September 1907 a parade organised by the League became a riot after provocateurs directed marchers through the Chinese and Japanese quarters.⁹ As their numbers increased, the Indian's who began to attract attention: the various restrictions already imposed on Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia were reworded to include Indians as well; and in 1907 Indians were disfranchised. This new influx from Asia, in particular the arrival in Vancouver harbour of a ship bearing a rumoured 900 Indian migrants, was one of the factors precipitating the Vancouver race riot in September 1907.

A major consequence of anti-Asian riots in 1907 led to a series of discriminatory immigration acts, which curbed the inflow of Indian immigration to Canada. The deputy minister of labour, W.L. Mackenzie King, was sent to London to

⁵ Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar* (Vancouver, 1989), p. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ B. Rahamathulla, "Canadian Immigration Policy in the Context of South Asia: A Perspective of Indian Diaspora in the New Millennium" in Anil Dutta Mishra and Govind Prasad, eds., *India and Canada: Past, Present and Future* (New Delhi, 2003), p. 34.

⁹ Johnston, n.5, p.4.

seek an efficient and acceptable method to exclude Indians. In the high niches of the British government, King found considerable sympathy for Canada's wish to "remain a white man's country", and agreement that Indian's would not suit the Canadian climate, economy or social customs. With British concurrence, King recommended that migrants belonging to "Asiatic races" should be required to possess a sum of \$ 200, considered high enough to serve as a disincentive; and that they arrive in Canada only by means of a continuous journey from their country of origin. These regulations were introduced as orders-in-council in 1908 and incorporated into a new immigration act in 1910.¹⁰ It was obvious, when it is known that in those days no ship used to come from India by a direct route, that for Indians the doors to Canada were closed.

The impact of the new regulations was immediate: immigration from India declined drastically after 1908, from several thousands every year to only six in 1909 and only one during the first five months of 1910. More ironically, in five years from 1914 to 1919 only one Indian migrated to Canada.¹¹

It is to be noted here that initial history of Indian immigration can be divided into three periods: (i) 1833-1908, the period presenting the first phase saw the abolition of slavery and the recruitment of unskilled labour under indenture to the consolidation of the laws regarding the migration of such labour; (ii) 1908-22, a period when indenture labour was stopped and the act of 1922 which removed many of the evils of colonialism, was enacted and (iii) 1922 to the present times an era marked by the execution of a national policy on emigration. The act of 1922, an important landmark, permitted organised immigration of unskilled labour to be controlled, or even suspended, by legislature and regulated the emigration of skilled labour and the conditions of employment. This in effect embodied a standing immigration committee of the Indian Legislature, which advised the Indian government on immigration issues. This exercised a liberalising influence upon colonies requiring such labour.¹²

Here the main focus is on the Indian immigration to Canada. For it is imperative to know the reasons of immigration from India to Canada. Indian immigration, virtually, everyone who entered before Second World War was from Punjab. Ninety to ninety five percent of those immigrants were Sikh. Several things account for this

¹⁰ Walker, n.4, pp. 6-7.

¹¹ Singh, n.3, pp. 774-5.

¹² Ibid., pp.773-4.

immigration flow. Punjab is mainly an agricultural state. The lands owned by Punjabi peasants were often reduced to small plots because there was not enough land to be shared among all the brothers of a family and as a result, the land was divided and subdivided into smaller and smaller plots. The country was in the midst of an economic crisis. During the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, the economic condition of the Punjabi peasants deteriorated due to the havoc caused by British imperialist ruling of the country's economy. Both industrial urban centers and domestic industry in the countryside suffered from the crisis.

The increasing water rate and land revenue forced most of the middle peasants to mortgage their lands to the moneylenders. Many peasants found it difficult to feed their families because the triple toll of water rates, land revenue and interests to the moneylender left very little money for themselves.¹³ Between 1849 to 1900, six famines ravaged Punjab, the worst being the famines of 1896-97 and of 1899-1900. Economic conditions further worsened in the first decade of the twentieth century as drought conditions of 1905-07 together with recurrent epidemics of malaria and plague caused unprecedented mortality. But 1901 and 1911, two million people died of plague alone in Punjab.¹⁴ At the same time, the Sikhs of Punjab had learned from the American and Canadian travelers in Shanghai and Hong Kong that a worker could earn \$2 to \$2.50 daily. Thus, many were attracted to Canada because their daily wage was 30 cent in India. These reasons were the principle factors that encouraged the Sikhs of Punjab to move to Canada.

The immigrants sent news about their exaggerated incomes to their relatives and friends who were living in the villages. As a result, a significant number of Punjabi peasants from the central districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozpur, Gurudaspur, Ludhiana, Sialkot, and more particularly from Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur Districts mortgaged their land and migrated to America and Canada. It is to be mentioned here that there was no passport system in those days so people could travel from one country to another with ease.¹⁵

Travelling steerage class, one could go from Punjab to Vancouver in those days for about \$ 65. In Indian terms, it was large sum indeed – 650 rupees. Early Indian

¹³ Immigration to the Pacific Coast from Punjab in <http://www.lib.uedavir.edu/punjab/pacific/hmt>

¹⁴ Sharma, n.2, p.8.

¹⁵ Immigration to the Pacific Coast from Punjab, n. 13.

immigrants were able to make use of friends and relatives to lower risk to immigration, either drawing on their own personal savings accumulated through army service or tapping their family networks. Many of those who came after 1904 borrowed the money from friends and relatives already working in Canada. Kin and village friends also provided psychological support during the trip.¹⁶

But the journey to Canada was not as easy as it sounds. India had to face a lot of hurdles on the way to reach in Canada. In this period one of the poignant moments in Indian immigration history in Canada was the *Komagata Maru* incident in 1914. A clever Sikh leader named, Gurdit Sing, attempted to challenge the “continuous passage” legislation. He hired a ship, the Komagata Maru, and planned a non-stop voyage to Vancouver. When the freighter anchored in Burrard Inlet in Vancouver, the Canadian authorities did not permit the passengers to land on the Canadian soil and kept them in the ship itself for about two months and ultimately the federal government expelled the ship and men and escorted them back out to sea. This Komagata Maru incident cost the Indian men much time and expense and was perceived as a blatant racist act.¹⁷

Gurdit Singh, an enterprising Sikh, was fifty-five in 1913: an old men of good appearance, white bearded with smiling eyes, patriarchal, a self-taught, self-made man. He was living in Singapore in December 1913 when he came to Hong Kong. He stayed at Gurdwara in Hong Kong and conducted his business from an office there.¹⁸ Gurdit Singh chartered the Komagata Maru with the explicit purpose in mind of carrying to Canada from Oriental ports, as a large number of Indian’s willing to test Canada’s Immigration laws and desiring to go Canada. Prior to leaving Shanghai he had been to see the Governor of Hong Kong to obtain facts regarding Canadian laws, and received no definite word. The Governor himself did not receive proper instructions prior to the sailing out of Shanghai of the Komagata Maru. The Governor of Hong Kong had made

¹⁶ Norman Buchignai, Dorean M. Indra and Ram Srivastava, ed., *Continuous, Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada*, (Ontario, 1985), pp. 12-13.

¹⁷ Nadine, Fabbie Shushan, *Early Asian Pionners in Canada*, this project was made possible by funding from the US department of Education, Title VI, 1998 in <http://www.depts.Washington.edu/Canada/asian.html>, p.6.

¹⁸ Johnston, n.5, p. 24.

inquiries as early as 30 March 1914, to the Governor General but his telegrams went unanswered until it was too late.¹⁹

The Voyage was closely followed on 18 April 1914 with 376 passages: 24 Muslims, 12 Hindus, and 340 Sikhs,²⁰ including two women and three children.²¹ The regulations preventing their landing were tested in the British Columbia Supreme Court using one case, Munsu Singh, as representative of the whole group, and the court decided unanimously that Munsu Singh, and therefore other passengers in his situation must be deported. Justice McPhillips pronounced that the Indian's 'conception of life and ideals of society' were 'fundamentally different to Anglo-Saxon', they were unsuited to Canadian laws, and if admitted 'might annihilate the nation and change its whole potential complexity, introduce oriental ways as against European ways, eastern civilization for western civilization and all the dire results that would naturally flow therefrom.'²²

The judgement irritated the passengers and they seized the control of the ship. Meanwhile some Canadian policemen were hurt while trying to board the ship. Gurdit Singh wrote letters to Mr. Malcolm Reid, the head immigration officer; Khalsa committee; Gurdwara Vancouver; Government of Ottawa; Government of India; British Parliament; His Majesty George V; Maharajas of Nabha and Patiala; the Chief Khalsa Diwan Amritsar; the Hindu Sabha and to various other bodies²³ Gurdit Singh and the committee based in Vancouver used the occasion to make anti-British statements writing to the Governor-General that forcible return to India would have serious repercussions. Passengers had apparently sent telegram to the Governor General making a final plea to remain in Canada and obtain permission to land for the purpose of farming.²⁴ But all efforts went in vain. On July 17, the passenger was served deportation orders. Finally on 23rd July, Komagata Maru was escorted out of Canada waters by Canadian warships.²⁵

¹⁹ R. Sampat Mehta, "Fifty years of South Asian Immigration: A Historical Perspective", in Rabindra N. Kanungo, n.1, pp. 20-21.

²⁰ Johnston, n.5, p.33.

²¹ Sharma, n.2, p. 21.

²² Walker, n.4, p.8.

²³ Sharma, n.2, p.2.

²⁴ Mehta, n.19, p.25.

²⁵ Johnston, n.5, pp. 87-88 and p. 90.

In the post Komagata Maru incident Indian migration to Canada was negligible. After World War II immigration restrictions were gradually loosened and the legislation in 1962 and 1967 Regulations substantially liberalised immigration. As a result the number of Indian went up, as never before.

Introduction of Quota System for Indians in the 1950s

The 1950s saw a marked change in the conditions of existence for Indians in Canada. Compulsory military service was introduced in Canada at this time. The Sikhs objected to it on grounds that they had not been given the right to vote, as well as, in determining the policy.²⁶ During this period, the Gurdwaras became centers of social and political activities irrespective of the religious backgrounds of the immigrants.²⁷ Khalsa Diwan Society and other South Asian organisations, submitted briefs to parliament protesting the ‘objectionable’ racist features of immigration regulations.²⁸

The Canadian government had never been courageous about tackling prejudice, but the post-War situation called for some action. The Indian National Congress had actively supported the claims of Indians overseas, especially in the Birth Dominions.²⁹ The government of independent India indicated both privately in Canada and publicly at the UN that discrimination against citizens of Indian origin was decidedly “objectionable”.³⁰ Following India’s independence in 1947, the Canadian Citizenship Act was implemented and many Indians became eligible for citizenship.

In the 1950s the Khalsa Diwan campaigned quietly for the extension of immigrant categories to include family members besides spouse or minor child, but though they had the support of few members of parliament, changes came slowly.³¹

Restrictions against citizens of independent India were an irritant and a complication in Indo-Canadian relations. India regarded Canadian regulations as an insult and a threat to Commonwealth unity. Canada insisted that immigration was a

²⁶ Sharma, n.2, p. 34.

²⁷ Paramjit S. Judge, *Punjabis in Canada* (Delhi, 1994), p.2.

²⁸ Walker, n.4, p. 11.

²⁹ Johnston, n. 5, p. 136.

³⁰ Walker, n, 4, p.10.

³¹ Johnston, n.5, p. 136.

domestic matter, and every nation including India, must be free to set its own rules. A symbolic compromise was reached in January 1951, when an annual quota of Indian immigrants was set following discussions in London between Prime Ministers Jawaharlal Nehru and Louis St. Laurent. The agreement permitted 150 Indian's per year to enter under their own qualifications, in addition to the close family members of Canadian citizens admissible under existing regulations. Subsequently the quota was extended to 100 citizens of Pakistan and 50 citizens of Sri Lanka.³² By 1957 the quota was extended to 300 Indian, 150 Pakistani and 100 Sri Lankan immigrants.³³

In 1960s, the international pressure for equal human rights and the need for skilled labourers were the major issues for Canadian government, which paved the way for a change in the Canadian immigration policies. Ultimately in 1967 the new reforms were introduced in the shape of 'points system' whereby the individuals skills and merit were highlighted rather than country of origin. This system proved beneficial to South Asians in so far their knowledge of English language, familiarity with the British institutions and comparatively similar professional training are concerned.³⁴ The result was a large-scale exodus of Indians and other South Asians into Canada.

Patterns of Immigration

There are a large number of Indian communities in Canada in spite of stiff restrictions to allowing Indians entry into Canada right up to the second half of 1960s. Since then, the Indian immigrants have grown rapidly. In 1961, there were only 6,774 Indians in Canada. By 1971, their number had risen to 68,000 and by 1976, 118,000. Immigrants of Indian origin have come not from India alone but also come from Guyana, Fiji, Trinidad and Tobago, East Africa, South Africa, Mauritius and many other countries. During 1978-1992 of the 1,18,346 Indians who entered Canada, only 11,749 that is 9.9 per cent of the total belonged to the Independent class. The number of refugees from India is insignificant. Only 1,342 or 1.1 per cent entered Canada as refugees during this period.³⁵

³² Walker, n.4, p. 13.

³³ Rahmathulla, n.8, p. 36.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

³⁵ Sharma, n.2, p. 56.

(i) Immigration by Class: The largest proportion of immigration from India is in the family class. In 1983, the family class immigration constituted 93.72 per cent of all Indian immigration entering Canada while the independents were just 4.86 per cent and the assisted relatives forming mere 1.41 per cent³⁶ as has been detailed in Table 1.

TABLE - 1

INDIAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA BY CLASS (per cent)

Class	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Family	93.22	94.46	90.47	84.52	78.80	84.24	76.81	81.03	81.03	76.17
Refugees	0.11	0.24	0.22	0.19	0.24	0.10	0.12	0.55	2.96	4.45
Assisted Relatives	1.41	0.84	1.59	2.41	3.34	5.41	7.73	8.20	9.92	9.98
Entrepreneurs	0.17	0.36	0.60	0.84	1.20	0.61	1.93	1.45	1.07	1.06
Self-Employed	0.23	0.33	0.40	0.10	0.27	0.24	0.46	0.45	0.20	0.41
Investors	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.09	0.19	0.16	0.08
Independents	4.86	3.78	6.73	11.95	16.16	9.40	12.85	8.13	5.68	7.86

Source: Surjit Singh, "Indian Immigration to Canada: Some Aspects" *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, vol.41, no.4, 1998, p.777.

It is to be mentioned here that Indian's have reached Canada in four stages by adopting different means.³⁷ In the first stage, the immigrants who entered Canada were largely young males, more particularly since 1970s a substantial number were with reasonable education. Some of them, of course, were holding professional degrees. Most of them were young at the time of immigration. After becoming immigrants in Canada, they looked for jobs and in the beginning they took up any job available.

In the second stage, two kinds of immigrants reached Canada. All of them were related to the first stage immigrants in one way or the other. The first kind was that of brothers, cousin, friends or friend's relatives. All of them reached Canada either as a result of invitation from the first stage immigrants or were motivated due to the contact

³⁶ Singh, n.3, p. 777.

³⁷ Judge, n.27, p.22.

recently developed. The second kind of immigration was spouse of the first stage immigrants.³⁸

The third stage immigrants are parents of both the husband and the wife. Who comes first is not very important. The parents may not migrate alone. In most of the cases they are accompanied by their minor sons and daughters. Some of the parents, in fact, came to Canada in order to help their Children's immigration. After their sons and daughters reach Canada, they stay for some time and come back to India. In some cases the parents come back to India, as in the old age they find it difficult to adjust in the new and alien environment.

For the fourth stages immigration is a repetitive process. The minors who accompanied their parents to Canada would be married after some years. They would come back to India to get marry. Then their spouse would reach Canada whose parents along with their minor children would follow afterwards.³⁹

The first immigrants who came from India in the early twentieth century were virtually all male. Canadian immigration regulations denied entry to Indian women and they could not join their husbands until 1919.⁴⁰ Indeed, during the first fifteen years of recorded immigration, 99.7 per cent of the immigrants were adult males. The next five years period, 1917-23 shows an increase in the numbers of females and children. Although adult males still constituted the largest category 58.3 per cent, the numbers of women and children were steadily increasing.⁴¹

The pattern of immigration during 1924-43 is quite different, with children constituting 50 per cent or more of the immigrants in 1924 and 1928, they formed the largest single group. The number of children who migrated varied directly with the number of adult women among the migrants. On an average, 1.8 children immigrated for every adult female during 1924-43. Given that 2.5 per cent of the adult females were unmarried, it is reasonable to conclude that the majority of immigrants were families arriving in Canada to join their husbands and fathers. After the World War II, economic opportunities began expanding for immigrating adult males. During the

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 26.

⁴⁰ Ratna Ghosh, *South Asian Women in Canada; Adaptation* in Rabindra N. Kanungo, n.1, p. 150.

⁴¹ James G. Chadney, *The Sikhs of Vancouver* (New York, 1984), p. 33.

period, 1949-53, a little over 53 per cent of all immigrants was adult males compared to 26.4 per cent being adult females and 20.2 per cent children. The more important reasons for the preponderance of adult males was that government policies permitted higher levels of immigration.

During 1971-76, 49310 Indian immigrants came to Canada, which is much more than the number for the entire period of 1904-71. Of these immigrants, 38.5 per cent were adult males, 33.2 per cent adult females and 28.3 per cent children or 85 children per 100 adult females – a lower proportion compared to the period 1904-71. The period 1976-81 saw the arrival of 39,866 Indian immigrants in Canada when the proportion of adult males fell to 33.6 per cent while the adult females constituted 42.6 per cent and the children 23.8 per cent. This could perhaps be due to the male immigrants who came during 1971-76 sponsoring finances.⁴² Table 2 reveals the ratio of Indian men and women immigration in Canada.

TABLE - 2

RATIO OF INDIAN MEN AND WOMEN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA (No.)

Period	Males	%	Females	%	Children	%	Total
1904-08	5158	99.5	15	0.3	12	6.2	5185
1909-13	93	83.8	6	5.4	12	10.0	111
1913-18	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	1
1919-23	49	58.3	22	26.2	13	15.3	195
1924-28	38	13.7	101	36.3	139	50.0	278
1929-33	24	8.6	75	26.8	181	64.6	280
1934-38	2	2.1	32	34.0	60	63.8	94
1939-43	2	10.0	8	40.0	10	50.0	20
1944-48	129	64.2	41	20.4	31	15.4	221
1949-53	304	55.4	150	26.4	115	20.2	559
1954-58	495	32.5	272	17.8	338	22.2	1105
1955-63	1634	48.3	852	25.1	904	26.6	2790
1964-68	4725	36.8	4155	32.4	3880	30.3	12760
1969-71	7034	42.9	4934	30.2	4401	26.9	16369
1904-71	19697	48.1	10672	26.00	10096	24.6	40465
1971-76	18994	38.5	16354	33.2	15962	28.3	49310
1976-81	13378	33.6	16981	42.6	9507	23.8	39866
1981-86	15747	39.8	16460	41.6	7336	18.6	39543
1986-92	29695	41.2	29612	41.2	12700	17.6	72007

Source: Surjit Singh, "Indian Immigration to Canada: Some Aspects" *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, vol.41, no.4, 1998, p.776.

⁴² Singh, n.3, pp.776-7.

(ii) **Immigration by Age Group and Dependent Immigrants:** The age structure of the composition of immigrants by gender can have important influences on the interaction between migration and other factors like population growth and labour

force. In 1956, 18.5 per cent of the Indian immigrants were of the age group 0-14, 9 per cent in the age group of 15-19. Against this, in 1992, the populations of immigrants in the corresponding age group were 8.55 per cent, 6.6 per cent, 73 per cent and 11.4 per cent. This shows wide variation in the proportion of Indian immigrants to different age groups. In particular, the proportion of Indian immigrants in the age group of 60 and above in 1992 was considerably higher than in 1956, while that in the age groups 0-14 was substantially lower than in the earlier year.⁴³ Table 3 provides the Indian immigrants by age group.

TABLE - 3

INDIAN IMMIGRANTS BY AGE GROUP (percent)

Year	0-14	15-19	Age Group 20-59	60-64	65 plus
1956	18.48	0.09	70.9	10.61	0.91
1957	19.14	9.88	69.44	0.62	0.93
1958	23.28	8.43	66.74	1.11	0.44
1959	15.64	6.84	77.10	0.14	0.28
1960	16.64	4.16	78.45	0.59	0.15
1961	22.45	6.18	70.16	0.54	0.67
1962	21.55	5.29	71.27	0.57	1.32
1963	25.64	8.01	64.04	1.09	1.22
1964	26.69	6.15	65.25	0.61	1.30
1965	26.06	4.82	67.25	0.85	1.03
1966	24.23	5.51	69.05	0.58	0.63
1967	23.90	6.20	68.21	0.73	0.96
1968	24.87	6.53	66.25	1.08	1.27
1969	20.50	6.21	71.32	0.91	1.06
1970	21.69	6.53	69.12	1.11	1.55
1971	19.74	5.89	71.18	1.19	1.39
1972	21.77	6.89	60.27	1.37	1.70
1973	16.93	5.88	74.91	1.00	1.28
1974	22.02	6.00	68.88	1.48	1.70
1975	24.75	8.97	59.50	3.44	3.44

⁴³ Ibid., p. 778.

1976	19.40	10.87	56.56	6.61	6.56
1977	14.31	10.77	59.49	7.49	7.94
1978	11.00	12.72	57.86	9.30	9.12
1979	9.87	12.88	59.86	7.66	9.72
1980	7.70	15.55	59.38	8.66	8.71
1981	8.53	14.05	61.80	6.89	8.72
1982	8.27	11.29	62.95	7.84	9.65
1983	7.85	11.65	64.01	6.86	9.63
1984	6.72	9.89	64.85	7.83	10.71
1985	6.95	7.35	68.87	6.48	10.35
1986	6.41	9.12	67.50	7.85	9.11
1987	11.17	8.87	66.77	5.65	7.53
1988	13.38	10.59	59.77	6.86	9.41
1989	13.07	7.70	64.54	6.09	8.61
1990	9.09	5.57	67.84	8.10	9.38
1991	8.20	6.46	72.32	5.56	7.46
1992	8.50	6.58	73.13	4.48	6.91

Source: Surjit Singh, "Indian Immigration to Canada: Some Aspects" *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, vol.41, no.4, 1998, p.779.

Data shows that the proportion of immigrants in the age group 0-14, the period 1956 to 1976 ranged between one fifth and one fourth of all Indian immigrants. A possible explanation of increasing the number of this age group during that period was that Indian immigrants who came to Canada before 1977 brought in their dependent children first and sponsored their retired parents in later period.

It is to be mentioned here that there are a substantial number of single group of Indian immigrants consists of non-workers i.e., dependent immigrants. In 1956, 19 persons in the two age groups 0-14 and 65 and above were dependent on 100 immigrants of working age, and in 1970 every 100 immigrants in the working age group supported 23 persons on an average in the age group 0-14 and 65 and above. In 1990 the number of dependents fell to 16 and in 1972 further to 15 persons per 100 working age immigrants. In addition to it, the total number of women entering Canada between 1904 and 1971, 10,672, or 65.6 came as dependents.⁴⁴

During the period, 1972-92, 43544 spouses entered Canada (39.14 per cent of all non-workers) accompanied by 18769 children (16.9 percents comprised 44 per cent – the largest of the three groups. This means 43 children for every 100 Indian spouses immigrate to the country. The period 1972 to 1975 saw an increasing number of

⁴⁴ Ibid.

spouses entering Canada after which the number declined continuously till 1979. This period also saw the highest percentage of spouses among the non-working/dependent category of Indian immigrants, (46.4 per cent in 1977) highest since 1956. This period also saw a dramatic fall in the proportion of children (20.1 per cent) to an all time low of 20.1 per cent - the lowest since 1956. This declining percentage of children among dependents touched its lowest ebb of 4.44 per cent in 1992. The eighties witnessed a fluctuating but rising trend in the proportion of spouses to the total number of immigrants, hitting its peak of 44.4 per cent in 1995. The period 1990 to 1992 saw 9405 spouse entering Canada with 991 children (10.5 children per 100 spouses) and 9361 other dependents. In percentage terms (of the total dependents) spouses touched the all time high of the period 1956-92 with 53.61 per cent. Table 4 shows the percentage of dependent Indian immigrants as discussed above.

TABLE - 4

DEPENDENT INDIAN IMMIGRANTS (per cent)

Year	Spouse	Children	Others	Total	Total Non-Workers/Workers
1956	40.71	49.29	10.00	42.42	57.58
1957	35.58	50.31	14.11	50.31	49.69
1958	33.63	53.36	13.00	49.45	50.55
1959	30.53	48.85	20.61	36.59	63.41
1960	34.77	49.61	15.63	18.04	61.96
1961	38.37	55.52	6.10	46.24	53.76
1962	37.36	45.76	16.85	51.61	48.39
1963	25.87	49.33	14.80	60.52	39.48
1964	38.30	54.01	7.69	54.07	45.93
1965	38.73	54.48	6.79	51.27	48.73
1966	42.02	50.99	6.99	51.90	48.10
1967	40.57	49.54	9.89	54.56	45.44
1968	40.35	46.78	12.87	59.18	40.82
1969	37.19	45.12	17.69	51.23	48.77
1970	36.63	44.17	19.20	54.74	45.26
1971	41.06	43.15	15.79	50.29	49.71
1972	41.25	43.08	15.67	56.13	43.87
1973	39.96	40.64	19.40	46.04	53.96
1974	37.40	43.30	19.29	56.12	43.08
1975	38.61	37.25	24.14	74.50	25.50
1976	40.86	26.91	32.22	81.12	18.88
1977	46.40	20.54	33.06	75.54	24.46
1978	40.85	20.09	39.06	74.50	25.50
1979	30.63	20.60	48.77	73.94	26.06

1980	25.03	18.22	56.75	73.04	26.96
1981	26.88	16.95	56.17	68.68	31.32
1982	31.12	13.33	55.56	66.78	33.22
1983	37.65	6.33	56.03	70.25	29.75
1984	35.12	6.18	58.69	73.17	26.83
1985	44.39	5.85	49.76	68.79	31.21
1986	40.88	5.76	53.35	62.74	37.26
1987	41.38	7.33	51.29	63.65	36.35
1988	39.19	6.62	54.19	73.42	26.58
1989	40.43	6.69	52.88	66.64	33.36
1990	37.53	5.67	56.80	57.44	42.56
1991	50.66	5.00	44.34	54.22	45.78
1992	53.61	4.44	41.95	52.77	47.23
1972-92	39.14	16.87	43.99	64.58	35.42
1972-92	43544	18769	48942	172272	111255

Source: Surjit Singh, "Indian Immigration to Canada: Some Aspects" *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, vol.41, no.4, 1998, p.780.

(iii) Immigration by Occupation: The pattern of Indian immigration during the first four years 1904-8, that sudden influx of Indian immigrants, evidently can be attributed to two factors (i) job opportunities available in British Columbia as seen by a group of soldiers and (ii) activity of certain steamship companies and their agents, through the distribution of literature across the rural districts of North India, the base of the labourers. The perceived occupational opportunities were not as numerous as believed because although many immigrants were able to get job as labourers in agriculture, railway construction and in lumber, many others apparently were unable to find employment except in areas vacated by White Canadians during labour disputes.⁴⁵

That time 85 per cent of the Indian labourers belonged to the agricultural class in India and therefore was suitable for roughest and unskilled labour only as per the immigration commission. These men were largely illiterates, between one half and three-fifths could not read and write and their percentage were higher than that of other races immigrating. Thus the early immigration did not occupy an important place in the labour supply; their efficiency was low, their employment irregular, their competitive ability small, and their industrial position insecure.⁴⁶

Over the period of time the skill intensity of Indian immigration has changed from unskilled labour to skilled and professionals. Among the immigrants arriving prior

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.774.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 774-5.

to 1951, three fourth were general labourers. Since 1951, this category dropped off significantly, which is attributed partly to discrimination in the categorisation of occupational data, as immigration policy favouring more highly trained immigrants. The dominating category among the immigrants entering labour force during 1951-71 was professional's category, followed by workers in agriculture; manufacturing, mechanical and construction; and clerical. Together these four categories accounted for 82 per cent of Indian immigrants.⁴⁷

In the period 1967 to 1981, 14 per cent of those admitted intended to pursue professional, managerial or technical occupations, 6 per cent clerical occupations, 18 per cent service, skilled, transportation and commercial jobs, and 6 per cent planned a career in farming. Seven per cent listed no intended occupation, and the remainder of the group entered Canada as spouses, children, students or other relatives of immigrants. It is to be mentioned that the percentage of Indian immigrants entering the labour force was lower than for any other immigrants group during the comparable period.⁴⁸

In the period 1986-92, about 40 per cent of the immigrants intended to enter the workforce representing 8.95 per cent increase over that in 1981-85. During this period 3.26 of those admitted intended to pursue professional, managerial or technical occupations, 0.85 per cent clerical occupations, 0.84 per cent services, 4.90 per cent planned a career in farming related jobs, 26.2 per cent in miscellaneous occupations and 3-9 per cent skilled, transportation, construction and commercial job. Taking the period 1973-92, as a whole 35 per cent of those admitted intended to join the labour force with 4.83 per cent intended to pursue professional, managerial or technical occupations, 1.65 per cent clerical occupations, 0.84 per cent services, 3.83 per cent planned in farming related jobs, 17.57 per cent miscellaneous occupations, and 6.5 per cent skilled, transportation, construction and commercial jobs.⁴⁹

To sum up, although the journey of the Indians started in the early twentieth century when they encountered numerous hardships and discrimination and joined as labourers in a relatively low prestige jobs, but since the 1950s the pattern has changed from labourer to professional workers. An analysis of the occupational characteristics

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 781.

⁴⁸ Ramcharan, n.1, p.37.

⁴⁹ Singh, n.3, p. 781.

suggests that Indians are highly skilled, articulate, well educated, urbanised and highly motivated immigrants. Unlike their forefathers who were mainly unskilled labourers, today the vast majority of these immigrants are to be found occupying positions in the white collar and skilled blue collar occupations, are living in suburban neighbourhoods, residentially dispersed and justifiably perceiving that they can be a productive asset to the mosaic that is Canada.

To recapitulate briefly, the main points in Canada's immigration policy since her birth in 1867 had been guided by race, ethnic origin to keep Canada for the Whites. In contrast, Canada's immigration policy today is linked to demographic and economic goals and to keep the social fabric harmonious by fostering family ties. At the same time, closing the door for the criminals while open the door to genuine refugees and to immigrants who will help in the development of Canada. For, age, education, training, personal qualities became the basis of Canada's immigration selection system in place of race or country of origin. This system proved beneficial to the Indians in so far their knowledge of english language, and comparatively similar professional trainings are concerned. As a result, the number of Indians went up, as in 1961 there were 6,774 Indians in Canada, by 1971 their number had risen to 68,000 and by 1976, 118,000. Today the vast majority of Indians are to be found occupying positions in the white collar and skilled blue-collar occupation.

Having discussed the Indian immigration to Canada the pattern of immigration by class, or age group and by occupation above, the next chapter will discuss the Indian Diaspora in Canada. That will include the economic profile, geographical concentration and political dynamics of Indian diaspora. As today majority Indians are in professional occupations and run their own businesses and are living in suburban neighbourhoods, unlike their forefathers who used to work as general labourers mostly in saw mills and confined within Vancouver, British Columbia. Next Chapter will focus on the political participation of Indians in Canada and political issues and challenges also would be discussed.

CHPATER - 4

INDIAN DIASPORA IN CANADA

The preceding Chapters have discussed that variety of peoples have immigrated to Canada, bringing many distinctive outlooks, ideas, talents, experiences, traditions and culture to help shape Canada. For instance, from the beginning of Canada's birth as a Confederation in 1867, the White Europeans were preferred to land in Canada followed by Americans, and since the mid of twentieth centuries the non-White immigrants were also allowed to land in Canada to shape Canada to a developed country. Subsequent Chapter has discussed the factors in evolution of immigration policies of Canada, followed by the Chapter discussing why and how the immigration from India to Canada has taken place from the very beginning of twentieth century, more emphasisingly from the Second World War. Their pattern like family class, independent class or business class; the ratio of men and women; percentage of children; immigration by age group has also been placed with data. The present chapter illustrates about the Indian diaspora in Canada. This chapter is broadly divided into four parts. The first part titled economic profile describes the Indians occupation in different spheres; from managerial post to clerk, as in recent years they have shifted from labour to professional works. In the field of business many Indians who started as labourers in saw mills and pulp mills or worked long hours picking berries now run their own mills and business. The second part of this chapter is about the geographical concentration of the Indian immigration to Canada. As the intended destination of Indian immigration is different from that of all immigration. While the majority in both cases goes to Ontario, in the case of Indians for historical reasons of early settlement, the second important destination is British Columbia. The province of Quebec is the third important region of destination followed by the Atlantic region and the Territories. The number of Indian immigration, from 1996 census, has also been added in this part. The third part discusses the political dynamics of Indians in Canada, initially why Indians were disfranchised in the first decade of the twentieth century and how the racist policy of Canada led to develop the anti-British movement abroad, as well as the formation of political organization in North America. The whole scenario changed after 1947 when the Indians were given the right to vote,

more particularly in the 1980s the Indian immigrants began to participate in elections not only as voters but also as candidates at provincial as well as federal levels more enthusiastically than in the earlier periods. Today numbers of Indians are elected as MLAs and MPs from the different provinces of Canada. The last part of this Chapter focuses on the political issues and challenges face the Indian diaspora in Canada.

Economic Profile of Indians

The early Indians, particularly the Sikhs who came to North American continent immediately got construction jobs on the railroads. When the railroads had been completed, they had to look for new jobs. Instead of going back to their traditional agricultural occupations, they turned to something quite new- the lumber industry and nearly all of the Indians who migrated to British Columbia found ready employment there.¹ In addition to it, the Indian immigrants were generally restricted to relatively low prestige jobs. It is true that in Vancouver the Indians appear to have greater accessibility to millwork than any other single occupational category, but it must not be assumed that millwork was a totally open category to them.

On their arrival in Canada, they encountered numerous hardships and discrimination. Canadians felt that the growing number of Indians would take over their jobs in factories, mills and lumber yards. It was their insecurities, which led British Columbia to pass stringent laws discouraging the immigration of Indians to Canada. In 1907, a bill was passed denying all Indians the right to vote. They were restricted from running any public office, serving on juries and were not even permitted to become accountants, lawyers or pharmacists.² Naturally, the millwork was the traditional work of the Indian community. In a sense the Indian immigrants accurately perceived the lumber industry as a strategic material resource they can exploit more effectively than any other single economic-domain.³

In a broad sense, the Indians have had to become Canadians, at least in the economic arena. For those who immigrated to Canada as well as for those born there, the basic economic patterns and practices extant in Canada were something they had

¹ James G. Chadney, *The Sikhs of Vancouver* (New York, 1984) p. 44.

² Chandrashekhar Bhat and Ajay Kumar Sahoo, *Diaspora to Transitional Networks: The case of Indians in Canada*, Occasional Paper-7, Centre for the Study of Indian Diaspora, Univeristy of Hyderabad, Hyderabad in <http://www.uohyd.ernet.in/sss/cinddiaspoa/occ7.html>, p.1.

³ Chadney, n.1, p.48.

to accept to the which they had to adopt. From their relatively weak initial economic position in India, it would have been impossible for the Indians to do anything other than work within the prevailing economic structure of Canada.⁴

It would be mentioned that three-fourth of the immigrants coming to Canada prior to 1951 were classified as general labour. In 1960s when the immigration policy of Canada favouring the individuals skill and merit rather than country of origin, a large number of people from India started coming to Canada. By that time the single most important occupational category of immigrants was that of professional. This category included such classifications as engineers, lawyers, physicians and teachers.⁵ The lure to come Canada was, of course, better economic opportunities for professional growth, a better standard of living, better educational facilities for children and more material comforts. Furthermore Canadian life was found to be culturally vibrant and socially free and independent, not visibly riddled with bureaucratic corruption, political lethargy, bribery, chronic lack of food, unemployment, religious riots, class struggle, caste creed and linguistic animosities as were commonplace in India.⁶ Well, during this period the dominating category among the immigrants entering labour force was professional category, followed by workers in agriculture; manufacturing, mechanical and construction; and clerical. Table 1 shows in details the intended occupation of Indian immigrants to Canada.

TABLE - 1
INDIAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA BY INTENDED OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	1973-77	1978-80	1981-85	1986-90	1973-92
Grant Total	44503	18110	32602	62315	157530
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100
Entrepreneurs	0.14	0.04	0.07	0.31	0.18
Investors	-	-	-	0.03	0.01
Managerial Administrative	1.00	0.57	0.61	1.10	0.91
Natural Sciences, Engineering, Mathematics	5.20	1.33	1.53	1.24	2.43
Social Sciences & Related	0.28	0.15	0.10	0.11	0.16
Religion	0.06	0.12	0.15	0.16	0.12
Teaching	0.97	0.51	0.46	0.32	0.55

⁴ Ibid., p. 54.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

⁶ M.H.K. Qureshi, *The South Asian Community, Polyphong*, Spring/Summer, 1984 in <http://collections/ic.ge.ca/magic/mt65.html>, p.1.

Medicine & Health	1.19	0.74	0.48	0.33	0.66
Artistic, literary					
Performing Art & Related	0.18	0.18	0.08	0.13	0.14
Sports & Recreation	0.02	-	0.01	-	0.1
Clerical & Related	3.18	1.74	1.05	0.85	1.65
Sales	1.50	0.54	0.43	0.65	0.83
Service	1.06	0.56	0.72	0.84	0.84
Farming, Horticultural & Animal Husbandry	3.15	1.88	3.75	4.90	3.82
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping & related	-	-	-	-	-
Forestry & logging	0.12	0.02	-	0.003	0.01
Mining & Quarrying Incl. Oil & gas field	0.13	0.03	-	-	0.04
Processing	2.20	0.38	0.35	0.23	0.83
Machinery & related	4.12	0.73	0.64	0.48	1.57
Product fabricating, Assembly and Repairing	3.70	1.08	0.70	1.02	1.72
Construction trade	1.07	0.30	0.32	0.20	0.48
Transport equipments. operating	0.29	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.17
Material handling & related nec.					
Other crafts & equipment operating	0.17	0.08	0.04	0.11	0.11
Occupations Nec.	5.62	15.00	18.80	26.20	17.57
Total workers	35.57	26.32	30.66	36.61	35.09
Total non workers	64.43	73.68	69.34	60.39	64.91

Source: Surjit Singh, "Indian Immigrants to Canada: Some Aspects", *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* (New Delhi), vol.41, no.4, 1998, p.782.

The majority of economically active Indian immigrants work for wages, salaries or commissions like everyone else. However, this has not necessarily been through choice. It may well be that there are more people with independent business experience within the South Asian population than in any other Canadian ethnic group of comparable size. Many Indians, being an independent business person, artisan or craftsperson would like to establish business in Canada, but they find that the obstacles can often be profound. In fact, these constraints have had such a powerful effect on the growth and development of the economic institution of the Indian communities.⁷

⁷ Norman Buchignani, Doreen M. Indra and Ram Srivastava, eds., *Continuos Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada* (Ontario, 1985), pp. 196-97.

At the outset, all potential Indian entrepreneurs face a key questions, will they try to establish a conventional business that deal primarily with South Asian clientele or will they exercise the option of trying to provide some sort of services on a less formal basis. There are advantages and disadvantages to both. Many Indian wage earners and people who are unemployed have chosen the second option, chiefly as a way of augmenting their income.⁸

At the same time overt racial discrimination in the labour market is hard to find but covert racial discrimination is not unusual. It has pushed Indians into self-employment, resulting in small business. Many of these businesses are family enterprises in which children help out as and when required or the father in the family may have a full time job while the mother may look after the business till such time the enterprises grows big enough to absorb the father full time.⁹

Typically informal business activities of this sort would include such things as auto body repair, carpentry, assistance with immigration troubles, and informally representing travel or real estate business within the community. Such informal business activities have the advantage of being cheap the community. The major disadvantage is that they are primarily dependent on a self-limiting market - the local Indian or South Asian population. Even so this form of small-scale entrepreneurship has proliferated in all large Indian as well as South Asian Communities.¹⁰

Businesses serving the general public, apart from their own community, have succeeded in a few key areas. Perhaps the most visible of these has been driver owned taxis, an activity in which Sikhs and Pakistanis have become numerous. A majority of them can be found in Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary and Toronto. In the Vancouver areas many Sikhs went into business as independent dump truck owner operators in the 1970s and some of them moved on to long-haul independent trucking; the recession of the early 1980s has effectively closed off growth in this direction.¹¹

Besides, Indians do best in situation where family labour predominates. Typical examples are restaurants and small janitorial, construction, transportation and

⁸ Ibid., p. 197.

⁹ Kavita A. Sharma, *The Ongoing Journey: Indian Migration to Canada* (New Delhi, 1997), pp. 172-73.

¹⁰ Buchignani, n.7, p. 197.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 198.

auto service companies operated by family labour. Many small firms have also been found by Indian doctors, lawyers, and accountants.¹²

By 1970s the most significant operations were stores offering Indian foodstuffs, which proliferated across the country. Indians have maintained their many distinctive cooking traditions, the basic ingredients of which were not usually available in Canadian stores. Through the efforts of entrepreneurs, the whole range of these ingredients is now available, for instance every imaginable lentil, grain or spice. Several restaurants aimed specifically at other South Asians have been established in Vancouver and Toronto. Hallal butcher stores have also arisen in large cities. Such Stores also typically stock cassette tapes and records of Indian popular music, videotapes of Indian movies cosmetics and household items.

Clothing is another such area. Although Indians in public normally “dress Canadian” at house, when visiting, and at special events many women prefer to dress in the traditional fashions. These so-called traditional fashions change continuously, but they are nevertheless quite different from their Canadian counterparts. To fulfil this need, cloth and sari shops have been opened across the country.¹³ In a word, Indian has developed community-based economic institutions that are largely concentrated in a handful of retail trades and services.

Thus, in conclusion of the first part of this chapter we can say that early Indians in Canada were both the labours and took over job in any field what were available there. But in recent years they have shifted from labour to professional works and scores of Indians are now established businesses. Many who started as labourers in saw and pulp mills or worked long hours picking berries now run their mills and businesses. In the top rung are Herbs Doman, Kewal Khosla, Asa Johal, who is also known for his charitable works, and Mohan Jawl, a Victoria-based businessman who was also President of the Ismaili Council for British Columbia, Paul Dusanj, Sadru Ahmed and Amir Ahmed.¹⁴

¹² Ibid., p. 199.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Rattan Mall, *Indo-Canadians* in <http://www.discovervancouver.com/GVB/indoedn.asp>.

Geographical Concentration of the Indian Diaspora

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the process of Indian immigration to Canada started with the visit of a group of soldiers under Sardar (Major) Kadir Khan Bahadur to Vancouver, Montreal and Ottawa, after attending the Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebration in 1898.¹⁵ Due to the selective immigration policy of Canada it was a risky adventure for the Indians to enter into Canada. For, the early twentieth century saw a steady growth of Indian immigration to Canada. After World War II, the Canadian immigration restrictions were gradually loosened more particularly the 1962 and 1967 regulations substantially liberalized immigration. With the liberalized immigration policy, the number of Indian immigrants went up. It is to note that the intended destination of immigrants from India is different from that of all immigrants. While the majority in both cases goes to Ontario, in the case of Indians for historical reasons of early settlement, the second important destination is British Columbia. The province of Quebec and the prairies alternate as the third important region of destination, followed by the Atlantic region and the territories.¹⁶ Table 2 provides the number of total Indian immigrants in different provinces and territories and table 3 provides the number of that recent Indian immigrants and their percentage in comparison to total immigrants in different provinces and territories.

TABLE - 2

TOTAL INDIAN IMMIGRANTS: PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES (1996)

	Total Immigrants ¹	Percentage	Total Indian Immigrants	Percentage
New foundland	849	100	37	4.4
Prince Edwards Island	4,395	100	60	1.4
Nova Scotia	41,955	100	1,365	3.3
New Brunswick	24,380	100	470	1.9
Quebec	664,500	100	-	-
Ontario	2,724,490	100	121,370	4.5
Manitoba	135,945	100	4,845	3
Saskatchewan	52,320	100	1,460	2.8
Alberta	405,145	100	18,360	4.5
British Columbia	903,190	100	105	3.3

¹⁵ Bhat, n.2, p.1.

¹⁶ Ronald D'Costa, "Socio Demographic Characteristics of the Population of South Asian Origins in Canada" in Milton Isreal and N.K. Wagle, eds., *Ethnicity, Identity, Migration: The South Asian Context* (Toronto, 1993), p. 185.

Northwest Territories	3,070	100	75	2.4
Yukon Territory	3,195	100	105	3.3

1. Non-permanent residents are not included in this table.

Source: Calculated from 1996 census, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census>.

TABLE - 3

RECENT INDIAN IMMIGRANTS: PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES¹ (1991-96)

	Total Immigrants (No)	Percentage	Total Indian Immigrants	Percentage
Newfoundland	150	100	8	5.3
Prince Edwards Island	430	100	-	-
Nova Scotia	6,490	100	375	5.8
New Brunswick	2,580	100	135	5.2
Quebec	150,915	100	4,460	3.0
Ontario	562,985	100	38,130	6.8
Manitoba	19,175	100	1,230	6.4
Saskatchewan	7,755	100	320	4.1
Alberta	69,600	100	4,870	7.0
British Columbia	216,615	100	21,725	10.0
Yukon Territories	360	100	-	-
Northwest Territories	580	100	15	2.6

1. Recent immigrants are those who immigrated between 1991 and the first four months of 1996.

Source: Calculated from census 1996, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census>

Prior to 1962, most of the immigration from India was men mainly from the Punjab region. Thereafter, besides the Sikhs from Punjab, Hindu from Gujarat, Bombay and Delhi, Christians from Kerala, Parsis from Bombay came to Canada.¹⁷ The population of Indian origin according to the 1991 census was 424,095, including 157,015 Hindus and 147,440 Sikhs, constituting approximately 1.5 per cent of the population of Canada. Among immigrants from South Asia, Indians – including the People of Indian Origins (PIO) from Fiji, Africa and the Caribbean constitute around 62 per cent.

¹⁷ Suzanne, Mc Mahon, *Overview of the South Asian Diaspora in* <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/SSEAL/SouthAsia/Overview.html>. p.3.

The impact of recent immigration trends could most clearly be seen in the big cities. Toronto had the largest immigrant population of all 25 census metropolitan areas, with 42 per cent of its population in 1996 composed of immigrants. In fact, just over a fifth (21 per cent) of Toronto's total population were immigrants who came to Canada in the past 15 years.¹⁸ Regarding Indian immigration in the big cities in Canada table 4 will provide the numbers of Indian immigrants in the major cities in Canada.

TABLE - 4
INDIAN IMMIGRATION IN URBAN AREAS (1996)

	Total Immigration ¹	Total Indian Immigration	Per-Cent age	Recent Total Immigration ²	Recent Indian Immigration	Per-cent age
Toronto	1,772,905	99,930	5.6	441,035	33,185	7.5
Montreal	586,470	-	-	134,535	4,380	3.3
Vancouver	633,745	53,475	8.4	189,660	16,185	8.5
Ottawa-Hull	161,885	6,030	3.7	38,045	1,440	3.8
Edmonton	158,370	8,545	5.4	27,270	2,150	7.9
Calgary	170,875	8,550	5.0	33,775	2,470	7.3
Hamilton	145,660	4,125	2.0	17,945	1,040	5.8
Winni Peg	111,690	4,455	4.0	16,085	1,155	7.2

1. Non- Permanent residents are not included in this table.

2. Recent immigrants are those who immigrated between 1991 and the first four months of 1996.

Source: Calculated from Census 1996, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/cnesus>

It is to be mentioned here that in order to acquire immigrants status, some of the Indians had to leave Vancouver. There were province wise variations in the immigration rules. The government of Canada encouraged the immigrants to go to and settle in a particular province. This led to the dispersal of Indians in Canada in the early stage. Interestingly, most of them have remained at those places but some of them came back to Vancouver after getting the status of landed immigrants.¹⁹

¹⁸<http://www.Statcon.ca/Daily/English/971104/d971004.htm> 1996 Census: Immigration and Citizenship.

¹⁹ Paramjit S. Judge, *Punjabis in Canada: A Study of Formation of an Ethnic Community* (Delhi, 1994), p. 23.

Political Dynamics of Indian Diaspora

(i) Formation of Political Organisations: The early immigration from India, mostly were Sikhs from Punjab. The domestic problems of Sikhs in Punjab; oppressive British politics and famine encouraged their immigration from India. For many Indians the journey to Canada was a risky adventure and for a few it proved to be a total disappointment. But even those who clenched their teeth in the face of the inhospitable winter conditions and dug in their heels to face the uncertainties soon learned that most of their energies were being spent in just settling down.²⁰

Besides, on arrival of immigrants from India were met with hostility from some of the White residents of Canada. In most cases, the difficulties were in the competition for scarce jobs. Canadians felt that the growing number of immigrants from India would take over their jobs in factories, mills and lumber yards. It was these insecurities, which led anti-Asian riots in British Columbia, in which Indians were targeted along with Chinese and Japanese. The same year, the Indians were the specific cause for riots in the lumber camps in Bellingham, Washington. In 1908, and later the riots had moved south to the state of Oregon, and in California, the exclusion movement against other Asians also included hostility against the Indians.²¹ And in 1908, British Columbia effectively ended all new Asian immigration.

These events in India, US and Canada were the immediate antecedents to the founding of the Hindustan Association in British Columbia in 1909, a precursor to the Ghadr Movement, which advocated self-rule in India.²²

The Association did not directly respond to the problems and the social prejudice encountered by the Indians, but clearly those economic and social tensions were in the background and gave fervor to its proclamations. During the busy years of 1907-09, with so much traffic from India to Canada the events in India and events abroad could not remain separate in the minds of the immigrants activists.²³ 1910 was also a year of racial disturbances in both Oregon and in California. The same year Tarak Nath Das began agitating for Indian nationalism in Seattle and Har Dayal did the same in California after his arrival in February 1911.²⁴ In May 1913, Har Dayal,

²⁰ Qureshi, n.6, p.1.

²¹ Formative Stages in Gadar Party, <http://www.Punjabonline.com/immigration/gadarsyndrome.html>.

²² Ibid., p.1.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., p.2.

Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, and others formed the Hindi Association in Oregon. The Hindu Association, open to anyone, was the base from which members were drawn into the Ghadr (Mutiny) Party and the more select Yugantar (New Era) Ashram.²⁵ The Yugantar Ashram was a political headquarters of the movement in San Francisco.

It is to be mentioned here that the racist policy of Canada was one of the cause in developing anti-British movement abroad. It reflected by several leaders. As Chagan Kairaj Varma who took the Muslim name of Husain Rahim when he was arrested in Vancouver, vehemently said, "you drive us Hindu out of Canada and we will drive every White men out of India".²⁶

On 1st November 1913, Har Dayal, as editor and publisher, brought out first issue of the Ghadr, a weekly in Urdu and Gurmukhi. The leading article explained the purpose. "What is our name? Mutiny. What is our work? Mutiny. Where will this break out? In India. When it break out" In a few years, why should it break out? Because the people can no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practised under British rule and are ready to fight and die for freedom".²⁷ At the same time people were told to send money to the Yugantar Ashram so that thousands of copies of the Ghadr could be published. They were to remember what they read in the Ghadr and to make others read it; and when they were finished they were to send their copies to India in ordinary envelopes.²⁸

However, one cannot say that the legislation, racial or British oppression had a direct effect in the development of organized group, although there are some incidents of correlation. One of the various incidents concerning Indian's was the Komagata Maru incident in 1914.²⁹ When upon the arrival of the ship on the shores of Vancouver it was refused entry into the port, the Indians living in Vancouver responded to the situation. Leading Indians in Vancouver formed a shore 'Committee', with Husain Rahim, Sohanlal Pathak and Balwant Singh as leader. Funds were raised and protest meeting held both in Canada and the USA. At one of the meetings held at Dominion Hall in Vancouver it was resolved that if the passengers of the ship were not allowed to land, they should follow them to India and

²⁵ Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar* (Vancouver, 1989), p. 15.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁹ For details see Hugh Johnston, n.25.

start the rebellion with their help. Ultimately the ship was forced back and Indians reacted to it in Vancouver. The departure of the ship resulted in a 'trial violence' in Vancouver, and became an accelerator for the demand for immediate armed action against the British government in India.³⁰

Shore committee was an outcome of the rising awareness among the Indians in North America of the possibility of succeeding through legal battles. It was also signified the emerging nationalism among the Indians. The Komagata Maru gives a local context through connected with the colonial situation of India in which collective response occurred.³¹

(ii) Political Awareness and Participation of Indians Since the 1950s: Here the concern is not to describe that what happened to the passengers of Komagata Maru or the Indian Immigrants role in Indian National Movement but the main concern is on the political participation of the Indian immigrants in Canada. In this context it is to be mentioned here that Indians were not allowed to vote in Canada before 1947. It was post Second World War Scenario, which changed the whole scenario with economic boom, which favoured Canada to liberalise its immigration policy. Besides, the government of India indicated both privately in Canada and publicly in the UN that discrimination against citizens of Indian origin was decidedly objectionable. To this added a renewed campaign by the Khalsa Diwan Society and other South Asian organisations, submitting brief to parliament protesting the objectionable racist features of immigration regulations.³² The Indian National Congress also supported the claims of Indians overseas.³³

More over, just as government became much more active in the whole field of immigration, so was immigrants, acting collectively and as individual agents of change. In the receiving countries, they were becoming a political factor in their own right of a sharper and more organized kind. They were themselves more mobile and less committed, better educated of more able to exercise political influence. Finally, it

³⁰ Judge, n.19, p. 97.

³¹ Ibid.

³² James W. St. G. Walker, "A Jewel in the Mosaic: India in Canadian Immigration Policy and National Identity" A paper presented to the conference on *Global Engagements in the 21st Century*, Canadian Studies Programme, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru Univeristy, New Delhi, 9-10 May. 2002, pp. 10-11.

³³ Johnston, n. 25, p. 136.

was only in 1947, the Indians were given the right to vote. More particularly, in the 1980s the Indian immigrants began to participate in elections not only as voters but also as candidates at provincial as well as federal levels more enthusiastically than in the earlier periods.³⁴

Moe Shiota (NDP- Esquimalt-Metchosin) became the first Indian in Canada to be elected an MLA in 1986. He also became the first Indian to be appointed a Cabinet Minister. In 1991 as many as four Indians were elected as MLAs: Sihota, Ujjah Dossanjh (NDP- Vancouver Kensington) who was appointed attorney general, has been a pioneer in the Union Movement, Harry Sing Lall (ND-Yale - Lillooet) and Judy Tyabji (Liberal- Okanagan East) who later along with former leader Gordon Wilson formed the Progressive Democratic Alliance Party.³⁵

Today, more than 400,00 Indians mostly Punjabi Speaking and Sikhs, are spread throughout British Columbia. A huge Indian population resides in Vancouver and its outskirts and in the growing city of Surrey. The numbers have given the Indian Community political clout. As the New Democratic Party convention showed the Indians vote is significant not only at the provincial level but also at the federal level. All the four major political parties - Liberal, Conservative, New Democrat and Reformist seek the Indians vote.³⁶ So it was not surprise that in British Columbia Indians broke political ground with the election of Man Mohan Sihota to the legislature in 1986. The young Lawyer also became the first Indian to become a minister. The honour had eluded Dossanjh, who lost election in 1979 and 1983. He did not contest election in 1986, but tried his luck in 1991 and succeeded.³⁷

The election of Ujjal Dossanj as the premier of the Canadian province of British Columbia is a landmark event for the Indian diaspora in Canada. Dossanjh's recent victory at the leadership convention of the governing New Democratic Party (NDP) in British Columbia also marked a triumph of the political efforts of the local Indian community.³⁸ Indeed, British Columbia has the largest number of successful Indian origin politicians in the country. One woman, Sindi Hawkins (Liberal), and

³⁴ Judge, n. 19, p. 101.

³⁵ Mall, n.14, p.2.

³⁶ Engene Correia, "The Indian Connection" *Frontline* (Delhi) vol. 17, issue-05, March 04-17, 2000 in <http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl1705/17050560.htm>

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

Gurmant Grewal (Reform) is in parliament.³⁹ Besides, among the prominent liberal party members are Dr. Gur Singh former president of British Columbia Medical Association and Guljar Cheema, who was first elected as Manitoba MLA in 1988.⁴⁰

Indians made their debut federal politics in 1993, when Herb Dhaliwal was elected as a Liberal in Vancouver South and became a parliamentary secretary. Prem Vinnin (Liberal - Surrey North) and Mabina Jaffer (Liberal – North Vancouver), who is also a prominent lawyer and social worker, made powerful though unsuccessful bids in 1993, and remain active in politics.⁴¹

Apart from the role in economy and political process of the Indians, they also figure in Mainstream media. In T.V. there are Ian Hanomansing, CBC national reporter for the past 11 years, Belle puri CBC reporter, Simi Sora, UTV associate producer and reporter, and Jaspreet Johal BC TV reporter. In print media, the best-known name is that of Salin Jiwa, who has been a reporter with the *province* since 1983 and is known for his crime stories. Behind the scenes in the *province* is Fabian Daswan, city editor.⁴²

Another successful Indo Canadian media venture has been that of Rajesh Gupta and Munish Katyal who run the Indo- Canadian *Voice* weekly newspaper in English. *Voice* magazine in English, Awaaz weekly newspaper in Punjabi bring out an annual Indo Canadian business directory. *The Link* which in 1978 became the first Inddo-Canadian English paper to be published in Vancouver, by pramod Puri, is a twice a week publication. Mehfil a glossy magazine brought out by Rana and Minto Vig in 1993 was the first of its kind. Among the Punjabi papers the most respected is the Indo-Canadian Times, the first issue of which came out in 1978. Its editor, Tara Singh Hayer was paralyzed when a Sikh extremist shot him in 1988. Other Punjabi papers include the *Charhdi Kala*, *Punjabi Tribune* and *Sangharsh*.⁴³

A slew of Indo-Canadian women play a prominent role in the professions. Suromita Sanatani is the British Colombia and Yukon provincial affairs director of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business. Tazeen Nathoo, Senior Vice-President, Operations, Van City, is well known for community service. Ramin-der Dossanjh,

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Mall, n.14, p.2.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

wife of Ujjal Dossanjh, co-founded the India Mahila (Women's) Association in 1973 and is a famous human rights and women rights activists. Sushma Datt established Rim-Jhim - Canada's first Indo Canadian radio station in 1987 and broadcasts in Hindi and Punjabi.⁴⁴

Indians have also made their mark in the world of higher learning and there are many Indian professors at UBC and SFU. Prof. K.D. Srivastava was vice president of UBC until 1994. Setty Pendakur, UBC professor of transportation planning, was a Vancouver city councilor in 1973-74. The UBC chair of Sikh and Punjabi Studies was established in 1987 and Dr. Harjot Oberoi is the first incumbent. There is a Gandhi study section in the Institute for Humanity at SFU to which the Indian Government donated 100 volumes and books of Mahatma Gandhi's writing and related works in 1995.⁴⁵

There are a number of Indians who have excelled themselves in medicine. Dr. Dalim Yunus,⁴⁶ Professor of Cardiology at the McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada, has contributed a great deal in medicine. His research drug Rampiril can help to save the lives of several lakhs people who are suffering from heart diseases. Rampiril can also be useful for treating even diabetes as well. Two Indian doctors are at the forefront of Cancer research, which is expected to yield miracles in the new cancer therapy. Dr. Jasbinder Sanghera and Dr. Shaukat Dedhar are working together to produce a cancer drug, which would bring a new life to the cancer patients.⁴⁷

Two of the many Indo-Canadian doctors and dentists, Dr. Gur Singh and Dr. Arun Garg, have been presidents of the British Columbia Medical Association. Among the many Indian lawyers are two British Columbia Supreme Court Judges: Justice Wallace J. Oppal, Justice Tim Singh. Justice Oppal was commissioner of British Columbia's Royal Inquiry into Policing in 1992. The sole Indo-Canadian on the Provincial Court is Justice Gurmel Singh Gill.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.3.

⁴⁶ Dr. Salim Yunus was a Rhodes Scholar & alumnus of the Bangalore St. Johns Medical College and recipient of lifetime Achievement Award from the Canadian Government. Noted from B. Rahmathulla, "Canadian Immigration Policy in the Context of South Asia: A Perspective of Indian Diaspora in the New Millennium" in Anil Dutta Mishra and Govind Prasad, *India and Canada: Past, Present, Future* (New Delhi, 2003), p. 41.

⁴⁷ Rahmathulla, n.46, p. 38.

⁴⁸ Mall. n.14.

With such a large Indian labour force, there have been many Indians in the forefront of the labour movement, Besides Ujjal Dossanjh, other well-known figures are Raj Chouhan, Harinder Mahil, chair of the British Columbia Council of Human Rights, and Charan Gill Aziz Khaki has been president of the Committee for Racial Justice for the past 11 years.⁴⁹

With Sikhs forming the majority of Indians along with other Punjabis belonging to different religions, the Punjabi culture is naturally dominant. The latest craze in the pop culture scene is Bhangra Fusion. Bhangra is a Punjabi folk dance. Punjabi poets and writers include Ajmer Rode and his wife Surjit Kalsey, Ravinder Ravi, Keser Singh, Gurcharan Rampuri, Sadhu Bining, R. Paul Dhillon and Phinder Dulai. Indians are great fans of Hindi movies and Vancouver is constantly hosting dance and music shows of Hindi film personalities from India. In 1993 Salim Samji and Bob Jessa leased the Regal Theatre in Vancouver to start daily screening of Hindi movies.

Vancouver's first gurdwara (Sikh temple), built by the Khalsa Diwan Society, opened in 1908. Famous gurdwaras include the Nanak Sar Gursikh Temple and Indian Cultural Centre of Canada, both in Richmond. The main religious event is the Baisakhi procession in South Vancouver organized by the Ross Street Gurdwara, built in 1969. Since 1994 the Sikhs in Surrey have an annual procession from the Guru Nanak Sikh Temple to mark Miri Piri. The Satnam Education Society of British Columbia started the Khalsa School in Vancouver in 1986 and opened a branch in Surrey in 1992.⁵⁰

Hindus, the second largest religious group, have several temples, including the Vishva Hindu Parishad Temple in Burnaby, which was built in 1973, the Hare Krishna Temple in Burnaby and the Mahalakshmi Temple in Vancouver. The Ismailis have their own places of worship called Jamatkhanas, the main one being in Burnaby.⁵¹

Political Issues and Challenges Facing the Indian Diaspora

The process of moving from India to Canada involves a shift from a familiar environment to a strange and unfamiliar environment. More often than not Indians

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

entering Canada perceives themselves as strangers or aliens at the mercy of an inhospitable, incomprehensible and uncomprehending white population.⁵² There were issues relating to language, culture, but the big question was how could one become Canadian when the hosts were not ready to accept them as Canadians. In a broad sense, the Indians have had to become a Canadian, at least in the economic arena. They had to accept and adopt with the prevailing economic structure of Canada.

Indians like other immigrants viewed as economic competitors by the Canadian nationals. Many other Canadian nationals view the presence of Indians as a form of threat to their economic well-being. Such perception become more salient during the times of economic recession and forms the basis of prejudice and discrimination in both work and non-work spheres. Prejudice and discrimination against Indians manifest in many subtle ways.⁵³ Indians have several recurrent difficulties in securing in securing employment. As with most immigrants, they face a demand for 'Canadian experience', and it is not always easy to convert their occupational records, skills, and education into Canadian equivalent.⁵⁴ For instance, employers often establish inflated or artificial educational and job experience requirements for Indians. Such requirements are not only inflated but also often unrelated to actual performance. Thus Indian immigrants perfectly capable of performing job may find it hard to get the job in Canada because of their lack of Canadian training and experience.⁵⁵ Although the federal and the Provincial governments have become much better at establishing these equivalents than they once were, and most peoples formal qualifications are now being evaluated somewhat more objectively by employers. Problems in these areas nevertheless remain.⁵⁶

Indian families have devised ways to counter these employment difficulties. One initial economic strategy is to get work of some sort as soon as possible. Even in better economic situation many men had to accept initial jobs unrelated to their skills. In depressed economy half of all newly immigrated Indian men may follow this pattern. By no means content with this situation, families have attempted to compensate by developing additional family incomes. As a rule, Indian women have

⁵² Rabindra N. Kanungo, "The South Asian Presence in Canada: Problems and Potential" in Rabindra N. Kanungo, ed., *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic* (Montreal, 1984), p. 107.

⁵³ Kanungo, n.52, p. 108.

⁵⁴ Buchignani, n.7, p. 151.

⁵⁵ Kanungo, n.52, p. 108.

⁵⁶ Buchignani, n.7, p.151.

not worked outside the home before they came to Canada. Once in Canada the situation is reversed, for most women eventually try to secure employment.⁵⁷

But in finding a job women has to face the difficulties. Very often, a sari-clad woman is rejected in job interviews because of employers' inaccurate interpretation of the attitude and behaviours of the Indian women that seem too different and unfamiliar to the employer. Often Unions, Professionals Societies and occupational distribution licensing boards bar them through restrictive job entry requirements.⁵⁸ Even the present occupational distribution of Indian women is quite different from that of other Canadian women. Many Indian women find it difficult to get any but the most unskilled and low paid jobs.⁵⁹ In case of the Sikhs, men with turban and beard also find difficulties in securing job whereas employers generally prefer shaved Sikhs.

In addition, with the increase in their standard of living, there has developed a sort of hatred towards them and there are several instances whereby the local Canadians often call Indian Sikhs as 'rag heads' and ridicule South Asians as 'Paki'. However, overt racial discrimination in the labour market is hard to find today but covert racial discrimination is not unusual.⁶⁰

Besides, the process of moving from India to Canada involves a drastic experience of cultural change or cultural shock. It involves a shift from a familiar environment to a strange and unfamiliar environment. After their arrival in Canada, the Indians quickly realise their visible minority status. They come to realise that their own cultural values and norms of the majority group and the existence of the former is threatened by the latter.

Basically the Sikhs have been one of the major immigrants from India. For, one can describe the Sikh cultural model as defined by the centrality of religion in integrating the various spheres of life. Religious beliefs and practices are incorporated at all levels in the community. Individuals born into Sikh families learn what is to be a 'Sikh' through the process of socialization. They learn what is to be a distinction between who they are and what they do. They learn that bravery, freedom and the

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Kanungo, n.52, p. 108.

⁵⁹ Buchignami, n.7, p. 151.

⁶⁰ Sharma, n.9, p. 172.

preservation of family honour are central to their identity.⁶¹ Broadly speaking, they have a set of family values where family rather than the individual is central.

It is not uncommon for marriages still to be arranged by parents for their Canadian born children because marriage is perceived as a Family and not an individual decision. Though the children resent this custom, they invariably acquiesce to their parent's wishes because it is the traditional way.⁶²

Massive cultural change has affected virtually every aspects of Indians life, and the family has been no exception. Many parents presently see the marriage of their children to people outside their ethnic group as the end of the family line. They also sometimes feel that such marriage do not help out the family and lower its status in the eyes of their own community.⁶³

While the cultural ties of loyalty, obedience, and respects for elders are still the norm for most second and third generation Indians in Canada, the impact of cultural conflict has not escaped this group, and conflicting parent-child value system can lead to severe tensions in the home.⁶⁴ In addition to it, dating some time became highly contentions issues between the generations. The following Sikh account confirms the situation about arranged marriage and dating.

“It was one of those handfuls of Sikhs who were born and raised in British Columbia before Sikh immigration really picked up. I was born right after World War II in a town in the Fraser Valley. There were not very many Sikhs around there then, so virtually all my school mates were ‘Canadian’s but then so, was I. I never had any trouble in school with not being accepted, in fact, I think that I was pretty popular. Still life for me was complicated, because my parents and other local relatives were pretty conservative Sikhs. This meant that I had to learn how to be almost two people: one for my Canadian friends and one for my parents.

The big question arose when I got into high school. My parents did not want me to date Canadian girls; they did not want me to date Sikh girls either. This was quite embarrassing for me, because I could not really explain my parents reasoning to

⁶¹ Annamma Joy, “Work and Ethnicity: The Case of the Sikhs in the Okangan Valley of British Columbia” in Rabindra N. Kanungo, n..52, p.92.

⁶² Subash Ramcharan, “South Asian Immigration: Current Status & Adaptation Modes” in Rabindra N. Kanungo, n.52, p. 39.

⁶³ Norman Buchignani, “South Asians in Canada: Accommodation and Adaptation” in Rabindra N. Kanungo, n. 52, p. 170.

⁶⁴ Ramcharan, n.62, p. 39.

my friends. Eventually, I had an arranged marriage from India... Still, I am not sure that I would want our children to have arranged marriages.”⁶⁵

It is to be mentioned here that outside family for preserving and protecting their own cultural values they lean on similar others, who in turn reinforce the cultural and ethnic identity and their need for affiliation. This process results in the formation of organized minority pressure groups with the specific goal of protecting minority group interests. Although formation of Indian groups have positive values for preservation, propagation and dissemination of unique cultural values, it at times also results in negative consequences for Indians as sometimes it hinders them to assert themselves as Canadian and to relate with other Canadian on equal terms.⁶⁶

Indians in general face the covert racial discrimination, although the overt racial discrimination is hard to find today. Besides, the second generation Indians facing the challenges like how to become two persons; one to maintain the Indian identity and another one to become a Canadian as a part of whole Canadian Society. And how this drama will be played out is not yet fully clear.

To recapitulate this chapter briefly, Indians who started their livelihood as labourers in saw mills, now many of them are well established and run their own businesses. The geographical concentration of the Indian is also different from that of all immigrants. While the majority in both cases goes to Ontario, in the case of Indian for historical reasons of early settlement, the second important destination is British Columbia. The province of Quebec is the third important region of destination followed by the Atlantic region and the Territories.

While the Indians were disfranchised in the first decade of the twentieth century, which was remain so up to the mid of twentieth century, today Indians are participating in politics more actively and a number of MLAs and MPs are elected from the different provinces of Canada. Besides, there are a number of Indians excelled themselves in academic, medicine, media etc. Although with the increase in their standard of living there has developed hatred towards them. Today Indian diapora is occupying a prominent position in every walks of society and they are fully integrated and have become inevitable citizen of multicultural Canada.

⁶⁵ Buchignai, n.7, p. 160.

⁶⁶ Kanungo, n. 52, p. 108.

CHAPTER - 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A country of immigrants, Canada even today is admitting two hundred thousands to two hundred fifty thousands immigrants every year from the different parts of the world. An analysis of the immigratory flows indicates that the White Europeans were preferred to land in Canada in the so called 'settlers phase' until the later half of nineteenth century. In the first half of the twentieth century, it was a 'vertical mosaic' in Canada, beginning at the top with the English, followed by Americans, Northern and Western Europeans then Central and Eastern Europeans.

Since almost the decade of 1950s, however, the trend has changed. The number of people immigrating to Canada from Asia, Africa and Central and South America has exceeded all others. Today, a third of the Canadian population is comprised of people other than the Charter member groups - the French, the British and the Native people. These other ethnic groups have come to Canada from all parts of the world. Majority of them came to escape political and military oppression; others to seek economic betterment.

But the roads to Canada for the non-Whites were never smooth. Initially there were several handicaps and biases related to language, race, culture and religion. More important issues came into forefront: how such 'alien' immigrants would be able to assimilate into Canadian society? Naturally, one of the cardinal assumptions underlying Canadian immigration policy was that British immigrants would be more readily absorbed than those from other countries. Extra efforts were made to encourage immigrants from Britain. There were fewer formalities, speedier procedures for obtaining visas, a large number of immigration offices, officials and a more promotional campaign in England than anywhere else in the world. Even, the leading Liberal and Conservative parties in Canada supported the special encouragement for the British immigrants.

It was on the same grounds of "keeping Canada White" that there have been several important immigration acts since Canadian Confederation in 1867, as well as a number of amending acts, orders-in-council, immigration regulations that have been enacted to discourage the entry or exclude the non-White immigration. While Canada

did not have an act specifically called a restriction act but elements of restriction directed first against the Chinese and later against all potential non-White immigration were present in the immigration legislation from the 1880s onwards. The power to exclude would-be-immigrants in certain categories and of certain origins on which the White Canada was based, were laid down in the immigration act of 1910. It was amended by the act of 1919. Laws to discourage the entry of the non-Whites or to exclude them altogether were passed by the federal parliament in 1885, 1900, 1903 and 1923.

It was only in the post-Second World War period, when Canada witnessed massive economic boom and changes in the international scenario that it began to consider favourably the liberalisation of immigration. The major development was the introduction of points system in 1967, earmarking 'education training', 'personal qualities' etc. which became the bases of Canadian immigration selection system. These preferences gradually replaced racial discrimination as the major criterias in the selection and control of immigration in Canada. As a result, the size and number of immigration has risen steadily from the "non-preferred countries". For instance, during 1963-67, there were 12,856 immigrants from South Asia; the total population of South Asian origin in Canada in 1986 rose up to 314,040. Even, the proportion of immigration from South Asia in relation to total immigration has been rising continuously. In 1963-67, it represented 1.7 per cent of all immigration while in 1983-87 the proportion had risen to 9.4 per cent. Thus today, a variety of people do arrive making their home in Canada, bringing many distinctive outlooks, ideas, talents, experiences, traditions and culture to help shape Canada as a multicultural society.

Major waves of immigration have helped shape Canada. It is equally pertinent to focus on the immigration policies of Canada. Immigration policy of a country broadly delineates and projects the decisions of a state as to who should be its members, under what condition, and of what kind. Generally, immigration indicates a state's conception of itself; of the kind of polity it deems it is; and how it believes itself to be constituted and held together. Here, therefore the concern is how did immigration policy shape, at a time when the Canadians were not willing to admit the non-Whites? What were the other factors or the role of the governmental institutions or political parties in shaping Canada's immigration policies? The concern also extends to the consequences of immigration policies at the domestic political and

social level, as well as in the conduct of international relations.

Though immigration policy is as old as Canada itself; and two years after the Confederation, the first statute was enacted in 1869, the immigration policy has evolved most rapidly after the Second World War. In the 1950s, two prevailing trends had a strong impact on the formation of immigration policy. First; the significant economic boom in Canada, for instance Canada's gross national product rose from \$5-7 billion in 1939 to \$36 billion in 1962. In urban centres, manufacturing industries continued to expand, requiring new capital investments in plant and machinery, and new types of skilled and unskilled labour. For the first time, Canada was faced with a peacetime shortage of workers. In other words the labour intensive industries especially in the core economic sectors of agriculture, mining and lumbering were lobbying Ottawa for a relaxation of the immigration restrictions which were cemented into place during the so called Great Depression. At the end of the War, many groups in Canada had wanted liberalisation of immigration. It was argued that immigration was necessary to populate and develop the country. Immigration policy had closely followed the twists and turn of national economic policy. This is even reflected in the administrative location of immigration within the Ottawa bureaucratic structure. Another factor influencing immigration policies was the international scenario, which was undergoing dramatic changes in this period. Following the end of the Second World War, Canada played an active role in the creation of the UN in 1945 and in the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), designed to restore and rebuild those countries devastated by the war. Canada had also become a signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other Western security mechanisms. In short, Canada's increasingly active participation in world affairs had led politicians, interest groups and the general public to favour selectively a more open immigration policy.

Immigration policy formulation process also became much more a democratic process in the 1960s. This period witnessed the publication of 1966 'white' paper and the 1974 'green' paper and the appointment that followed of the two joint Senate-House of Commons Committees to undertake a broad public consultation process. The period also witnessed the enactment of the immigration Appeal Board Act in 1967 and the introduction of "points system", which eliminated the administrative discretion in the immigration policy.

Since the 1970s, Canada's immigration policy is linked more to demographic and economic goals, and keeping the social fabric harmonious by fostering family ties. But the refugee issues came to dominate the Canadian immigration policy in the 1980s and has continued as the focal point of public debate and controversy. In the subsequent years, many policy initiatives were introduced to limit the size of the larger number of refugees and the flow of immigrants without any documents. This period also saw another shift in policy leading to higher global targets; new business and economic classes were added to the earlier traditional categories as preferred immigrants. Moreover, Canada being promoter of international order and justice closed the doors for the criminals and others who could abuse Canada's openness and generosity; while opened the front door to genuine refugees and to immigrants who could help in the development of Canada. Presently, the overarching goal of immigration policy is to build a stronger, ever more inclusive Canada and secure a higher quality of life for all Canadians.

Having briefed the evolution of immigration policies of Canada, it is noteworthy to discuss here why and how the immigration from India to Canada has taken place from the very beginning of twentieth century, more particularly since the period of the Second World War? And how immigration policies of Canada affect the immigration from India in numbers, in the pattern of immigration like the ratio of men and women and the percentage of children or in the immigration by age group?

The initial Indians to visit Canada were members of Sikh army regiments that were passing through Canada in 1897 en route home from Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee celebration in England. But the first recorded immigrants landed in 1903-04; thereafter began the movement that increased rapidly, so much so that by 1907-08 over 5,000 persons had immigrated from India. Soon, the fear - real or imaginary - of taking away jobs from Canadian citizens and the White Canada's feeling that India is a hotbed of the most virulent diseases that could be transmitted to Canada, beside that the presence of Indians among Canadian people could be a menace to the well-being of the community, all which led to a series of discriminatory immigration acts that curbed the inflow of Indian immigration into Canada. The impact was immediate: immigration from India declined drastically after 1908, from several thousands every year to only six in 1909 and only one during the first five months of 1910. More ironically, in five years from 1914 to 1919 only one Indian migrated to Canada. It was

only since 1950s, the conditions of immigration for Indians began changing. Due to economic boom and changing international scenario, Canada favoured liberal immigration policy. A symbolic compromise was reached in 1951, when an annual quota of Indian immigrants was set following discussions in London between prime ministers Jawaharlal Nehru and Louis St. Laurent. The agreement permitted 150 Indians per year to enter under their own qualifications, in addition to the close family members of Canadian citizens admissible under existing regulations. Subsequently the quota was extended to 300 by 1957. The number of Indians were increased in the 1960s, more particularly after the 1967, when the new reforms were introduced in the shape of 'points system' whereby the individuals skills and merits were highlighted rather than country of origin. In 1961, there were 6,774 Indians in Canada, by 1971 their number had risen to 68,000 and by 1976, 188, 000. The largest proportion of immigration from India however remains in the family class. In 1983, the family class immigration constituted 93.72 per cent of all Indian immigration entering Canada while the independents were just 4.86 per cent and the assisted relatives forming mere 1.41 per cent. The initial immigrants who came from India in the early twentieth century were virtually all male. As Canadian immigration regulations denied entry of women, they could not join their husbands until 1919. So it would not be surprising to know that during the first fifteen years of recorded immigration, 99.7 per cent of the immigrants were adult males. The next five-year period, 1917-23, showed an increase in the number of females and children with 26.2 per cent and 15.3 per cent respectively. Although adult males constituted the largest category, the numbers of women and children were steadily increasing. The period 1976-81 saw the arrival of 39,866 Indian immigrants in Canada when the proportion of adult males fell to 33.6 per cent while the adult females constituted 42.6 per cent and the children 23.8 per cent.

The pattern of Indian immigration during first four years 1904-08 can be attributed to two factors: job opportunities available in British Columbia as seen by a group of soldiers; and activity of certain steamship companies and their agents through the distribution of literature across the rural districts of North India. It is important to note the reasons of Indian immigrants to Canada. Indian immigrants, virtually everyone who entered before Second World War, were Sikhs from Punjab. Scholars have presented both the 'push' and 'pull' factors in this regard. Punjab is

mainly an agricultural state. The economic condition of the peasantry had deteriorated due to the British policies. The increasing water rate and land revenue had forced many of the middle peasants to mortgage their lands to the moneylenders. Besides, between 1849 to 1900, six famines had ravaged Punjab, the worst being the famines of 1896-97 and of 1899-1900. Economic condition had further worsened in the first decade of twentieth century as drought conditions of 1905 together with recurrent epidemic of malaria and plague caused unprecedented mortality. Between 1901 and 1911, two million people had died of plague in Punjab. At the same time, the Sikhs of Punjab had learned from the American and Canadian travelers in Shanghai and Hong Kong that a worker could earn \$2 to \$2.50 daily. Thus, many were attracted to Canada because their daily wage was 30 cent in India. These reasons were the principle factors that encouraged the Sikhs of Punjab to move to Canada.

While it is still not clear as to why mainly Sikh peasantry immigrated, the early Indians got mainly construction jobs on the railroads. When the railroads had been completed, they had to look for new jobs. Instead of going back to their traditional agricultural occupations, many turned to something quite new - the lumber industry - and nearly all of the Indians who immigrated to British Columbia found ready employment there. In a broad sense, the Indians have had to become Canadians at least in the economic arena and took over jobs in any field that were available there. Post-Second World War, Indian immigrants have been mostly professionals, and scores of Indians are now in established businesses. Many who started in labour, in saw and pulp mills or worked long hours picking berries now run their own mills and businesses.

In the early twentieth century, the hard immigration policy towards Indians and the oppressive British rules in India had caused the Indians to organise and to pressure the Canadian government to liberalise immigration policy. Significantly, they had also used these organisations to demand freedom for India from the British rule. For instance the Hindustan Association - a precursor to the Ghadr movement - was founded in 1909, which advocated self-rule in India. In 1910, Taraknath Das began agitating for Indian nationalism in Seattle and Har Dayal did the same in California after his arrival in US in February 1911. The Hindu Association, open to anyone, was the base from which members were drawn into the Ghadr (Mutiny) party, and the more select Yugantar (New Era) Ashram, which had its political

headquarter in San Francisco. Anti-British feelings were reflected by several leaders. Chagan Kairaj Varma, who took the Muslim name of Husain Rahim, when he was arrested in Vancouver, vehemently said: "you drive us Hindu out of Canada and we will drive every White men out of India". "Shore Committee", formed by Husain Rahim, Sohanlal Pathak and Balwant Singh as leaders, was an outcome of the infamous Komagata Maru incident and the rising awareness of the Indians in Canada.

After the Second World War, the whole scenario of political participation of the Indians changed. The post-Second World War economic boom favoured Canada to liberalise its immigration policies. The government of India indicated both privately to Canada and publicly in UN that discrimination against citizens of Indian origin was decidedly objectionable. In addition to it, a renewed campaign by the Khalsa Diwan Society and other South Asian organisations submitting briefs to parliament protesting the objectionable racist features of immigration regulations had some effect. The Indian national Congress also supported the claims of Indians overseas. As a result in 1947, the Indians were given the right to vote. Since government became much more active in the whole field of immigration, Indians were becoming a political factor in their own right of a sharper and more organised kind.

Though the Indian immigrants had begun to participate in elections since 1947; it is since the 1980s that not only participation in elections as voters has increased; many Indians are also chosen by political parties as candidates at provincial as well as federal levels. Today, more than 400,000 Indians are spread throughout British Columbia. As the New Democratic Party Conventions show the huge number of Indians vote is significant not only at the provincial level in British Columbia but also at the federal level. All the four major political parties - Liberal, Conservative, New Democrat and Reformist - seek the Indian vote. So it was not surprising that in British Columbia Indians broke political ground with the election of Man Mohan Sihota to the legislature in 1986. The young lawyer also became the first Indian to be a minister. Today a number of Indian MLAs and MPs can be found in provincial as well as federal level.

Indian born - Ujjal Dossanjh, who migrated to Canada in 1967, was elected as a premier of Canada's largest province, British Columbia in 2000. Now there are

many Indians in the Canadian parliament and there is a judge in the British Columbia Supreme Court. Another prominent Indian is Herb Dhaliwal, who has been a minister in the government of Prime Minister Jean Chretien. Gurbax Singh Malhi, the ruling Liberal party M.P. from Toronto is also holding the office of minister in the present government. Apart from the politicians, there are number of other Indians who have excelled themselves in academic, medicine, media, administration etc.

To sum up, the journey for Indian immigrants from India to Canada was not so easy as it sounds. The process of moving from India to Canada involved a shift from a familiar environment to a strange and unfamiliar environment. More often than not, Indians entering Canada perceived themselves and also were so perceived, as strangers or aliens at the mercy of an inhospitable and uncomprehending White population. There were issues relating to language, culture, but the big question was how one could become Canadian when the hosts were not ready to accept them as Canadians. "Keep Canada White" was the guiding principle of Canada's immigration policy up to the middle of twentieth century. So, during this period, only those peoples were allowed to land into Canada who could be readily absorbed into Canadian society. Naturally, the White people were preferred to enter into Canada from Europe and US. But since almost the decade of 1950s, this trend has changed. The number of people immigrating to Canada from the so-called "non-preferred-countries" began rising due to the massive economic boom and changing international scenario. As a result today a third of the Canadian population consists of those who are other than the Charter member groups - the French, the British and the Native people.

Although since 1950s, more particularly since 1960s overt racial discrimination could not be found but covert racial discrimination can be found even today. Indians face several recurrent difficulties in securing employment. As with most immigrants, they face a demand for 'Canadian experience', and it is not always easy to convert their occupational records, skills and education into 'Canadian equivalent'. In case of the Sikhs, men with turban and beard also find difficulties in securing jobs whereas employers generally prefer shaved Sikhs. In addition, with the increase in their standard of living, there has also developed a sort of hatred towards them and there are several instances whereby the local Canadians often call Indian Sikhs as 'rag heads'.

The Indians quickly realise their 'visible' minority and they realise that their own cultural values differ from the norms of the majority group. "To become Canadian" is the challenge before the Indians in Canada today. As a result, the second generation Indians have to adopt to the Canadian society in such a way that they would become Canadian Indians. At the same time, social and political contract combined with their economic mobility is making a diverse Indian community into a diaspora. Today Indian diaspora has come to occupy a prominent position as citizens of a multicultural Canada. So long as Canada needs immigrants, as the birth rate in Canada has been declining, many Indians would continue to find Canada an attractive destination.

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