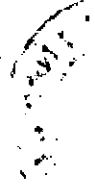# A Sociological Study of Muliticultural Education and Indian Diaspora in Canada

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

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ADITYA RAJ

Zakir Hussain Centre for Educational Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067
2001

JNU

ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Dated : 21/07/2001

CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled "A Sociological Study of Muliticultural Education and Indian Diaspora in Canada", submitted in part-fulfillment for the M.Phil degree of this university has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is my original work.

Aditya Raj
Aditya Raj

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

KChanana
(Prof. Karuna Chanana)
Supervisor

Bkkhadria
(Prof. Binod Khadria)
Chairperson
Zakir Husain Centre For
Educational Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawahar Lal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

TO MY GRANDPARENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

CONTENTS

Acknowledgement

CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

The word *diaspora* is used to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialised' or 'transnational', i.e., whose cultural origins are said to have arisen in a land other than in which they are currently residing, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation–state or indeed, span the globe (Vertovec 1998). It is an ancient word although it has been given modern flavour with the passage of time (Gilroy 1991). Like the people who inhabit the spaces designated by this term, it is a transient and travel term (Mishra 1995). It has travelled from the ancient period and has acquired different meanings.

The word diaspora originates in the words for 'dispersion' and was used to describe the Greek Colonialisation of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the Archiac period (800–600 B.C.). It essentially had a positive connotation although some displacement was due to poverty, over–population and inter–state wars (Cohen 1995:6). In the early modern period, the expression 'diaspora' was also used to describe the networks that proactive merchants set up to buy and sell their goods, a phenomena that has been documented for a number of the world's regions. The most significant example of this outcome is found in 16th century Venice (Curtain 1984; Klang 1992 a).

1

The Jewish use of the term in the pre-modern period overlaid the benign meanings (Cohen 1995) and due to this the notion of diaspora has been coloured with the elements of forced exile, collective suffering and infinitely strong and binding sense of identity and a great nostalgia for the mother country (Lal 1993). The negative usage of the term has remained predominant over the common and scholarly connotation in the modern period. The horrific slave trade followed by the quasi-forced indenture of Indians, Japanese and Chinese or the harsh treatment of Armenians by the nation-building Turks all confirm to the notion of being 'victimised'.

In the post World War II era the term also denotes various groups that were previously described as exile groups, overseas communities, ethnic and racial minorities. The boom in information technology has bridged the gap between diasporas (Patel 2000) and the current period of globalisation has enhanced the practical, economic and affective role of diasporas (Cohen 1995).

From the great range of theoretical and descriptive work on diaspora, some common characteristics can be extracted. They are as follows.

— They have dispersed from an original centre to at least two or more countries (Safran 1991:83).

— They maintain a 'memory, vision or myth about the original homeland' (Safran 1991:83). The 'original homeland' is a

problematic category. It could be used to mean the state from where the individual or the group has migrated, a part thereof, or some place outside it. It could also refer to some political entity which cannot be historically or geographically located like that of the Jews. It is also contested for certain kind of diasporas such as twice migrants (Brah 1996).

— They see the homeland as a place of eternal return, although even this assumption is contested among the second generation migrants (Jain 1993).

— They establish links with the homeland and their co-ethnics in other parts of the world (Safran 1991: 84). The feeling of connectedness with the homeland is important because it provides a sense of unity as a nation, no matter how diverse and mutlilocal the actual communities may be (Razwick 1998: 151).

— They are also engaged in the politics related to the homeland, and communities mobilise around it in varying degrees on a more or less regular basis. Such concern for 'national issues' and related activities transform ethnic communities into diaspora (Razwick 1998:151).

— They are unable to become part of the host society, either due to their own unwillingness or the policies of the host society (Safran 1991: 84).

In the words of James Clifford (1997: 287), 'the term diaspora is a signifier not simply of transnationality but also of political struggle'. Due to their peculiar position at the intersection of the home and host societies, the diasporas <u>function</u> at three main levels. Firstly, they are engaged in activities within the host societies where their activism is manifested in anti–racist and minority rights movements. The diasporas also undertake activities to promote the interest of the homeland and their co–ethnics in other parts of the world.

Secondly, they are engaged in activities within the homelands, where the activities of diaspora may be in the nature of socio–cultural, economic and political exchanges or it may be related to furtherance of the interests of their co–ethnics. Sometimes, homelands do not have a physical existence. They merely exist in the diasporic imagination. The Palestinians, the Kurds, the Basques, the Irish Republic Army before the establishment of their state, the Jews and Armenians being stateless diasporas are some groups which belong to this category. These diasporas engage in violent, subversive and terrorist activities in order to realise the goal of a nation–state (Sheffer 1999: 64). Diasporas are also engaged in activities to promote their interests and those of their co–ethnics in the global arena: the Jewish, the Armenians, the Tamils and various other groups have established organisations which transcend national boundaries.

Thus, the diasporas have assumed a position of significance in the national and international affairs of the contemporary world and globalisation has provided a conducive atmosphere for this. Globalisation has enabled diasporas to maintain familial, economic, political and cultural ties across international borders. In effect making the home and host societies 'a single arena of action' (Froner 1997: 355). It has also made it possible for individual and groups to participate directly in the global processes, i.e., their actions need not be mediated by the state and other formal associations (Sheffer 1999: 1-10).

Echoing the same line of thought, Armstrong (1976) argues that diaspora applies to any ethnic collectivity which lacks a territorial base within a given polity. The way diasporas have interacted with the multiethnic polity, he has pointed out and focussed on two types, namely, the proletarian diaspora, essentially a disadvantaged product of modernised politics; and the mobilized diaspora, an ethnic group which does not have a general status advantage, yet which enjoys many material and cultural advantages compared to other groups in the multiethnic polity. The Indian diaspora of colonial migrants can be referred to as proletarian and post-colonial as mobilized diaspora.

Sheffer's (1999) analysis has distinguished diaspora according to their historical developments. He argues that the Jews, Indian and Chinese are quite ancient diasporas while certain diaspora like the Poles and the Irish in the United States have come up in the recent past while

some are emerging now like the Turks in Germany and Palestinians in the Persian Gulf area. Weiner (1982) has put forward another nomenclature and placed Indians in the Gulf as 'incipient diaspora'.

Modern *Indian diaspora* throughout the world dates from the third decade of the nineteenth century when mainly forced migration as indentured labourers under British imperialism took place. Then, there has been twentieth century migration to the developed Western countries which has by and large been voluntary, industry and commerce oriented and with more balanced sex ratio and education. There has also been twentieth century migration to West Asia but the law of the land does not permit them to stay on and become naturalized citizens (Jain 1989). It is within this context of the West Asian legal structure for the Indians that Weiner (1982) has placed them as 'incipient diaspora'.

The study of Indian diaspora merits attention because of several interesting elements their history of emigration, diverse background varied contexts in which they have migrated and their experiences in the 'host' societies. The Indian diaspora also exemplifies several extraordinary features also, argues Parekh (1993).

— Firstly, it is spread over seventy countries and has made a significant contribution in economic and political fields in a number of them.

— Secondly, it is multi–facted and multi–hued as its members are drawn from numerous different regions of the mother country, profess varied

6

religions, lay claim to nearly a dozen castes and are involved in a wide range of occupations.

— Thirdly, with the exception of Jews no other diasporic community has suffered as much harassment as the Indian. Their expulsion from Uganda under Adi Amin speaks volumes about it.

— Fourthly, inspite of the overseas Indian community having limited contact with each other and India (although the boom in information technology has changed this), they have managed to develop distinct identities, ways of life and thought. It is difficult to point about any other diasporic community which could portray such vast differences of character and achievement.

The Indian diaspora, due to a number of inter–related factors, show far greater inter–diasporic movement than within any other diasporic community. Their experience of harassment and expulsion have got them into a habit of spreading out their investments and members of their families in different countries. As a result, Indian diasporic integration has gained momentum. Overseas Indians are beginning to build up social, economic, cultural and other ties with their counterparts in India and with other overseas communities (Parekh 1993).

The Indian diaspora also shows many significant characteristics. They tend to recreate Indian social structure wherever they go and hold fast to their native culture in their land of adaptation. Their mode of

adaptation is marked by a clear preference for economic integration more than cultural assimilation (Sharma 1989). Indian cinema, cuisine, cricket alongwith the internet facility has kept the Indian diaspora cemented together (Lal 1993). They have also benefitted from local ethnic networking, the power of shared identity and other associational activities.

The 20 million strong Indian diaspora is spread over many countries, from Australia to America, from Fiji to East Africa, and from Guyana to England (Sheth 2001:12). They are concentrated in South, South East and South-West Asia, in South Africa and East Africa, in Western Europe, the Caribbean and North America (Sharma 1989). Figure 1.1 provides a visual representation of the same.

Figure 1.1 Main South Asian Diasporas - 1987*
(millions)
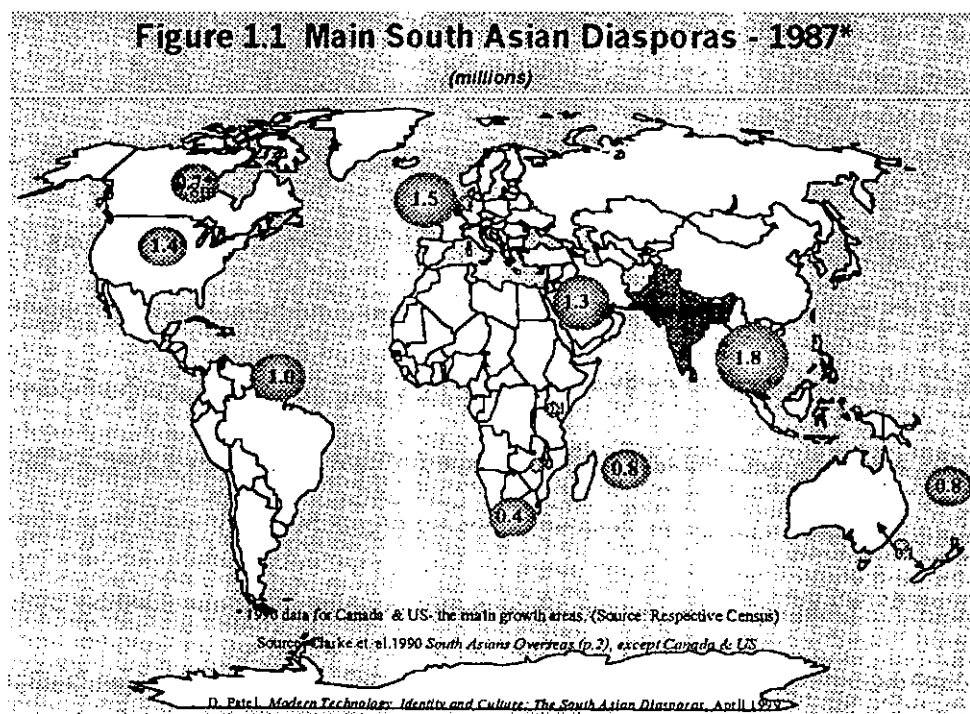
The northern half of the North American continent is identified on the maps of the world as Canada. The *Indian diaspora in Canada* in the 1991 census was 324,840, of which over half was concentrated in Ontario and a quarter in British Colombia (Parekh 1993:7).

Indians began to go to Canada in significant numbers around 1875, mainly to build the Canadian Pacific Railway (Parekh 1993:6). This occurred under British imperialism when there was massive emigration of people from one part of the empire to another. Migration to Canada in the early phase was mainly for manual labour. Initially the Indian diaspora was more Punjabi–speaking, predominantly of the Sikh religion. Besides working on the railway, they also worked in the lumber industry and over time became traders and professionals.

The occurrence of anti–Oriental riots in the city of Vancouver in 1907 led to a series of restrictive measures and the number of Indians did not increase significantly till the 1960s. Changes in the immigration act introduced in 1962 allowed immigration on the basis of 'point system', whereby independent applicants were ranked according to certain objective criteria concerning education, skills and resources (Whitaker 1991). As a result, the total number of immigrants to Canada as a whole has been steadily increasing.

The Indian diaspora is one of Canada's most rapidly growing ethnocultural group (Buchignani 1989). Unlike the early immigrants who largely settled in rural areas, the new arrivals have tended to settle

in urban areas like Toronto and Montreal. In the post–1962 emigration, besides the Sikhs, there have been people who present a vast diversity in terms of dress, language, religion and region.

The educational experience of the Indian diaspora is largely an unexplored terrain. And since Canada pursues multicultural education as the government policy since 1971, therefore it will be interesting to analyse the educational aspect of Indian diaspora in the multicultural educational setting of Canada.

The word *education* is derived from 'educare' which means 'bringing up of children, physically and mentally'. Durkheim (1956: 28) defined education as consisting of 'a methodical soicalisation of the young generation'. He maintained that society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity; education perpetuates and reinforces this by fixing in the child from the beginning the essential similarities which collective life demands.

In complex industrial societies educational institutions (schools and colleges) serve a function which cannot be provided either by the family or peer groups. Parsons (1961) added to this view by maintaining that after primary socialisation within the family, educational institutions take over as the 'focal socialising agency'. Schools act as a bridge between the family and society as a whole, preparing the child for his adult role. According to Parsons (1961), education functions to allocate these human resources within the role structure of adult society.

Arguments by these two sociologists adhering to the functionalist paradigm holds importance in the sociology of education. Then, there are scholars who believe that education is an instrument forged by the ruling classes to serve and preserve their own interests and thus maintain status quo in the existing economic and political power structure. Althusser (1972) conceives education as the most important 'ideological state apparatus' devised by the ruling classes to ensure that society largely conforms to their ideas and interests.

As far as the education of Indian diaspora is concerned, a survey of literature delineates that they are doing relatively well in those countries which follow multicultural education as their government policy (like UK, USA and Canada) or, are in a position to influence the political machinery (like Mauritius). 'Multicultural education emerged after the 1960s when multiculturalism as an ideology and practice was advocated.'

Multiculturalism as an ideology is not only the product of, it is also a programme for greater social and economic equality. It views the nation–state as not being culturally homogeneous as the case used to be earlier, but as consisting of a number of discrete cultural communities, the viability of which it is committed to maintain. It also argues for the equal respect and treatment of these diverse communities.

Multiculturalism is the latest manifestation of the concern for minority rights. It stands for the ideology of 'political correctness'. This manifestation emerged as a philosophical discourse in the late sixth and

11

early seventh decade of the last century in the Euro–centric world. Rise of multiculturalism has been a movement against the policies of 'monoculturalism' being followed in the countries of Western Europe and North America (Goldberg 1994). Until then, most ethnic groups (socially distinguished or set apart, by others or by itself primarily on the basis of racio–cultural characteristics) worked to attain cultural assimilation (defined as a process of thorough–going transformation of personality of individuals or groups) and structural integration (process of creating a single whole by joining different parts).

The widespread discrimination, racism and structural exclusion experienced by ethnic groups disenchanted them and served as a vehicle of political mobilisation and ethnic revitalisation movements. These movements were triggered by the civil rights movements in the 1960s led by the blacks in the United States but soon echoed in several parts of the world – the French and the Indians in Canada, the West Indians and Asians in Britain, the Aborigines in Australia etc. (Banks 1983).

They demanded that institutions within their nation–states become more responsive to their needs, hopes and dreams. And gradually several institutions began to respond to their dreams (Banks 1983). It is even argued that these changes were made to tone down the movement by appeasing people. Much of the responses to ethnic protests took place in the schools and universities. Educational institutions were viewed as

potentially powerful vehicles that could play a pivotal role in the liberation of ethnic groups. Herein, emerged multicultural education.

As a concept, idea or philosophy, *multicultural education* is a set of beliefs and explanations that recognizes and values the importance of ethnic and cultural diversity in shaping lifestyles, social experiences, personal identities and educational opportunities (Gay 1995); Parekh (1986) defines it as education free of inherited biases, with freedom to explore other perspectives and cultures, inspired by the goal of making children sensitive to the plurality of the ways of life, different modes of analysing experiences and ideas, and ways of looking at history found throughout the world.

It is also an approach to teaching and learning based upon democratic values that foster cultural pluralism. In its most comprehensive form, it is a commitment to achieving educational equality, developing curricula that builds understanding about ethnic groups, and combating oppressive practices (Benette 1990).

To a large extent, multicultural education means learning about, preparing for, and celebrating cultural diversity and it requires changes in school programmes, policies and practices. Multiculturalists explicitly value diversity and agree that the specific content, structures and practices employed in achieving multicultural education will differ depending on the setting (specific context). Therefore, several definitions of multicultural education come up to fit their specific needs, rather than

13

imposing a universal structure to implement multicultural education (Gay 1995).

Banks and Banks (1993) define it as an ongoing process that requires long term investments of time and effort as well as carefully planned and monitored actions. Signposting the argument it can be reiterated that the emergence of multicultural education has been in response to the ethnic revitalisation movement. It has seen the light either as a genuine effort by the governing elite to solve the problem of the minorities and get them as equals in the socio–economic structure along with the dominant majority, or, it has been a subtle attempt to divert the effort of the movement.

There have been several kinds of policy options in multicultural/multiethnic societies Canada is one nation which exemplifies cultural diversity and has tried in its government policy options to address the prevalent diversity. The options have ranged from assimilationist, bicultural, intercultural to multicultural.

In Canada, there is a federal government policy called multiculturalism with a bilingual framework which according to Brain. (1990) was to an 'unplanned offspring' of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. It was unplanned because initially it was to take care of only Anglophone and Francophone communities, the two large communities in Canada. The impetus for

Cananda's multicultural policy lay in the negative response of immigrant ethnic minorities to the mandate of the Royal Commission (Brain 1990).

The ethnic composition of the population kept on changing in Canada, the racist theories were discredited and the assimilationist policy failed. These along with the Quebec nationalism compelled this heterogeneous society to adopt a policy towards respecting cultural pluralism.

In 1969, the Canadian government produced a separate volume on the cultural contribution of the other ethnic groups which contained clear recommendations for caring for the heterogeneity. By 1971 these recommendations had been accepted by the government policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. The policy touches upon many key elements of the social strccture (Brain 1990). Schools are but one of the institutions affected.

The ethnic composition of schools in Canada necessitated multicultural education coming to the fore, the impulse behind which is largely positive. The education of minorities in Canada has been viewed from two perspectives – the 'deficit' and the 'relativist'. While the former recognises the cultural background or lifestyle of the minority as the source of 'the problem', the latter recognises that all cultures warrant equal respect and value and that cultural contents can be assessed only from the perspective of the 'insider' (Moodley 1989).

It is the latter perspective which the recommendations of Royal Commission adhered to and successive federal governments in Canada have remained true to its spirit. The recommendations were reaffirmed and transposed from government policy to the law of the land with the passage of an Act for Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada on July 12, 1988 (Brain 1990). And with multiculturalism as the state policy steps were taken to reduce prejudice and promote equity and equality.

The philosophy of multiculturalism is expected to permeate the school curriculum, teaching methods and materials, courses of study, assessment and testing procedures. It is also meant to deal with the attitudes and expectations of its staff and all of its interactions with the students, parents and services that contribute to a harmonious, positive relationship among all members of a school community. It is meant not only for the resident Canadians but also for newcomers to Canada.

There are several policy options within the ambit of culturally diverse societies and one among them is interculturalism. Compared to multiculturalism, which takes cognisance of the presence of many cultures, interculturalism evokes a sense of presence of two cultures and seeks to be more precise in its approach and moves from the wider sense to the narrower. It removes obstacles to communication and facilitates harmonious co-existence (Brain 1990).

Canadian educational policy shows shades of both in its different provinces. Moreover, there is no single model of education that exists in Canada and the educational autonomy of each province, resulting in different organisational provisions for linguistic and religious instruction, makes for a rather complex and interesting picture.

Multicultural societies like Canada are faced with decisions about those aspects of their value systems which are essential to all citizens and those which might be the prerogative and privilege of particular groups and minorities, and the way in which these two domains of values may be eduationally represented. To say, the need to define the 'particulars' and the 'universals' of their value systems and to work out their frontiers of cultural acceptability by solving the dilemma of cultural pluralism.

THE STUDY

The Indian diaspora are like minority groups in many countries and it becomes necessary to see whether and to what extent their 'particulars' are taken care of in the value system of the host country. Research on the people of Indian origin in Canada has increased greatly in the last few decades but very little attention has been paid to the educational aspect. All available studies confirm the high priority which Indian immigrants place on their childrens education.

The proportion of children of Asian Indian origin in Canadian schools have increased rapidly from the 1970s (Buchignani 1989),

17

incidently after multicultural education became government policy. Literature on education of Indian diaspora in Canada points towards change in self-concept and identity shift (Akoodie 1980; Subramanium 1977b), psychological adjustment (Minde and Minde 1976) and attitudinal change towards Indians in schools (Ijaz 1980).

Indo–Canadian children also seem to have considerable freedom and they even succeed in influencing the decision of their parents. This is seen in the discretion with which they choose their educational goals and define their career plans. Parents even encourage their daughters to obtain professional degrees and to take up careers. Most of the families seem to evaluate the behaviour of their children in the light of their conception of a middle class Canadian family (Wakil et.al 1980).

The present study will try to keep the discussion within the sociological context where the guiding theoretical perspective will be socio–cultural (funtional) and political economic (marxist). Although the study of Indian diaspora is a newly emergent field there has been genuine effort by scholars working on the theme to integrate this area of study in a theoretical perspective. Jain (1993) delineates three theoretical perspectives for the study of 'Indian Communities Abroad' – the cultural persistence, adaptationist perspective and plural society perspective.

Sharma (1989) points out various perspectives on the theme. The historical perspective which deals with migration and settlement in the

host country, especially of the earlier phases. The comparative perspective which looks to various countries where the Indian population has moved to and also the composition of the migrants in terms of religion, caste, region, language etc.

The prevailing sociological perspective on the theme has two frameworks/perspective which will guide the dissertation: functional which deals with socio-cultural aspect and marxist which sees Indian diaspora to be the creation of British imperialism in particular and unequal economic development of the geo–political world (political-economic perspective).

The main *objectives* examined will be as follows:–

1. To study the Indian diaspora and the issue of their identity

2. To analyse multiculturalism and multicultural education as pursued in developed western nations.

3. To delineate Canadian multicultural education and ethnic minorities. Also, attempt to search and locate issues of education among Indian diaspora in Canada.

The proposed study is largely based on a survey of available literature–books, journals, seminar presentation (many mimeographed) and newspaper articles. It has also benefitted from the world of websites by the usage of the internet facility.

Keeping all these in mind, the aim of the present study will be to study the educational aspect of Indian diaspora, mainly within the

context of multicultural education in Canada. The next chapter will deal with diaspora and identity in general and that of Indian diaspora in particular. The issue of identity is important because it is subjective as well as social and is constituted in and through culture.

Chapter 3 attempts to contextualise multiculturalism and multicultural education within context of the study. Chapter 4 will analyse the Canadian multicultural education and the Indian diaspora therein. It will also locate the education of Indian diaspora in Canada. Finally, there is chapter 5 which provides concluding remarks on the dissertation.

CHAPTER - II

THE INDIAN DIASPORA AND IDENTITY

Rabindranath Tagore rightly remarked that 'to study a banyan tree, you must not only know its main stem in its soil, but also must trace the growth of its greatness in the further soil, for the you can know the true nature of its vitality. The civilsation of India, like a banyan tree has shed its beneficent shade away from its own birthplace.... (CSID) India can live and grow by spreading abroad - not the political India, but the ideal India.'

Spreading of people from India to distant lands has been taking place for centuries, but never before in history has India witnessed such massive movements of people to other parts of the world as in the 19th and 20th centuries. The people of Indian origin with over 11 million population settled in 70 countries, constitute more than 40 per cent of the population in Fiji, Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam. They are small minorities in Malaysia, south Africa, Sri Lanka, Uganda, UK, USA and Canada (CSID).

THE INDIAN DIASPORA

The Indian diaspora is unique and is much more widespread than any other. It is also diverse in terms of religions, regions and castes, so much so, that scholars consider it problematic to talk of a global Indian diaspora. They refer to Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali and other

diasporas. It is here that the question of identity formation comes into place. Sharma (1989) points out that while dealing with non-Indians, Indian communities abroad tend to take on a pan-Indian identity. But, when it comes to interacting among themselves and locating oneself, their regional, linguistic or religious identities take precedence. Identities of people from India have traveled along diverse historical trajectories conditioned by a wide range of locally contextual factors.

As already mentioned, major overseas migration from India mainly took place from the British colonial regime. New industrial and commercial ventures especially plantations of the colonial regime created the need for large supplies of labour and thus registered out-migration from India began in the nineteenth century. Here is a table showing the years of migration of Indians to different countries.

Table 2.1 Years of Migration

Country	Year	Country	Year
Reunion	1829	Burma	1852
Guyana	1834	Malaysia	1895
Trinidad	1838	Canada	1875
South Africa	1860	U.K.	1955[1]
Fiji	1879	U.S.A.	1965[2]
East Africa	1895	Australia	1973
Singapore	1895		

Source - (Parekh 1993 : 8)

(1)   It marks the beginning of peak period of migration to U.K.

(2)   Indians have lived in the USA since the nineteenth century but the year pointed shows the removal of the restrictions on Indian immigrants.

Labour could have been derived from the native population of colonialists and planters but they found it immoral and impolitic to do so. And with the ban of African slavery in the first half of the 15th century, Indians along with others became one of the alternatives for the supply of labour. This became the main 'pull' factor. Moreover, the colonial supreme authority in India created severe economic and social disturbances among the labour society of India, thereby creating the 'push' (Jain 1993).

Indians moved far and wide and have significant economic and political presence in a number of countries. Table 2.2 gives the distribution of the Indian population (in percentage terms) in relation to the other constituent groups in some of the countries where they are present in significant numbers.

Table 2.2 Indian Population In Percentage Terms

Countries	Percentage of Indian population
Mauritius	70
Guyana	50
Fiji	48
Surinam	35
Nepal	23
Reunion	15
Bangladesh	11
Malaysia	9
Singapore	6
Sri Lanka	6
South Africa	3
UK	1.8

Source - (Parekh 1993:8)

P.C. Jain states that historically, five distinctive patterns of Indian emigration can be identified (1989: 161). Firstly, they are indentured labour emigration, secondly, kangani / maistry labour, fourthly, 'brain drain' or voluntary emigration to the metropolitan countries of Europe, North America and Oceania, and fifthly, labour emigration to West Asia. Whereas the first three forms of emigration were colonial phenomena, the last two are post-colonial in nature.

Indenture was a contract by which the emigrant was bound to work for a given employer for three to five years and had to perform tasks assigned for a specific wage. At the end of the contract the labourer was free to reindenture or to work elsewhere in the colony. After ten years a subsidised return passage was offered. The British administration introduced this system in the early 19th century. Most of the immigrants during this period were unskilled or semi-skilled labourers from Bihar, U.P. Punjab, Rajputana, Maharashtra, Bengal and central and coastal Madras (Tinker 1977).

This system of indentured labour was also known as *girmitiya* and the labourers as *girmityas*. *Girmitiya* means 'the ones who come on an agreement (i.e. indenture, the word 'agreement' being rendered as girmit in Indian popular speech) (Lal 1993). The migration of Indian indentured labour began in 1834, and was officially abolished in 1920. The chief importing countries of Indian labour were the West Indian colonies, viz Fiji, South Africa, Mauritius, Malaysia and Ceylon (Jain 1989:161).

Following the completion of the contract period some Indians preferred to settle down in these colonies. Others were compelled or lured to do so as in lieu of their guaranteed return passage to India the colonial authorities provided them with some cultivable land. Once settled as peasant proprietors Indians were soon to evolve into distinctive communities (Jain 1989:161).

The Kangani system of recruitment supplied South Indian labourers to Malaysia and Ceylon and the maistry system to Burma. Kangani is the anglicized form of the Tamil word 'Kangani' meaning 'overseer or foreman' Under this form of recruitment, a Kangani (himself an Indian immigrant) used to recruit the coolies in India, paying their expenses in advance. The maistry system was more or less similar to the kangani system except that the former was characterised by a gradation of middlemen - employees (the labour contractor, the head maistry, the charge maistry , the gang maistry, etc.) and the innumerable illegal deductions. Compared to indenture, coolies under these systems were legally free. There was no contract and no fixed period of service.

The third type of Indian migration within the British empire was 'passage' or 'free' emigration, or the emigration of trading castes and classes. Passage emigration was predominant in South Africa as well as the East African countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Ugandan railway offered new economic opportunities and Indians, mainly Gujaratis, soon established themselves as *dukanwallas* (shopkeepers).

Some of these businessmen were largely successful and quite a few of them rose to prominence. A substantial number of those who migrated stayed back and kept forming the Indian diaspora. Table 2.3 gives an estimate of the total migration to and from India and the net emigration in thousands. The 'net' figures gives an estimate of people from India settling abroad.

Table 2.3. Estimated Total Migration To and From India: 1834 - 1937 (000's)

Year	Emigrants	Returned Migrants	Net*
1934-35	62	52	10
1836-40	188	142	46
1841-45	240	167	72
1846-50	247	189	58
1851-55	357	249	108
1856-60	618	431	187
1861-65	793	594	199
1866-70	976	778	197
1871-75	1,235	958	277
1876-80	1,505	1,233	272
1881-85	1,545	1,208	337
1886-90	1,461	1,204	256
1886-90	1,461	1,204	256
1891-95	2,326	1,536	790
1896-1900	1,962	1,268	694
1991-05	1,428	957	471
1906-10	1,864	1,482	382
1911-15	2,483	1,868	615
1916-20	2,087	1,867	220
1921-25	2,762	2,216	547
1926-30	3,298	2,857	441
1931-35	1,940	2,093	-162
1936-37	815	755	59
Total	30,131	23,941	6,250

Source - (Jain 1989 : 157)

* Net migration refers to net emigration. The figures do not always correspond to the exact difference between the first two columns because of rounding.

26

P.C. Jain's fourth criteria deals with brain drain or the large scale of Indian migration to the advanced industrial societies of Europe and North America. This began in the late sixties of the last century, though the history of Indian emigration goes back to the early years of the twentieth century in North America (USA and Canada) and the nineteenth century in Britain. The characteristic features of the brain drain type of migration has been its totally voluntary nature, and the migration of highly educated and skilled or semi-skilled industrial workers.

R.K.Jain (1993) categorises the above discussed migration pattern as the second phase or twentieth century migration to industrially developed countries of UK, USA, Canada as well as to Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Uganda. The first phase refers to emigration which started in the nineteenth century and the migrants went to countries like Fiji, Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam. The third phase of migration delineates the late twentieth century emigration to West Asia. This overlaps with P.C. Jain's (1989) fifth migration pattern, i.e. labour emigration to West Asia.

The third phase of migration differs from the earlier phases in the sense that people are generally 'contract' workers and are not allowed to settle permanently in the countries of their destination. There are about one million contract workers in the West Asian countries (Jain 1982).

In terms of sheer numbers, the Indian diaspora make the third largest group, next only to the British and the Chinese, in that order (Sharma 1989: iii) .

Exact figures are hard to find because a number of countries include Indians in the category of Asians or South Asians in their enumeration and also because of the unreported presence of Indians in many countries. Available accounts, as already mentioned show that the number of Indian diaspora is more than 11 million which is scattered in 70 countries across the globe.

The Indian diaspora is multi-faceted and multi-hued. The diversity of India is clearly reflected in its overseas population in terms of language, religion, region, caste composition etc. The regional diversity of the Indian diaspora is clearly exemplified in Figure 2.1.

Fig. 2.1 clearly shows that most emigrants resulting from indentured system have come from the present day states of Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, parts of Orissa, parts of Andhra Pradesh, parts of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The other form of emigrants have come from Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana and the western part of Rajasthan.

This not only suggests regional diversity but also diversity in terms of langauge, customs etc. All these states have different langauges and customs.

Figure 2.1
Regional Origins of the Indian Diaspora
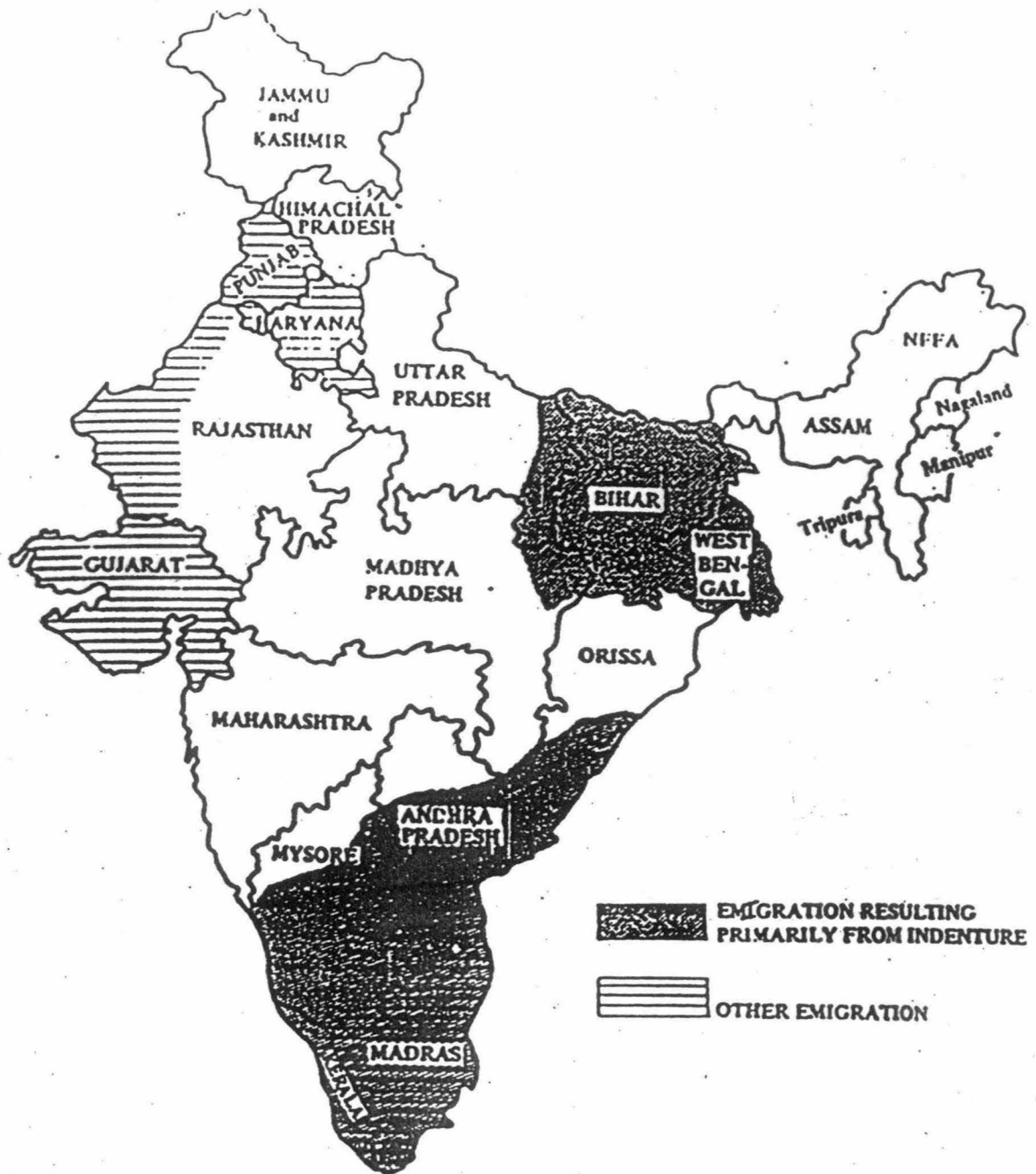
Source - (Sheffer 1986 : 108)

Even the occupations that the members of the Indian diaspora are engaged in range from farm labour to professions and business. Parekh (1933) points that Indian diasporic population includes those who earn the highest as well as the lowest per capita income in the world.

When Indians go abroad they carry with them cultural traits like that of their caste, religion, region, language, family values, kinship and mariage norms etc. The socio-cultural reality of the 'host' country calls for adjustment and the nature of adjustment and changes required to be made in different host countries is different. The Indian diaspora is perceived in accordance to their numerical and political strength and their ability to adjust in the 'new' conditions of the host country. The interplay throws up a new identity.

IDENTITY

Broadly, identity refers to a sense of self and self-image 'who am I am and 'which (ethnic) group do I belong to') (Patel 2000). Although it defies a precise definition (Brah 1996), it can be summed up as the source of meaningful interpretation of human life. Identity formation is the process of interpretation related to one or several cultural settings (i.e. self perception which one derives about oneself during the course of social relationships).

In traditional societies the identity of a child is more or less determined by the parent's social position, as well as by gender and age. In modern societies there may be a plurality of identities for a given

individual or for collective actors. Such a plurality can be viewed as a human freedom to make a choice between different identities. Identities organise the patterns of meaningful interpretations and interactions. All identities are constructed by the means of collective memory and creations as well as by personal imaginations.

We live in a world in which the notion of closed societies has become illusory. No society can isolate itself anymore from the rest of the world. Nation-states and regions are being undermined and there has been movement across borders. During this process various cultural forms collide with each other. Traditions that used to be taken for granted have to be justified anew. Therefore, new tendencies of identity-formation have been observable. Rasmussen (2000) argues that we have experienced many different surges of collective identity as a reaction against cultural confusion and uncertainty, which is highly diversified.

Living in a world increasingly influenced by images and reputations, the issue more and more is to create a balance between fluidity and stability. It has become more and more important to manage the appearance of fluidity and stability so that change can be accomplished while still retaining essential features of core identity.

The social construction of identities takes place in a cultural setting (Brah 1996). Brah (1996) mentions Erickson (1968) and Berger and Luckman (1971) to delineate the contesting issues of identity. For Erickson, the process of identity formation is 'for the most part

unconscious except where inner conditions and other circumstances combine to aggravate a painful, or elated, identity consciousness' (pg.23). He insists that 'identity is never established' as an 'achievement' in the sense of a 'personality, armour, or of anything static and unchangeable' (pg.23).

These themes are echoed in the formulations of Berger and Luckman. The key premise underlying their thesis is that 'reality' is socially constructed. They argue that during the course of everyday life, a person is conscious of the world as consisting of 'multiple realities', but among them 'there is one that presents itself as the reality par excellence. This is the reality of everyday life (pg.35).

This reality of everyday life is shared with others through common sets of meanings. The social world is not experienced by everyone in exactly the same way, nor is it experienced by the same person in the same way all the time. There are connecting threads running through these 'multi-realities', which provide an individual with an ongoing sense of self. The Indian diaspora is unique and has multiple and diverse sense of self among its composition.

The interaction between the home and the host society and culture gives dual identity, depending on the way the dynamics of interplay of insulators and apertures operate (Atal 1989). Parekh (1993) talks of multiple identity as multiple points of reference goes in forming the

identity of Indian diaspora. Fig 2.2 illustrates the factors which influence identity in a diasporic setting.

Figure 2.2 Factors Influencing Culture/identity
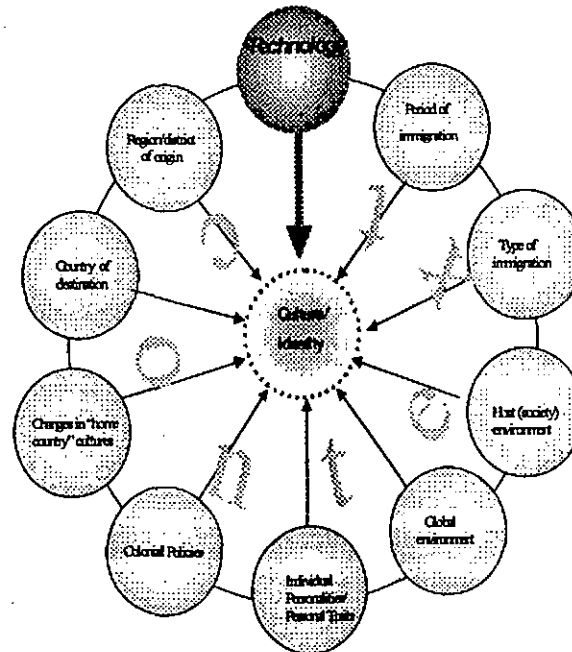
D. Patel, *Modern Technology, Identity and Culture: The South Asian Diaspora*, April 1999.

Context plays an important role in identity formation. Besides the factors shown in the figure generational context is one which determines identity to an extent. Second or third generation people tend to show an identity shift and in between lies the dilemma and notion of dual identity. The other context is that of culture. Since Indian diaspora is drawn from various regions, Fisher (1980) argues about parochial identity (Bengali, Gujarati, Punjabi etc Identities of people from India (who are mainly categorised as Hindus) have travelled along diverse historically

33

trajectories conditioned by a wide range of locally contextual factors. There are several factors which play significant roles in (personal and group) identity in diverse settings throughout the diaspora. These include a hardening of the distinction between official or, self-proclaimed 'orthodox') and popular practices, tensions between unitary or universalist and specific or segmented (caste, regional, sectarian) traditions of devotion, religious-communal self-consciousness and the growing distinction between 'religion' and 'culture'. (Vertovec 2000).

Immigrants of the earlier phases came to the host country with a traditional outlook on cultural traits, as during this period India was still under the process of industrialisation and urbanisation and modern norms and values had not set in. Due to this, changes are seen in family norms, old age care, child-parent relationship, position of women etc. The caste system has undergone profound change but the notion of purity and pollution still remains. As far as class is concerned, Indians constitute the middle layer of the 'colonial sandwich' occupying a position between the whites but above the blacks (this is especially applicable to East Africa). All these suggest flexible identity (Rassol 1999).

There are different markers of identity in different places. R.K. Jain (1989) delineates that race and religion relation framework defines the identity of Indian diaspora in Trinidad but ethnicity and language are the defining factors in Malaysia. The interplay between the group, on the

one hand, and contextual factors, on the other, is critical in the making and remaking of identity. Thus, the kind of identity that emerges (or remerges) at any particular time or place will depend on the specific factors at play, and these factors will vary from one situation to another.

Writing about how the Indian diaspora is viewed, Sharma (1989:6) argues that it depends upon several things including their relative numerical strength in the host country wherever Indians form a substantial group they are viewed asIndians having a distinctive identity. In other countries, where their number is small, they are either referred to as Asians or South Asians (being clubbed with others of the region).

Identity issues are strengthened by various congregations, organisational efforts and building of places of worship. Peculiarness of Indians abroad is also maintained through cuisine and Indian movies (Lal 1983). Modern technology, i.e. transport and communication has enabled individuals/groups not only to maintain much closer ties with their communities/countries of origin but also, to readily enjoy the cultural products of those countries, thereby making retention of their cultural heritage (or identity) much easier (Patel 2000).

Modern developments in these technologies have led to a shift from historically and geographically rooted communities to communities, "not in place, but in space, connected over vast distances by appropriate symbols, forms and interest" (Driedger and Redekop 1998:45). This

applies to those in the Indian diaspora who live in cultures that are radically different from their own.

Women are considered as an important agent who transmit cultural norms and are an important agent in identity maintenance/shift because they are the primary agents of socialisation. The children learn to live and their initial lesson is learnt from their parents, especially mothers (Leonard 1993). In the initial phases of migration very few women? went with the men. During this period Indian ethnic identity was usually contested.

Indian women are taking up occupational options in the United States which have important implications for the construction of ideas about India and Indian ethnic identity (Leonard 1993:169). Most of them were not working back home. They take decisions regarding spending and about their children more independently. They run grocery shops which help formulate ideas about India because these shopkeepers usually deal in typically Indian goods. Their food preparation is also central to Indian identity as well as dress and dance. Chiffon saris and performance of Bharatnatyam are supposed to be the markers of Indian identity.

Illustration 2.1 in this context shows an Indian girl practising Kathak for Indian independence day celebration in New York. Cultural activities like this bring out the traditional values among the Indian diaspora.

+**Illustration No. 2.1**
Girl preparing for a Kathak performance at the 15th August
Independence Day celebrations on Madison Avenue in New York
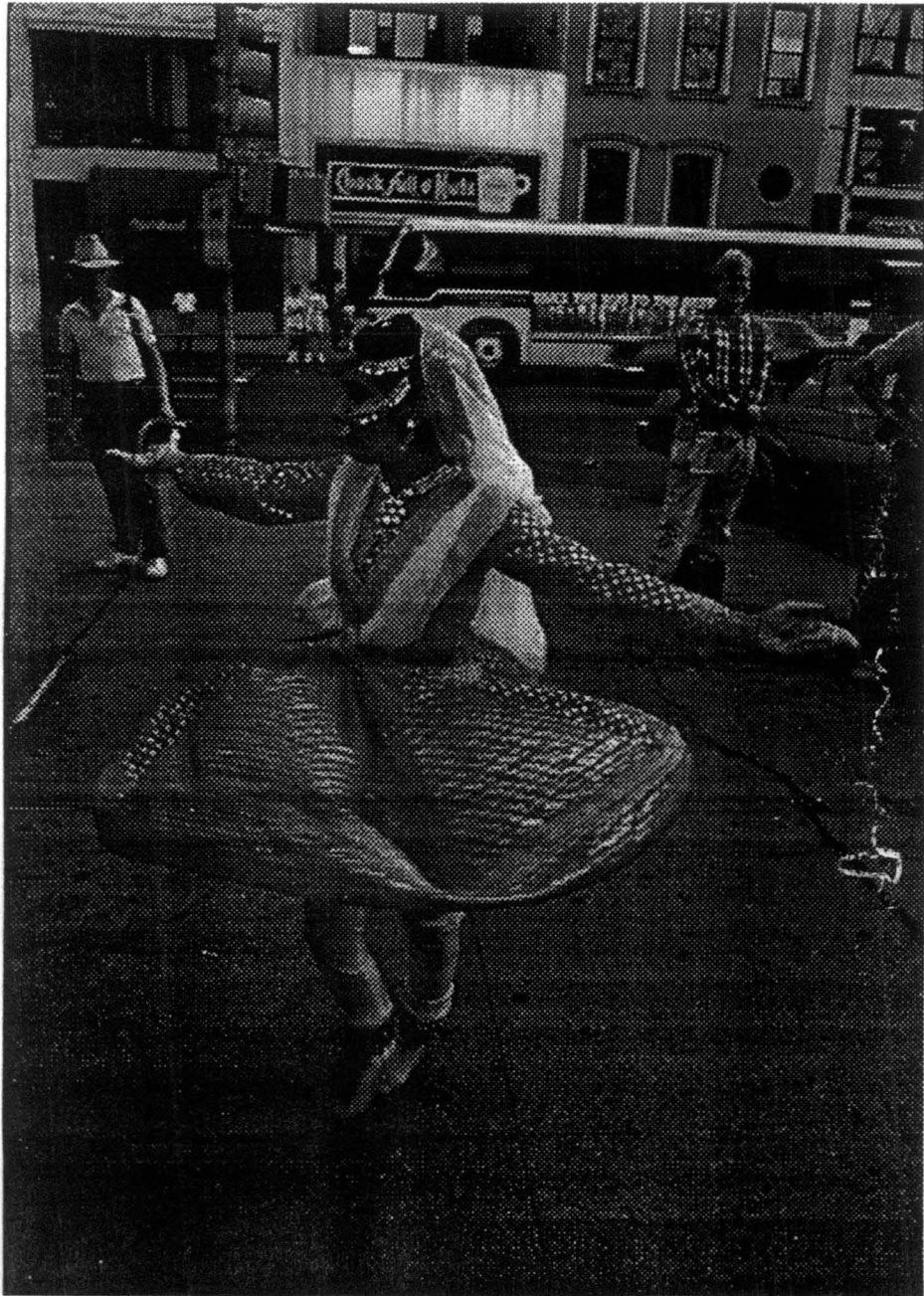
Source - (India50.com)

In the diasporic setting Indians are usually referred to as Hindus. Being Hindu meant being hard working, eating chicken curry and roti, lemon pickles and Punjabi vegetables, and a reverence for the 'holy book' from India, whether that was Granth Sahib or the Quran. It meant a social life based on the people's activities, being interested in politics, going to wrestling matches and to the Stockton temple (Leonard 1993 : 166-67). Personal names lost much of the home nomenclature and started getting host nomenclature. Despite changes, earlier migrants had allegiance to their ethnic identity.

The post-1965 immigrants from India have a different idea about their homeland and their ethnic identity. They are highly educated, urban, professional, representing many languages and regional cultures and many castes and religions. Compared to old immigrants, they have encountered opportunities rather than constraints in retaining their identity, yet evidence suggests changes (Leonard 1993 : 168-69).

Another area is that of religious observance. Indian identity is also contested in (funeral and burial practices) death rituals. Since early migrants usually went single and married local 'gals', the contest during death ritual was more pronounced. Incidents have come to notice where people have fought over the dead's cremation process (Leonard 1993). The latter migrants had to contend with different laws and procedures for funeral, but have more facilities and resources. The Hindus among them send the ashes of the deceased back to India that can be deposited in a

holy river, and bottled Ganges water and certain spices and other supplies are imported and available for use in funeral rites abroad.

To inculcate ethnic identity, parents want their children to be knowledgeable about Indian culture and religion (Leonards 1993:174). But, although the central idea from India is kept, it is adapted to suit the new context of the host society. Accommodation is preferred but without assimilation (Gibson 1998). Illustration 2.2 shows the same.

Illustration 2.2
Jain Swami's eat Vegetarian Tacos in their Ashram in New Jersey.

Source - (India50.com)

Among the markers of identity, language is very important. Amitav Ghosh (1989) argues that Indian migrants unlike British or French or Chinese, readily concede to the language of the area they call 'home'. He cites the example of Mauritius which has Indian preponderance over other communities (70%) but the dominant language is not Hindi but a French Creole. Similarly, in Trinidad and Guyana, Indians speak Creole mixed with European and native languages rather than their indigenous Bhojpuri.

Along similar lines Jayaram (2000) talks about Trinidad where languages of the Indian diaspora have either experienced attrition or is surviving in some 'sphere'. Oberoi (2000) talks about language identity retention. He argues that as the demography thickens, the usage and visibility of Indian language increases significantly. He cites the example of Canada where the use of Punjabi increased as the Punjabi population increased in British Columbia. Members of the Punjabi migrant community set about publishing newspapers, journals, novels, literary anthologies and staging plays in the vernacular (pg.3). All these led to asserting the ethnic Indian identity.

Identity of ethnic minorities have seldom been fixed. Hall (1993) argues that cultural identities have not developed in a 'straight unbroken line, from some fixed origin' and are marked by discontinuity, differences and social displacement. Charting of the 'river of life 'of a

group of immigrant pupils, Rassol (1999) has coined the term flexible identity.

To keep their identity close to their ethnicity, diasporics from India have helped the cause of ethnic revitalisation movements in the Western nations, in their capacity (Asian Indians as 'Visible Minorities' in Canada and Britain). These movements developed because certain ehtnic groups due to their physical and cultural characteristics, were denied the opportunity to attain the attributes and behaviors that were needed to be a part of the host society. Overseas Indians usually faced such problems.

Widespread discrimination, racism and structural exclusion experienced by ethnic groups precipitated political mobilisation (Bands 1973). Ethnic revitalisation movements served as a very important factor for the coming up of multiculturalism and multicultural policies, partly to solve the problems of ethnic minorities and partly to appease them and diffuse social discord. Nevertheless, it provided space for migrants groups in societies characterised by tremendous ethnic, cultural and racial diversity.

Multicultural socio-political structure has worked to the advantage of the Indian community and has helped it to influence policy in the host society and cope up with the demands of modernisation. Multiculturalism has allowed Indians to claim a distinct role for their

41

languages and their religious and cultural identity in the broader society (Gopinathan and Saravnam 2000).

Multiculturalism seems to have sensitised the public sphere (Oberoi 2000). The sensitive and concerned public sphere has helped the Indian diaspora in Canada to maintain their Indian identity.

EDUCATION AND IDENTITY

The Indian diaspora has spent two to three generations in the host country and it will be interesting to find out how children fare and what kind of problem do they face. Jain (1993:41) points towards identity crisis among children despite efforts by their parents to not let that happen.

Gibson (1989) reports of discrimination of Indian children at schools and among peer groups due to their dress, turban (Sikh children) and accent. At times it is very explicit like name calling etc. Even when they excel academically the 'different' children are discouraged from representing their school or class.

Stress also occurs at home. Brought up in a 'new' society, they do not have an understanding or appreciation of the culture their parents grew up with and are attached to. The host society insists on regarding them as foreigners. They feel that they belong neither to the host nor to the home society (Gibson 1989).

At this point, school or educational institution which plays an important role in the process of socialisation can play a important role in helping the Indian diaspora adjust successfully to the new environment.

Schools are seen as a barrier to minority achievement by many sociologists working on this theme. Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that educational attainments are related to family background and that the educational system can be seen as a gigantic myth-making machine which serves to legitimate inequality. They argue that schooling is organised to meet the requirements of a repressive and exploitative capitalist society. Bernstein (1961) uses class differential in speech codes to account in part for differences in educational attainment.

In such a situation Indian communities abroad can expect to achieve little. Brah (1996) points to South Asians in Britain being seen as themselves constituting a problem and any difficulty regarding their education was considered a result of their 'cultural problems'.

Almost from the early days of indentured labour, Indians stressed the importance of education. Education was the only way out of their wretched condition. Children were urged to study hard and get good academic results. Their family's hopes and ambition were invested in them, and they were not to let it down (Parekh 1993:25). Parents mobilised their financial resources to send their children to the best schools; and if possible, to the most prestigious university. If they could

not support all their children, they tried to educate the most talented among them.

In all countries where they settled, a higher proportion of the children than the national average generally stayed at school and achieved better results. Some relatively well-off diasporic Indian parents in early settlements even sent their wards to their country of origin or to other foreign countries, if they failed to get their children into a school of their choice (Parekh 1993).

Education was also imparted informally. For instance, the Indo-Caribbean Hindu temple in London had twice weekly sermons where they used prayer books of *bhajans* (devotional songs) and *mantras* (hymns) and had congregational worship. They also had a discourse of Hindu religious texts such as Ramayana. It was immensely popular among the contract and indentured labourers in places as a apart as Fiji, Trinidad, South Africa, Surinam, Guyana and Malaysia. These diasporic Indians kept returning to it for guidance and inspiration (Parekh 1993:17-18).

These formal and informal means of educational processes helped maintain the ethnic Indian identity in a distant land. The cause was buttressed by booklets published by Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha. Organisations like Arya Samaj and Vishwa Hindu Parishad which emphasised education, community upliftment and deservance of religious practices also helped maintain the distinct Indian identity.

The way overseas Indians adhere to their cultural identity that at times it appears that they are more Indian in their cultural orientations and practices than resident Indians in India. Sharma (1989) points that this may be due to the fact that in their culture, they find a defence mechanism against a sense of insecurity in an alien setting and that they might be banking on their culture as a compensatory mechanism for the loss of status in the host society.

For education, R.K. Jain (1993) quotes Klass (1961 :139-40), who argues that Indians in Amity and Trinidad converted to Christianity in order that their children could go to Canadian missionary schools. This shows that Indians abroad valued education as a means to long term goals and even changed their identity for it.

They always justified their identity and always proved to be hardworking and showed good results. This was specially true among latter migrants. In Britain, Asian Indians are regarded as performing better than other migrant communities and at times better than even the Britishers. They are also regarded as better behaved and having a high achievement motivation (Jeffcoate 1982 :16-20).

Immigrants from India to USA came to be enumerated 'Asian Indians' since the 1980 US census. Since most of them do not have a language problem, they do not face much difficulty and do well. They are labelled 'model minorities'. Yet, inspite of these labellings, it is reported that they have not been able to convert it into high occupational income

and prestige (Barringer et al 1990:27). Recent Silicon Valley reports are changing things or atleast project it to be so.

One aspect of the immigrant group need like identity, achievement goal and education is their struggle and ability to accommodate to the socio-political pressures caused by the majority's agenda (Gopinathan and Saravanan 2000). Societies which adopt a multilingualism stance, allow for a degree of within the education system with multilingualism individuals expected to be bilingual and provided with opportunities to learn their history, religion and culture (pg.3).

This chapter has outlined the contours of Indian diaspora. Thereafter the discussion on identity begins from where the discussion moves on to locate the identity of the Indian diaspora. Since the aim of the present is to study about the Indian diaspora in Canadas, the tangent of the discussion on identity touches upon their identity. Identity of a diasporic community is closely associated with the educational policy and practice of the 'host' society. Therefore the chapter concludes with the educational policy and practice of the 'host' society. Therefore, the chapter concludes by relating identity with education.

Since multiculturalism has allowed the diasporic groups to develop their own distinct identity, the beginning of the next chapter takes up multiculturalism. An analysis of multiculturalism is also necessary to place multicultural education in its proper context. The central portion of the next chapter discusses the nuances of multicultural education in detail and ends by touching upon ethnic minorities within this context.

MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

MULTICULTURALISM

Taylor (1977) is of the opinion that a number of demands for recognition of ethnic minorities in contemporary world politics spring from the field of multiculturalism. Recognition forges identity and multiculturalism is meant to help in this process. Our identity is to a great extent shaped by recognition or misrecognition reflected by the 'other' to us. Recognition is essential to democratic culture and an important contribution comes here from what Mead (1934) called the 'significant others'. Here, the significant other denotes the members of the 'host' socio-political community.

Taylor (1997) goes on to argue that while recognition helps in shaping individuals and communities, misrecognition can inflict harm and can be oppressive by reducing one to a false, distorted and reduced mode of being. Arguing further, he points out that not just individuals but also the concept of community has been revised and given a new lease of life under multiculturalism .

As has been already been pointed out, multiculturalism emerged as a political discourse in the late sixth and early seventh decade of the last century. The emergence of multiculturalism has been a movement against the policies of 'monoculturalism' being followed in the Euro-

centric world (Goldberg 1994). A collectivity of causes led to the emergence of multiculturalism as the following paragraphs will delineate.

First of all, multiculturalism emerged against the policies of monoculturalism. Goldberg (1994) delineates that monoculturalism as an institutional ideology came up in the second half of the nineteenth century. During this period migrants from different countries changed the ethnic composition of Western Europe and North America. Monoculturalism was a ploy to assimilate these ethnic migrants. This kind of melting pot approach meant giving up of values, ways of life and identity of these migrant minorities.

Goldberg (1994) goes on to portray that this Eurovisioned drive to control global culture in this form signalled the shift from empire and direct colonial bondage to less direct and hegemonic forms of post-colonial control. Hegemony is the capacity and strategy through which the dominant class organises consent among others. This hegemonic monocultural strategy went to the extent of repression and at times annihilation of the 'other' .

The monocultural assimilationist world-view failed to bridge the gap between democratic ideals and actual social practice. Specific ethnic groups because of their physical and cultural characteristics were denied the opportunity to attain the attributes and behaviours that were needed to assimilate in the mainstream society. Widespread discrimination, racism and structural exclusion experienced by ethnic groups served as

a vehicle for political mobilisation (Banks 1983:5) and this was channellised by the Civil Rights Movement or Black Pride Movement that was led by people like Martin Luther King or Malcom X.

The Civil Rights Movement under the famous Martin Luther King and the Black Pride Movement led by Malcom X had a very important social influence. These movements not only provided resistence to monocultural policies and attitudes but also germinated hope for a just society in the future.

The change in economy added fuel to the fire of political mobilisation. In America, the economy witnessed a sectoral shift from manufacturing to industries. Due to this change migrant minorities were further relelgated to the background as they lacked requisite skills necessary for the new production process. The oil shocks of 1973 and 1978 When the oil prices rose in geometric progression, were to hit ethnic minorities in the USA and vulnerable sections of the immigrant population the hardest (Goldberg 1994).

The withdrawl of the welfare state also contributed to resurgent moves by ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities in North American countries had been able to successfully organise themselves in the form of interest groups to articulate their demands and extract benefits like jobs, housing, social security etc. from the welfare state, which was also willing to oblige and use ethnic categories to distribute welfare benefits (Galzer and Moynihan 1976). Ethnic groups had thus been able to gain

49

a significant amount of leverage with respect to the welfare state. The cuts in the welfare expenditure as a result of the rise of the new economic policy during this phase of economic crisis and change under the ageis of the New Right was to seriously compromise the bargaining power of these groups (Goldberg 1994).

Another factor which led to the emergence of multiculturalism was the articulation of a privileged elite among the ethnic minorities. What is considered to be the culture of a group may in fact be the culture of a self-serving elite, which in the latter's interest is made to appear as the culture of the group as a whole (Ahmad 1992). Ahmad (1992) has further argued that the second wave of migration from India to the USA and the UK from the 1960s onwards, formed this layer and it was the views of people like this which contributed to the articulation of the multicultural discourse.

Multiculturalism advocates the interest of not just geographically distinct minority groups like the French in Quebec or the Tamilians in Jaffna but also of the dispersed immigrant minority populace. The latter dimension of territorial displaced populace brings in to question an attempt to "imagine a community" (Anderson 1991) of people who share many common cultural traits and suffer marginalisation and discrimination on account of this.

Most societies are becoming more porous and at the same time becoming increasingly multicultural (Taylor 1997:96). This increases the

number of immigrants of which from India are a part. Almost all western countries accept and make room for them. Each has its own selection criteria but economic realism has led to the necessity of foreign labour imports. On the other hand, most incoming workers are denied political citizenship. Citizenship gives political identity. Once this is denied the hollowness about recognition is exposed.

A multicultural society is one of mutual and multiple recognitions where individuals are neither subjected to the tyrannies of compulsive cultural traditions nor are ethnic groups subjected to the tyranny of either the state or a dominant group within it (Giri 2000). Multicultural society is expected to negate racism and other prejudices and seeks to enhance respect for the identity of the 'other'.

A multicultural society is also a learning society where different cultures and individuals seek to learn from each other and in the process are also open to mutual criticism and transformation. It calls for an ability to identify properly and graciously with the suffering of each other and contribute to the building of a nuturant common future (Giri 2000).

John Rex (1996) opines that minority rights are not protected through the power of the organisations of immigrants themselves but through the paternalistic actions of indigenous organisations in the host society. He goes on to argue that the multicultural alternative takes several forms. In Sweden it involves a special effort on the part of those responsible for the administration of social rights to ensure that

minorities are fairly treated, and this is coupled with recognition of a local franchise. In the Netherlands there is the famous policy of 'pillariziation' developed originally to accommodate Christian confessional differences under which catholic, protestant and free secular groups each have their own educational institutions, their own media, and their own trade union organizations. In Britain, even though it is a country marked by severe colour discrimination, official policy has involved alongwith measures designed to combat racial and colour discrimination, the recognition and tolerance of cultural diversity.

In principle all multicultural states claim that they foster cultural diversity and promote equality. But, often it is far from true. Rex (1996) quotes Wieviorka who suggests that the very use of the term occurs only in dealing with inferiors. Rath mentioned by Rex (1996) is of the opinion that multicultural policy actually involves a process of 'minorization' in which those who are called minorities are actually marked for inferior treatment.

Rex (1996) builds up the argument that multiculturalism accepts that there are institutions which are essential to the modern state and at the same time recognises that there is value in giving recognition to minority values. The minority cultures will have two important functions for their members and for a democratic society. On the one hand, they will provide for the minority communities a psychological and moral home between the family and the state, which was one of the ideals

suggested by Durkheim (1933) in distinguishing between a society based on 'organic solidarity' and one marked by 'anomie'. Secondly, the maintenance of minority organizations will enable the minority members to act collectively and not merely individually, to fight for their rights, just as class based organisation have been an essential part of developing modern democracies in the past.

Locke (1992) has come forward with a comprehensive model of multicultural understanding which is designed to include all the elements of personal awareness and information necessary for a person to engage in a positive and productive relationship with culturally diverse individuals or groups. It provides for exploring ethnic differences and includes ethnic self awareness which is the first step towards understanding others.

Locke's (1992) model as illustrated in figure 3.1 delineates elements that go into making awareness of self and awareness of elements for awareness of cultural diversity within the context of multiculturalism. Awareness of self comes through racism and prejudice, language and the arts, history of oppression, concept of poverty and accommodation. Awareness of cultural diversity comes through socio-political factors, child rearing practices, religious practices, family structure and cultural values and attitudes.

FIGURE 3. 1
A MODEL FOR MULTICULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

GLOBAL INFLUENCES

CULTURE

racism and
prejudice

socio-political
factors

language
and the arts

COMMUNITY

child rearing
practices

history of
oppression

FAMILY

Religious
Practices

INDIVIDUAL

concept
of poverty

family
structure

accommodation

cultural values
and attitudes
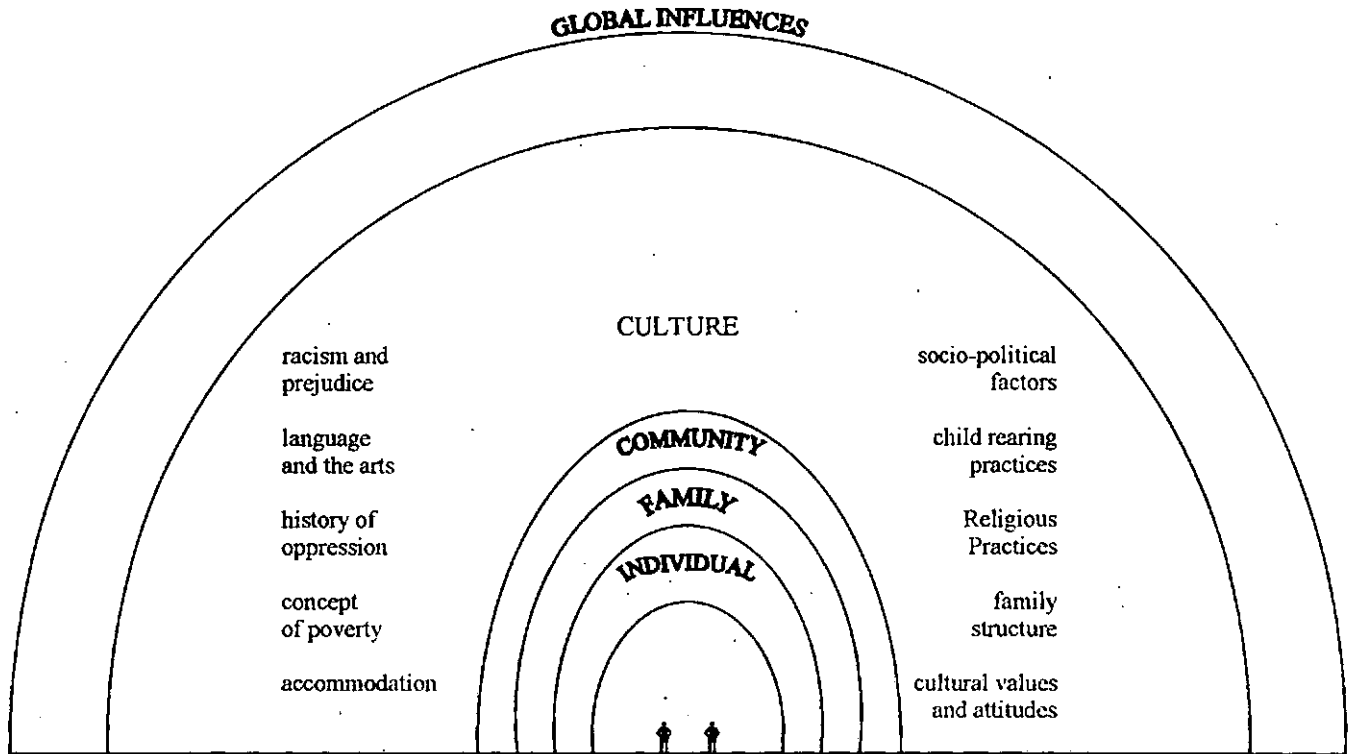
Awareness of Self	RESEARCH THEORY CURRICULUM	Awareness of Culturally Diverse

Source - (Locke 1992 : 2).

In the case of ethnic minorities, it includes understanding one's cultural heritage and aspects which influence relations with culturally diverse individuals. The second aspect according to Locke is global influence, which necessiates placing oneself within the matrix of geo-political happenings. Implied herein is the fact that one needs to understand the dominant culture of the host society and keep the cultural differences in sight.

This model allows for the scrutiny of oppression through policies of acculturation, the sprouting of ethnic revitalisation movement and the emergence of multiculturalism. Ethnic revitalisation movement had demands which took the form of marches, protests, demonstrations and on occasion violence. Institutional changes to narrow down the gap between egalitarian rhetoric and societal realities (Banks 1983).

Banks (1983) provides a typology of three phases of ethnic revitalisation movement He argues that during the pre-condition phase, there exists a history of colonialism, imperialism and racism as institutionalised democratic ideology. The first phase witnesses the quest by the victimised ethnic groups to get the problems of discrimination solved. The next phase is an effort by the victimised and dominant groups to search for a way out through meaningful dialogue and multiple-cause explanations. In the third and final phase some of the elements of reforms formulated for the solution of the problems get

institutionalised and the situation seems to have improved. The hope in these unleashes movements by other ethnic minority groups.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Much of the response to ethnic protest took place in the schools and universities. Educational institutions had many ethnic groups and were seen as powerful symbols and bastions of the status quo that had participated in the oppression of ethnic groups. Schools are limited in its ability to improve the social, economic and political conditions of ethnic groups but they play a powerful role in the life chances of children and youths (Banks 1983). Therefore, schools are viewed as powerful vehicles that could play a pivotal role in their liberation.

Educational institutions responded by establishing ethnic studies courses and programmes. The responses of many school districts were meant to silence militant ethnic groups and to alleviate racial tension and unrest (Banks and Lynch 1986). Ethnic studies movement was necessary but not sufficient to bring about school reform that would respond to the unique needs of ethnic minority students and create equal educational opportunities for all students (Banks 1992).

All these call for an examination of multicultural education - its historical foundation, nature, process, goals, misconceptions about it, significance as well as limitations in western democratic countries.

Multicultural education means different things to different people. Some definitions rely on the cultural characteristics of diverse groups,

while others emphasize social problems (particularly those associated with oppression), political power, and the real location of economic resources. Some restrict their focus to the people of colour, while others include all major groups that are different in any way from the mainstream. Other definitions limit multicultural education to characteristics of local schools, and still others provide directions for school reforms in all settings regardless of their characteristics. The goals of these diverse types of multicultural education range from bringing more information about various groups to text books, to combating racism, to restricting the entire school enterprise and reforming society in order to make schools more culturally fair, accepting and balanced (Gay 1995).

A number of definitions have been given in the introductory chapter and what we discuss here is the kind and nature of multicultural education. Table 3.1 shows the various policy options in multicultural/multiethnic societies.

These policy options, as shown in table 2.1, have been pursued in different ways in different multicultural/multiethnic societies. These policy options have been depended on the socio-political structure of the place. And after the experiences of success or failure, multiculturalism as a policy option has evolved.

Table 3.1
Policy Options in Multicultural/Multiethnic Societies

Extermination	(e.g., Hitler and the Jews, Idi Amin's Uganda. Pol Pot's Kampuchea)
Expulsion	(Chinese from Vietnam, Tamils from Sri Lanka, Ghanaians from Nigeria, East African Asians from Uganda)
Separate development	(Apartheid in South Africa, Native Reservations in Canada and the USA)
Assimilation	(e.g., USA, Australia, Canada, Thailand, UK)
Adjustment / integration	(e.g., Germany, Sweden)
Synthesis	(e.g., China, Singapore)
Cultural pluralism	1 Separation (India, Pakistan) 2 Biculturalism (Sweden, Canada) 3 Multiculturalism
Interculturalism	(e.g., Sweden, EEC countries)
International and multicultural education	1 Multicultural education 2 Multiethnic education
Antiracist education's	

Source - (Watson 1992: 249)

According to Watson (1992) there have been several kinds of policy options in multicultural/multiethnic societies. Experimentation was followed by Hitler in Germany, Adi Amin in Uganda and Pol Pot in Kampuchea. The Chinese from Vietnam, Tamil from Sri Lanka, Ghanaians from Nigeria and East African experienced Asians from Uganda expulsion. Separate development has been witnessed in the form of apartheid in South Africa and Native reservation in Canada and the USA. Assimilation was followed in the USA, Australia, Canada, Thailand and UK. Adjustment/integration was seen in Germany and Sweden. Sweden later evolved interculturalism after a spell of biculturalism. An attempt towards synthesis was there in China and Singapore (Watson

1992). After all these experiments what is today known in educational discourse as multicultural education evolved.

Multicultural education encompasses multiple voices in a multicultural society. While examining the development of ethnic revitalisation movements in Western democratic nations such as the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia, and the response that educational institutions have made, it is possible to identify specific types of paradigmatic patterns (Banks 1983).

James Bank (1983) brings into focus the point that the ethnic additive and self-concept development paradigm is seen during the first phase. These consist of the infusion of bits and pieces about ethnic groups into the curriculum. The teaching about ethnic heroes and the celebration of ethnic holidays are the main features here. These attempts help ethnic minorities to forge a positive ethnic identity and self-esteem.

The cultural deprivation paradigm is also characteristic of the first phase wherein ethnic groups do not achieve well in school because of family disorganisation and lack of effective concept acquisition. Cultural deprivation theorists assume that a major goal of school programmes for culturally deprived children is to provide them with cultural and other experiences that attempts to compensate for their cognitive and intellectual deficits by using intensive, behaviourally oriented instruction.

The language paradigm is also important as it was viewed that most of the problems of ethnic children were related to language (especially the West Indians and Asians). But a single explanation programme focussing exclusively on language has not produced any results. Language is but an integral part of culture and so it is assumed that the focus should be more comprehensive and attention should be concentrated on total educational environment than only on language.

Ethnic revitalisation movements assumed that institutional racism is the most important cause of the problems of ethnic groups in school and society and that it must become legitimised as an explanation, and serious steps must be taken to eliminate it. The focus on racism as a major factor that causes educational inequality is important during the later and final phases of ethnic revitalisation movements. Educational programmes designed to eliminate racism focus on cultural differences of the minority and tend to be implicit and thoroughly integrated into the total school curriculum rather than being visible and explicit.

James Bank makes it explicit that multicultural education must have a strong, effective and systematic component designed to reduce personal and institutional racism. Strategies ought to be comprehensive in scope and focus on all aspects of the school environment including the hidden curriculum, institutional norms, school policy, the counselling programme, assessment and testing procedures, the formalised course of

study, teaching methods and materials and the attitudes and expectations of the school staff.

There is also the radical paradigm which assumes that the school is part of the problem and plays a key role in keeping ethnic groups oppressed . They also delineate that multicultural education diverts attention from the real problems and issues. Within this paradigmatic assumption the focus is to be put on the institutions (other than the school) and structures of society rather than on the characteristics on minority students, their cultural difference and school reforms.

As the cause of social deprivation of ethnic minorities is not just one but multiple, so the paradigmatic response ought to be multi-explanation in nature instead of being single explanation oriented. A variety of approaches are expected to take centre stage and a number of changes ought to be made to make multicultural education successful, argues Bank.

Based on the multi-factor holistic paradigm, Bank (1983) describes the characteristics of the school environment in a multicultural setting. Herein, the school is conceptualised as a system which consists of a number of identifiable factors, such as the staff attitudes and values, assessment and testing procedures, and the curriculum and teaching materials.

In a multicultural setting the school staff is expected to have non-racist and democratic attitudes and values. The school is also expected

to promote norms and values that reflect and legitimise ethnic and cultural diversity. Language pluralism and diversity are/are to be valued and fostered in the school. The curriculum and teaching materials present diverse ethnic and cultural perspectives on concepts, issues and problems. The teaching and motivational styles that are used are effective with students from different social classes well as racial and ethnic groups. Assessment and testing procedures promote social class and ethnic equality. Here, students from diverse ethnic, cultural and social class groups are expected to experience equal status.

The ideology and research by those seeking change and welfare of ethnic minorities did not go unchallenged and there were efforts by conservatives who defended the status quo. They attempted to project that the failure of ethnic groups in school and society has been due to their own inherited or socialised features, such as their genetic characteristics and their family socialisation. James Bank (1983) quotes Jensen (1969), Shockley (1972) and Hernestein (1971) who argue along these lines. While Jensen talks about genetic inferiority of the black race, Hernestein argued that social class rather than race was related to heredity.
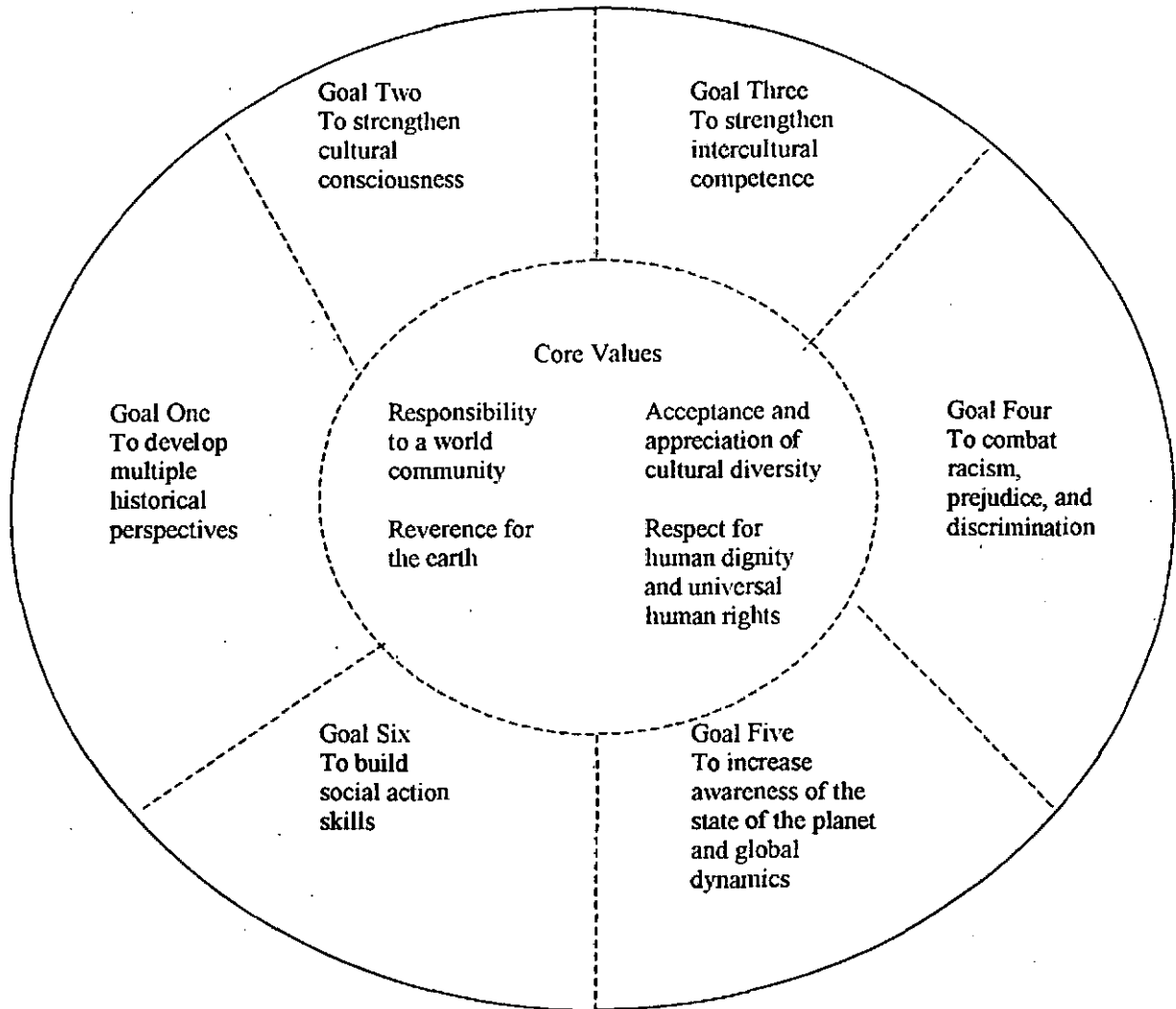
The argument in the light of experiences of the Western nations holds that the problems of ethnic minority students are too complex. The problems that they face in school reflects the problems they face in wider society. Therefore, a holistic approach is needed which

conceptualises the school as an interrelated whole in the socio-political structure although our theory and research about multicultural education are limited to help students increase their academic achievement and to develop more democratic attitudes and values (Banks 1983).

Reforming curriculum and teaching materials is necessary but not enough. Figure 3.2 shows the global and multicultural perspectives in the curriculum. As shown in figure 3.2 the core values for a global and multicultural perspective in the curriculum are acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity and respect for human dignity and universal human rights. There should be a general responsibility to the world community. The goals for this as elucidated by Locke (1992) are six in number: understanding of multiple historical perspective strengthening cultural consciousness and intercultural competence, combating racism, prejudice and discrimination, increasing awareness of the planet and finally building social action skills for all these.

Also needed is the positive attitude of teachers towards different ethnic groups. Bank (1983) argues that educators should conceptualise the school as a microculture that has norms, values, roles, states and goals like other cultural systems. The school has a dominant culture and a variety of subcultures. Almost all classrooms in Western societies are multicultural because white students, as well as black and brown students are socialised within diverse cultures. Teachers in Western societies also come from many different ethnic groups and cultures. The school therefore, is a micro-culture where students and teachers meet.

Figure 3.2 Global and Multicultural Perspective in the Curriculum

Goal Two
To strengthen
cultural
consciousness

Goal Three
To strengthen
intercultural
competence

Core Values

Goal One
To develop
multiple
historical
perspectives

Responsibility
to a world
community

Reverence for
the earth

Acceptance and
appreciation of
cultural diversity

Respect for
human dignity
and universal
human rights

Goal Four
To combat
racism,
prejudice, and
discrimination

Goal Six
To build
social action
skills

Goal Five
To increase
awareness of the
state of the planet
and global
dynamics

Source - (Locke 1992: 282)

Multicultural education as opposed to assimilationist approach has acculturation as its goal. School environment is culturally diverse, where acculturation takes place and both teachers and students integrate some of the views, perceptions and ethos of each other as they interact. This way the academic achievement of students from diverse cultures is enhanced.

Multicultural education is receiving major national and international attention, not only within the educational community, but within society at large . Educators at all levels and in all roles are having to confront racism, sexism and classism and help schools become portals of life opportunities and choices for all students (Grant 1992). Multicultural education has emerged in the recent past to address the educational needs of a society which is an amalgamation of many cultures (Hanley 1999). Hanley (1999) quotes Sleeter who delineates five approaches to multicultural education.

— The first approach advocates the teaching of a culturally different approach which attempts to raise the academic achievement of students of colour through culturally relevant instruction.

— The second talks about the human relations approach where students are taught about commonalities of all people by achieving an understanding of their social and cultural differences but not their differences in institutional and economic power.

— The third and the single group studies approach is about the histories and contemporary issues of oppression of the people of colour, women, low socio-economic groups and gays and lesbians.

— The fourth, promotes the transformation of the educational process to reflect the ideals of democracy in a pluralistic society. Students are taught content using instructional methods that value cultural knowledge and differences.

— The fifth, where the educators use the social reconstructionist approach to multicultural education go a stop further to teach students about oppression and discrimination. Students learn change agents so that they may participate in the generation of a more equitable society.

These categories overlap and at times more than one approach is used. The discourse on multicultural education, it makes a profound change in the way we think about education. Banks (1997b) describes the dimensions of multicultural education in five overlapping areas in which researchers and practitioners are involved.

— The first area talks about content integration in the inclusion of materials, concepts and values from a variety of cultures in teaching.

— The second area deals with knowledge construction, which is the recognition that all knowledge is socially constructed, created in the minds of human beings to explain their experience and thus can be challenged. Ideas that shape society do change. As such, knowledge construction is a primary aspect of multicultural education.

— Equity pedagogy, the third area, is involved when teachers alter their teaching methods to accommodate the various cultural differences of diverse students to stimulate academic achievement.

— The fourth deals with prejudice reduction and concerns changing the schools 'attitudes towards differences of race and ethnicity. It also includes teaching tolerance about religion, physical and mental abilities etc.

— The fifth deals with empowering school culture and enables the other four dimensions to become operational. Herein, educators are expected to examine the structures of education that impede learning and empower students and families from 'diverse racial, ethnic, and gender groups' (Banks 1997b: 24). The main aim is to create schools that encourage the full development of all students.

The movement towards multicultural education has gained momentum over the last two decades. While many elementary educators support the move and genuinely try to incorporate diverse cultural issues into the curriculum, some widespread misconceptions about what multicultural education is and how it should be implemented hinder the process. People from the same nation or geographical region, or those who speak the same language may not share the same culture. For example, in Canada, the language (French Canadian) and culture vary dramatically from that of Alberta and other provinces (Aldridge and Aman 2000). The diasporic movement make it more diverse.

In addition to this, a continuum of cultural identity exists and the entire range can be found within the same family. In case of diaspora, the grandparents may maintain their original culture while their grand

children may be bicultural or mainstreamers. Children have a unique cultural heritage and multicultural education should examine interpersonal cultural diversity as well as the interpersonal (Aldridge and Aman 2000).

While ethnic and racial concerns are a large part of multicultural education, gender and socio-economic diversity also are important. (Aldridge and Aman (2000:2) quotes Gollnick and Chinn who recommend five goals for multicultural education, which emphasize issues beyond the boundaries of ethnic or racial issues. They include :1) the promotion of strength and value of cultural diversity, 2) an emphasis on human rights and respect for those who are different from oneself, 3) the acceptance of alternative life choices for people, 4) the promotion of social justice and equality for all people, and 5) an emphasis on equal distribution of power and income among groups.

Multicultural education harbours a place for a multiplicity of voices in a multicultural society and a place for many dreams. As the above discussion has shown, it does not just include ethnic or racial concerns but ethnic or racial concerns are an important aspect. The emergence of multicultural education has in large part been due to ethnic revitalisation movement.

Therefore, it becomes pertinent to explore whether multicultural education fulfils the aspirations of the ethnic minorities and promotes the full participation and career achievement of ethnic minorities. In the

68

next section an attempt will be made to study the education of ethnic minorities in those countries which pursue multicultural education as its government policy. The focus will be on ethnic minorities from South Asia, especially India.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND INDIAN DIASPORA

Western nations such as the USA, UK, Canada and Australia follow multicultural education and these countries have a significant number of people of Indian origin. Children from the Indian subcontinent have high achievement motivation and stress on the importance of education (Parekh 1993). The migrant parents invest their hopes in their children's education and the children in turn aim not to let them down.

Asian Indians are referred to as 'model minorities' in the USA (Barringer et al 1990) mainly due to their high educational and career achievement. But as mentioned earlier the Indian diaspora in America corresponds to the second phase of migration from India and they were relatively more educated and more enterprising . They also did not have a language barrier as most second generation migrants from India have been proficient in English.

The 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1973) which the Indian diaspora possess facilitated them to easily become part of American society. As Americans are switching over from the melting pot assimilationist to salad bowl multicultural world- view, the Indian diaspora are doing well.

69

The success of service workers, especially in the Silicon valley, all the more explains this point.

Rex (1996) argues that a 'host' society takes either of the three paths with regard to the presence of migrant minorities. It may firstly, either involve attempts to assimilate the minorities on equal terms as citizens or secondly, it may seek to subordinate them as second class citizens. The latter was a common phenomena in the Euro-centric world before the ethnic revitalisation movements. The third path recognizes cultural diversity in the private sphere while maintaining a shared public political culture. This is what multiculturalism seeks to foster.

The American society has shifted from the second to the third path and as already explained, the Indian diaspora has benefitted. The Indian diaspora also has a sizeable presence in the UK, where together with others from the sub-continent are collectively referred to as the 'Pakis'. Gibborn (1990) has analysed the education of South Asian pupils in the City Road schools in the UK are taken to be better behaved than white and black Generally children from South Asia children. These 'brown' children also achieve better than others .

This generalisation might give the impression that everything is smooth for migrant minorities there. But, as the Swann report has shown racism is far from over in Britain. Analysis by Gibborn (1990) shows the presence of racism and racist name calling like 'Pakis', 'curry fellow' etc. and goes to the extent of physical abuses also . This leads to

children from the same ethnic groups to stay together and the whole friendship network revolve around ethnic identity in British city schools.

Gibborn (1990) points out that teachers seem to overlook the racist abuses and bullying, and most of the time due to a negative South Asian image perpetuate differentiation. Brah (1996) points to South Asians in Britain being seen as themselves constituting a problem and any difficulty regarding their education is considered a result of their 'cultural problems'

If children from South Asia perform better than others in such a situation, it might be due to other reasons, which will be shown in the subsequent discussion. Secondly, as Parekh (1983) pointed out that the reasons for West Indian children's underachievement cannot be found in the factors they share in common with the Asians. Children from the Indian sub-continent have high achievement motivation and stress the importance of education, argues Parekh (1983). The migrant parents invest their hopes and aspirations in their children and they were not to let them down.

Despite hurdles and a pronounced differences of language, religion, physical appearance and pattern of interaction at home some minority groups like the Indian diaspora do quite well in education in the 'host' country .

A socio-historical explanation is provided for these kind of phenomena. Scholars arguing along this line distinguish between

voluntary and involuntary minorities (Clark et al 1996). They argue that involuntary minorities have a different historical stance compared to the more gifted and enterprising voluntary minorities.

This goes on to explain how minority students from places like India succeed in American, British or Canadian schools in the face of profound differences of language, religion and race. This phenomena also accounts for the fact that school performance is not due only to what is done to or for the minorities. It is also due to the fact that the minorities' interpretations and responses make them more or less accomplices to their own educational success or failure.

Children from minority families enter school with different patterns of communication and participation than those expected and reinforced by the school (Clark et al 1996). Sociologists also refer to the cross-cultural structure of dominance and status. According to the social reproduction theory, problems of schooling are not at the most fundamental level, pedagogical. They concern "the way in which the community of adults reproduces itself, with the places that newcomers can or cannot find in such communities, and with relations that can or cannot be established between these newcomers and the cultural and political life of the community"(Lave and Winger 1991: 100).

So far makes an assessment of the education of the ethnic minority in the USA and UK which pursues multiculturalism. Before that we have a discussion on multiculturalism and multicultural education in this chapter. The next chapter takes up the same issue exclusively in the Canadian context. It also examines the education of Indian Diaspora in the Canadian multicultural context.

CHAPTER – IV

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND INDIAN DIASPORA IN CANADA

Canada tops the list of countries in human indicators and boasts of a diversified society of which the Indian diaspora forms a sizeable portion. •Canada also pursues multicultural education as their official government policy and so it will be interesting to examine how multiculturalism operates in Canada. And also as the title of this research work suggests, an attempt is made to discern how the Indian diaspora are able to perform within the multicultural educational policy of Canada. But, before that it is pertinent to know about the Canadian land and its people.

The beginning of this chapter precisely deals with this. The next section of this chapter focuses on the Indian diaspora in Canada. Thereafter is an examination of the Canadian policy of multiculturalism and multicultural education. Finally, this chapter makes a valid assessment of the education of Indian diaspora in Canada.

CANADA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Canada is a country of overwhelming size. It sprawls from the rolling crests of the Pacific to the crashing breakers of the Atlantic, from the Arctic ice fields, to the American border. •After the breakup of the Soviet Union, it is now the largest nation on earth. Figure 4.1 shows the physical boundaries of Canada.

Figure 4.1 Physical Boundaries of Canada

Source - (Governmnet of Canada)

Canada is a land of immigrants. Most Canadians are either themselves immigrants or trace their ancestry back to migrants. The aboriginal peoples were the first Canadians. Most anthropologists now agree that they first came to Canada crossing from Siberia during the last Ice Age, when there was a land bridge over what is now the Berring Sea. From the north they spread south and east to the Atlantic coast and the southern tip of South America. When the Europeans arrived there were about half a million of them in what is now Canada. Today, there are about 500,000 aboriginals and the same number of mixed origin, i.e. Metis, after a phase when their number substantially went down (Saywell 1996: 9-11).

Europeans first came to Canada in search of natural products, fish and furs. This quest led French traders to establish the first permanent settlement in Quebec in 1608 in order to secure the pelts brought from the western interior by the Indians. The fur trade expanded steadily and by the 1670s French explorers had penetrated as far west as the Mississipi. Rivalry for dominance over Canadian territory began when the English penetrated Hudson Bay around the 1670s. This led to decades of struggle as the French sought to expand to the west and north while the English endeavoured to monopolise trade in the Bay. The English outmatched the French by their superior seapower and New France (or Quebec) fell under the British. The British navy cut the

tenuous link between the colony and the mother country and by 1759 it fell under British territorial aggrandisement (Canada Handbook 1984).

During the American revolt against the British Yoke (i.e., the American war of Independence), French dominated Quebec remained neutral. And when friction broke out between Britain and the United States over Canada in 1812, the loss of Canada to superior American forces looked imminent. But, a small force of British regulars aided by the Canadian Indians were able to hold off the Americans until peace was restored in 1814.

Discontent had started in lower Canada which was channellised by the Parti Patriote (a political party) into an agitation for wider self-government. Soon the echo was heard in Upper Canada. The Patriotes denounced anglophone domination and the British imperialistic device and sought to move towards a more democratic society on the American lines. This accentuated into a rebellion in 1837 which was militarily suppressed.

The era of 1840s and 1850s was an era of rapid change for British North America and by the 1860s British North America was moving perceptibly out of the imperial orbit towards closer relations with the United States. The outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 presented serious problems. Britain's decision to remain neutral offended the north (mainly what is now Canada) and when it became clear that the South would be defeated many British North Americans

76

were apprehensive that the victorious armies would be unleashed upon them to annex them to the United States. These developments had serious implications and they were to mark the end of an era and the beginning of another.

The watershed happened when at the request of three separate colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the British parliament passed the British North American (BNA) Act, which federally united the three to form one Dominion under the name of Canada. The act became a law on July 1, 1867 and Canada was established as a federal state (Canada Handbook 1984).

For a country of immigrants, the immigration policy is important which in the case of Canada has never been clearly articulated (Whitaker 1991). But the efforts have always been to spread the net and eliminate the not so good. During the confederation debates in 1865, the encouragement of immigrants was seen as one of the principal benefits of the union of the British North American colonies which expected to move west and southwards. The immigrants were given priority to settle with agriculture in the beginning, which was under the concurrent jurisdiction of the federal and provincial governments under the British North American Act of 1867. Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission mentions that in 1867 the total immigration to Canada was 10,666 and settlement was primarily assumed to be on the land.

Canada Employment and Immigration Commission gives us
information about the immigration to Canada. Taking the total
immigration for a year after a gap of twenty years, we get this
information:

Table 4.1. Immigration to Canada

Year	Total Immigration
1867	10,666
1887	84,526
1907	272,409
1927	158,886
1947	64,127
1967	222,876
1987	159,098

Source – (Whitaker 1991:1)

From the beginning the federal government was entrusted with the
responsibility of controlling the immigrant flow and with time the
immigration policy has changed with the changing nature and need of
the Canadian society. When settlement with agriculture was the prime
need, this was understood in terms of medical controls and not to let
communicable diseases spread..

By 1878, under the Torries National Policy for industrial
development of Canada, the need shifted to industrial labour force. But,
during this phase immigration was a mere transfer point between Europe
and America. The Canadian West was popularised in Europe through
the circulation of pamphlets which drew pictures awaiting immigrants.
Promotional campaigns like this succeeded more with the development of

weather resistant strains of wheat and dry farming techniques along with the exhaustion of American agricultural frontier lands (Whitaker: 1991).

To shape and direct immigration, the federal government sought partnership with the private sector. The encouragement of immigration thus became identified with the private interest of large companies like Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). To say, Canadian immigration during this phase was simply part of the economics of transportation in a developing country dependent upon staple extraction within a wider imperial framework (Whitaker 1991: 5–6).

Table 4. 1 shows clearly that the closing decade of the nineteenth and the early decade of the twentieth century has been the boom year of immigration. A clear boost was provided by the coming of the Liberals to office under Laurier in 1896. Laurier's first minister in charge of immigration, Clifford Sifton, insisted upon attracting large numbers of peasants from central and eastern Europe. Not just Europe but people from other places also were attracted (Whitaker 1991). It was during this phase that people from the Indian subcontinent started touching the Canadian shores.

In 1891, the Canadian Pacific Railway introduced a trans–pacific passenger service from Hong Kong to Vancouver and on 1 April, 1904 the vanguard of a Sikh influx reached British Colombia on a CPR liner. Their arrival coincided with the temporary halt of one Asian (Chinese)

immigrant when the Canadian government raised the head-tax on them to $500. (Johnston 1984).

In 1905 Sifton was replaced by Frank Oliver, under whom the open door policy for immigrants of non-British origin was withdrawn. Around this time anti-foreign agitation started growing especially in the West against the former immigrants (contemptously called Bohunks) from central and eastern Europe. British immigrants often attempted (with much reinforcement from the broader pro-British environment of Canadian society and politics) to establish themselves at the head of a racial and cultural hierarchy in the new land. The antipathy to the 'foreigners' took an ugly form during World War I when direct state coercion was exercised against Germans, Ukrainians and other ethnic groups believed to be potentially subversive or disloyal (Whitaker 1991:8).

Canadian immigration policy has been devised to suit the socio-economic needs of Canada of the then period. Commercial stake, strongly supported by business in general and the powerful transportation corporations like the CPR, in particular, led to a heavy inflow in the 1920s. This inflow got curtailed after the conservatives came to power under R.B. Bennett, who cancelled the railway agreement and immigration, especially from outside Britain and the United States. Not just this but lots of people were officially deported. Between 1930 to 1935, under the conservative government over 28,000 persons were

officially deported from Canada. Deportation could be effected for a number of reasons ranging from criminality, medical cause to catch-all category which covered political deportations of radicals and union organizers (Whitaker 1991: 12-13).

Whitaker (1991) has delineated that Canada was actually running a kind of disguised guest-worker system. Large scale immigration was called for in times of economic expansion, deportation served as a stabilizing mechanism in times of depression when immigrants could not find work and became charges on the public welfare or were politically troublesome. This reiterates the argument that Canadian immigration policy was formulated and operated to suit the socio-economic need of Canada.

After the wars, there were strong external pressures for an open door policy of immigration and here the Prime Minister's statement to the House of Commons in 1947 is important. Prime Minister Mackenzie King made 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 and a matter of domestic policy". Within the context of post-war external pressure and Canada's urge for selection, changes in the immigration pattern became imminent (Whitaker 1991).

In 1950 a new department of government was created for immigration and citizenship which, for the first time, created a Canadian

citizenship distinct from British subject status. In 1952 a new Immigration Act became law but immigration was a privilege, not a right. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s there was conflict between the Immigration Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the Department of Labour over control of immigration policy, each voicing their own interest. New regulations were enacted in 1962 which began the process of ending overt racial discrimination. Independent immigrants were to be admitted according to their skills and means of support, without regard to national origins. These reflected changes in the Canadian society and economy (Whitaker 1991).

By the mid–1960s the greatest postwar boom was underway and more immigrants were required. While those who were low–skilled and ill–educated were checked, skilled labour, technical and professional category was required. Recognising these new realities, the federal government in 1967 established the 'point system', whereby independent applicants were ranked according to certain objective criteria concerning education, skills and resources. Although it was not totally free of biases but it seized to be colour blind. This led to a spurt in immigrants which is seen in the total immigration to Canada around this time, shown in table 4.1. In 1978 a new immigration act became law which was more liberal and positive than its predecessors. Another significant development by now was that the population policy began to be set in place after consultations with the provinces. The provinces had become

important and responsible for a number of social services such as education, health and welfare, highly pertinent to the absorption of immigrants (Whitaker 1951).

Immigration from several places led the demography to be of diverse ethnic origin. Table 4.2, shows the diversity of Canada, by selected ethnic origins in 1981. Those with a population of more than one lakh is taken and major constituent is shown.

Table 4.2 Canadian Population by Country of Select Origin

Country	Total population
Balkans	1,29,075
British	96,74,245
Chinese	2,89,245
Dutch	4,08,240
French	64,39,100
German	11,42,365
Greek	1,54,365
Hungarian	1,16,390
Indian sub–continent (Indo–Pakistani)	1,21,445
Italian	7,47,970
Jewish	2,64,025
Latin American	1,17,555
Native Peoples	4,13,380
Pacific Islands	1,15,290
Polish	2,54,485
Portuguese	1,88,105
Scandinavian	2,82,795
Ukranian	5,29,615

Source: (Moodley 1986: 53).

The range of ethnic origins and the differing group strengths in Canada started undergoing changes from the 1970s with increasingly more immigrants originating in Third World countries, so much so that

exactly 50 percent of all new arrivals in 1980 came from Asian countries.

Table 4.3 shows the immigration by place of birth between 1945–1986.

Table 4.3 Immigration by place of birth between 1945–86.

Area	1945–50	1951–60	1961–70	1971–80	1981–86
	%	%	%	%	%
Europe	79.75	84.31	68.04	36.16	28.57
Africa	0	0	3.15	5.28	4.58
Asia	0.73	1.80	9.89	30.11	42.16
United States	12.55	5.58	10.57	11.04	6.54
South & Latin America	0	0	1.52	6.31	9.23
Caribbean	0	0	4.63	9.20	7.46
Australia	0	0.79	20.27	1.03	1.37
(Not stated)	6.97	7.51	0.32	1.21	0.7
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source – (Samuel 1993: 383)

Table 4.3 clearly shows that migration from Asian countries have increased tremendously from the 1970s and by the time of 1980s the percentage of people coming to Canada from Asia has overtaken all others including those from Europe. Among the people of Asian origin, Indian diaspora forms a large component. They are at present one of Canada's most rapidly growing ethnocultural group. India was the third largest source of Canadian immigrants during 1971–81, suppling roughly 6.5% of all immigrants (Buchignani 1989: 71–84).

INDIAN DIASPORA IN CANADA

·The people of Indian origin in Canada were initially referred to as Hindus, although most were not. In the Canadian census reports and in other publications they were designated (known as) East Indians, to

84

distinguish them from the people that Columbus met. Some people use the term East Indians to refer to the people of origin in India. The division of the Indian subcontinent has led to the usage of an all encompassing term South Asians.

Here, the term Indian diaspora is used to categorise the people of Indian origin. This includes those from undivided India before independence and independent India after it. Also, those of Indian origin moved from countries like Mauritius and Fiji.

Migration of people of Indian origin to Canada dates back to the closing decades of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Between 1904 and 1908, more than 5,000 Indian men landed in British Colombia out of which about 3000 crossed into the United States. Of these nearly all had travelled as directly as possible from their villages, although a small number had served in Sikh regiments in the Far East. An overwhelming majority were Jat Sikhs and most of the rest–whether Sikhs of other castes, or Hindus, or Muslims – came from Central Punjab. Most of them were non–literate and few spoke English (Johnston 1984).

By 1908 a few Indian professionals, students, and businessmen in Vancouver and Victoria started organising the Indian community which helped in smooth relationship within the community and with the host community. This was important because relations with the hosts were not good. People of authority in Canada resented their arrival and the

newspapers in Vancouver and Victoria described Indians as undesirable, degraded, sick, hungry, and a menace to women and children argues Johnston (1984).

Johnston (1984) goes on to point that this was in a period of high employment. Sikhs were not taking jobs from white men, but jobs that had earlier been filled by the Chinese and the Japanese. In the forest industry, and on fruit ranches, there was acute shortage of labour. Hostility was mainly in the longstanding perception that oriental labour undercut their position. Racial exclusiveness and cultural homogeneity were widely shared values in British Colombia and elsewhere. The Chinese and Japanese had already been identified as unwanted immigrants, foreign by culture and race and Indians also fell into that category. A justification that climate and culture made them unfit for work in Canada was also put forward.

In 1907, the economy of British Colombia took a tumble and about 5000 white men were out of work in Vancouver alone. This at a time when oriental immigration continued to increase led to a series of events in the autumn of 1907 and within a space of seven days white rioters drove 400 Indian mill workers out and rampaged the Chinese and Japanese quarters of Vancouver. This led to the Canadian government coming up with strict measures against the people from India. Those who wanted to come to Canada were required to have $ 200 in their possession on arrival while European immigrants needed only $ 25.

People from India were required to come by a continuous passage from India which was impossible because steamship companies, on instruction from the government did not provide the service (Johnston 1984:7). As a consequence immigration of the people from India declined substancially.

Table 4.4 shows Indian immigration to Canada between 1900–1950 taking each decade as a category. It is clear that while immigration in the first decade was in excess of five thousand; that in the next four was just 1,244.

Table 4.4 Indian Immigration to Canada, 1900–1950.

Year	Total Indian Immigration	% of total Canadian Immigration
1900–10	5,195	0.38
1910–20	112	0.006
1920–30	488	0.04
1930–40	254	0.1
1940–50	390	0.09
Total	6,439	

Source – (Johnston 1984:7)

Immigrants in the first phase of migration to Canada came predominantly from the Sikh communities of Punjab and particularly from the two districts of Jullundar and Hoshiarpur. These people faced difficulty in adjusting in Canada – at work and in their lodging, in their pattern of life as well as in language, culture and the attitude of the host population. Johnston (1984:8) argues that family life with children going to school and contacts with neighbours would have helped in

adjustment, but Indian diaspora during this phase was predominantly male, who had come single to make money and enhance their family position in India.

These immigrants formed an egalitarian community in which the strongest ties were those of kinship and village. Leadership was through the force of personality and initiative and political life more random. The most important organisation was the gurudwara management committees. To prevent the authorities from using vagrancy as an excuse to deport Sikhs, the organisation looked after unemployed ones. From 1910, the different organs of the gurudwara management committee led an agitation against the immigration laws, raising funds to fight individual cases, and focussed attention on the position of men settled in Canada who were unable to bring in their wives (Johnston 1984).

During this decade anti–British feeling ran high among Indians in India and abroad. Indian diaspora in north America were especially vociferous and the one in Canada also involved themselves in the Gaddar episode. The Komagata Maru affair in which a ship carrying 376 passengers of Indian origin from East and South–east Asia was refused entry on the Canadian shore for not being in continious journey as required by Canadian legislation. It highlighted the inequality of the Indians in the British Commonwealth and fuelled the Gaddar uprising.

Although the Gaddar uprising failed but it left a lasting memory in the minds of the Indian diaspora in Canada.

-After World War I, the Canadian government changed its position on the admission of wives and children in response to pressure from Britain, which argued that Canada's policy was damaging to the British position in India. After 1918, Indian men resident in Canada were allowed to bring in wives and children under eighteen. Yet very few women came during the early phase of migration to Canada. .Another important development was that the Canadian doors were open for students, tourists, and other non–immigrants. Compared to the earlier phase, by now there were instances of some adjustment by the Indian diasporic community. There were also instances of marriage, though very few between Sikh men and Canadian women (Johnston 1984).

A permanent community of Indian diaspora could not develop in Canada in the pre–1967 phase. There were few women and children and most of those who had migrated in the early decade were ageing. The Sikhs were few in number and they were dispersed through atleast 40 localities in British Colombia. Although a majority lived in Vancouver and Victoria, they did not live in any concentrated area and when they purchased homes, real estate values and distance to work was more important than proximity to other Sikhs.

Exclusiveness and inability to integrate in the host society led to their maintenance of Sikh identity with Gurudwaras, or the Sikh temple

to be the focal point. And in the inter-war period they also started showing features of adjustment with the host community and culture. Although more than half of the men kept their beards and turbans and the women wore dupattas (scarves) as head coverings, adults and children started wearing western dress. Johnston (1984) argues that a clear example of efforts to adjustment is seen in the lumber camps, where they worked with other men and ate the standard bunkhouse fare. But, at home and in their own camps they had traditional Indian food.

With the passage of time the Indian diaspora of early migration phase started doing well in Canada. .By the early 1920s, six sawmills and two shingle mills in British Colombia were owned and operated by Sikhs. Although, most of the others were not able to break out of the lumber industry, many went into business as suppliers of fuel, bidding for waste wood and sawdust from sawmills and delivering to private residences. Some became involved in importing tea, and a few owned farms. The law of the land kept them away from employment in municipal or provincial government jobs, or any work with a timber operation cutting on Crown land. They also could not obtain hand-logging licences, were discouraged from obtaining commercial licences and were excluded from craft unions (Johnston 1984).

From politics in economics the analysis moves to politics. By federal law, as British subjects long resident in Canada, most were Canadian citizens, but in British Columbia the provincial and municipal

elections act denied them the right to vote. At the Imperial Conferences through the 1920s and 1930s, the delegation from India repeatedly raised the question of franchise for Indians in Canada, but were put off with bland promises to look into the matter. Although outside pressure increased but the Indian diaspora in Canada needed the political support of other Canadians and that was lacking until the 1930s, when the small C.C.F. party took up the Asiatic cause. Attitude also shifted more significantly in the aftermath of the Second World War as North Americans became more sensitive to charges of discrimination (Johnston 1984).

A victory of sort was achieved in 1947, when Indians alongwith the Chinese received the right to vote in British Colombia. The year 1947 has nothing to do with India's Independence although it might have served as a cause. A more important reason was the emerging context of the geo-political world. With this other disabilities fell. Immigration regulations also did change in 1951 when in the interest of improved relations with the now independent commonwealth countries of South Asia, Canada agreed to accept a token number of unsponsered immigrants, symbolically ending an era that had begun in 1908. An annual quota of 150,100,50 was established for India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka over and above the sponsored immigration category, which was extended to include elderly parents and children under 21 (Johnston 1984).

In the matter of education, attempts were made to keep ethnic minorities away from schools. Burnet (1988) reports that some school authorities fought a prolonged battle with the Chinese and the Japanese immigrant parents to keep non-white children in British Colombia (where Asians were in large number) out of public schools (govt.) or atleast segregate them in their own classrooms. The basic premise was that they did not know English and needed separate schooling. Discrimination included deprivation of the right to vote in school board elections. Those discriminated began to resist by initiating school boycott and other forms of resistance.

Bernet (1988) also reports of efforts in British Colombia by Anglican and Methodist missionaries concerned about the linguistic difficulties of young Asians. . They set up private schools, especially kindergardens which improved the performance of Asian students in public schools.

Another significant change was the emergence of a young Canadian born population – but the sex ratio was still male dominated – 16 males for every 10 females. These children, encouraged by their parents did well in school. While Sikh parents were generally progressive, who valued education and technical innovation, there was much that they disapproved of in Canadian culture, particularly the standards of family life and the behaviour of Canadian women. Parents took the responsibility of selecting mates and young people accepted it.

Intra-group marriage was preferred and if a suitable match was not found in Canada, efforts were made to get one from other places, especially India (Johnston 1984).

In 1957 and in 1958, the new Conservative government of John Diefenbar opened the immigration door a couple on inches more. The quota was increased to 300 in 1957 and remained in force until 1968 when the new immigration regulations known as 'point system' was introduced. The relaxation in immigration and more so with the introduction of point system the proportion of people of Indian origin increased substantialy in Canada. The 'Point System' a systematic device in which points were allocated on the basis of level of education, special vocational preparation, experience, occupational demand, arranged employment, designated occupations, age, knowledge of English and French, personal suitability etc. A minimum of 70 out of 100 was necessary. Johnston (1984:14) points that between the census of 1961 and 1976, Canada's Indian origin population increased about 20 times. •Migration of Indians to Canada was no longer from Punjab but also from Gujarat, Maharashtra and elsewhere. Not just India, the diaspora in places like Fiji, Mauritius, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania also moved in. The following table shows the immigration of people of Indian origin to Canada by country of last permanent residence during 1951-1979.

Table 4.5 Immigration of People of Indian Origin to Canada -- by country of last permanent residence

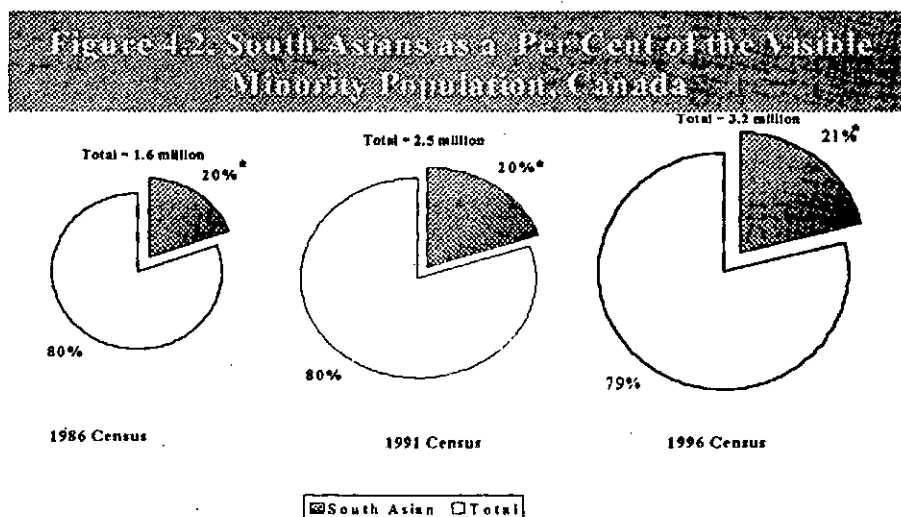| Years	India	Fiji	Mauritius	Kenya	Uganda	Tanzania
1958–62	2,512	—	—	—	—	—
1963–67	10,331	956	92	548	153	242
1968–73	33,859	3,963	668	2,769	7,447	3,211
1974–76	29,745	4,934	786	6,073	564	5,511
1977–79	15,518	1,776	261	844	54	1,630

Source – (Johnston 1984:15)

.Unlike the Sikhs, most of these people came to Canada as independent immigrants mostly from urban settings and needed to have advanced education or special job skills to qualify for entrance. By now most immigrants were moving to Canada by air route and since the air route was via Europe, Montreal and Toronto replaced Victoria and Vancouver as places of arrival. And unlike other immigrants, the Indian diaspora headed for Canda's major metropolitan areas (Johnston 1984).

With an increased presence, the Indian diaspora in Canada have become a visible minority. .The term 'visible minority' refers to people who are identifiably non–white and/or non–Caucasian but excludes the native people (Samuel 1987a ; 12). Visible Minorities are the ones facing prejudice and discrimination. There are many features distinguishing this group like physical traits, religion and language. Language has been described as a deterriment of culture, and the cherished cultural symbol of identity (Burnet & Palmer 1988).

The 1996 census was the first to question about race in Canada (Population Group Question 19). In 1986 and 1991 visible minority status was derived from the census ethnic origin question. Since 1996, question 19 (race question) was added which was based on self–identification. The visible minority court is lower than it would be using the 1986/1991 derived ethnic origin variable. Even so, the visible minority population doubled in the last decade. In 1996 Census, 11.2% of the Canadian reported visible minority status and the top three visible minority groups are Chinese (860,000), South Asian (671,000) and the blacks (574,000) (Patel 1998).

Despite the inclusion of the race related question in the 1996 census, the population of visible minorities has doubled in Canada. .South Asians are the second largest visible minority in Canada, so it will be interesting to have a look at this particular group in detail. Figure 4.2 shows South Asians as per cent of the visible minority population in Canada.


Figure 4.2. South Asians as a Per Cent of the Visible Minority Population - Canada

Total - 1.6 million   Total - 2.5 million   Total - 3.2 million

20%*   20%*   21%*

80%   80%   79%

1986 Census   1991 Census   1996 Census

South Asian   Total

Source: 1986-96 Censuses (20% Sample).
* 1986 and 1991 South Asian numbers were derived from the ethnic origin question. 1996 number is the number of persons reporting South Asian on 1996 Census Question 19 (population question).
From: Patel, D. and L. Janizen 1998. *Borderless People: Canadians of South Asian Origins.*

D. Patel, *Modern Technology, Identity and Culture: The South Asian Diasporas,* April 1999.

As a whole the number of people of South Asian origin in Canada is rapidly increasing. After the first decade of the last century, there was a lull in the next four decades, and after the 1950s it substantially picked up and in the last decade, they have been increasing at a great pace. Since figures speak more eloquently than words, we attempt to show the number of people assigned South Asian origin in Canada between 1911-1996, by means of the next figure.

Figure 4.3 Number of People Assigned South Asian Origin in Canada Between 1911-1996
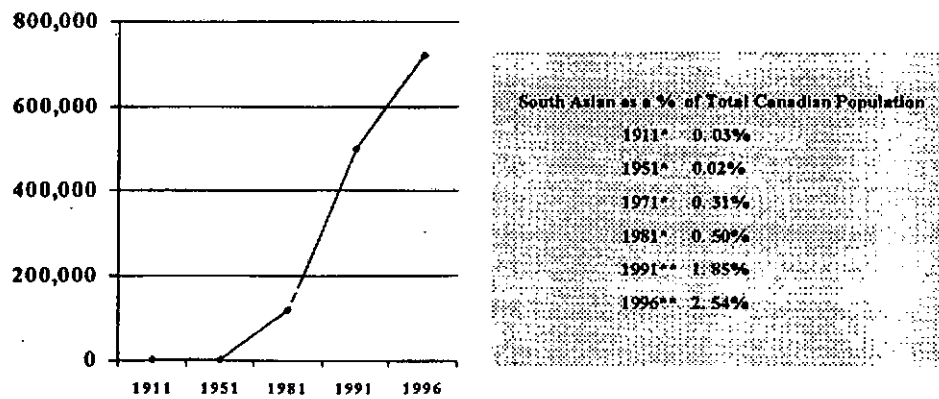
South Asian as a % of Total Canadian Population
1911* 0.03%
1951* 0.02%
1971* 0.31%
1981* 0.50%
1991** 1.85%
1996** 2.54%

*The numbers provided for 1911, 1951, and 1981 are totals for the East Indian population in Canada. (Hugh Johnston, The East Indians in Canada, 1984 p 16).

**Source: Censuses of Canada 1991, 1996 (20% Sample).From: Patel, D. and L. Jantzen 1998. *Borderless People: Canadians of South Asian Origins.*

D. Patel, *Modern Technology, Identity and Culture: The South Asian Diasporas*, April 1999

The point system introduced in the 1960s actually proved quite beneficial to the Asian immigrant and particularly to the Indian diaspora. A fairly large proportion of Indian emigrants entered Canada as professionals, semi-professionals, skilled labourers and entreprenurs. Apart from direct employment opportunities, Canadian universities and

research institutions have been attracting a considerable number of Indian students. Many of these students, particularly scientists and engineers, eventually got settled there after completion of their education (Jain 1999).

A survey conducted in 1978 of the Ottawa–Hull area Indians suggested that the majority of respondents of the Indian diaspora in Canada of the later phase fell into the managerial/professional occupational category and have annual family incomes in excess of $30,000. The survey further revealed that 81 percent of the respondents were Canadian citizens, the median length of their stay in Canada was 9–10 years, 74 percent were less than 45 years old, 92 per cent were married, 39 per cent had four members in their family. This was in sharp contrast to the early immigrants from India, who were single, illiterate and aged. Their level of educational qualifications was considerably above the Canadian averages and 55 percent had post–graduate degress, 19 percent were graduates and 17 percent had other qualifications (Jain 1999: 103).

Jain (1999) delineates that in cities like Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, the Indian diaspora is perhaps more occupationally diversified, consisting of all strata and classes of people. On the whole, the Indian diaspora is educationally and economically much better off than any other major 'visible minority' in Canada. Jain (1999) also argues that the

.Indian diaspora in Canada is currently increasing and at presently number about 600,000.

.According to the 1996 census the Indian diaspora constitute 66.7 per cent of the total South Asians in Canada. Table 4.6 shows their presence in different Canadian provinces–both as a lump–sum population figure and as per cent and table 4.7 shows their distribution in major Canadian cities. It must be stated that their percentage denotes the per cent out of the total South Asian population.

Table 4.6 Indian Diaspora in Canada – Province wise

Province	Population	%
Nova Scotia	1,370	0.6
Quebec	13,085	5.5
Ontario	**121,370**	**51.4**
Monitobo	4,845	2.1
Saskatchewan	1,460	0.6
Alberta	18,360	7.8
British Colombia	**74,360**	**31.5**
Total in Canada	235,930	66.7

Source – (1996 Census)

(Note: Percent denotes the percentage of the South Asians in Canada)

Ontario has 51.4 per cent of the total South Asian population in Canada and British Columbia has 31.5 percent. Among the major cities Toranto has 42.4 percent while Vancouver has 22.7.

Table 4.7. Indian Diaspora in Canada - Major cities

Cities	Population	%
Halifax	1,075	0.5
Montreal	12,755	5.4
Uttawa– Hull	6,025	2.6
Oshawa	815	0.3
Toronto	**99,930**	**42.4**
Hamilton	4,125	1.7
Kitchener	2,725	1.2
London	1,170	0.5
Widsor	1,395	0.6
Winnipeg	4,455	1.9
Calgary	8,555	3.6
Edmonton	8,545	3.6
Vancouver	**53,470**	**22.7**
Victoria	2,005	0.8

Source – (1996 Census)

(Note – Percentage denotes the percentage of South Asians)

Table 4.6 clearly shows that Ontario province has the highest number of Indian diaspora followed by British Colombia. •Most of the immigrants to Ontario is the post–1960s (recent) ones• Ontario and British Colombia together account for the 195,730 Indian diasporic population. Among the major cities where most people of Indian diaspora reside. Toronto, capital of Ontario province and Vancouver, capital of British Colombia stand first and second respectively with a population of 99,930 and 53, 470 according to 1996 census (as shown in table 4.7).

•For most people who came to Canada from India, adjustment to Canadian economic life has been easier than change in family relations. This could be possibly due to two sociological reasons. First, the family

pattern at home is different than the one in the host country. Second, when the major migration was taking place in the 1970s and 1980s, the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation in the family pattern in India was beginning to be felt. In a way, when the Indian diaspora took a step in Canada, they were automatically two steps back in terms of social adjustment.

Survey of literature in the preceding pages shows a marked change in terms of adjustment of the Indian diaspora of the pre-war periods, world war periods and the post-war or recent period. While in the earlier pre-war period immigrants remained excluded and found it hard to adjust; the intermediate period started showing adjustment atleast in the public sphere. The earlier period migrants had an almost exclusive Indian identity (to say, Sikh because most were so), the intermediate had varying shades of identity, Indian in private domain and Canadian in public domain.

Compared to these two Indian diaspora phases the recent phase has shown varying degress of adjustment and varying identity. Buchignani (1989) refers to the fundamental changes that are occurring in famililal status and role relations. He also argues about changes in relations between parents and children. Parents of Indian groups seem to generally have high aspirations for their children, especially for their education and future economic success.

Parents encourage their children to develop good relations with their peers. But, at the same time, they wish to maintain some socio-cultural aspects of their heritage in the next generation. Buchignani (1989) reports that several studies have been conducted which points out that children massively assimilate and strongly identify with their peers. This goes on to confirm the argument of many significant changes with the Indian diaspora of the post-point system in Canada. They have been adjusting to the Canadian socio-economic structure.

With an increase in the number of Indian immigrants from the 1970s, the number of children of Indian origin has also correspondingly increased and so has their proportion in schools. The seventh decade of the last century was also the time when multiculturalism and multicultural education came up. Before that (as has been discussed in previous arguments) there were structural constraints for the children of ethnic origin and those hailing from India were no exception. It will be interesting to analyse and try to find out how multicultural education has acted to remove these constraints and let children of ethnic origin, including Indians perform.

But, first about the nature and process of Canadian multiculturalism which also came in the seventh decade of the last century. The preceding pages after discussing Canadian multiculturalism goes on to examine the Canadian multicultural education.

MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN CANADA

Multiculturalism as a government policy in Canada developed in response to several major forces in Canadian society. The 1962 immigration policy, formalised in the Immigration Act of 1967, put forward a system that did not discriminate on the basis of race, national origin, religion or culture. Breton (1986) argues that the change in immigration policy meant that the immigrants to Canada were no longer restricted primarily to those of European background, but instead began to come from many different cultural backgrounds, leading to an increase in the salience of ethnicity. Now, an official policy of multiculturalism was an obvious next step in acknowledging acceptance of this ethnic diversity.

Canada's first official policy of multiculturalism, entitled "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework" was announced by the then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971. The policy was established to address the concerns expressed by ethnic minorities in response to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Breton 1986). In 1963, the Royal Commission had been appointed to make recommendations on how to develop Canada as a nation on the basis of an equal partnership of the British and French charter groups, while taking into account the role of other ethnic groups. The emphasis on French equality was an indication that the Canadian authorities which was British dominated had begun to respond to French

claims for equal status and, in particular, the Quebec independence movement.

The fact that the role of other ethnic groups in Canada were relegated to a secondary issue led members of these groups to be concerned about their relative position in society. There was the felling among other ethnic groups that their cultures and contributions to Canadian society would be devalued in comparison to those of the French and the British. These ethnic groups put pressure on government machinery. Infact, this movement by ethnic minorities in Canada can be seen as a part of a larger ethnic revitalisation movement in other parts of western democratic nations.

Pressure from these ethnic groups, including those of Indian origin, led to a shift, from biculturalism to multiculturalism. Thus, while the Official Language Act of 1969 legally recognised the role of both the British and the French groups in Canadian society, the multicultural policy of 1971 was put into place to provide recognition of other ethnic groups. The stated purpose of the multiculturalism policy of 1971 was to encourage members of all ethnic groups in Canada to maintain and share their languages and cultural heritage with other Canadians. This was expected to build personal and collective confidence among members of all ethnic groups, and thus promote tolerance of diversity and positive intergroup attitudes (Multiculturalism and Citizenship, Canada 1991).

Multiculturalism was also set up as a national symbol for Canadians and fulfilled the need for a distinctive Canadian identity. The British cultural presence in Canada had weakened with the decline of the British empire after World War II, and an increasing American presence led to fears of loss of identity (Breton 1996). Thus, one major goal of the policy of multiculturalism was to establish Canada as a unique nation and to differentiate Canadians from Americans. By adopting multiculturalism as a part of the Canadian collective identity the aim was to establish a source of pride.

Canadians have started taking pride in the fact that people have come and are coming from all parts of the world and bringing with them varied outlooks, knowledge, skills and tradition, to the benefit of all (Burnet and Palmer 1988). The more recent 'Act for the preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada' was passed in 1988, with minor organisational amendments (Multiculturalism and Citizenship, Canada 1991).

As has been stated, when the policy of multiculturalism was first introduced, it was developed to meet the needs of mainly European immigrant groups and their descendants in Canada. Thus, it was largely put into practice through support for cultural programmes and activities, language and heritage education. As diverse ethnic and racial minority groups immigrated to Canada, however, new concerns arose and were voiced. As a result, the policy of multiculturalism expanded to include

the combating of prejudice and discrimination, and the promotion of full and equal participation of ethnic minorities in all aspects of society, including mainstream economic, cultural, and political life. Justice and equality in all aspects of life are now emphasised (Multiculturalism and Citizenship, Canada 1991) atleast in government policy.

The ideal of multiculturalism in Canada poses two desirable outcomes : the survival of ethnic origin groups and their cultures, along with tolerance of this diversity and an absence of prejudice toward ethnic minorities. But, inspite of the vigorous promotion of the policy of multiculturalism in Canada since the early 1970s, racism has been continuing in varying degrees and forms (Jain 1999: 104). In one sociological study in Toronto "it was found that 16 percent of the population can be considered to be extremely racist; 35 percent incline towards some degree of racism; 19 percent are extremely tolerant and 30 percent incline towards tolerance" (Jain 1999:11).

Inspite of the prevailing racism in Candian society, the government policy of multiculturalism is an effort to reach a social arrangement where the interest of the minority is not subjugated. Canadian society is very diverse and consists of people from most parts of the world and ethnic composition of varying kinds. This diversity is reflected in the populations of most major cities and, consequently in the composition of schools (Moodley 1989). For example, in Vancouver in 1982, out of 55,000 students, 46 percent were identified as children for whom English

was a second language – 43 percent of these were of Chinese origin, 16 percent (of Indian diasporic origin) East Indians, 9 percent Italian, 5 percent Portuguese, 4 percent Greek, 3 percent German and 3 percent Tagalog; and smaller percentage of Japanese, Serbo–Croatian, Vietnamese, Spanish, French and Korean (Allan 1982:1).

Moodley (1989:52) outlines the major objective of multicultural education policy in four select points. The first point includes the programmes for the newcomer to acquire fluency in one of the official languages. The second point talks about the cultural maintenance programmes. Interested ethnocultural groups are offered support to retain their cultures of origin through non–official language instruction and/or the cultivation of aspects of folk culture. The third point is that multicultural education can be viewed as an antidote to the conventional portrayal of ethnic groups, Canadian social studies curricula have depicted them for the most part as 'marginal' Canadians, as 'contributors to the dominant society', as 'beneficiaries' of the dominant society and as 'problems'. The acknowledgement of the valued diversity is sought. The fourth and final point deals with anti–racist education, which recognizes that prejudice and discrimination are potent forces which need to be addressed in a multicultural society.

Recognition of the potential divisiveness of the issues of culture and schooling led to the shift in control of education at Confederation from the national to the provincial arena, to allow the greatest freedom of

expression of differences. Therefore, no single model of multicultural education exists. What is common is acknowledgement of a changing population, with different needs and that these needs be incorporated in school programmes. The main difference in multicultural policies is between an ethnocultural support-service orientation, as pursued by Ontario and Nova Scotia, and a language-based view of multicultural education, as sought to be practised in Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba. (Moodley 1989).

Indian diaspora is majorly in Ontario and British Colombia, therefore we will look at multicultural education in these two provinces and the nature and process of it. In Ontario, the Ministry of Education has actively initiated considerable curriculum reform. There has been a marked shift in approach from the 1950s and 1960s. Policy guidelines include information about the advantages of intercultural awareness in educational planning. Curriculum materials are scrutinised for bias and stereotyping, and guidelines are offered to publishers and authors to promote bias free, appropriate curriculum materials (McLeod 1984).

There was a controversy regarding offering non-official languages at public expense during regular school hours. Even then, the Heritage Language Programme established in 1977 has garnered enough interest and support. The Ontario Ministry of Education (1980:2) mentions that in 1980-81, 44 different language were taught after school hours, to some 76,017 students. The instruction time was up to two and half

hours a week and their success has stimulated international interest. Also popular are trilingual education programmes, which are established through community initiative.

Moodley (1989) argues that as far as British Colombia is concerned, the Ministry of Education has not initiated any concerted attempts to formulate a multicultural policy. But an ad hoc committee was formed in 1979 and the sponsorship of local multicultural conferences have been given to it. Nothing but emphasis for English as second language have been given to it. It is pointed that of late some school boards, notably the Vancouver School Board, have made progress in providing in service teacher education, establishing a regular race relations advisory committee and institutionalizing a firm race relations policy in the school district. All schools have been requested to submit proposed plans for implementing multicultural education.

Similarly, argues Moodley (1989), the Victoria School Board, with assistance from the Ministry, acted upon community members' suggestions to pilot an elementary school project entitled 'Alternatives to Racism'. No significant developments in the area of bilingual education is noticed, other than those privately established by some ethnocultural communities.

Analysis of the efforts and process under the garb of multicultural education in Ontario and British Colombia shows that not much is being done. It must be reiterated that these are the two provinces where

people from India are in significant number. But, multicultural education need not have any direct relationship to national policies or guidelines (Edwards 1992).

Edwards (1992) delineates on how a school with multicultural programme looks like in Canada. In the one, cultural manifestations are paraded in a self-conscious and often trival fashion. Children and teachers look forward to these experiences as it provides a light relief from the mundane works. The second approach involves a broader and less superficial stance on multiculturalism. Programmes here are often laden with objectives and curricula. Edwards refers to Wyatt (1984) to cite the example of Scarborough Board of Education, which has multicultural education as its aim and includes awareness of different – cultural groups, encouragement of pride, and fostering of "empathy".

Multicultural education calls for schools to empower minority students. Implication is that schools possess power for social change. But schools acting in relative isolation from other social currents have limited potency – altering life chances and changing social attitude is still away from it's perview. Schools can, through their example and practice, legitimize cultural varieties but educational legitimization is not empowerment (Edwards 1992). Precisely, because of this limited capacity of school to transform society, racism is still prevent in some form or the other in the Canadian society.

Jain (1999:107) mentions that Gallup Poll conducted in 1981 on behalf of the Canadian Government's Department of Multiculturalism suggested that atleast 12 percent of Canadians were hard – core racist and 31 per cent agreed that they would support organisations that would work towards preserving Canada for Whites. The proportion of respondents who oppose racism ranges from 49 percent to 67 percent and surprisingly but true that only 34 percent of the respondents pledged support to local organisations working towards "multiculturalism and harmony among races".

But, multiculturalism and it's off shoot multicultural education is there to stay in Canada after the Right Conservative partly gave it the much needed official stamp. It is there to stay, atleast, as government policy. And multicultural policies promise a goal which strive to create a democratic society in which every individual is expected to receive opportunities and encouragement to achieve his or her legitimate personal goals and contribute to the pursuit of such goals by others. It also provides a process in schools and other institutions by encouraging positive attitudes to the many religions, ethnic mores and language of the people who live in Canada. The development of self–esteem as well as empathy among pupils are among the primary objectives of this process. It has often been said that whereas the preferred metaphor for racial and ethnic assimilation in the United States is 'the melting pot', Canada prefers to be a salad bowl or a mosaic, which provides greater

possibilities for promoting multiculturalism (Zachariah 1992). This automatically leads to maintenance of identity of the ethnic minorities, especially the visible minorities in Canada.

The Indian diaspora constitutes a good segment of the ethnic minorities in Canada, so it will be interesting to assess the educational performance of the Indian diaspora in the multicultural setting of Canadian society.

EDUCATION OF INDIAN DIASPORA IN CANADA

Education is a key humanising resource. It should be seen as a equalising force and should bring equality in school. Children in a diasporic setting are under tremendous stress to cope up in a situation where the mother tongue and home language is different from the medium of instruction in the school system. Difference in language is projected just to show the difference in culture as language is a potent cultural trait.

According to the 1996 census, more than half assigned South Asian origin, of which Indian diaspora are a part, reported South Asian mother tongue and a third adhere to South Asian home language (Patel and Jantzen 1998). Main mother tongue and home language used by people of Indian origin include Punjabi, Gujarati, Hindi and Bengali.

From the fold of multicultural education policy in Canada springs the heritage language programme. Under the Heritage Language Programme, the teaching of non-official or ancestral language become

111

important. Through the medium of this programme, Canada gives greater recognition to ethnic language and responds to ethnic aspirations. This helps the Indian diaspora in Canada.

In 1977, the Ontario Ministry of Education announced the intention to implement a Heritage Language Programme whenever requested by a group of interested parents. Ghosh and Ray (1993) points that subsequent legislation required such classes whenever twenty-five parents requested. The continuing-education programme of various boards were to administer the programme which would include two hours of language instruction per week at the elementary level. Classes were to be held outside the school hours; either on non-school days, after school, or through the extension of the regular five hour school day. The individual boards would be responsible for staff, curriculum, and supervision of the classes.

The Ontario Ministry of Education (1987) reveals that after several years of the voluntary system, a total of 89,706 pupils were enrolled in 58 different heritage languages. Although this programme did not provide certification, it helped in the ethnic language maintenance. It also smoothened the process of the children's initiation at school where the mother tongue and home language was different than that in school. The Heritage Language Programme helped the Indian diaspora as some Indian languages were also included.

Given the nature of multicultural education in Canada, it will be interesting to evaluate the education of ethnic minorities in Canada of which the Indian diaspora are a part. This can be done according to census data regarding the year of schooling. The term 'year of schooling' was first published in 1941 and data has been collected by Samani (1992) for 1941, 1951, 1961, 1971 and 1981. The mean year of schooling, which is presented in the following table was calculated using different categories of years of schooling.

Table 4.8 Mean Year of Schooling by Ethnicity : 1941-1981

	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
British	7.49	8.77	7.73	9.35	10.95
French	5.52	7.03	6.42	7.52	9.85
German	6.10	7.50	7.20	8.65	10.44
Italian	5.34	6.65	5.70	6.04	8.54
Jewish	7.00	8.41	8.31	10.19	12.29
Polish	4.81	6.58	6.70	8.03	10.20
Scandinavian	6.55	8.02	7.63	9.19	10.94
Ukrainian	4.59	6.15	6.49	7.85	9.92
Asians	**5.35**	**6.18**	**6.83**	**10.10**	**11.76**
Native People	2.51	3.22	3.72	5.55	7.89
Mean	6.49	7.90	7.11	8.53	10.52

Source – (Samani 1992:47)

The tabulation of data shows that the mean year of schooling for ethnic groups have improved from 1941 to 1981 by around 62 percent. And, among the select ethnic groups the Jewish community has shown perceptible improvement. But, Asians are not far behind and especially after the 1960s they have shown significant improvement. The

113

improvement has been remarkable around 1971 when they succeeded in transforming themselves from under achievers to over – achievers.

Coincidently, this is the period around which multicultural education came to the forefront. Among the Asians, people of Indian origin are second after the Chinese. Therefore, the increase in the mean year of schooling of Asians is an indication of the improvement of the same among Indo–Canadians.

Samani (1992) delineates that ethnic groups go through the educational system of Canada without adopting all its moral values. They have used that part of the educational system that suits their needs and they ignore the parts that contradict or do not fit in with their beliefs. The school forms, constrains, and influences the self–identity and cultural–identity of the student but the influence of the family and ethnic identity is much more important than that.

Ethnic Indian population in Canada have resilence and the ability to adjust to an 'alien' environment. Parents of Indo–Canadian children motivate their children to take education seriously as education is an uterior motive for them. Most Indo–Canadian children's behaviour is evaluated in the light of their conception of a middle–class Canadian family (Wakil et al 1980).

Before multicultural education became government policy, Canadian schools were essentially agents of cultural and linguistic assimilation. After the passage of the multicultural act in 1971,

114

assimilation has been officially replaced by cultural diversity. Schools have taken on the task of embodying cultural diversity as something to be promoted through the curriculum. All provinces in Canada now have units with various parts of the curriculum which are aimed at pointing out to students of multiple origins and cultural backgrounds of Canadians, and promoting appreciation of cultural differences (Levin and Reffil 1994).

Buchignani (1989) argues that the proportion of children of Indian origin have increased in Canadian schools since the 1970s. This is incidently after the immigration regulations eased and multiculturalism became government policy. Multicultural education, an offshoot of multiculturalism is a socio-political tool and the Indian diaspora in Canada is putting political pressure to gain social footing.

For instance, in the late 1970s, as Jain (1999) points out, an all-inclusive organisation known as the National Association of Canadians of Origin in India (NACOI) with its branches in all major Canadian cities has been formed. It is necessary that organisations like this come up to serve as an interest group on behalf of the Indian community and put pressure on the Canadian government at the centre and at the provincial level to create space and opportunity for themselves.

Motswani (1993) points that the post-1962 Indo-Canadians are making invaluable contributions in the field of medicine, engineering, business, law and even politics. Raj Anand, a young lawyer, headed the
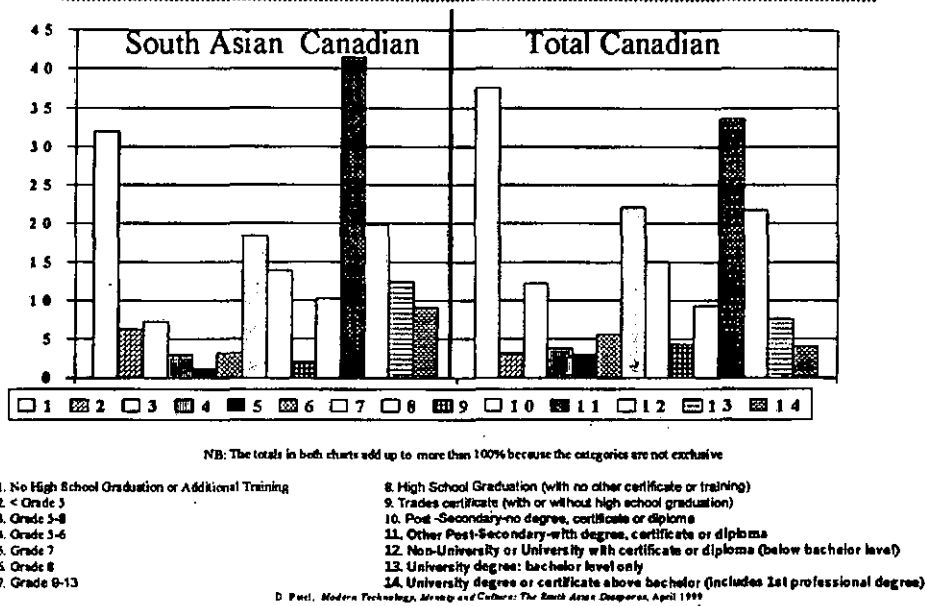
Ontario Human Rights Commission from 1989–91. Erol Mendes, of the Faculty of Law at the University of Western Ontario has been the advisor to the Premier of Ontario during the recent Canadian constitutional negotiations. And presently, Ujjal Dosanjh is the premier of British Colombia.

These are some examples but does this suggest a kind of level playing field in the Canadian society, where ethnic groups like the Indian diaspora can reach positions of prominence? And, are the changes brought about by multiculturalism and multicultural education as the state policy?

Multiculturalism is a policy and official practice that justifies state intervention in the management of diversity. Support for cultural and linguistic groups, access to equity programmes and race relation initiatives are some of the aspects within its fold. Under these circumstances, South Asian Canadians of which the Indian diaspora are a major portion are doing well in education. This fact is elucidated by data provided by Patel (1999) where he compares the education of South Asian Canadians with the total Canadians.

This kind comparison of the education of South Asian Canadians with total Canadians is necessary to find out how these migrant minorities do fare in education in the host society. The comparison also keeps the study contextualised.

Figure 4.4 Education of South Asian Canadians, 1991 Census

NB: The totals in both charts add up to more than 100% because the categories are not exclusive

1. No High School Graduation or Additional Training
2. < Grade 5
3. Grade 5-8
4. Grade 5-6
5. Grade 7
6. Grade 8
7. Grade 9-13

8. High School Graduation (with no other certificate or training)
9. Trades certificate (with or without high school graduation)
10. Post-Secondary-no degree, certificate or diploma
11. Other Post-Secondary-with degree, certificate or diploma
12. Non-University or University with certificate or diploma (below bachelor level)
13. University degree: bachelor level only
14. University degree or certificate above bachelor (includes 1st professional degree)

D Patel, *Modern Technology, Money and Culture: The South Asian Diaspora*, April 1999

The figure 4.4 derived from the 1991 census shows that South

Asian Canadians of which the Indian diaspora are a major part are doing

better than the total Canadians in post-secondary degree and diploma

and university or non-university level courses.

This suggests that the socio-political structure of the 'host' country

does not provide much of an obstacle. Oberoi (2000) points in the same

line and says that it is multiculturalism which has sensitised the public

sphere. Even the migrants in the post-1967 era, when the point system

was introduced have been educated, professional and skilled labourers

otherwise, the strict point system would not have allowed them to come

to Canada. Despite doing well in education, in fact, better than the total

117

Canadians, the Indian diaspora are not able to convert this into high income (Motswani 1993).

A 1986 community study in Ontario (Ontario has over half of all Indo–Canadians) revealed that 29.83% of all Indo–Canadians have atleast a bachelor's degree compared to 10.81% for all Canadians. On the contrary, their average income is marginally lower than that for all Canadians. And even the percentage of those with no income is substantially higher among Indo–Canadians (Motswani 1993 : 479). Therefore, it becomes clear that Canadian society still creates hurdles for migrant minorities like the Indian diaspora.

If Indo–Canadians are doing well it is mainly because of their efforts to adapt and succeed. Of late, under the right wing political parties in Canada, the government support for language teaching is diminishing and as the community passes on to the third and subsequent generations, it is doubtful if Indo–Canadians will be able to retain their languages (Motswani 1993). Mother tongue is important not just for identity maintenance but also for educational performance.

For the education of Indian communities abroad the Indian government has taken up some initiatives which should be of help to those in Canada. The Indira Gandhi National Open University is embarking on an experiment to formulate a curriculum and device its transmission by means of the latest information technology for the Indian communities abroad. The one year programme aims to provide a

polygenic understanding of Indian society and culture, with a dynamic view of socio–cultural transformation spread across India and abroad. It also aims to evolve an analytical perspective on the issues of globalisation and minorities. The target group of this programme are the undergraduates of Indian origin.

Recently, the Central Board of Secondary Education has initiated a language course for Indian diaspora. It is expected that these steps will be helpful for the education and career advancement of the Indian diaspora. It will also be helpful in their identity maintenance.

Success of these and other steps by the 'host' country has to be watched and then only any assessment can be made. But, steps of these kind along with the multicultural education policy and practice of the 'home' country like Canada will be of great help to the Indian diaspora there.

The next and the concluding chapter presents a retrospective view of the entire work.

CHAPTER – V

CONCLUSION

The Indian diaspora is one of the rapidly growing ethno–cultural communities. It is spread over more than 70 countries. Not just geographically widespread but the Indian diaspora in its composition is also diverse. It is diverse in terms of religion, region and caste. Religion, region and caste are not mere words, they encompass a whole set of norms, values and socio–cultural patterns.

The migration of Indian communities abroad was due to both the push and the pull factor. The marxian paradigm views the Indian diaspora as the creation of British imperialism and unequal economic development of the geo–political world. The lure of the distant land coupled with the better presence of growth opportunities has always pulled the Indian communities abroad.

When Indians go abroad they carry with them their socio–political world view and herein comes the question of the maintenance of their identity. Watson (1992) quotes Sutherland (1979) who argues that the three most important aspects of ethnic identity presentation or maintenance are language, religion and historical/cultural traditions.

Identity maintenance is seen in the functional perspective. Although the sociological perspectives are not explicit during the discussion but it subtly guides the labriynth of the work. Identity

maintenance is an important aspect for an ethnic community like the Indian diaspora and multiculturalism as an ideology and practice creates conditions for it.

Multiculturalism is based on the premise that confidence in one's own cultural tradition is a step forward in fostering positive attitudes towards other cultures and traditions. It is also expected to create a sense of self, i.e. individual as well as community identity. Out of this grows respect for others and willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. Multiculturalism is also expected to break down discriminatory ideas and cultural jealousies.

Education is an important tool to inculcate in the youth the cultural tradition of the community. Therefore, multicultural education assumes importance. Multicultural education is brought about by changes in the curriculum where 'the particulars' of the ethno–cultural groups like the Indian diaspora are put in. Multicultural education also creates an atmosphere of cordial relationships between the peer groups, teacher–pupil and the society at large.

Canada is a diverse country and the Indian diaspora ranks among the top five immigrant communities (Motswani et al 1993). Canada pursues multiculturalism as its state policy under which the government of Canada is committed to assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers and to participate fully in the Canadian society.

Multiculturalism came into being as a result of the dissatisfaction ethnic and racial minority in Canada faced with the original terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. For the minorities in Canada the establishment of an official bilingual and bicultural framework threatened to cast Canada's racial and ethnic groups other than Anglophones and Francophones into the permanent role of second class citizens. These fears also grew out of the experiences of the Canadian minority groups over a century namely, on the immigration policies based on an ethnic/racial pecking order, assimilationist and Anglo–conformist institutional practices, the Komagata Maru incident and others.

The Komagata Maru incident symoblises the peak of the crescendo of the struggle which the Indian diaspora experienced in entering and adjusting in Canada. This is especially true of the initial phase migrants to Canada. For those who came to Canada after the point system, which was devised in the late sixth decade of the last century and multiculturalism became state policy in the seventh, the situation has not been that hostile. Besides, the latter migrants from India to Canada have been professional and skilled labourers and better educated.

Canadian society is very diverse and this diversity is reflected in the composition of schools. To deal with the diversity in schools, multicultural education, an important subset of multiculturalism has come up and is operating. Multicultural education calls for schools to

empower minority students. Implications here is that schools possesses power for social change.

No single model of multicultural education exists in Canada. The recognition of the potential divisiveness of the issues of culture and schooling led to the shift in control of education at confederation from the national to the provincial arena and it allowed greater freedom of expression of differences. What is common is acknowledgement of a changing population, with different needs and that these needs are to be incorporated in school programme.

Moodley (1989) delineates that the main difference in multicultural policies is between an ethnocultural support–service orientation and language–based view of multicultural education. The former is pursued in Ontario and Nova Scotia and the latter in Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba. Ontario has the largest number of the Indian diaspora in Canada and its policy guidelines include information about the advantages of intercultural awareness in educational policy. McLeod (1984) argues that in Ontario curriculum materials are scrutinised for bias and stereotyping, and guidelines are offered to publishers and authors to promote bias free and appropriate curriculum materials.

These policy guidelines seems to help the Indian diaspora in Canada perform better in the field of education. Patel and Jantzen (1998) point out that among South Asians in Canada, of which Indian diaspora are a major part, twice as many graduates are there in Canada

in comparison to the average. The reason being immigration selection system and the policy of multicultural education. Indian diaspora are doing relatively well in the multicultural education policy of Canada. But, it is not the sole reason for their relative success.

The tough immigration system via the point system after 1967 had let in only the skilled and educated. Another important factor is the resilience of the Indian communities abroad to adapt and achieve. Their resilience in a multicultural setting has been a boon to them and transformed them from low to high achievers. Of late, even the 'home' country has initiated some programmes for their education. This should help the Indian diaspora in Canada in their education and identity maintenance.

The Heritage Language Programme pursued in Canada for the ethnic minorities has been useful for identity maintenance as well as for education of the Indian diaspora. It is because the mother tongue and the home language is different from the medium of instruction in school.

Arguments about the education of Indian diaspora in the multicultural educational setting of Canada is not direct. Most arguments are built with the help of facts, figures or available literature for the Asians or South Asians in Canada. This is the limitation of this work. Despite its limitations the dissertation work has tried to establish the link between multicultural education and Indian diaspora in Canada.

In the light of literature and data about education of Indians in post 1970 Canada it will throw up interesting arguments.

Till then will it not be proper to conclude on the remark that although the Indian diaspora in Canada are doing well in education but the role of multicultural educational policy is not the sole reason for their relative success. The policy of multiculturalism, as Oberoi (2000) has pointed out, has sensitised the public sphere and has been beneficial to ethnic minorities like the Indian Diaspora in Canada.

Appendix - I

POPULATION ESTIMATE OF THE OVERSEAS INDIANS

Country	Population Figure
Afganisthan	54,000
Australia	92,200
Burma	330,000
Canada	200,000
Germany	2,000
Fiji	363,951
French Guyana	11,045
Genada	4,000
Guyana	390,580
Hong Kong	6,000
Indonesia	7,000
Iran	1,000
Iraq	60,000
Jamaica	60,000
Kenya	70,000
Lesotho	16,500
Malawi	4,800
Malaysia	1446,166
Mauritius	734,146
Mozambique	20,580
Nepal	2500,000
Netherlands	102,100
New Zealand	15,000
Portugal	7,200
Saudi Arabia	2,500

Singapore	169,100
South Africa	995,087
Sri Lanka	1027,271
St. Lucia	4,873
St. Vincent	6,000
Surinam	1,900
Tanzania	50,100
Thailand	11,000
Trinidad and Tobago	500,335
Uganda	1,050
United Arab Emirates	3,000
United Kingdom	785,000
USA	360,000
Yemen (PDR)	103,230
Zambia	10,000
Zimbabwe	15,000
Other countries (total)	5,220

Source - (Sachdeva 1996 :285)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Ahmad, Ayaz 1994 *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literature.* Oxford University Press, New Delhi

Anderson, Benedict 1991 *Imagined Communities: Reflections On The Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Verso, New York & London

Banks, J. and Banks, C. (eds.) 1997 *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspective.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston

Banks, J.A. (ed.) 1983 *Multicultural Education in Western Societies.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston

Benette, Christine I. 1990 *Comprehensive Multicultural Education.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston

Berger, P.L. and Luckman T. 1971 *The Social Construction of Reality.* Penguin, Harmondsworth

Bowles, S. and Gintis H. 1976 *Schooling In Capitalist America.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London

Brah, Avtar 1996 *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities.* Routledge, London & New York

Brint, Steven 1998 *Schools and Societies.* Pine Forge Press, California, London & New Delhi

Burnet and Palmer 1998 *Coming Canadians: An Introduction to A History of Canada's People.* McClelland & Stewart,Toranto.

Calhoun, Craig 1994 *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity.* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford & Washington

Canada Handbook 1984

Durkheim, Emile 1956 *Education and Sociology.* The Free Press, New York

Erickson, E.H. 1968 *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* Faber & Faber, London

128

Giddens, Anthony 1991 *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the late Modern Age.* Stanford University Press, California

Goldberg, David Theo (ed.) 1994 *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader.* Basil Blackwell Ltd, USA & UK

Grant, C.A. (ed.) 1992 *Research and Multicultural Education: From the Margins to the Mainstream.* The Falmer Press, London & Washington D.C.

Israel, Milton and N.K. Wagle (eds.) 1993 *Ethnicity, Identity, Migration: The South Asian Context.* University of Toronto, Centre for South Asian Studies

Jain R.K. 1993 *Indian Communities Abroad: Themes and Perspectives.* Manohar, New Delhi

Jeffcoate R. 1982 *Ethnic Minorities and Education.* Oxford University Press, Great Britain

Johnson, Hugh 1984 *The East Indians in Canada: Canada's Ethnic Groups.* Booklet No. 5, Ottawa

Kymlica, Will 1995 *The Rights of Minority Culture.* Oxford University Press, New York

Li, Peters (ed.) 1990 *Race and Ethnic Relations In Canada.* Oxford University Press, Toronto

Locke, D.C. 1992 *Increasing Multicultural Understanding: A Comprehensive Model.* Sage Publication, New Delhi

Lynch, J. Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (eds.) 1992 *Cultural Diversity and the Schools.* The Falmer Press, London & Washington D.C

Motswani, Jagat K, Mahin Gosine and Jyoti Barot Motswani (eds.) 1993 *Global Indian Diaspora: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow.* GOPIO, New York

Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada 1991. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act: A Guide for Canadians. Ministry of Supply and Services, Ottawa

Porter, J 1965 *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto

Saran and Edwin 1980 *The New Ethnics: Asian Indians in the United States.* Praegan Publishers, New York

Seth, Pravin 2001 *Indians in America: One Steam, Two Waves, Three Generations.* Rawat Publications, Jaipur & New Delhi

Sharma, S.N. 1995 *Philosophical and Sociological Foundation of Education.* Kanishka Publishers, New Delhi

Sheffer, Gabriel 1986 *A New Field of Study: Modern Diaspora in International Politics.* Croom Helm, London. pp 1-5 ￫

Spitzberg, Iring J. Jr. 1980 *Universities and the International Distribution of Knowledge.* Praeger Publishers, New York

Tinker, Hugh 1977 *The Banyan Tree: Overseas Emmigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.* Oxford University Press, London

Titley, E. Brain (ed.) 1990 *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues.* Detseleg, Calgary & Alberta

Vertovec and Cohen (eds.) 1999 *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism.* An Elgar Reference Collection, Chettenham, UK & Northampton, MA, USA

Whitaker, Reg 1991 *Canadian Immigrant Policy Since Confederation: Canada's Ethnic Groups.* Booklet No.15, Ottawa

ARTICLES

Ali , Amir, 2000 'Case for Multiculturalism In India', *Economic and Political Weekly,* July 15, pp.2503-05

Allmen, M.C.R. 1992 'Immigration, Marginalisation and Educational Opportunity'. IN Lynch, Modgil and Modgil (eds.) *Cultural Diversity and the Schools.* Vol.1to4. The Falmer Press, London & Washington D.C.

Armstrong, John A. 1975 'Mobilised and Proletarian Diasporas.' *American Political Science Review*, 70 (2), pp.393-408

Atal, Yogesh 1989 'Outsiders as Insiders: The Phenomenon of Sandwich Culture.' *Sociological Bulletin*, 38 (1), pp.23-24

Barringer et al 1999 'Education, Occupational Prestige and Income of Asian Americans'. *Sociology of Education*. Vol.63, pp.27-43

Bernstein, B. 1961 'Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning' IN Halsey, Floud and Anderson (eds.) *Economy and Society*. The Free Press, New York

Breton, R 1996 'Multiculturalism and Canadian Nation Building' IN A. Cairns and C. Williams (eds.) *The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and Language in Canada*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto; pp.27-66

Clifford, James 1994 'Diasporas.' *Cultural Anthology*. 9 (3), pp.302-338

Cohen, Robin 1995 'Rethinking "Babylon": Iconoclastic Conceptions of the Diasporic Experience'. *New Community*, 21 (1), pp.5-18

Edwards, John 1992 'Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education In Contemporary Context.' *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol XXIV, No. 3, pp.23-33

Friesen, John W. 1992 'Educational Policy and International Understanding: A Case Study'. IN Lynch Modgil and Modgil (eds.) *Cultural Diversity and the Schools*. Vol.1to4. The Falmer Press, London & Washington D.C.

Gilroy, Paul 1991 'It Ain't Where You're From It's Where You're At: The Dialectic of Diasporic Identification'. *Third Text*. 13, Winter, pp.1-16

Hall, Stuart 1990 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora'. IN Jonathan Rutherford (ed.) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. Lawrence & Wishart, London, pp.222-237

Jain, P.C. 1989 'Emigration and Settlement of Indians Abroad.' *Sociological Bulletin*. 38 (1) pp.155-169

———— 1999 'Indians In Canada'. *Encounter*. Vol 2. No. 2 pp.99-113

Jain, R.K. 1989 'Race Relations, Ethnicity, Class and Culture: A Comparison of Indians in Trinidad and Malaysia, *Sociological Bulletin.* 38 (1), pp.57-71

————— 1997 'A Civilizational Theory of Indian Diaspora and Its Global Implications'. *The Eastern Anthropologist,* Vol.50, No.3-4, pp.347-355

————— 1998 'Indian Diaspora, Globalisation and Multiculturalism: A Cultural Analysis'. *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* Vol.32, No.2, pp.337-360

Jayaram, N. 2000 'The Dynamics of Language In Indian Diaspora: The Case of Bhojpuri / Hindi in Trinidad'. *Sociological Bulletin,* 49 (1), pp.41-62

Khadria, Binod 'India and Contemporary Emigration: Retrospective Culture and Futuristic Economy'. April 2000. Paper Presented at the Indian International Centre, New Delhi, (*mimeographed*)

Lal, Vinay 1996 Reflections on the Indian Diaspora in the Caribbean and Elsewhere. *New Quest.* May-June, pp.133-142

Leonard, Karen 1993 'Ethnic Identity and Gender: South Asians in the United States'. IN Israel and Wagle (eds.) *Ethnicity, Identity, Migration: The South Asian Context.* University of Toronto, Centre for South Asian Studies

McKeown, Adam 1999 'Conceptualising Chinese Diaporas, 1842 to 1949'. *The Journal of Asian Studies.* 58 (2), pp.306-337

McLeod, K.A. 1984 'Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education: Policy and Practice'. IN Samuda et al (ed.) *Multiculturalism In Canada: Social and Educational Perspectives.* Allyn & Bacon, Toronto

Mishra, Vijay 'The Diasporic Imaginary: Theorising (the Indian) Diaspora'. 1995 Paper presented at ANU, Canberra, (*mimeographed*)

Mouw, Ted and Yu Xie 1999 'Bilingualism and the Academic Achievement of First and Second Generation Asian Americans:

Accommodation With or Without Assimilation?' *American Sociological Review.* Vol.64, pp.232-252

Oberoi, Harjot 2000 Imagining Indian Diaspora in Canada: An Epic without A Text. Paper presented at India International Centre, New Delhi (*mimeographed*)

Parekh, Bhikhu 1993 'Some Reflections On The Indians Diaspora.' BOPIO, New Delhi, pp.1-45

———————— 1999 'What Is Multiculturalism? *Seminar.* No.484

Patel, Dhiru 'Modern Technology, Identity and Culture: The South Asian Diaspora'. April 2000. Paper presented at India International Centre, New Delhi, (*mimeographed*)

Rasmussen, L.B. 'Identity In Global Perspective: Transformation of System Values In Organisations and Networks.' 4-5 December 2000. Paper presented at CSIR Science Centre, New Delhi, (*mimeographed*).

Rasool, Naz 1999 'Flexible Identities: Exploring Race and Gender Issues Among a Group of Immigrant Pupils in an Inner-City Comprehensive School'. *British Journal of Education*, Vol.20, No.1, pp.23-36

Safran, William 1995 'The Emergence of New Ethno-National Diaspora.' *Migration*, 28, pp.5-28

Samuel, T. John 1990 'Third World Immigration and Multiculturalism'. IN Hall, Trovato and Driedger (eds.) *Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrants, Racial and Cultural Variations.* Ontario Carleton University Press, Ottawa

Shamai, S. 1992 'Ethnicity and Educational Achievement in Canada, 1941-1981'. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol XXIV, No.1, pp.43-57

Sharma , S.L. 1989 'Perspectives on Indians Abroad.' *Sociological Bulletin.* Vol 38, No.1, pp.1-22

Siegel, Jedd 1998 'Indian Languages in Fiji: Past, Present and Future'. *South Asia.* Vol. XXI, Special Issue, pp.181-214

Singhvi, L.M. 2001 'Sun Never Sets on Indian Diaspora'. *World Focus.* Vol.22, No.3, pg.18

Sue and Okazaki 1990 'Asian American Educational Achievement: A Phenomena In Search of Explanation.' *American Psychologist*. Vol 45 (8), pp.913-920

Taylor, Charles 1994 'The Politics of Recognition'. IN Goldberg, D.T (ed.) *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*. Basil Blackwell Ltd, USA & UK

'The Indian Diaspora-Some Facts'. *World Focus*. Vol.22 No.3, pp.22-24

Vertovec, Steven 'Comparitive Patterns In The Hindu Diaspora'. April 2000 Paper presented at India International Centre , New Delhi, (*mimeographed*)

Wakil et al 1980 'Between Two Cultures: A Study In Socialisation of Children of Immigrants'. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Nov, pp.929-940

Watson, Keith 1992 'Ethnic and Cultural Diversity and Educational Policy In An International Context'. IN Lynch, Modgil and Modgil (eds.) *Cultural Diversity and the Schools*. Vol.1to4. The Falmer Press, London & Washington D.C.

Weiner, Myron 1996 'Nations Without Borders:The Gifts of Folk Gone Abroad'. *Foreign Affairs*, March-April, pp.128-134

Werber, Pnina 1997 'Diasporic Political Imaginaries: A Sphere of Freedom or A Sphere of Illusion'. *The Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol.50, No.3-4, pp.467-493

Xie and Mouw 1999 'Bilingualism and the Academic Achievement of First and Second Generation Asian Americans'. *American Sociological Review*. Vol 64 , pp.232-252

Zachariah, M. 1992 'Linking Multicultural and Development Education to Promote Respect for Persons and Culture: A Canadian Perspective .' IN Lynch, Modgil and Modgil (eds.) *Cultural Diversity and Schools*. Vol 4, The Falmer Press, London

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

Albridge and Aman 2000 Focus on Elementary: 15 Misconceptions about Multicultural Education
http://www/udel.edu/batman/acci/misconceptions.html

Clark, M.A., Rhodes, L.K. and Baker, E.D. 1996 Conceptual Framework and
        Literature Review: Minority Status and School Success
http://carbon.cudenver.edu/nwdvis/chapt6_min_.html

CSID - Centre For the Study of Indian Diaspora
http://www.uohyd.ernet.in/dias.htm

Gay, Geneva 1994. A Synthesis of Scholarship In Multicultural Education
http://www/shss.montclair.edu/english/classes/stuehler/engl105/ideology.html

Global   Organisation   of   People   of   Indian   Origin   (GOPIO),   visit
        gopio@t.three.com

Hanley, Mary S. 1999 The Scope of Multicultural Education
http://www.newhorizons.org/mult_overview.html

Levin, and Reffil 1994 Dealing with Diversity: Some Propositions from
        Canadian Education
http://olam.ed.asu.edu/epaa/v2n2.html

Patel, Dhiru 1998 Borderless People:Canadians of South Asian Origin
http://www.casa.unontreal.ca/cas/transparence/sld001html

Rex, John 1996 National Identity In The Democratic Multicultural State
http://www.socresowize.org.uk/1/2/1.html

http://www/india50.com/enigr E3.html

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Basu, Sanjaya. 'Dotcom Diaspora'. *The Times of India* April 28, 2000. New
        Delhi

Giri, A.K. 'Promoting Multiculturalism'. *The Hindustan Times.* February 3,
        2001. New Delhi

Hazza, Indrajit. 'Imagining Homelands'. *The Hindustan Times.* April 23,
        2000. New Delhi

Suri, Sanjay. 'Pollen Borne On The Winds'. *Outlook.* October 16, 2000

Suryanarayan , V. 'Indian Communities Abroad'. *The Hindu.* Jan 16, 2001

INDEX
(Tables, Figures & Illustrations)