IMMIGRATION, ASPIRATIONS AND ADJUSTMENT:
A STUDY OF SOUTH ASIAN FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the educational expectations and economic aspirations of South Asian families migrating from India to Canada and the difficulties that each family member faces in training and retraining in an environment when they move from traditional Indian culture to a more liberal Western culture. It focused on a comparison of their expectations prior to immigration in light of subsequent experiences in Canada. Research was conducted in India with follow-up interviews taking place in Canada approximately 4-6 months later. Data were collected by means of a survey instrument administered through interviews and mailed questionnaires.

Analysis of data revealed a higher level of satisfaction with life in Canada among unskilled immigrants with low education and socio-economic level. The highly educated and technically skilled immigrants were experiencing a greater degree of unemployment, underemployment and difficulties in obtaining employment in their intended occupations. They were generally more critical and less satisfied with their life in Canada. The immigrants' motive for immigration and original expectations were found to be important factors in their level of satisfaction and adjustment to Canadian life.

RESUME

La présente étude analyse les attentes éducatives et les aspirations économiques des familles originaires du Sud de l'Asie qui émigrent de l'inde au Canada ainsi que les difficultés qu'elles rencontrent dans leurs efforts de formation et de recyclage sur le terrain, étant donné la différence qui existe entre leur culture traditionnelle indienne et la culture libérale occidentale. Cette étude porte essentiellement sur la comparaison de leurs attentes avant l'émigration par rapport à leur expérience subséquente vécue au Canada. L'étude fut d'abord entreprise en Inde avant l'émigration, puis elle fut suivie d'entrevues tenues de 4-6 mois après l'immigration au Canada. Les données furent recueillies au moyen d'une enquête menée par entrevues et par questionnaires distribués par la poste.

L'analyse des données révèle d'une part un degré élevé de satisfaction concernant leur mode de vie au Canada, chez les immigrants travailleurs non-spécialisés ayant peu d'instruction et provenant d'un niveau socio-économique faible. D'autre part, les immigrants instruits et possédant une formation technique rencontrent des difficultés à se trouver du travail dans leur domaine professionnel et par conséquent connaîssent plus de chômage et de sous-emploi. L'étude permet aussi de constater que, chez les immigrants, ce sont les motifs qui les ont poussés à émigrer et les attentes qu'ils entretenaient, qui ressortent comme facteurs importants dans leur degré de satisfaction concernant leur mode de vie au Canada ainsi que leur degré d'adaptation à ce mode de vie.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

cont'd..

Table of Contents (cont'd)

LIST OF TABLES

cont'd...

List of Tables (cont'd)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview

Canada is one of the chief immigrant receiving nations in the world today. Canada's economic, social and cultural development has been shaped by immigration (Highlights from Green Paper, 1975). More than one in ten of the population reports a mother tongue other than English or French and close to 15 per cent of the population was born outside of Canada (Richmond, 1982:81.) Since the end of the Second World War over four million immigrants have come to Canada. One and a half million of these newcomers arrived during the seventies. From 1966 to 1970 Europe (including the U.K.), Asia and the United States made up the principal sources of immigrants. However in the period 1976 to 1980 a significant increase in nonwhite immigrants from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean occurred. The immigration trends during this period fluctuated widely, were influenced by economic and social conditions in Canada and abroad, and by changes in immigration law and policy. The impact of recent trends in immigration have visibly altered the ethnic and racial make-up of Canada.

In the period from 1946-1976, the population of nonwhite immigrants rose from 50,000 to more than 500,000 (Ottawa, 1977). A. H. Richmond (1976:188) notes that:

> whereas in 1968 Britain and Europe contributed sixty-six percent of immigrants to Canada, the proportion decreased steadily to thirty-nine percent in 1975.....a reliable estimate of black and Asian migration to Canada for the period 1956 to 1974 is 408,000. As a proportion of total migration to Canada, the black and Asian groups were approximately 14.6 percent in 1967 and 36.6 percent in 1974.

This increase in ethnic groups other than French or English was largely due to changes in immigration regulations. In 1967, new regulations to the Immigration Act came into effect. This new legislation removed the notion of preferential or favored immigrant source countries and specified that immigration selection criteria become more universal and non-discriminatory with respect to race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion and sex. These changes in immigration policy resulted in a significant shift in the sources of immigration by country. "The major increase was in immigration from Asia, which rose from less than 4 per cent to 30 per cent in 1976, and from the Caribbean and Central America, which averaged 3 per cent before 1967, and was nearly 13 per cent in 1971, and 11 per cent in 1976" (Richmond, 1978:115). The Green Paper in 1975 and new immigration regulations in 1978 have also led to increasing the number of immigrants coming from Africa, the Middle East, the Pacific region and Asia.

On April 10, 1978, the new Immigration Act was proclaimed. This Immigration Act was designed to "explicitly affirm for the first time, the fundamental objectives of Canadian immigration law, family reunification, non-discrimination, concerns for refugees, and the promotion of Canada's economic, social, demographic and cultural goals" (House of Commons Debates, 1976;1246). This new policy decreased the number of independent immigrants and placed more emphasis on family reunification. During the period 1974-1978, over one third of Canada's immigrants (or those admitted to Canada) were rejoining immediate family relatives. The family class is now the predominant part of the immigration movement and has been so since 1976.

Family class immigration remains fairly stable because immigrants who arrived during the earlier periods of high total immigration continue to sponsor their close family members from abroad. In 1981, over 51,019 persons or 35.5 percent of the total level were admitted in the family class category (Annual Report to Parliament, 1982).

Canada's growth in immigration indicates that large numbers of immigrants continue to favor Canada. According to Buchignani (1981:86) there are at least 150,000 East Indians (Referring to Asians from India, Pakistan, Uganda, Fiji and Tanzania) and this figure is an underestimation. South Asian immigration is fairly recent in Canada with the exception of Sikhs who came to British Columbia at the turn of the century. By 1901, the nonwhite population of British Columbia had risen to 23,700, including 4,700 Japanese and 1,700 South Asians. From 1921-1947 there were about 1,000 South Asians in Canada and the population did not reach 5,000 until well into the 1950's. The vast majority of South Asians in Canada have come since 1967. Between 1968 and 1973, 40,944 immigrants from India and Pakistan arrived in Canada. The proportion of immigrants from these two countries increased steadily from 1.8 percent in 1965 to 7 percent in 1974. During the period 1969 to 1972, over 6,000 a year were arriving; then the flow increased sharply to between 11,000 and 16,000 a year since 1973. India has ranked as the third principal supplier of immigrants since 1976 with about 9 percent of the total immigrant flow (Canadian High Commission, New Delhi). Canada admitted over 8,000 immigrants from India in 1981 and 97 percent of these immigrants were either sponsored or nominated.

These statistics do not include South Asians immigrating from other countries.

The federal government's policy of multiculturalism was announced in 1971. It was hoped that multiculturalism would make Canada attractive to immigrants and would ease the lot of so-called visible minorities, the victims of racism (Burnett, 1975). However, the implications of multiculturalism in relation to immigration and racism were not clear. Prime Minister Trudeau stated that "multiculturalism should help to break down discriminatory attitudes, and cultural jealousies. National unity, if it is to mean anything, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions." (Notes on Multiculturalism, 1978:2).

Many French Canadians viewed multiculturalism as a threat to the survival and political power of the francophone community. A prevalent belief in Quebec is that multiculturalism will detract from the status of French Canadians (Laczko, 1976). In a federal ministry study, francophone Quebecers were found to hold the view that multiculturalism is an aspect of Canadian life associated primarily with the anglophone community and that other ethnic groups will continue to adopt English as their main language (Laczko, 1976). In Ontario, British Columbia and to a lesser degree, the Maritime and Prairie provinces, there has been an increase in the representation of minority ethnic groups. In these provinces their concern over multiculturalism was closely tied to immigration policy issues.

Table 1

Distribution of Immigrants from Third World Countries, by Province, 1971

Ontario	151,990	48.2%
Quebec	67,885	21.5
British Columbia	52,935	16.8
Alberta	19,165	06.1
Manitoba	11,640	03.7
Saskatchewan	5,340	01.7
Nova Scotia	3,365	01.1
New Brunswick	1,405	00.4
Newfoundland	1,100	00.3
Prince Edward Island	240	00.1
Total Canada	315,390	100 %

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-727. Vol. 1, Part 3, Bulletin 1.3-6, "Population: Birthplace."

"Between 1956-1971 British Columbia received a higher proportion of third world immigrants than Ontario, as did Quebec between 1962-1970. However, by 1971 almost half of the Third World immigrants were found in Ontario, which had more than double the proportion of British Columbia." (Anderson & Frideres, 1981:163) (see Table 1). An estimate by Hawkins (1972) suggests that in 1970, Toronto's total non-French or English group population may have been as high as 50 percent. It was a prime receiving center for as

many as 40,000 immigrants a year in the early seventies. By 1973, Canada's economic slump and increasingly restrictive immigration laws led to a decline in the numbers of immigrants entering Canada. Yet the character of the Canadian population had been significantly altered by the large number of immigrants from Third World countries that had entered Canada prior to this period.

This thesis has sought information on why South Asians and other immigrant families choose Canada, and the social/cultural problems they face when they come to live here. Both federal and provincial governments must provide information, referral and counselling services to these newcomers so that they do not remain peripheral to Canadian society. In order that they are given opportunities to participate in Canadian culture and become contributing members of Canadian society, there must be more information on their situation when they come to Canada -- their values, their expectations and aspirations. In addition, there is a need to examine the dual demands of a host society and those of identification within family structure and the original culture which may cause conflict in immigrants integrating into Canadian society.

Theoretical Background

Definition of Terms:

The term Immigrant is used in this study to refer to anyone who obtains a permanent resident's visa and comes to Canada with the intention of settling permanently.

Several studies (Kovac, 1972, Palmer & Troper, 1973, Hughes, 1974), discuss the relationship between ethnic groups and the broader society of which they are a part. The term Ethnic defines a social group which consciously shares some aspects of a common culture and is distinguished primarily by descent. According to Palmer & Troper (1973) the ethnic group in Canada must be seen as the focal point of personal identification in which common origin and local, immigrant or sectarian roots are the most important and often longest lasting symbols of that identity. Unfortunately, ethnic group is often used incorrectly as an euphemism for foreigners or immigrants.

Closely related to ethnic group identity is the term culture. Sapir (1949) describes culture as a concept used "to embrace in a single term those general attitudes, views of life and specific manifestations of civilization that give a particular people its distinctive place in the world." The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1967) proposes that culture is "a way of being, thinking and feeling."

The words ethnic group and minority group must also be clearly differentiated. Elliott (1977) points out that unlike ethnic group membership which is based on identity, minority group membership is based upon interests, power and position in the society as a whole rather than in numbers. Both minority and ethnic groups may hold shared physical, social and cultural characteristics that sets the group apart from the larger society. However, a minority group is disadvantaged with respect to the power it has to control its own destiny. This may not be true of an ethnic group although an ethnic group may be a minority group.

Acculturation, adaptation and assimilation are sociological terms used to describe the process of adjustment to the host society. Acculturation is the process by which the original culture of one group is modified by taking over cultural elements from the group or groups with which it is in contact. Adaptation relates to the patterns of response which individuals make to their new social and intellectual environment. Adaptation occurs among members of both the immigrant group and the host society. Assimilation of any group is judged by the degree of absorption of the minority culture and its original bearers into the majority culture.

Theories of Adjustment

Although migration is not a new phenomenon, the contemporary form is fairly new. N. S. Eisenstadt (1954) views migration as involving three stages: motivation, the migratory process and absorption in the new society. The absorption process consists of two aspects: 1) the institutionalization of the immigrants role and 2) the expectations and demands of the receiving society on the immigrant. According to this theory, the immigrants institutionalize their roles by acquiring new skills, learning to perform new roles and reforming their ideas of themselves by acquiring a new set of values.

Eisenstadt believes that absorption is a two-way process involving both the immigrant and the new society. He emphasizes that it is not enough that immigrants want to change to attain certain goals within the new society. The role expectations and demands that the receiving society holds for

immigrants determine how far within the new society these aspirations are capable of being realized. Jansen (1970) notes that the host society might disapprove of the immigrants retaining certain cultural habits and feel threatened if immigrants want to attain roles in one sphere (e.g. social, economic, political) while their expectations of the immigrant are in another.

Theoretical discussion has also centered around assimilation of immigrant groups in the host society. Assimilation is the means by which ethnic group members acquire the distinctive cultural characteristics, and gain entrance into the social institutions of an ethnic group to which they do not belong. In an ethnically stratified culture such as in Canada, the primary direction of assimilation is toward the norms and values of the majority cultural groups. There are divergent theories on the process of assimilation.

Milton Gordon (1964) proposes that the assimilation of immigrant groups may be analyzed with respect to two dimensions, a) cultural: "the change of cultural patterns to those of the host country" and b) structural: "large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society... on the primary level." Cultural integration (acculturation) involves learning the values, ideas, behaviors and skills of the new society. For most immigrants this means learning the language and acquiring cultural attributes to improve their socio-economic position and life chances.

He divides assimilation (structural) into 1) secondary assimilation (entrance into the economic, educational, legal and political institutions

of the society); 2) primary assimilation (entrance into the social clubs, cliques and primary social relationships) and 3) amalgamation. Secondary assimilation is the easiest to achieve by immigrants and is usually the first to occur. Yet full primary assimilation is the last and most important aspect of the process, for once it is achieved, the immigrant receives full and equal status as a member of the new society.

A third theory of adjustment has been proposed by Gavaki (1979). This theory attempts to describe and relate the immigrant experience to the process of their cultural and structural adjustment. Structural changes and role conflicts are recognized to be involved during such a process because of the differences in experience before migration. Gavaki sees the immigrant as passing through three stages of ethnic identity. In the first stage cultural continuity, ethnic identity and tradition are dominant. Immigrants experience initial contact with the new society and their feelings, behavior and relations are ethnic group centered. The second stage is contact-accommodation. The accent is on the ethnic (i.e. South Asian), rather than the host society's label (i.e. Indo-Canadian).

The third stage is viewed by Gavaki as complete integration into the host society. The individuals see themselves as full members of the new society, and hold no dominant ethnic elements which would make a difference in the ethnic identity of the individual. This individual is Canadian. This theory does not, however, account for the special problems of visible minorities. For South Asians, their visibility will prevent complete integration into a predominantly white society for a few generations, particularly

because of the pressure to marry within their own ethnic group.

Gavaki in her theory on immigrant adjustment examined data on the premigration and post-migration experiences of new immigrants. Gavaki looked at immigrants' views on religion, tradition, family background and ethnic and cultural values before migration. Gavaki's data also examined immigrant occupations in India, educational level, ability to speak English or French and information on their educational, career or training plans in Canada.

Gavaki's investigation of cultural background included such factors as religion, place of birth, emphoyment, marital status, mother tongue and other languages spoken. Gavaki also looked at data on the relationship between the immigrants' knowledge about Canada prior to migration and the conflicts that new immigrants experience initially in Canada. According to Gavaki's theory, the immigrants' background prior to migration is a major factor in the immigrants' adjustment to life in Canada.

Gavaki also sought information on various aspects of the new immigrants' initial contact with Canadian life such as: having Canadian friends, working with Canadians, watching Canadian television, movies and reading Canadian newspapers. Gavaki noted that the ethnic make-up of the neighborhoods in which immigrants live plays an important part in their adjustment to Canadian society.

Gavaki also examined data on what cultural organizations new immigrants seek, the importance of retaining their mother tongue and their views on assimilation. Gavaki looked at new immigrants' initial feelings of dislocation

and loss of cultural contact with their home country. Gavaki's data explored the immigrants' personal identification with their ethnic group and its effect on their adjustment to Canada. Gavaki saw immigrant adjustment as a continual process of cultural continuity and change.

Gavaki highlights three general experiences that are of great significance to the process of immigrant adjustment: 1) the dislocation of immigrants from their native society, culture and their initial contact with the new world; 2) the conflict they experience on all three levels of interaction, i.e., the individual, the social, the cultural, and 3) the adaptation and resolution; acculturation, integration and finally assimilation through time.

Assimilation in this thesis will be discussed within the theoretical framework advanced by Effie Gavaki. Similar to Gavaki's theory, data on new immigrants will be obtained before and after migration. Assimilation of the South Asian immigrant family will be analyzed with respect to the important aspects of cultural continuity and change.

The data required before migration includes an examination of the immigrants' cultural background. The data will focus on the family background, marital status, educational level, occupational level, expectations for training, education and careers in Canada. In addition information will be obtained on: what family members are planning to migrate, age of migrating children, views on their children growing up in Canada, plans for learning English or French and knowledge acquired from relatives and friends on Canada.

Additional data will be obtained after migration. This set of data includes information on: employment status in Canada, income level, plans for career training, plans to learn English/French; sources of employment information, changes in views on retaining cultural values and customs. Specific data will be sought on the new immigrants' reactions to: Canadian food, clothing, weather, television, movies, newspapers, health care, housing, living expenses, etc. Data will be gathered from the immigrants on their impressions of Canada based on their knowledge and initial experiences in Canada.

Yet, focus will be made on the dislocation and contact, the conflicts and how these issues may be resolved. It is an examination of these issues confronting immigrants and particularly visible minority groups that will provide insight into immigrant family adjustment to Canadian society.

Hypothesis

The specific objective of this study will be to examine the educational and economic aspirations of each family member migrating from India to Canada, and the difficulties that they face in training and retraining in an environment when they move from traditional Indian culture to a more liberal Western culture. It will focus on a comparison of their expectations prior to immigration in light of subsequent experiences. It is hypothesized that:

1) South Asian families come to Canada with high expectations regarding opportunities for status

mobility (in terms of education and earnings), but during the initial period of contact within the new environment they experience frustration and a lowering of aspirations.

2) An important motive for immigration to Canada is the opportunity perceived in the educational and career spheres of both children and parents.

Methodology

The immigration authorities of the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi, India, were approached for lists of families immigrating to Canada. Immigrants to Canada from New Delhi, approximately twenty cases of people granted immigrant visas during the month of October (39 people -- husband, wife and all children over the age of 10) were interviewed over a period of three months (October - January, 1983).

After six months, follow-up interviews on the same individuals were conducted over a period of three months (May - July, 1983) in Canada. The questions were geared to identifying changes, if any, in their expectations.

Data were collected 1) through a survey questionnaire which gathered background information (e.g. sex, age, religion, linguistic group, social class, facility in English/French, educational level of both parents and children, work of mother and father in India and category for entrance into Canada, and 2) semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect qualitative data on several factors:

a) regarding their perception of Canadian society and opportunities; and their expectations and aspirations concerning the opportunities available for education and career development.

The questionnaire took approximately 30 minutes to fill out and the interviews ranged from 45-60 minutes.

Data Collection

Initially the High Commission in New Delhi, India, were approached for lists of families immigrating only to Quebec. As the number was anticipated to be small, it was expected that all immigrants to Quebec from New Delhi, approximately ten families would be interviewed. Thirty-two letters stating the purpose of the study and requesting their participation were mailed by the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi to persons immigrating to Quebec. Within two weeks when no responses were received, follow-up letters were again mailed by the Canadian High Commission. The low response rate forced this researcher to broaden the sample population to include immigrants to Ontario and British Columbia.

At this time, forty-five new letters were sent out by the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi, once again stating the purpose of this study and inviting the cooperation of persons recently granted immigrant visas. The emigrants were mainly from the districts of Jullundur, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and Ferozepore in the Punjab, which is located in the Northwest region of India. As the replies were returned, it became clear that it would be

necessary to go to the homes of these emigrants to interview them. Ten interviews were conducted in the Punjab region, three interviews took place in New Delhi (home of emigrant) and seven were mailed questionnaires to Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan. (see Appendix 1).

The second phase of data collection took place in Canada. Data obtained were both quantative as well as qualitative.

Analysis of Data

The sample survey and semi-structured interview were used to obtain information on individual differences and general patterns of adjustment. Part I of the interview schedule gathered quantitative data on the respondents' backgrounds. Factual variables such as age, sex, religion, occupation, marital status, etc., were used to augment arguments and points. Quantitative data, in the form of statistical tables, were used as a descriptive tool.

Information on training and career plans, education of the children and knowledge about Canada were gathered through a semi-structured interview schedule. This qualitative information was analyzed by examining each respondent's answer to each question, categorizing these responses and then providing a description of average answers. This was done for each category of questions. The responses to each question were tabulated and presented.

In the follow-up interviews the demographic information was the same. The same semi-structured interview schedule was utilized, however, information was collected on several additional factors relating to life in Canada.

Particular attention was focused on initial changes in the respondents' educational aspirations, plans and expectations in light of their first-hand assessment of the situation. These qualitative data were analyzed and tabulated. Rigourous statistical analysis was not used because of the small sample size. Rather, the data were used to show important differences, if any, in their aspirations, adjustment and views about life in Canada. In addition, the discussion provided details and possible reasons for these changes.

Purpose

The values, philosophies and interpretation of life that South Asian families bring with them when they immigrate directly influences their adaptation to Canadian society. It is after arriving and facint the reality of society that immigrants encounter forces which operate to give them experiences affecting their expectations and aspirations.

This thesis will contribute to the body of knowledge on immigrants in general, and South Asians in particular, by presenting a systematic examination of South Asian families expectations before and after immigration. Specifically, there have been very few studies which have examined immigrants in their homeland and followed them up in Canada at a later time. Chapter 2 presents a history of Canadian immigration laws and policy, with emphasis on South Asian immigration. This section examines the biased regulations that South Asians have encountered in Canadian immigration and the resulting initial conflicts they have faced in Canadian society. The History of South

Asian immigration notes the change from independent immigrants to sponsored dependents as the major source of Canadian migration and the effects of this change on Canadian society. This section also provides information on the role of educational and career aspirations in motivating South Asian migration.

The History of Immigrant Education discusses the development of education for immigrants in Canada. This section gives information on why immigrants have valued education and the difficulties they faced on the Canadian Educational system. History of Immigrant Education explains that immigrants have traditionally sought education as a means of status mobility, and the role education has played in the adjustment of new immigrants. The problems that new immigrants face in education has greatly influenced their initial reaction to Canadian society and has been an important factor in the assimilation process.

Chapter 2 also includes an analysis of the socio-economic and political atmosphere of Canada which has effected the cultural and structural adjustment of new immigrants. This section gives a view of Canada in the context of French/English relations and the particular problems facing new immigrants due to Canada's bilingual nature. The initial frustration and dissatisfaction new immigrants experience may be accentuated by their inability to speak English or French.

In Chapter 3 the data collected during the initial interviews in India are presented in descriptive and tabular form. In Chapter 4 the data from the follow-up interviews conducted in Canada are given. Chapter 5 consists

of an analysis, interpretation and discussion of implications of the data. The final chapter provides a general summary of the study, discusses the limitations of the approach and findings, draws certain conclusions and makes suggestions for further research.

People of Indian origin constitute a growing proportion of Canada's new immigrants, and yet studies on their adjustment to Canadian life are very limited. During the 1960's and 70's South Asian immigration was largely professional. Because of India's colonial heritage, English was not a problem for these immigrants. However, since changes in the Immigration Act in 1978, family class immigration has altered the character of immigrants from India. This study found large numbers of immigrants coming from rural settings in the Punjab. These sponsored immigrants were predominantly agriculturists, and learning to speak a new language caused considerable difficulty.

New immigrants must adjust to the move from one culture to another, or perhaps from a rural to an industrial setting. They are confronted with re-employment difficulties, language handicaps, trade training differences, emphasis on different skills and social values. A study of South Asian families in India, and a follow-up after their arrival in Canada provides a framework for understanding the acculturation process and the complex set of interacting variables that immigration involves both for newcomers and the host society.

There is little empirical research on the educational expectations and career aspirations of immigrant (specifically South Asian) children and

their parents in Canada. Furthermore, although the South Asian community has contributed considerably to Canadian society, they have been generally overlooked in immigrant ethnic group studies.

Significance

The government policy of multiculturalism formally recognizes Canada's ethnic and cultural diversity. Yet information on immigrant ethnic groups in Canada is scarce. Large numbers of South Asians have immigrated to Canada, however, there is no empirical research on the expectations and aspirations of immigrant (specifically South Asian) children and their parents in Canada. Among studies of immigrants none have gone to the source country with a follow-up in Canada. In addition, there is very little data available on Indo-Canadians therefore, this research will add to the limited number of studies on South Asians in Canada.

Related Literature Survey

The literature that was examined may be broadly classified into: a) Canadian Immigration Policy & Multiculturalism; b) Ethnicity; c) Education of Immigrant Children; and d) Research on South Asians in Canada.

a) Canadian Immigration Policy & Multiculturalism:

A great deal of literature has been produced by the Canadian government concerning its immigration history, policies and programs. Canadian Immigration Policy, Immigration Policy Perspectives, the Immigration Program and The Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels gave details on changes in immigration policies and demographic information on immigrant groups. Book III and Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

(1969) described federal government policies toward immigrants and initial approaches to promote biculturalism in Canada.

Prime Minister Trudeau's call in 1971 for a multicultural Canada has brought a flood of publications by the Canadian Council of Multiculturalism. These publications are to promote better relations between minority ethnic groups and the federal/provincial government. Critics of Canadian immigration policy include - Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern (1972); Jean Burnett, "Multiculturalism, Immigration and racism: A Comment on the Canadian Immigration & Population Study," Canadian Ethnic Studies (vol. 7, no. 1, 1975); Edith Ferguson, Immigrants in Canada (1974). These writers suggest that Canadian immigration policies often do not promote a culturally pluralist society and that the government has not dealt adequately with the adaptation and adjustment issues that confront new immigrants. Howard Palmer, Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism (1975) provides a series of articles dealing with historical perspectives of immigration and broad cultural, social, economic and political debates surrounding immigration in Canadian society.

b) Ethnicity:

The study of immigrant ethnic groups in Canada has been quite limited. Most sociological studies of immigrant groups in Canada have been carried out in the last twenty-five years. Isajiw Wsevolod (ed.)., Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society (1977) and K. Ishwaran (ed.)., Canadian Families: Ethnic Variations (1976) have encouraged research based

on the immigrant framework of the ethnic family and analyzed the process of socio-cultural adaptation to a new culture. Paul Migus (ed.)., Sounds Canadian: Language and Culture in Multi-Ethnic Society (1975), Leo Driedger (ed.)., The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic: A Quest for Identity (1978) and J. L. Elliott (ed.)., Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada (1979) contain articles which analyze the concepts of race, ethnicity, language and religion in minority groups. More recently, A. Anderson and J. Frideres in Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives (1981) have sought to bring together into a single volume the integration of theoretical perspectives on ethnic identification, persistance and change and relations and policies in Canadian society. The journal Ethnicity also provides current articles and research.

Subhas Ramcharan in Racism: Nonwhites in Canada (1982) describes the position and the social, economic and cultural organization of nonwhite immigrant groups in Canada. He highlights "principal theoretical approaches to immigration and race relations, and examines the relationship of minority/majority group relations in the Canadian perspective" (p.ix). The interplay of politics, power and ethnicity is focused upon in J. Dahlie and T. Fernando's Ethnicity, Power & Politics in Canada (1981). This book, which resulted from the fifth biennial conference of the Canadian Studies Association in 1979 provides an understanding of Canadian pluralism and the political participation of minorities in the Canadian political process. In addition, V. Ujimoto and G. Hirabayashi (eds.)., Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada (1980) and J. Goldstein and R. Bienvenué (eds.).,

Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada (1980) contain recent research on immigrant ethnic groups, aspects of ethnic identity and assimilation.

c) Education of Immigrant Children:

Literature on the education of immigrant children is quite limited. Mary Ashworth in Immigrant Children and Canadian Schools (1975) looks at the issues facing immigrant children in schools and makes suggestions for improving government involvement in immigrant education, while in The Forces Which Shaped Them (1979) she gives a history of the education of minority group children in British Columbia. In Aaron Wolfgang (ed.)., Education of Immigrant Students: Issues and Answers (1975), Charles Caccia, Subhas Ramcharan and Keith McLeod present studies of the adjustment and aspirations of immigrant students in Canadian schools. Growing Up In Canada (1981) also contains articles focusing on the adjustment of Indo-Canadians in Canada. Joti Bhatnagar's Immigrants at School and his article, "Education of Immigrant Children," Canadian Ethnic Studies (vol. 8, no. 1, 1976) provide a discussion of immigrant students, and his recent edited book Educating Immigrants (1982) presents an international perspective on the problems and future possibilities of the education of immigrants. In addition, Multiculturalism and Canadian Education (in press), R. Samuda, J. Berry and M. Laferrière (eds.)., presents recent articles and research on the education of immigrants in Canada.

d) Research on South Asians:

The first sociological mention of South Asians in North America goes back to Emory Bogardus (1928). Besides Cheng's study of Oriental immigration

in 1931 and Smith's research on Sikh settlers in Canada (1944) most sociological studies of South Asians in Canada have been done since 1964. Information on South Asians in Canada have not expanded in synchrony with South Asian immigration. A brief history of South Asian immigration to Canada is provided in R. Sampat-Mehta's International Barriers (1973). Norm Buchignani's bibliography on South Asians "A Review of the Historical and Sociological Literature on East Indians in Canada," Canadian Ethnic Studies (vol. 9, no. 1, 1977) is an excellent source of information. In addition, his article "South Asian Canadians and the Ethnic Mosaic: An Overview" (1979) and B. Beck's article, "Asian Immigrants and Canadian Multiculturalism: Current Issues and Future Opportunities" (1980) address the key social/cultural problems that South Asian immigrants face in their adjustment to Canadian society. G. Kurian and R. Ghosh have also examined the problems of socialization for South Asian children in two articles, "Changing Authority in the Context of Socialization in Indian Families" in Social Science (vol. 53, no. 1, 1978) and "Changing Patterns of Asian Families in Canada," Accord (vol. 53, no. 1, 1977). More recently, "Social and Economic Integration of South Asian Women in Montreal" and "Minority Within a Minority: On Being South Asian and Female in Canada" by R. Ghosh in Women in the Family and Economy: An International Comparative Survey (1981) discusses the concerns and specific issues confronting South Asian Women in Canada.

Frequent reference will be made to articles appearing in journals (Comparative Education Review, Canadian Ethnic Studies, Interchange, The Dalhousie Review and International Migration Review). Notable among these

are Canadian Ethnic Studies special issues: Education and Ethnicity, vol. VIII, no. 1, 1976 and The Green Paper on Immigration, vol. VII, no. 1, 1975 and Journal of Canadian Studies, issue: Multiculturalism: The First Decade, vol. 17, no. 1, 1982.

Limitations of this Study

This study is limited by the small size of the sample, and the short period of time between the initial and follow-up interviews with the immigrant families. These families will have been in Canada only six months, and therefore, there will not be attempts to draw broad conclusions on adjustment, rather the focus will be on initial changes in educational aspirations, plans and expectations. Although the sample is small and it will not be possible to make definite statements certain trends are expected to emerge.

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CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION

Canadian Immigration Policies

From the very earliest period of Canada's settlement, the government made every effort to exclude nonwhites from entry to Canada (Ramcharan, 1982:12). And yet Canada's long history of immigration has brought together people of many diverse backgrounds. The increasing number of nonwhite immigrants since 1967 has changed the character of Canada's population. Both these new Canadians and the host society have had to develop new patterns of attitude and social interaction to relate to each other. Immigration, at various times has been used as both the cause and the cure of economic problems. The reception new immigrants receive in Canada is closely tied to the type of immigration policy pursued by the Canadian government. However, Canada is not simply a nation of immigrants, it is also a nation where the immigration process has occurred within the context of uneasy French/English relations. (Elliott, 1979:162)

Immigration: Confederation - 1945

With the exception of Native people, today's entire Canadian population consists of immigrants and their direct descendents (Anderson & Frideres, 1981: 130). The majority of Canada's population consists of the descendents of immigrants from France and the British Isles. In 1765, the population had reached 69,810 (Elliott, 1979:164). By the time of Confederation, the British population had begun to dominate economically and politically. The population of Canada had risen to over three million, primarily due to immigration.

The then Minister of the Interior (1896-1905), Clifton Sifton's priority was on the recruitment of agriculturalists and the settlement of the West, although the arrival of thousands of Southern and Eastern Europeans created an increasing public demand for the implementation of restrictions on the basis of "race."

The first official attempt to control immigration, which established the principal of defining which people could be excluded from Canada was enacted in 1869. Between 1879-80 the government sought legislation to prohibit the landing of all paupers. These regulations were followed by a bill in 1906 permitting the deportation of immigrants within two years of landing. At the beginning of the 19th century an increasing world demand for wheat and raw materials focused new attention on Canada. Despite Canada's preference for British nationals, its increasing manpower needs forced her to seek immigrants from Western and Southern European nations.

Sir Clifford Sifton, with a member of Laurier's cabinet is credited with formulating the Immigration Act of 1910, which along with the Order in Council in 1919 set the basic structure under which immigration policy was run from then until the first major revision in the Act in 1952 (Green, 1976:14). It's main effect was to permit authorities to divide the world into two broad classes of countries, the "preferred" (United Kingdom and United States) and the "non-preferred" (Northern and Western Europe) countries. The Governor in Council was conferred virtually unlimited power to carry out a definite policy of exclusion. One section said that the government could "prohibit for a stated period or permanently, the landing in Canada...of immigrants belonging to any nationality or race...of any specific class or occupation or

by reason of any economic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada" (Canada Year Book, 1957-58:169). This provision resulted in "selection immigration," formally giving the government the ability to impose restrictions upon immigrants from particular areas or countries, and allowed the government to regulate the volume, ethnic origin and occupational composition of the immigrant flow.

Up to this period there had been unrestricted entry for most immigrants. However this was not true of Chinese and other nonwhite immigrants. Beginning with the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885, when cheap Chinese labor was no longer needed for railroad construction, a $50 "head tax" was levied on every new Chinese immigrant and every effort was made to exclude further Asian immigration. Although severe restrictions were placed on nonwhite entry, a small stream of Chinese, Japanese and South Asians continued to reach the West Coast in the first years of the 19th Century. Ramcharan (1982:13) notes that tremendous racial hostility was generated by the entry of nonwhite groups, and race riots broke out in British Columbia in 1907.

The federal government immediately acted to impose tighter restrictions against Asian immigration. To deal with Chinese immigrants the government had in 1903 raised the head tax to $500. It sought a "Gentleman's Agreement" with Japan in 1907, which stated Canada would not impose discriminatory laws against Japanese immigrants if the Japanese government was willing to voluntarily restrict the number of Japanese people allowed to emigrate to Canada. And being unable to reach an agreement with the Indian government, Canada imposed a "continuous journey" stipulation on immigrants from India in 1908. Only

persons who came from the country of their birth by continuous passage were allowed to enter Canada. There was no direct steamship service between Canada and India, therefore South Asians were basically prohibited from entering Canada. In 1910, this law was extended to include the wives and children of those men already in Canada, causing further hardships. Ashworth (1979:178) points out that the number of Indians entering Canada went from over 2,000 a year to a figure never exceeding one hundred until 1947.

The economic crisis of 1929 followed by World War II led to a full restrictionist policy on all immigrants being put into effect. The bombing of Pearl Harbour resulted in the Canadian Government ordering that all Japanese Canadians be evacuated from the West Coast. This evacuation of over 21,000 people was the culmination of half a century of intense racism against Asians.

1945-1963

Canada's immigration policy in the late 1940's and early 1950's continued to be dominated by the racist immigration policies of earlier governments. Following the guidelines in the Act of 1910, preferential treatment was given to British subjects, while Asian immigration was largely restricted.

Liberal Prime Minister MacKenzie King in his speech to the House in 1947 outlined the official government policy for the post war decade. He stated:

> It is not a "fundamental human right" of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. (House of Commons Debates, 1947:2644)

The three major premises established by this address were 1) immigration would augment the natural rate of increase in the Canadian population; 2) the volume of arrivals would be related to the "absorptive capacity"; and 3) the national and racial balance of immigration would be regulated so as not to disturb the existing "character" of the Canadian population (Green, 1976:21). There was general agreement among Canadians at this time that Asian immigrants should be excluded from Canada. Hawkins (1972) points out that "in the minds of the Canadian Liberal government in 1947, Asia meant almost everything in the Eastern Hemisphere outside Europe...thus by excluding Asians and by association and extension, Africans also (except white South Africans). Canada was prepared to accept only one kind of immigrant from the Eastern Hemisphere -- the European Immigrant" (p.95).

From 1947 to 1951, Canada liberalized a number of its general admission regulations for immigrants from traditional sources. This was due to persistent pressure from close relatives of potential immigrants, and from farmers and owners of mining and lumbering industries who were in need of laborers (Rawlyk, 1962:290). First, the sponsorship category was broadened to increase the range of relatives who could be sponsored by landed immigrants or foreign born citizens. Second, the prohibition on the immigration of unskilled or general labor was changed to exclude persons "experienced in mining, lumbering or logging who were entering Canada to engage in assured employment" (Green, 1976:23). In 1951, largely as a gesture to Commonwealth relations, the government entered into agreements with the governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon whereby 150 Indians, 100 Pakistanis, and 50 Ceylonese

would be admitted to Canada each year. This quota system was to remain in effect until 1962, and except for this small quota assigned to Asians, their exclusion was total.

On June 1, 1953, the federal government introduced a new immigration act which gave extensive discretionary powers to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. It was made mandatory that "all persons seeking admission to Canada must be examined in order to establish their admissibility" (Richmond, 1967:10), thereby giving the Immigration Branch more control over arrivals from the "most preferred" countries. However, there was no change in basic immigration policy, or to show that Canada was willing to accept nonwhites on the same basis as white immigrants.

In May 1958, Ellen Fairclough became the new Minister of Immigration and Citizenship. She held this position until August 1962. During this period Canada realized that the manpower requirements of its rapidly industrializing economy could not be met from traditional sources -- Britain, Northwest Europe or its domestic population. There was also increasing international pressure to remove the overt stigma of racial discrimination from Canadian immigration policy and to formulate more stable and longer range planning of immigration. The new immigration regulations in 1962 for the first time in Canada's history officially stated that prospective immigrants were to be selected on the basis of education, training and skills, regardless of race, colour or national origin. This immigration policy proclaimed in January, 1962, was geared to meet Canada's high unemployment in specific categories of labor and placed great emphasis upon the "possession of special skills and

professional qualifications."

The changes in the Immigration Act in 1962 did not significantly increase the number of nonwhite immigrants to Canada or result in any diminution in the importance attached to encouraging immigration from Britain. Nonwhite immigration increased from less than four percent in 1961 to nine percent in 1965 (Canadian Immigration Statistics, 1961-65). The scarcity of Canadian Immigration offices in the Third World did not encourage nonwhite immigration. For example, in 1964, of the thirty-two immigration offices located in twenty-one countries, only four were in nonwhite countries (Ramcharan, 1982:15). There were no permanent offices in Central or South America, and only one in New Delhi serving the whole of the Indian subcontinent (Richmond, 1976:18).

1963-1978

The period from 1963 to 1967 was one of continuous change, development and expansion in Canada. The administration of new legislation and a more expansionary posture resulted in increased applications from the Third World. The White Paper on Immigration published in October 1966 emphasized that a higher degree of correlation between immigration and manpower was required. It called for a planned program of long-term development. The second major concern of the White Paper was the need for control over sponsorship privileges of resident immigrants. This resulted in the recommendation that only limited categories of close relatives should qualify for immediate sponsorship by landed immigrants and only after five years of Canadian citizenship should individuals be permitted to sponsor further relatives. This proposal generated

a large outcry from the foreign born community of Canada. A solution was not reached until the Immigration Regulations in 1967, which gave greater discretionary powers to immigration officers in the assessment of educational and occupational qualifications and extending the categories of sponsorable immigrants. In addition, an Immigration Appeal Board was established in 1967 with the authority to hear appeals against all deportation orders.

Based on the recommendations of the White Paper, new regulations were announced on April 18, 1967 and became effective October 1, 1967. These regulations had four principal objectives:

1) Discrimination on the basis of race or nationality was eliminated for all classes of immigrants.
2) Selection criteria for unsponsored immigrants was set out in considerable detail with objectivity for the first time.
3) Sponsored class was retained subject to the modification proposed by the 1966 White Paper and a new class of nominated relatives was created.
4) Specific provision was made for visitors to apply for landed immigrant status while in Canada (Passaris, 1979:279).

The introduction of the point system comprised an important foundation of the 1967 Immigration Regulations and set the characteristics of future immigrants. Immigrants were to be selected on the basis of points allotted in nine areas:

age, education, adaptability, occupational demand, occupational skill, arranged employment, knowledge of French and English, relatives in Canada and employment opportunities. (see Table 2)

Table 2

Summary of Factors Used for the Selection of Immigrants to Canada

Independent Applicants	
Long-Term Factors	Range of Units of Assessment That May be Awarded
Education and Training	0-20
Personal Qualities	0-15
Occupational Demand	0-15
Occupational Skill	1-10
Age	0-10
Short-Term Factors	
Arranged Employment/Designated Occupation	0 or 10
Knowledge of English and/or French	0-10
Relative in Canada	0 or 3 or 5
Area of Destination	0-5
Potential Maximum	100

Nominated Relatives	
Long-Term Factors (as for independent applicant)	1-70
Short-Term Settlement Arrangements Provided by Relative in Canada	15, 20, 25 or 30
Potential Maximum	100

Sponsored Dependents	
Close Relative in Canada Willing to Take Responsibility for Care and Maintenance	Units of Assessment not required

Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration (C.I.P.S. 2:59-60).

This new criterion for selection officially placed nonwhite racial groups on an equal basis with white immigrants. The emphasis on skilled manpower resulted in a rise in professional, technical and managerial trained immigrants from nonwhite countries. South Asian immigrants during this period consisted almost exclusively of professionals. These immigrants were no longer predominantly Sikh Punjabis, and settled in areas other than British Columbia. The majority of the immigrants who arrived during this period gravitated to urban areas and were concentrated in service industries and professional occupations. Between 1968 and 1973, 57 percent of the immigrants arriving in Canada were from Africa, Asia and Latin America (Anderson & Frideres, 1981:161). The changes occuring from 1967 to 1976 in the rank ordering of "source countries" are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Selected Major Source Countries of Postwar Immigrants

Country (Rank order, 1976)	1976	1974	1972	1970	1968	1946-1967
Great Britain	19,257	33,088	16,637	26,497	37,889	827,567
West Indies[1]	15,066	24,441	8,696	12,456	7,563	35,800
USA	14,278	22,454	19,176	24,424	20,422	244,280
China[2]	13,301	15,264	7,209	5,377	8,382	46,765
India	8,562	16,016	6,746	5,670	4,675	24,995
Portugal	6,194	17,268	9,280	7,902	7,738	57,427
Italy	4,008	5,818	4,847	8,533	19,774	409,414
Greece	2,429	5,654	4,008	6,327	7,739	80,216
France	2,415	2,811	1,880	4,410	8,184	82,877
TOTAL	85,510	142,814	78,479	101,596	122,366	1,809,341

[1] Includes Caribbean area.
[2] Includes Hong Kong and Taiwan.
(Source: Immigration Statistics, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration (Ottawa, 1977)

In January 1973, new regulations required the registration of visitors and all others seeking temporary entry for more than three months. In addition, non-immigrants entering Canada to work were required to possess an employment visa. These first of a series of major changes in the regulations were intended to regain control and moderate the dramatic increase in the number of nonwhite immigrants entering Canada.

The Green Paper published in 1975 was designed to serve as a discussion paper, to propose options and to stimulate public discussion on the issues of population and immigration. Ramcharan (1982:6) notes that the authors' main focus appeared to be not the immigrants or the actual numbers to be admitted per year but rather what should be the racial and ethnic composition of the immigrants On November 24, 1976 the new Immigration Bill (Bill C-24) was presented to parliament. This immigration policy became law in April, 1978. The new Act established a "family class" of immigrants who could be sponsored to Canada. This category included brothers, sisters, parents and grandparents. It also retained the "points system," however fewer points were awarded for educational attainment and more points were given for occupational demand and prearranged employment.

1978-Present

In 1979 and 1980 there was a moderate increase in immigration levels largely due to the intake of Southeast Asian Refugees and other displaced persons. The total refugee inflow which amounted to about 10 percent of post-war immigrants accounted for 28 percent in 1980 (Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels, 1981:6). In 1981 close to 15,000 refugees were admitted into Canada.

The estimated number of refugees for 1982 was 12,000 and the 1983 proposed government assisted refugee intake was 10,000. Refugee levels are announced annually because of the changing nature of the international refugee situation.

Since 1974 government immigration restrictions have reduced the labor force component of immigration by placing more emphasis on family reunification. The family class now occupies a proportionally larger share of the total immigration intake due to the shrinking of the independent movement (see Table 4). The family class category has been the most stable component of the immigrant movement because it is least affected by conditions in Canada. The policies governing the independent immigrant movement in Canada has shifted fundamentally from that of the 1960's and early 1970's. The new policies have resulted in a reduction in nonwhite immigration and also in the number of highly educated, skilled professionals entering Canada.

In view of high unemployment rates and other current difficulties, the Minister of Employment and Immigration, Lloyd Axworthy, announced that on May 1, 1982, a temporary restriction on selected workers from abroad would come into effect (Annual Report, 1983:17). The restriction applies to all immigrants who are subject to labor market criteria in the immigration selection (point) system, exempting those with arranged employment in validated jobs. All applications that had been provisionally approved before May would be processed, however applicants were informed about the difficult current economic conditions in Canada. They were told that their departure could be delayed for up to one year and that their immigrant visa would still be honored.

Table 4

Immigration by Category, 1966-1980

		Family Class		Assisted Relatives		Independent		Refugees and Designated Classes	
Year	Total	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1966	194,743	66,562	34.2	-	-	128,181	65.8	-	-
1967	222,876	74,427	33.4	-	-	148,449	66.6	-	-
1968	183,974	38,307	20.8	35,040	19.1	110,627	60.1	-	-
1969	161,531	33,548	20.8	39.084	24.2	88,899	55.0	-	-
1970	147,713	32,263	21.8	35,151	23.8	80,299	54.4	-	-
1971	121,900	33,450	27.4	29,328	24.1	59,122	48.5	-	-
1972	122,006	33,019	27.1	30,692	25.2	53,115	43.5	5,180	4.2
1973	184,200	41,677	22.6	44,278	24.0	95,886	52.1	2,359	1.3
1974	218,465	54,232	24.8	53,161	24.3	109,406	50.1	1,666	0.8
1975	187,881	64,124	34.1	45,727	24.3	72,464	38.6	5,566	3.0
1976	149,429	60,830	40.7	32,528	21.8	44,320	29.6	11,751	7.9
1977	114,914	51,355	44.7	26,114	22.7	30,145	26.2	7,300	6.4
1978	86,313	45,540	52.8	17,199	19.9	19,319	22.4	4,255	4.9
1979	112,096	46,763	41.7	11,474	10.2	25,980	23.2	27,879	24.9
1980	143,117	51,039	35.7	13,531	9.4	38,213	26.7	40,334	28.2
1966-1980	2,351,158	727,136	30.9	413,307	17.6	1,104,425	47.0	106,290	4.5

(Source: Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, 1982.)

The May 1 moratorium has now been extended for an additional year. This restriction on selected workers has meant a reduction from the announced 20,000 to 25,000 to a range of from 8,000 to 10,000 independent immigrants in 1983. This restriction does not affect family class, refugee immigrants or entrepreneurs.

South Asian Immigration to Canada

The first South Asians to visit Canada were Sikh soldiers passing through Canada on their journey from Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations in 1887. Many of these soldiers eventually returned to Canada and found work in the lumber sawmills near Vancouver. These individuals wrote to their families and friends of the vast opportunities for settlement in British Columbia. In 1904, there were about 250 South Asians in British Columbia, however in the two year period between 1906-1908 almost 5,000 Indians landed at British Columbia ports. An estimated 85 percent of these South Asians were Sikh Punjabis, and up to the 1960's the majority of the Indians entering Canada were Sikhs.

Statistics of Indian Immigration: 1904-1908

Fiscal Year	Numbers
1904-05	45
1905-06	387
1906-07	2,124
1907-08	2,623

(W.D.Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, 1917)

A severe depression struck British Columbia in 1907. By mid-winter there were about 1,500 unemployed Indians in Vancouver. Anti-Asian sentiment had already caused the disenfranchisement of the Chinese in 1895 and the imposing of an exclusionary head tax of $500 on new Chinese immigrants. The British Columbia Legislature disenfranchised Indians in March 1907 amidst increasing fear of the possibility of large numbers of Indians from both the West Coast of the United States and the Indian continent immigrating to British Columbia.

An Order-in-Council was also passed requiring South Asians to have in their possession two hundred dollars upon arrival in Canada. Soon after the Federal government decided to attempt a complete termination of Indian immigration to Canada. By October, at the request of Prime Minister Laurier the Indian government began distributing information in the Punjab warning of the hard conditions in British Columbia to discourage potential immigrants (London Times, October 12, 1907:5e). In addition, an Order-in-Council passed on January 8, 1908 stipulated that "all immigrants entering Canada via British Columbia ports, who were not specifically covered by separate treaties must come on a continuous voyage from their country of origin." Since there was no direct steamer service between India and Canada at this time, this order effectively banned subsequent South Asian immigration. Statistics available from the Immigration Department for the period covering 1921 to 1925-26 are as follows:

Year	Number Admitted
1921-22	13
1922-23	21
1923-24	40
1924-25	46
1925-26	60

(Sampat-Mehta, 1973:179)

From 1921-1942 a virtual ban was placed on South Asian immigration despite continued attempts to challenge this discriminatory law in the courts and in the press. The only fundamental change in this policy took place in 1920 when the wives and dependent children of legal Indian residents were allowed to join their husbands and fathers. This exclusionary policy was so successful that by 1942 there were only 6,111 Indians in Canada, and for the period 1920 to 1943 only 760 migrants were allowed entry (Richmond, 1967:7).

The end of World War II brought a significant change in the conditions of South Asians in Canada. In 1947 the Canadian Citizenship Act was established. Many Indians became eligible for citizenship, and began to regain their political and civil rights. The Canadian government entered into agreements with the governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon to set up a quota system for the number of immigrants from each of these countries in 1951. The agreement stipulated that 150 Indian nationals, 100 Pakistani nationals, and 50 Ceylonese nationals were to be admitted into Canada each year, in addition to those close relatives normally admissible from other Asian countries. The number of Indian immigrants was increased to 300 in 1958.

In spite of new regulations of the Immigration Act introduced in 1962, less than 5 percent of all immigrants entering Canada between 1962 and 1966 were from Asia. It was not until the new immigration regulations and the introduction of the "points" system in 1967 that potential South Asian immigrants were assessed on an equal basis with whites. The most dramatic increase occurred between 1968 and 1975 reflecting the 1967 changes in immigration policy.

Table 5

South Asian Immigration into Canada, by Selected Countries of Last Permanent Residence 1966-1976

Year	India	Pakistan	Other South Asia	Uganda	Fiji	Caribbean Guyana	Caribbean Trinidad
1966	2233	566	144	54	271	502	565
1967	3966	648	112	68	172	589	1170
1968	3229	627	76	62	253	658	1210
1969	5395	1005	179	69	590	1492	2816
1970	5670	1010	167	90	776	1672	2395
1971	5313	968	218	149	721	1907	2075
1972	5049	1190	343	5021	636	1581	1370
1973	9203	2285	556	2056	987	3846	2569
1974	12868	2315	685	423	1530	3224	2401
1975	10144	2165	473	112	2323	3515	1909
1976	6733	2173	314	29	1081	2744	1180

(Source: Immigration Statistics, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1966-1976.)

Table 5 illustrates the rapid rise of South Asian immigration during this period. Anderson and Frideres (1981:165) point out that "between 1946 and 1975, 84,957 immigrants arrived from India and Pakistan (excluding Indians and Pakistanis from such sources as Britain, Uganda, South Africa, Malaysia, Fiji,

Mauritius, Trinidad and Guyana). According to the 1971 Census of Canada, there were 67,900 people of South Asian origin in Canada. Since that enumeration, an additional 45,219 immigrants have arrived from India and Pakistan, along with thousands of South Asians from other countries.

Up until the late 1960's independent immigrants comprised the majority of the immigrant movement. These persons were screened for technical skills and were predominantly highly educated professionals. Between 1968 and 1976, over 35 percent of the Indians entering Canada were professionals (Immigration Statistics Canada). These immigrants gravitated to metropolitan areas and were concentrated in service industries and white collar occupations. South Asian immigration from 1973 has had a different character from that of the preceding period. There has been a noticeable reduction in the number of professionals and an increase in the number of machinist, mechanics and skilled manual workers. The reduction in the number of points given by educational qualifications in the early 1970's led to an increase in the percentage of nominated and sponsored immigrants (see Table 6, page 45).

A survey in Vancouver in 1976 of fifty recently immigrated Indian families revealed that 68 percent of heads of households had only a high school education or less, although 36 percent had additional training or skills (Wood, 1978:551). There was also a shift whereby British Columbia, the traditional center of South Asian settlement has been replaced by Ontario as the central area of South Asian settlement in Canada.

India is the only member of the Commonwealth for which visitors visas are required to enter Canada. This regulation is discriminatory and shows

Table 5

Landed Immigrants from India, by Category: 1966-76

Year	Independent	Pct	Sponsored	Pct	Nominated	Pct	Spons/Nom Pct	Total
1966	1556	69.7	677	30.3	-	-	30.3	2233
1967	2470	62.3	1396	35.2	100	2.5	37.7	3966
1968	1491	46.5	1335	41.6	383	11.9	53.5	3209
1969	1963	36.4	1520	28.2	1912	35.4	63.6	5395
1970	1644	29.0	1915	33.8	2111	37.2	71.0	5670
1971	1909	35.9	2003	37.7	1401	26.4	64.1	5313
1972	1477	29.3	2490	49.3	1082	21.4	70.7	5049
1973	3908	42.5	3548	38.6	1747	18.9	57.5	9203
1974	3942	30.6	5934	46.1	2992	23.3	69.4	12868
1975	1227	12.1	7065	69.6	1852	18.3	87.9	10144
1976	450	6.7	5580	82.9	703	10.4	93.3	6733

(Source: Program Data Section, M/I, Ottawa, 1977).

Canada's continued bias against South Asians. Since 1976, India has moved from the sixth to the third largest source country of immigrants to Canada. In 1982, 7,200 immigrants from India were admitted to Canada, yet this figure did not include South Asian immigrants from other countries. It is estimated that including South Asians from other countries, Canada admitted between 11,000-12,000 South Asian immigrants in 1982. The family class category constitutes the majority of South Asian immigrants and about 70% of these immigrants are from the Punjab region (see Tables).

The present population of Indians in Canada is now estimated at about 250,000 and includes South Asian migrants from the West Indies, Fiji, East Africa, Mauritius as well as the Indian subcontinent (Ramcharan, 1982:24).

South Asians constitute about 9 percent of the total immigration to Canada and it appears that this percentage will continue to increase in the years to come.

Table 7

Immigration To Canada from India

Statistics		Source Country Position of Non-Refugee Immigrants
1947-1950	378	
1951-1957	1,387	
1958-1962	2,512	
1963-1967	10,331	
1968	3,229	
1969	5,395	
1970	5,670	6
1971	5,313	5
1972	5,049	5
1973	9,203	6
1974	12,868	4
1975	10,144	3
1976	6,733	6
1977	5,555	6
1978	5,110	3
1979	4,517	4
1980	8,464	3
1981	8,207	3
1982	7,200 (approx.)	3

(Source: Canadian High Commission, New Delhi, 1982.)

Table 8

Composition of Non-Refugee Movement (1980)

		India	Average, all Sources
Family Class		94.17%	49.67%
Nominated Relatives		2.88	13.09
Independents		2.95	37.24
Destined to Labour Force		26.0	43.0
Children and Students		25.0	32.0
Not Destined to Labour Force		49.0	25.0
Age	0 - 14	11	20
	15 - 24	39	25
	25 - 34	19	26
	35 - 44	4	9
	45 - 54	4	5
	55 - 64	14	8
	65 - over	9	7

(Source: Canadian High Commission, New Delhi, 1982.)

Table 9

Destinations in Canada

Maritime Provinces	5.0%	2.5%
Quebec	7	15
Ontario	42	43
Prairie Provinces	10	21
British Columbia	36	17
Territories	Nil	0.2

Source Area of Immigrants from India

Punjab	70.0%
Gujarat	20
Other	10

(Source: Canadian High Commission, New Delhi, 1982.)

Education of Immigrants

Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Schools in 1849 stated "it is essential to social progress and the greatness of our country, not to say its own best interests, that it should educate its own manufacturers, engineers, mechanics and artists, as well as its own scholars, and agriculturists" (Ryerson, 1849:290). He advocated public schooling so that "the rising generation should, therefore be educated not for Canada as it has been, or even now is, but for Canada as it is likely to be half a generation hence " (Ryerson, 1849:279). These statements were no doubt meant for Canadians of British origin. The rising tide of immigrants from Ireland were viewed negatively by the Canadian population. They were labeled as agents of vice, disease, disruption and social disorder; condemned for their habits, character and values (McLeod, 1975:20). Education was perceived as the tool to inculcate into these undesirables the proper values and attitudes. This was to be accomplished through the discipline of school attendance, the example of the teacher and the actual instruction given.

Education was to serve the two purposes of social control and Canadianization or assimilation. Events such as Queen Victoria's jubilee and the opening up of Western Canada added to an increasing Anglo-Canadian nationalism. In Manitoba in 1916 and Saskatchewan in 1919 the teaching of other ethnic languages besides English were banned. Furthermore, a National Conference of Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship was held in 1919 which proclaimed that the character of youth should be molded by moral training, civics teaching and uniform national education. The school was perceived as the major

socializing agent of the society.

J.T.M. Anderson's The Education of the New Canadian (1918) exemplified the socio-political atmosphere of Canada in the early 19th century. Anderson's analysis of the New Canadian was based on three assumptions: 1) the normative culture in Canada was that of Anglo-Saxons or Anglo-Canadians, 2) that unity demanded a common language and common ideals and 3) that all Canadians must therefore be assimilated to the Anglo-Canadian language and values (McLeod, 1975:23) Anderson saw schools as the means to accomplish assimilation of these new Canadians and was highly critical of groups such as the Mennonites and Doukhobors that opposed government public schools for their children. Anderson was also highly critical of Anglo-Canadians who did not interact with these New Canadians, he stated in his book that "no one can deny that before many years inter-marriages between Old-Canadians and these New Canadians will be quite common . . . We must assume a different attitude on this question" (Anderson, 1918:89).

Both in the West and in Ontario the role of public schools was to "Canadianize." This was a time period of increasing Central European immigration to Canada and despite pressure for stricter immigration policies the number of New Canadians continued to grow. The Toronto school system in these years dealt with immigrant children largely by ignoring their differences or placing them in classes for "slow learners." In addition, a few special classes "for pupils of foreign tongue" (enrollment 283 in 1914) and a "vacation school", where teaching English along with citizenship, were formed (McLeod, 1975:26). The Chief Inspector in 1913 wrote: The progress these pupils make is marvellous.

The teachers do not know the language of these foreigners and the results obtained prove that it is not necessary that they should to teach these people" (Board of Education for the City of Toronto, 1913:29).

From the early 19th Century to World War II there was very little attention given to immigrant education. Although in 1926 an Ontario report noted the schooling of forty-eight pupils in two railroad cars. The report added, "the foreign born, both parents and children trained in an atmosphere inimical to Canadian ideas of Citizenship are quickly developing into loyal and law-abiding Canadians" (Ontario Report of the Minister, 1926:13). Shortly after World War II religious education was introduced into the elementary schools, character education was revised, and citizenship training was encouraged for adults. By 1949, there were some 533 citizenship classes with over 12,000 students (Ontario Department of Education, 1951:35). All immigrants were to learn English, totally disregarding their mother tongue. Anglo-Canadianism had become the only culture that was acceptable.

It was not until the late 1950's and early 1960's that the Citizenship Division or Branch in the Ontario provincial government began to train teachers for English as a second language (McLeod, 1975:27). Canada was being challenged by the Black civil rights movement in the United States, the growing complaints of its French population and the demands of its immigrants and ethnic communities to become a greater part of the mainstream of Canadian society. Changes in Canada's immigration policy in 1967 was also increasing the diversity of Canada's population, particularly in metropolitan centres such as Toronto (see Table 10, page 51).

Table 10

Population of Ontario by Reported Origin

	English		French		Other		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Total N
1931	2,539,771	74.0	299,732	8.7	592,180	17.3	3,431,683
1941	2,729,830	72.1	373,990	9.8	683,835	18.1	3,787,655
1951	3,081,919	67.0	477,677	10.4	1,037,946	22.6	4,597,542
1961	3,711,536	59.5	647,941	10.4	1,876,615	30.1	6,236,092
1971	4,576,010	59.4	737,360	9.6	2,389,735	31.0	7,703,105

(Source: Statistics Canada, "Population: Specified Ethnic Groups," Special Bulletin, 1971 Census of Canada, Catalog 92-774(SP-4). Government of Quebec, Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec, Vol.3: The Ethnic Groups (Quebec, 1972).)

In 1963, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was set up to inquire into and report on the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two "founding races. The final outcome of this Commission's research was the policy of multiculturalism introduced by the federal government in 1971. The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism made three recommendations concerning the education of immigrant children: 1) The teaching of languages other than English and French, and the cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school program, where there was sufficient demand for such classes. 2) Special instruction in the appropriate official

language be provided for children who enter the public school system with an adequate knowledge of that language, 3) More advanced instruction and a wider range of options in languages other than English and French, and in cultural subjects related to them be provided in public high schools where there was sufficient demand for such classes.

Soon after the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism was established, new programs were initiated by the federal government to deal with matters such as grants for multicultural projects, cultural development programs, ethnic studies and the writing of ethnic histories. The Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission also recommended that the federal government provide financia assistance to the provinces for the teaching of official languages to immigrant children and other immigrant services. In September 1976, the Toronto Board of Education figures showed that half of its students did not claim English as their mother tongue. A little over 9,500 students reported Italian as their mother tongue, about 7,200 reported Portuguese; about 6,200 Greek; about 5,800 Chinese; and about 13,400 some other language (Greene, 1977:10). Provinces stressed that the large number of immigrant families in urban areas placed an inequitably heavy tax load on certain municipalities. They felt that the federal government should provide funds to support immigrant education and other services for immigrants. However, the federal government remained firm in its view that public education was a provincial government responsibility. The provinces may apply to the federal government for funding of specific immigrant projects, and through cost-shared arrangement formal training in English and French is also available for adult immigrants.

In Quebec the Department of Education statistics for the 1971-72 school year revealed that in public schools, out of a total of 65,105 children whose mother tongue was neither French nor English, 55,490 were being taught in English, and 9,270 in French (Ashworth, 1975:14). In 1970 the Gendron Commission reported that the French language education system in Quebec had been unaware of immigrants' needs and had made no attempt to provide satisfactory programs (Gendron Commission, 1972). Immigrant parents who were usually educated in English had been hesitant about placing their children in French language schools. The provincial government now provides financial support for retention of language and cultural heritage programs of ethnic community groups. Since the passage of Bill 101 by the Quebec government in 1977 all immigrant children (with few exceptions) must attend French schools.

In schools across Canada there are three basic types of programs used with "English as a Second Language" students. The first type are reception classes where children receive intensive English language training on a full time basis. The class is made up entirely of other "English Second Language" students and the emphasis of the program is on language learning. These students are gradually integrated into regular classes beginning with classes such as physical education, art or music. The second program is based on total integration of the child into the normal life of the school accompanied by intensive English teaching. These children may spend half the day in an "English Second Language" class and half in a regular subject class, or be withdrawn for varying periods of time to work with an "English Second Language" teacher. At the secondary school level this arrangement may be seen by teachers and students as disruptive to academic

studies. The third case is when the child is placed in a regular classroom and expected to acquire the new language totally by intensive exposure to it. Most school boards use a combination of these programs, in addition to new programs that are being developed and tested.

Since the mid 1970's educators have begun to recognize that although language is an important aspect of immigrant education, there is a need for greater emphasis in all education programs to address the cultural adjustment of immigrants. The cultural problems that immigrants encounter were largely overlooked due to the belief that once the official language had been learned, the immigrant would have little difficulty adjusting to the new environment. Educators must not disregard the importance of learning the language, however, language problems can not be considered in isolation. Language is closely related to the problems of social and emotional adjustment to life in Canada and its educational system that many new Canadians encounter.

Mary Ashworth (1975), who conducted a nation-wide survey of English language classes for immigrant children, points to cultural-social, educational and linguistic problems as three major areas of concern for immigrant children, parents and the school. In the cultural-social category, Ashworth discusses the difficulties of culture shock, transfer from rural to urban living, different behavior patterns, discrimination, value conflicts and additional responsibilities placed on the immigrant children (i.e. part-time jobs, family spokesperson, etc.). In the educational category, she notes that pupil-teacher ratio and relationship, age on arrival, previous education, learning styles and language, expectations of both children and parents and school placement are all

important factors in the immigrant child's educational adjustment. The third category is linguistic, referring to the availability of social, educational and vocational opportunities open to the students based on language ability, and the necessity for students to master different kinds of English. The majority of the teachers surveyed in the Ashworth study selected cultural adjustment as the major problem facing immigrant children.

It has been argued that one of the major causes of lower educational achievement among immigrant children is the phenomenon of culture shock and culture conflict (Bhatnagar, 1982:57). The abrupt uprooting and relocation of the immigrant child is often a bewildering experience. The culture of the school may vary from the culture of the immigrant child's home resulting in a conflict of identity; hindering the economic and social integration of the child. Ramcharan (1975:99) characterized this conflict:

> The culture of the home and the community -- including the attitudes, values, styles of life, and behavioral patterns the child learns in the family environment -- is totally alien to what he is presented with in the school environment.

The aspirations of many immigrant children begin to differ from that of the home as the child grows older. At the secondary school level, as involvement with peers and perceptions of occupational and social values become clearer, a conflict of values between the immigrant child and the more traditional family may ensue. Even immigrant children who appear to identify closely with their new culture are often faced with value conflicts within their home. These problems also confront children born in this country of immigrant parents who face

differences in culture and values between their home environment and the school. Olejarczyk (1971) suggests that culture conflict and the sense of not belonging are felt most painfully by the second generation.

The difficulties facing secondary school "English Second Language" students are accentuated. These older students are confronted with the problem of language learning and mastering a high level of academic work in a short period of time. Those students who do not have a sufficient command of English to meet grade standards are frequently offered a place in an occupational program. Masemann's study (1975) of immigrant students' perceptions of occupational programs found that the respondents stated unanimously that their parents had immigrated to Canada in order to provide a better life for their children in either material or educational terms. Often these parents have high expectations for their children in school, and are not aware of the language and social problems their children encounter.

For parents and children of visible minority groups, cultural and behavioral adjustment problems are compounded. Nonwhite parents may perceive that their children are being discriminated against in the school based on their own experiences of color prejudice and discrimination in housing and employment. In addition, the immigrant parents inability to speak one of the official languages may make it difficult to communicate with the school. Many immigrant parents see the schools as confusing places and are forced into the role of an uninformed bystander. The parents, although concerned about their child's education may be ignorant of the organization of the school, the child's progress and programs offered by the school for parents.

Immigrant parents also experience culture shock and value conflicts. New Canadian adults may discover the host country to be quite different from what was expected. There may be difficulties involving language barriers, lack of understanding of customs, initial financial difficulties and the pull of the ethnic group. Immigrants come to Canada with their own values concerning education, purposes of education and view of what their children should be taught. Their aspirations and adjustment to Canada are based on their ability to "make the transition from their old cultural values to the new ones or at least to some adaptation of the old ones in a new context" (Beck, 1975:14). Teachers and others working with new immigrants must realize that both children and their parents are involved in the process of adapting to a strange and maybe hostile social environment. The adjustment problems of immigrant children cannot be dealt with totally separate from those of their parents. The parents' experiences including motivation to migrate, expectations of the new society, initial experiences in Canada and reactions to these experiences, will determine their attitudes toward the school, teachers and Canadian education. The parents' feelings about the school system will affect the child's attitude toward the school. "In other words, all the problems, difficulties, and processes that characterize immigrants in the new country during and after their long efforts to get settled and adjusted in the foreign environment have great influence on immigrant children's lives" (Bombas, 1981:20).

Immigrant education must not be concerned solely with immigrant children. Programs must be developed to meet the needs of both immigrant parents and children, and give considerable attention not only to language learning but

also to cultural adjustment, societal living and values. The purpose of immigrant education must be to help immigrant parents and children to learn one of Canada's official languages while not neglecting their social-cultural adjustment and recognizing the values of the culture they have brought with them. Clive Beck (1975) clarifies this view, "the issue is not one of integrating immigrants into an already established culture and people, but rather of trying to develop, in conjunction with immigrants, a radically diverse and much more satisfactory culture and way of life that is as yet beyond our reach" (Beck, 1975:16).

Summary

Canada's immigration policies and laws have changed dramatically over the years due to its increasing population growth, and the ethnic diversity of its immigrants. South Asians have become an increasingly visible minority group in Canada. Unlike the late 1960's and early 1970's, the majority are no longer independent professionals. They are now largely family class immigrants sponsore by an immediate relative in Canada. These immigrants are less educated, semi-skilled and skilled workers. The poor economic climate around the world and the high rate of unemployment in Canada has resulted in restrictions on independent immigration. Yet the Canadian government continues to endorse the principles of family reunification.

The presence of children of different ethnic groups in Canadian schools had largely been ignored until the early 1970's. Up until this time there were few classes for the teaching of the official languages to children of immigrants,

and no programs to address the adjustment problems that these children encountered. Over the years this situation has improved, immigrant parents are now more involved in the education of their children. In addition, collaboration between the federal and provincial levels of government have led to increased funding for programs promoting the teaching of English and French as second languages, the learning and retention of heritage languages and activities representing the interests and concerns of ethnic communities.

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CHAPTER 3

INITIAL QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES IN INDIA

Characteristics of Study Population

This chapter will provide a general description of the sample and present the data gathered from the semi-structured interviews which were conducted in India. The majority of the respondents interviewed in this study were sponsored by an immediate relative in Canada. Subjects were selected on a random basis from persons granted immigrant visas during the month of October. Forty-five letters were mailed by the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi stating the purpose of the study and requesting individuals to participate. Twenty cases responded stating their willingness to participate in this study. Over half of the people did not acknowledge the letter or a family member replied stating that the individual granted the immigrant visa had already departed for Canada.

The interviews were conducted in India from October - January, 1983. Ten interviews were conducted in the Punjab region, three interviews took place in New Delhi, and seven were mailed questionnaires. A translator was utilized in seven of the interviews which were conducted in the Punjab. The translator was a university student from a local village who spoke Punjabi and was knowledgeable about the area. From these 20 cases, the study population consisted of 39 persons excluding three children under the age of ten, who planned to immigrate to Canada. Almost half of the respondents were accompanying dependents. From the biographic information obtained from the

questionnaire, characteristics of the study population (see Table 11, page 65) can be analyzed as follows:

The ages of the respondents ranged from 19 to 63 years. A comparison by sex indicated 21 males and 18 female respondents. Seven of the female respondents were single, while 12 of the males were in this category. All of these respondents were under the age of 30 and were either sponsored by a spouse, fiance, fiancée or accompanying parents as dependents. The one returning immigrant was separated, while all other respondents were married. The two independent respondents and one returning immigrant were between 30-37 years old. The remainder were parents sponsored by a son or daughter in Canada. These parents ranged in age from 50 to 63 years. The majority (72%) of the males were between 19-37 years and 67 percent of the females were between 19-36 years.

Fifty-seven percent of the males had between 10-15 years of schooling and 55 percent of the females had between 8-14 years of schooling. Fourteen percent of the males had received training during their employment, and despite their low educational level had substantially improved their job status. Twenty-six percent had six or less years of education; 36 percent had 12 or less and 38 percent had some university training (13 years or more of schooling). Generally the males in the sample had a higher level of formal schooling than the females. Regarding training and vocational courses, 33 percent of the males had taken a course. This included courses on motor mechanics, machine operation, computer science and T.V. mechanics. A few (10%) of the males also had training in gas and electrical welding. Of the females, 11 percent had taken training

courses in typing and sewing.

Table 11

Characteristics of Respondents

Sample	Male 21(54%)	Female 18(46%)	Total
Age			
19-35	14(67)	11(61)	25(64)
36-50	1(5)	2(11)	3(8)
51-63	6(28)	5(28)	11(28)
Marital Status			
Single	12(57)	7(39)	19(49)
Married	9(43)	10(55)	19(49)
Separated	0	1(6)	1(2)
Years of Schooling (including on the job training)			
0- 6	5(24)	5(28)	10(26)
7-12	7(33)	7(39)	14(36)
13-18	8(38)	6(33)	14(36)
more than 18	1(5)	0	1(2)
Occupation			
Managerial/ Professional	4(19)	0	4(10)
White Collar/ Clerical	0	1(5)	1(3)
Skilled/Semi-skilled	4(19)	0	4(10)
Agriculture	9(43)	0	9(23)
Student	4(19)	3(17)	7(18)
Works within home	0	14(78)	14(36)
Training or Vocational Courses Taken	7(33)	2(11)	9(23)

Table 11 shows the majority of the females (78%) did not work outside the home in India. Only one female was employed and the remainder (17%) were

students attending university. Nineteen percent of the males were employed in professional positions, 19 percent worked in manual occupations and 19 percent were also university students. Forty-three percent of the males were farmers. The majority of the respondents were from rural areas in the Punjab. Sixty-nine percent of the respondents were members of the Sikh religion, 28 percent were Hindu and only 3 percent were Christian (see Table 12, p.67). This disproportionate percentage of Sikhs is due to the early immigration of large numbers of Sikh Punjabis to British Columbia during the first decade of this century, and immigration policies which encourage sponsored immigrants to join family members in Canada. Thus immigration policy has played an important role in the increasing migration of individuals from the Punjab region to Canada.

As can be seen in Table 12, 79 percent of the respondents' mother tongue was Punjabi, and 33 percent of the respondents also spoke Hindi. In 90 percent of the cases, the mother tongue was the language most often spoken in the home. Less than half (44%) of the respondents were able to speak English and none had any knowledge of French. Although a number of respondents (56%) reported that they had attended schools in which the medium of instruction was English, their level of understanding and spoken English was quite low. In this study a larger percentage (25%) of the males were fluent in English than the females (17%). This would be attributed to the higher educational level of the males and a greater exposure to English on their jobs.

Table 13 (page 69) illustrates that 64 percent of the respondents interviewed were sponsored by a close family member and 23 percent by a fiance, fiancée or spouse. Two respondents (10%) were entering Canada as independents

Table 12 (cont'd)

Characteristics of Respondents

Place of Residence in India	Males(%) N-21	Females(%) N-18	Rural	Urban
Punjab	13(62)	11(61)	17	7
New Delhi	6(28)	3(17)	0	9
Gujarat	1(5)	3(17)	3	1
Madras	1(5)	0	0	1
Rajasthan	0	1(5)	0	1

Religion	Males(%) N-21	Females(%) N-18	Total
Sikh	14(67)	13(72)	27(69)
Hindu	6(28)	5(28)	11(28)
Christian	1(5)	0	1(3)
Mother Tongue			
Punjabi	18(85)	13(72)	31(79)
Hindi	1(5)	2(11)	3(8)
Gujarati	1(5)	3(17)	4(10)
Malayalam	1(5)	0	1(3)
Ability to Speak Another Language			
English	10(48)	7(39)	17(44)
French	0	0	0
Hindi	7(33)	6(33)	13(33)
No Other Language	4(19)	5(28)	9(23)

and one (3%) as a returning immigrant. In the family category, seven family units consisting of three or more family members were sponsored by a son or daughter in Canada. Each of these families were accompanied by at least one young adult age 19 or above. None of the respondents sponsored by their spouse or fiance had any children. Both of the independent respondents had at least one child, and the returning immigrant had one child (age 13), who would remain in India to complete his education.

Six years was the average length of time that the relative sponsoring the respondent had lived in Canada. A large percentage (62%) of the men had been in Canada between 7 and 12 years, while the majority (67%) of the women had been there less than six years, indicating that many of the men had gone back to South Asia to get married. Fifty-nine percent of these relatives were employed in skilled and semi-skilled jobs, 29 percent were professionals, and 12 percent of the respondents did not know the occupation of the relative sponsoring them. (see Table 13).

In each case the respondents intended to live with the sponsoring relative upon their arrival in Canada. The majority of the respondents (59%) intended to join relatives in Ontario, with 54 percent planning to live in Toronto. Of the respondents going to British Columbia, 18 percent planned to live in Victoria, and 10 percent to live in Vancouver. Thirty-five percent of the respondents surveyed had family members in Canada, in addition to the sponsoring relative and 65 percent had no other family members in Canada. For 77 percent of the respondents, the decision to migrate was made by the entire family. Four of the males, two independent and two sponsored fiances, in addition

Table 13 (cont'd)

Characteristics of Respondents

Immigrant Status	Males(%) N-21	Females(%) N-18	Total
Sponsored by fiance, fiancée or spouse	4(19)	5(28)	9(23)
Sponsored by family relative	15(71)	10(55)	25(64)
Independent	2(10)	2(11)	4(10)
Returning immigrant	0	1(6)	1(3)
Occupation of Sponsoring Relative	**Males(%) N-8**	**Females(%) N-9**	**Total**
Managerial/Professional	4(50)	1(11)	5(29)
Skilled/Semi-skilled	2(25)	8(89)	10(59)
Don't know	2(25)	0	2(12)
Years Living in Canada of Sponsoring Relative			
0 - 6	3(38)	6(67)	9(53)
7 - 12	5(62)	3(33)	8(47)
Intended Destination of Immigrants	**Males(%) N-21**	**Females(%) N-18**	**Total**
Ontario	15(71)	8(44)	23(59)
British Columbia	5(24)	8(44)	13(33)
Montreal	1(5)	2(12)	3(8)
Decision to Migrate Made by:			
entire family	17(81)	13(72)	30(77)
individual	4(19)	1(6)	5(13)
fiance, fiancée or spouse	0	4(22)	4(10)

to the female returning immigrant stated that the decision was their own. Four sponsored females said the decision to migrate had been made by their fiance or spouse.

Training and Career Plans

For many immigrants the decision to emigrate to Canada is based upon their view of Canada as a land of opportunity. The majority of the respondents in this study were sponsored by a spouse or close relative in Canada. Each of the respondents were sent information on Canada from the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi with their immigrant visa. They were provided with general information on Canada's population, climate, political system and employment. Most respondents also received information from their relatives and friends. The information these respondents had acquired from relatives, friends and immigration officials was important for it may have been the only knowledge they possessed of their new home.

Questions were included in the interview to obtain information on the respondents motive for migration, general information they had acquired and their awareness of the economic situation in Canada. Respondents planning to enter professional and technical occupations were also questioned about their awareness of equivalency exams or additional training that may be necessary for their qualifications in Canada.

Seventy-six percent of the males in the study were planning to enter the labor force in Canada immediately. Of the 24 percent that were not planning to work, 14 percent were retired parents and 10 percent were young men planning

to continue their university studies and then seek employment. One of the males, (a sponsored fiance) had completed two years of university and he hoped to complete his degree in Canada. The other male (a sponsored dependent) had 11 years of school and planned to enter university in Canada. Twenty-eight percent of the males were also planning to take a part-time training or vocational course while they worked. Of the females surveyed 50 percent planned to work and 50 percent did not. One female in this latter group planned to enter university full-time in Canada. Thirty-three percent of the females were also planning to attend university part-time or take a training course. The majority (33%) of the females who did not intend to work were sponsored parents who stated that they were emigrating to be near their relatives. (see Table 14, p.72).

According to the responses given (see Table 14) 38 percent of the males and 39 percent of the females anticipated taking an educational or training course in Canada. These responses included respondents planning to attend university full-time, in addition to those planning to take part-time or short duration courses. The males referred most often to courses in engineering, computer science, mechanics, accounting and vocational training. A large number saw these courses as a means to upgrade their technical skills and acquire new knowledge and skills. All of the males expressing an interest in these courses were in the 19-37 age group. Only one female planned to attend university full-time, while three females hoped to take courses part-time at a local university and work. All three females planning to attend university part-time had completed their Bachelor degree in India and were interested in

Table 14

Training and Career Plans

	Males(%) N-21	Females(%) N-18
Do you plan to work in Canada?		
Yes	16(76)	9(50)
No	5(24)	9(50)
Do you anticipate taking any educational or training courses in Canada?		
Yes	8(38)	7(39)
No	8(38)	9(50)
Undecided	5(24)	2(11)

	Males(%) N-16	Females(%) N-9
What type of job would you like to have in Canada?		
Professional	4(25)	2(28)
White Collar/Clerical	2(13)	1(11)
Skilled/Semi-skilled	5(31)	3(33)
Don't know yet	5(31)	3(33)
Do you think your employment opportunities in Canada are determined by your:		
level of education	9(56)	4(44)
language	6(38)	5(56)
skills	1(6)	0

training in a specific area. Two of the females were planning to take a training course in typing or sewing. Twenty-four percent of the males and 11 percent of the females were undecided. They stated that their relatives in Canada would decide what type of training would be best for them. The majority of the sponsored parents did not plan to take any courses.

As Table 14 indicates a large percentage (64%) of the respondents surveyed were interested in unskilled and semi-skilled labor or did not know what type of job they would like to have in Canada. In these cases, the respondent usually did not know what types of employment were available, and had only been informed by relatives and friends that work was available in Canada. Twelve percent of the respondents were seeking white collar or clerical jobs and 24 percent were professionals.

When the respondents were asked what is most important in determining employment opportunities, 56 percent of the men and 44 percent of the women considered level of education as the most important. Language was the most important for 38 percent of the males and 56 percent of the females. These choices were closely related to 1) the level of education of the respondent and 2) their ability to speak English. All of the respondents who gave level of education as the major determinant of employment opportunities were fluent in English and had at least 10 years of schooling. They anticipated well-paying jobs, based on their educational level. A greater percentage (56%) of the women planning to work were unable to speak English, therefore their replies reflected a greater concern with the ability to speak the language.

One male respondent who had 8 years of formal education and 2 years of job training, in addition to many years of experience as a turner mechanic and as a Mechanical Maintenance Foreman, chose skill as most important in determining employment opportunities. He emphasized that despite his low educational level, his skills and training would help him to find a job in Canada.

The general information a new immigrant acquires concerning the host country's history, economic and political structure, culture and its life style can be very helpful. And yet the most urgent problems facing new immigrants are often employment and language. Both unskilled workers and professionals face the problem of finding adequate employment and a job suitable to their skills and experience. In addition, foreign professionals often require information on bringing their former training up to date to meet new requirements or different standards of their profession in the new country.

To address these issues those respondents seeking professional occupations were questioned about their awareness of equivalency exams that were necessary for professional and academic accreditation in Canada. Two of the males in professional occupations had written to the Canadian High Commission for this information and the others had contacted the Canadian Council of Professional Engineers for information regulating their profession. These respondents stated that information regarding professional fields was difficult to obtain and frequently outdated. Only two of the respondents had obtained any definite information on professional regulations in Canada. Two of the females anticipated entering professional occupations in Canada. One of the women who planned to do her doctorate degree had written to universities requesting

information on Canadian academic accreditation regulations, and the returning immigrant sought information on her field from friends and Canadian publications. Both females felt that the information they received was not adequate. (see Table 15).

Table 15 (cont'd)

Training and Career Plans

	Males(%) N-4	Females(%) N-2
If a professional, are you aware of equivalency exams that are necessary for professional and academic accreditation in Canada?		
Yes	2(50)	0
No	2(50)	2(100)

	Males(%) N-21	Females(%) N-18
Do you plan to learn English or French when you go to Canada?		
English Only	13(62)	9(50)
French Only	5(24)	3(17)
Neither English or French	3(14)	6(33)
Do you have knowledge of facilities for learning English/French		
No	14(67)	7(39)
Yes	7(33)	11(61)

A major obstacle to adjustment in any new country is language. The inability to speak at least one of Canada's official languages will hinder

the new immigrant's adaptation in this country. This is especially true of immigrants who plan to enter the labor force. The majority (92%) of the respondents in the study planned to live in either Ontario or British Columbia. Only 8 percent were joining relatives in Quebec. This is reflected in their responses to whether they plan to learn English or French in Canada. Fifty-six percent of the respondents planned to learn English in Canada, with 21 percent of those fluent in English also interested in learning French. The remainder of the respondents (23%) age 50 and older expressed no intention of formally learning English or French. The data show that 54 percent of the respondents were not knowledgeable of any facilities for learning English or French in Canada while 46 percent had been informed by relatives that facilities were available.

Education of the Children

An area of great significance to new immigrants is education. Immigrants coming to a new country whether alone or accompanied by a family must learn about the kinds of educational facilities offered, such as public and private schools and colleges, and the extent to which education is compulsory and for which age groups. For immigrant families, education may have been a major factor in their decision to immigrate. These parents may believe their children will have more opportunity and a better future in Canada. And yet the immigrant family often does not know the ways and means to insure proper placement of their children in the education system.

Of the study population, only four families had children who planned to continue their education full-time in Canada. However, this section also

includes the opinions of the one returning immigrant whose son (age 13) would remain in India with relatives to complete his education. His mother stated that "remaining in India he would be better culturally adjusted and not develop an inferiority complex." She felt that it was difficult for an Indian child to develop a healthy self-confidence living in Canada. She added that she would also prefer for him to attend University in India, however at that time it would be his choice. Two males (age 19 and 20) and one female (age 20) planned to attend university and two young children (age 5 and 8 years) would enter primary school in Canada. Each of these parents were questioned about their expectations regarding their children's education and differences in attitudes toward the education of males and females.

The parents were first asked what level of schooling they would like for their son or daughter to obtain. (see Appendix 3). The parents all stated that they would want their child to obtain a university degree. Both of the independent respondents who possessed post-graduate degrees indicated that they would want their daughters to achieve a post-graduate or doctoral degree. When questioned about the type of occupation they would like for their son or daughter, two of the parents said that although it was too early to decide the exact career of their daughters, they would definitely encourage their daughter to pursue a professional career. All of the parents agreed that it was equally important for a daughter as for a son to be educated.

In terms of decision making regarding the children's education, the views ranged from "the children deciding their own future and course" to "a decision made by the entire family." Two of the parents felt that it was clearly an

entire family decision, while the others felt that the decision should be the choice of the child guided by the parents and that older children could decide for themselves.

The parents were then asked whether they would prefer their children to attend an English or French school in Canada. All of the parents said that they would prefer an English school for their son or daughter. One parent stated that although he would like his children to attend an English school, he would also like them to take special courses in French as a second language. The parents agreed that it would be important for their children to speak their mother tongue at home. They stated that their mother tongue was an essential part of their culture and that it would be important for the family to retain its language and certain aspects of their culture in Canada. One parent felt that it would be important for the children to be able to communicate with family members in India who spoke only their mother tongue. Both of the independent respondents and one sponsored parent pointed out that their children would also be encouraged to speak English at home. These parents stated that English is presently spoken in their home to encourage the children to practice their English. They also felt speaking English would help the children to adjust more quickly to Canadian society.

Social and cultural conflicts may arise within immigrant families as the children, particularly teenagers, are likely to become influenced by Canadian values. As Ghosh (1981:53) states, "a dilemma for children of South Asian immigrant families is that the school, peer group and media culture (attitudes, values and behaviors) and socialization process often conflict with parental

socialization practices." In extreme cases, the parents may even decide to return the child to India. None of the parents expressed concern that they would have problems with their children growing up in Canada, and emphasized that the children and family would adapt to Canadian customs. However, the one parent who chose to have her son (age 13) remain in India felt that social interaction, such as dating could be a problem. She remarked that it is frequently difficult for Indian youth to adjust to a lasting relationship because of the different cultures. One parent commented, that since, "most of the family's relatives are in Canada, the children are moving into an already established family situation and social network." This parent believed that sheltering her son and daughter (age 19 and 20) from Canadian culture would limit its influence upon their behavior.

The question was posed whether they would want their daughter to pursue a career or marriage. Their responses indicated all of the parents felt that their daughters should combine marriage and careers. Regarding a son, 75 percent of the parents responded that a career must be most important and 25 percent felt that a son should also combine marriage and a career. When questioned on whether they would try to decide their son's or daughter's career, they showed little change in their opinions that the child's career should be both a family decision and the personal choice of the child, depending upon the age and personality of the child.

Many marriages both in India and in Canada are arranged by the couple's parents. Almost one-quarter of this sample population were sponsored fiances, fiancées and spouses by arranged marriage. None of the fiances or fiancées in this study expressed any objections to arranged marriages. However, one fiancée

commented that her children's marriage would be their own decision. When the parents in this study were asked about this subject, 50 percent said they would definitely arrange their children's marriage. One independent respondent stated that the decision to marry would be made totally by his daughter. The other independent respondent and the returning immigrants said that they would discuss marriage with their son or daughter and allow them to make their own choice. The independent respondent commented that, "the Indian tradition is arranged marriages, however, the educated class are now allowing their children to make their own decision about marriage."

Pursuing this topic the parents were then asked if they would object to their son or daughter marrying a Canadian of another ethnic group. No parents stated any objections, however two parents added that with an Indian mate, the chances of being happy together were increased by the cultural similarities.

Knowledge About Canada

Satisfaction with life in Canada on the part of immigrants is closely related to their original expectations. These, in turn are influenced by the reliability of the information they received before departure (Ottawa, 1974:29). This may include general information on customs, ways of life, behavior standards, social attitudes, as well as linguistic and economic information. In addition, the immigrant may be in need of more concrete and individualized information. Governments are now realizing that providing this assistance for new immigrants is necessary and desirable both for new immigrants and the host country.

As Table 16 shows, 84 percent of the respondents stated that their main source of information on Canada was relatives and friends already in Canada. They indicated that this was usually through letters, and relatives and friends returning to India for visits. This information was very influential on the attitudes of these respondents due to the strong element of trust and confidence. Eight percent of the respondents reported that most of their information was through mass-media, specifically western movies and newspapers, while 8 percent of the respondents had received the majority of their information from the immigration authorities. The independent respondents used the immigration authorities as their main information source more often than any of the other respondents. In addition to the general information they had received from the Canadian High Commission, both of the independent respondents had visited the immigration office in New Delhi to acquire additional information on housing and employment in Canada.

Sixty-four percent of the respondents received the majority of their information about employment in Canada (see Table 16, p.82). This was particularly true of the male population. The second area in which a large number of respondents (21%) obtained information was education and training. Respondents primarily sought information on occupational and skill courses, specialized vocational training institutes and other educational and training programs offered for adults. Sixteen percent of the females had gotten only information on Canadian styles of dress and the high standard of living and 16 percent of the females reported that they had received no information on Canada. All of these females stated that they had wanted information on Canada, but did not know where to obtain it.

Table 16

Knowledge About Canada

	Males(%) N-21	Females(%) N-18
Who did you get the majority of your information about Canada from?		
Relatives and friends in Canada	17(80)	16(88)
Mass media	2(10)	1(6)
Immigration authorities	2(10)	1(6)
What area did you receive the majority of the information about?		
Employment	18(86)	7(39)
Education and training	3(14)	5(29)
Life in Canada	0	3(16)
No information	0	3(16)
Do you feel the information was sufficient?		
Yes	13(62)	9(50)
No	6(28)	4(22)
Don't know yet	2(10)	5(28)
What language is most commonly used in Quebec?		
French	4(19)	4(22)
Don't know	17(81)	14(78)

As indicated in Table 16, 28 percent of the males and 22 percent of the females did not feel that the information they had received was sufficient. They sought more information on housing, employment opportunities in different provinces, education and living conditions in Canada from relatives, friends and mass media. All of the respondents seeking additional information were in the age group 20-37, and were independents, or sponsored by a fiance, fiancée or

spouse. Twenty-eight percent of the females said their information on Canada was too limited to judge whether or not the information was adequate. Sixty-two percent of the males stated that the information was sufficient for now, and 10 percent felt that they could not judge the information until they were in Canada. Many of the respondents also complained about the difficulty of obtaining reliable information about Canada. The acquisition of accurate information may have been especially difficult since the majority of these respondents were from rural areas where they had limited exposure to mass media and much of the information on Canada was in English, while over half of the respondents were not literate in English.

Seventy-nine percent of the respondents did not know French was spoken in Quebec. A large proportion (77%) of the respondents were also not aware that Canada is a country with two official languages. Very few (23%) of the respondents had information on any place in Canada other than where the sponsoring relative lived. Even the three respondents coming to Montreal were not aware that in Quebec both English and French were spoken. Seventy-seven percent of the respondents replied that they would use only English where they planned to live in Canada, only 5 percent believed that they would use both English and French and 18 percent did not know. (see Table 17, p. 84).

A number of Indian associations and organizations exist in Canada. The number and variety of the organizations reflect the diversity of South Asians in Canada. These organizations may be based upon religious or regional distinctions in India. In addition, these organizations may assist immigrants in their adjustment to Canadian society, or serve to preserve their cultural identity. This depends largely upon the composition of the membership of

Table 17 (cont'd)

Knowledge About Canada

	Males(%) N-21	Females(%) N-18
How much do you think you have to use English or French where you are going to stay?		
English only	18(86)	12(67)
French only	0	0
English and French	1(5)	1(5)
Don't know	2(9)	5(28)
Do you know of any Indian associations or organizations in Canada?		
Yes	4(19)	1(6)
No	17(81)	17(94)
What other information have you learned about Canada?		
No information	11(52)	11(61)
Geographic information (population, size, climate, customs, behavior standards, etc.)	4(19)	4(22)
Linguistic information	1(5)	1(6)
Economic information (wages, and earning, rents, price of food)	5(24)	2(11)
Do you have other questions or concerns about emigrating to Canada?		
Yes	4(19)	6(33)
No	17(81)	12(67)

the organization. As shown in Table 17, only 13 percent of the respondents indicated they knew of any Indian associations or organizations in Canada.

With regard to other information learned about Canada the responses were varied. Forty-eight percent of the males interviewed had gathered additional information from their relatives and friends who had visited Canada. Their views ranged from "it is a fine country where labor is paid well and people maintain a good standard of living" to "the employment opportunities are greater and people make more money." One respondent said "in Canada everyone has to work, not like India where the rich people do not have to work." Repeatedly their statements focused on the ability to make money in Canada and the educational and economic opportunities that Canada would provide. One respondent concluded by remarking, "Canada is a great democratic country with a mixed population of immigrants from many countries. People have no caste, nationality or creed conflicts. All live peacefully in a democratic way." The majority (61%) of the women had no additional information on Canada, however 39 percent of the females provided comments which included views on geographic conditions, racial discrimination, unemployment and inflation in Canada.

The respondents were then asked to identify other concerns or questions they may have about emigrating to Canada. Nineteen percent of the males expressed their concerns regarding medical services, local laws, education, housing and employment. Thirty-three percent of the women voiced their concerns about housing, living expenses and in a few cases, job information. The majority (29%) of the respondents explained that they had no other questions because all problems would be dealt with by their relatives in Canada. This

was especially true of females who had very little information about Canada, but reported that their relatives in Canada would arrange everything for them.

An important aspect of the new immigrants adjustment is their ability and desire to integrate into Canadian society. This adjustment may require changes in dress, learning a new language and eventually changes in the immigrants social and cultural views. The immigrants opinions after extensive contact with the host society may also begin to change. As Table 18 (page 87) indicates, 79 percent of the respondents thought it would be easier to integrate into the English milieu than the French milieu in Canada, and 21 percent were undecided. The respondents selecting the English milieu stressed that English has been commonly used and taught in the schools in India, therefore more Indians are familiar with the English language and would adjust more readily within this environment.

The main reason or motivation for immigration is also a very important determinant of the adjustment process. The immigrants actual experiences in this country combined with their original intentions will greatly affect their adaptation to Canadian society. In an attempt to identify the respondents motive for emigration, they were asked whether they planned to remain in Canada. All of the respondents, except two sponsored parents stated that they would remain in Canada. (see Table 18). These two sponsored fathers had not decided whether they would settle permanently in Canada. However, in both cases, they indicated that their wife and children would remain in Canada.

South Asians are a visible minority group in Canada. This visibility is often enhanced by the dress and personal appearance of new immigrants.

Table 18 (cont'd)

Knowledge About Canada

	Males(%) N-21	Females(%) N-18
Do you think that for you (and your family) it will be easier:		
to integrate into the French milieu than the English milieu?	0	0
to integrate into the English milieu than the French milieu?	19(90)	12(67)
Undecided	2(10)	6(33)
Do you plan to remain in Canada?		
Yes	19(90)	18(100)
No	0	0
Undecided	2(10)	0
Would you (or wife, daughter) like to wear western clothing?		
Yes	21(100)	13(72)
No	0	5(28)
Would you like to retain your language, custome and culture?		
Yes	21(100)	14(78)
No	0	0
Undecided	0	4(22)

(Buchignani, 1979). The willingness to adapt to new styles of dress may be considered an indicator of the immigrants desire to integrate into Canadian society. Table 18 shows that none of the male respondents stated any objections to their wife or daughter wearing western clothing in Canada. Yet all of the older women (age 50-63) felt that they would not be comfortable in western clothing and did not plan to wear them. Of the younger women, none had any

objections and over half (61%) said that they were accustomed to wearing both Indian and western clothing.

Having considered the above question, the respondents were asked about their desire to retain their language, customs and culture. All of the males indicated that maintaining their customs and culture was very important. Many respondents (69%) emphasized that they would want their children to be able to speak their mother tongue and to "know something about India." One parent remarked that "the children will be surrounded by Indian relatives and friends in Canada, so their customs and culture will be maintained." Another parent commented that he would definitely want his children to speak Punjabi at home. Twenty-two percent of the females sponsored by a spouse or fiance said it was too early to decide, and the decision would be made by their husbands. The other female respondents emphasized it would be important to maintain their language, customs and culture in Canada. The one parent whose son (age 13) would remain in India expounded that, "the ideal is for children to study in India, then decide if they want to come to North America. An inferiority complex can develop when the child does not know his culture; this is partly why my son is remaining in India."

The last question in this section requested the respondents to describe their picture of life in Canada. Forty-eight percent of the males provided their description of Canada, including a sheet for additional comments. Their views tended to be positive and mainly concerned with improving their economic circumstances and the material standard of living available in Canada. As one respondent sponsored by his brother stated, "I will have to adjust a bit but

still I feel I will have a better life there than here," or in the case of a young doctor, "I hope I will be a successful man over there." And yet as one independent respondent hesitantly added "life will be more mechanical." Of the males who gave their additional comments, 28 percent were young sponsored fiances or spouses, 10 percent were independents, and 14 percent were sponsored parents. Thirty-nine percent of the women provided descriptions of Canadian life, of which 28 percent spoke of various clothing styles for women, the winter season and language differences. Eleven percent of the women who enclosed additional sheets emphasized the greater availability of employment and educational opportunities for women in Canada. These women were both highly educated and planned to seek professional positions in Canada. One of them concluded by remarking, "life in Canada will be one in which a person has to be independent and hard working, but also a life in which are available a large number of opportunities."

Summary

The study population consisted of 21 males and 18 females between the ages of 19-63. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents were sponsored by an immediate relative, fiance or fiancée in Canada. The majority (62%) of the respondents were Sikhs from the Punjab region in India. A large percentage (33%) were unskilled and semi-skilled laborers and over half of the respondents were unable to speak English or French. Sixty-four percent of the respondents planned to work in Canada. Thirty-eight percent of the males and thirty-nine percent of the females also anticipated attending university or taking a part-time training course. Among the respondents planning to work, fifty-two percent considered

level of education as most important in determining employment opportunities in Canada, while forty-four percent considered language ability as most important. The male respondents between the age of 19-37 expressed the greatest concern with employment and training opportunities available in Canada.

Only a small percentage (10%) of the respondents were accompanied by children who planned to continue their education in Canada. All of these parents wanted their son or daughter to obtain a university or post-graduate degree. They felt that educational and career decisions should be made by both the parents and children. The parents emphasized that they would encourage their children to use their mother tongue in the home, and teach the children about India.

Most of the information received was about employment, education and training in Canada. Their major source of information were relatives and friends in Canada. Fifty-six percent of the respondents felt that the information that they had received from relatives and Canadian immigration authorities was sufficient, while 26 percent desired additional information on employment, education, training and housing. The females in the sample population were particularly uninformed about Canada, although 50 percent planned to work in Canada. The majority (90%) of the respondents indicated that maintaining their language, customs and culture in Canada was important. Generally, the respondents' views about Canada were positive, and mainly concerned with improving their economic circumstances and their material standard of living.

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CHAPTER 4

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES IN CANADA

Overview

Follow-up interviews were conducted in Canada over a period of three months (May-July, 1983). The majority of the immigrants had been in Canada from four to six months. Initially all immigrants were mailed a letter re-establishing contact and requesting their participation in the second phase of the study. The researcher's finances and time limitations did not allow for travelling to British Columbia, therefore, it was decided that only immigrants in Toronto and Montreal would be interviewed. All others in the sample population would be mailed questionnaires. The immigrants located in Toronto and Montreal were again mailed letters requesting their cooperation and informing them that the researcher would like to set up a time to interview each family member. Within three weeks, all immigrants in Ontario and British Columbia who had not contacted the researcher were mailed a letter accompanied by the questionnaire. Eleven of the interviews were conducted in Toronto and three interviews took place in Montreal. They were all conducted in the home of the immigrant. Four mailed questionnaires were from Ontario and six were from British Columbia (see Table 19, p. 93).

The response rate was 62 percent for the interviews conducted in Canada. Thirty-six percent of the immigrants were interviewed in person, while 26 percent returned their questionnaire by mail. Thirty-three percent could not be contacted due to changes of address and failure to respond. In addition, one

Table 19

Characteristics of Respondents in 2nd Interviews
N-24

Characteristic	Males(%) N-13	Females(%) N-11
Sex	13(54)	11(46)
Age		
19-35	10(77)	6(55)
36-50	0	1(9)
51-60	3(23)	4(36)
Marital Status		
Single	8(62)	4(36)
Married	5(38)	7(64)
Years of Schooling		
0 - 6	3(23)	3(27)
7 - 12	5(38)	5(45)
13 - 18	4(31)	3(27)
more than 18	1(8)	0
Residence		
Montreal	1(8)	2(18)
Ontario	9(69)	6(55)
British Columbia	3(23)	3(27)
Immigrant Status		
Sponsored by fiance, fiancée or spouse	3(23)	4(36)
Sponsored by relative	9(69)	6(55)
Independent	1(8)	0
Returning immigrant	0	1(9)

sponsored father and one independent immigrant (5%) had returned to India. The sponsored father left his wife and son in Canada. They stated that he had not intended to settle permanently in Canada, and had to return to his farm. The wife and son planned to remain in Canada. After three months in Canada, the independent immigrant had returned to India. He was unable to find employment in his profession commensurate with his educational level and skills. In addition, the salary he was earning in Canada was not sufficient for him to sponsor his wife and two daughters.

The demographic data were the same. As Table 19 shows, the follow-up sample consisted of 13 males and 11 females. The ages of the respondents ranged from 19-56 years. The majority (77%) of the males were between 19-31 years and most (64%) of the females were between 19-36 years. Of this group fifteen (63%) were sponsored parents and their dependents, seven (29%) were sponsored by fiance, fiancée or spouse, one (4%) was an independent immigrant and one (4%) a returning immigrant. Fifty-four percent of the males had between 10-14 years of schooling and 55 percent of the females had between 8-14 years of schooling.

Training and Career Plans

The responses in Table 20 (see page 95) indicate that 92 percent of the males still intended to enter the labor force in Canada, excluding one sponsored parent who stated that he came to Canada to retire. Sixty-nine percent of the men had found jobs, while 23 percent were still unemployed. Approximately 55 percent of the women still planned to work in Canada, while one (9%) stated that she would wait a couple of months before seeking employment. As was anticipated, none of the older women (36%) planned to work in Canada.

Table 20

Training and Career Plans

	Males(%) N-13	Females(%) N-11
Do you still plan to work in Canada?		
Yes	12(92)	6(55)
No	1(8)	5(45)
Have you found a job?		
Yes	9(69)	4(36)
No; seeking employment	3(23)	2(18)
No; not seeking employment	1(8)	5(45)
Do you now think your employment opportunities in Canada are determined by your:		
level of education	6(46)	6(55)
language	6(46)	5(45)
ethnic origin	1(8)	0
Are you (or your spouse) presently taking any educational or training courses?		
Yes	2(15)	1(9)
No	11(85)	10(91)
Are you presently taking a course to learn English or French?		
Yes	3(23)	1(9)
No	10(77)	10(91)
Is English/French more difficult than you expected?		
Yes	8(62)	8(73)
No	5(38)	3(27)

Both males and females reported that it was more difficult than they had expected to find jobs in Canada. The average time taken for all immigrants to start work was seven weeks. Noticeably, the time period for finding a job was similar for both unskilled and more skilled/professional type occupations. Thirty-six percent of the females found work within this time, while 18 percent were still seeking employment. Two of the female immigrants with post graduate degrees were experiencing underemployment.

Nine (38%) of the immigrants were employed in unskilled labor earning minimum wage ($4.00 hr.) and three (12%) had gotten skilled positions. Only the independent immigrant (4%) was in a professional position. Five immigrants (21%) were unemployed looking for jobs, and six (25%) immigrants did not plan to work. Satisfaction with their earnings and employment was higher among the less educated immigrants. Criticism was most often expressed by those immigrants with 13 years of education and above. Over 90 percent of these immigrants were not satisfied with their present salary, nor their level of employment.

Replies to the question regarding employment opportunities in Canada showed that 46 percent of the males and 45 percent of the females now believed that language was the most important determinant of employment opportunities. (see Table 20). Forty-six percent of the males and 55 percent of the females indicated a slight change in the percentage selecting level of education, while one male immigrant (8%) now chose ethnic origin. This immigrant stated that he had encountered discrimination in employment and in his neighborhood. Thirteen percent of the immigrants were taking part-time education or train-

ing courses. Two of the immigrants (male and female) were taking a training course to improve their present salary and opportunities for advancement. The other immigrant hoped that training in a new field would help him to find employment. He had found that his former training as a machine operator was not in demand in the Canadian job market.

Only one professional in this sample had been required to take an equivalency exam for professional accreditation in Canada. This exam was required for all foreign medical graduates trained abroad, however, this immigrant had not been aware that he would be required to take this examination. He stated that the Canadian Medical Council did not recognize foreign qualifications, which he felt was largely the result of ethnic discrimination. He was presently unemployed and did not know whether he would be able to work in Canada. No other immigrants were required to take any exams for professional or academic accreditation. Yet one female immigrant applying for entry to a university doctorate program reported that since Indian universities were not fully recognized she would have to complete one year of course work before entering a doctoral program.

Table 20 shows that 17 percent of the immigrants were taking a course to learn English, while an additional 39 percent of those not fluent in English or French were not presently taking any language courses. Thirteen percent of the immigrants stated that they had begun an English language course, however, after finding a job they were unable to attend. They planned to resume their English course in the next session. A number of the immigrants stated that they were learning English informally at home and through self-study. The

immigrants living in Montreal stated that they were unable to attend French language courses because the provincial government no longer provided a stipend for new immigrants in these courses. The majority (78%) of the sponsored parents, specifically elderly mothers, continued to express no interest in learning either English or French. Sixty-seven percent of the immigrants felt that learning English was more difficult than they had anticipated.

Education of the Children

In the follow-up interviews only one parent who had children coming to Canada could be contacted. When interviewed this independent immigrant explained that his wife and young daughter had not accompanied him to Canada. Immigration authorities had suggested that he come to Canada first, find employment and then sponsor his wife and daughter. He had found employment and anticipated that they would arrive before December. He had already selected the school his daughter would attend. It was a Montessori school located one block away from the apartment building in which they planned to live. He felt his daughter would grow up speaking English and Hindi, and did not anticipate any problems with his daughter growing up in Toronto. This immigrant emphasized that his daughter's career would be decided by her with his help and his wife's, and that her marriage would be totally her own decision.

Two other young women who had joined spouses in Canada were now expecting a child. Each expressed a concern over their child growing up in Canada. In one instance, the respondent stated that the Indian children of family members who had grown up in Canada frequently were unable to speak their parents' mother

tongue and had not been taught anything about India. She explained that although the children had grown up in households where the parents spoke Hindi, they had not taught their children to speak the language. She also felt that in Canada the children were left too unsupervised resulting in delinquency and other disorderly behavior. The other female reported that her children would also grow up in Canada, however she anticipated problems with Canadian friends and dating. She stated that as the children grew older, the values of the South Asian family would conflict with Canadian society. She also said that based upon her initial experiences in Canada, the children would be faced with ethnic discrimination.

Knowledge About Canada

The responses of the immigrants concerning their view of the post-migration information they had received was assessed. As shown by Table 21 (see p.101), a relatively high proportion of the immigrants felt the information on Canada received from their relatives and friends was sufficient. Eight immigrants (33%) stated that it was insufficient, and five sponsored immigrants felt that the information was also inaccurate. The majority of these immigrants had been told that finding employment would not be difficult. Fourteen of the immigrants (58%) felt the information they had obtained from the immigration authorities was adequate, and most of these immigrants reported that the information provided a realistic account of conditions in Canada. A number of the sponsored spouses and fiances reported that the information they had received from the immigration authorities was too general and did not answer many of their questions about Canada.

Table 21 shows that nine of the immigrants (38%) indicated that they required more information on employment, eight immigrants (33%) on education and training and seven immigrants (29%) on general information about living in Canada. This additional information was sought from a variety of sources, including friends (29%), relatives (58%), mass media (8%) and other sources (4%). None of the male immigrants had found a job through the Manpower and Immigration office, however two males had initially sought their services in finding employment. Only one of the female immigrants had utilized this office to obtain her employment. A number of the highly educated and skilled immigrants reported that the Manpower and Immigration office did not provide adequate counselling or job referral services for trained professionals. The majority of the immigrants had found their employment through a close relative or family friend. This was particularly true of the 38 percent of the unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants employed in low-wage occupations. Eighty-five percent of the immigrants were not aware of any other services provided by the government for new immigrants, and no immigrants had contacted any other services.

The replies in Table 22 (see p.103) indicate that 54 percent of the immigrants spoke only their mother tongue in the home, whereas 46 percent used their mother tongue and English within the home. Although it is more likely for the less educated to speak their mother tongue at home after this time period, it is notable that 55 percent of those who spoke only their mother tongue at home were highly educated. All of the immigrants reported that English was the language used by their employers to communicate. Yet 62 per-

Table 21

Knowledge About Canada

	Males(%) N-13	Females(%) N-11
Do you feel the information you received on Canada from relatives was sufficient?		
Yes	9(69)	7(64)
No	4(31)	4(36)
Do you feel the information you received on Canada from immigration authorities was sufficient?		
Yes	8(62)	6(55)
No	5(38)	5(45)
What area could you have used more information about?		
Education and training	4(31)	4(36)
Employment	5(38)	4(36)
General Information (language, cost of living, housing, etc.)	4(31)	3(28)
Did the Manpower and Immigration office help you in finding a job?		
Yes	0	1(4)
No	13(100)	10(96)
Have you used any other services of the immigration office?		
Yes	0	0
No	13(100)	11(100)

cent of the employed immigrants were working in unskilled occupations where the majority of the fellow workers were also Indian or other immigrant ethnic groups. These immigrants reported that they had very few opportunities to use English or mix with persons born in Canada.

Twenty-five percent of the immigrants reported that they were aware of Indian associations or organizations in Canada. However only 17 percent of the immigrants stated that they, or a relative were a member of an Indian organization. Table 22 indicates that 92 percent of the immigrants planned to live permanently in Canada. One sponsored father who was previously undecided about remaining in Canada now felt that he would settle here. The other sponsored father was still undecided. He stated that he would remain in Canada, at least until his three sons were working. Only one sponsored fiance was now unsure whether he would remain in Canada. He emphasized that it would depend upon his ability to find a job.

According to Table-22, only 33 percent of the immigrants would like to sponsor someone to Canada. Most of the immigrants (67%) stated that it was too soon to think of sponsoring a relative. The majority of these immigrants felt that in a couple of years they would be willing to sponsor immediate family members. A substantial proportion of the immigrants had additional questions and concerns about living in Canada. Eight of the immigrants (33%) had questions about the types of educational and vocational programs available and seven (29%) were concerned about facilities to improve their language ability. The majority of the immigrants seeking additional information were sponsored dependents, fiances, fiancées and spouses.

Table 22 (cont'd)

Knowledge About Canada

	Males(%) N-13	Females(%) N-11
What language is spoken in your home?		
Punjabi Only	6(45)	3(27)
Gujarati Only	1(8)	2(18)
Malayalam	1(8)	0
Punjabi and English	4(31)	3(27)
Gujarati and English	0	1(10)
Hindi and English	1(8)	2(18)
Are you or any relative a member of any Indian association or organization in Canada?		
Yes	2(15)	2(18)
No	11(85)	9(82)
Do you plan to remain in Canada?		
Yes	11(85)	11(100)
No	0	0
Undecided	2(15)	0
Would you like to sponsor someone?		
Yes	5(38)	3(27)
No	8(62)	8(73)
What other questions or concerns do you have about living in Canada?		
Language learning	3(23)	4(36)
Education and training opportunities	4(31)	4(36)
Nothing	6(46)	3(28)
Have your views changed in any way about retaining your language, customs and culture?		
Yes	3(23)	5(45)
No	10(77)	6(55)

The last question in this section (see Table 22) asked the respondents if their views about retaining their language, culture or customs had changed since leaving India. The majority of the male immigrants had not changed their opinions, however 45 percent of the females stated that they felt a greater need to maintain their language and to teach their children about Indian culture. All of these women had been sponsored by a fiance or spouse and planned to raise a family in Canada.

Adjustment to Canada

In this final section of the interview the immigrants were asked questions to evaluate their adjustment to Canadian society. As shown by Table 23 (see page 105), a high proportion (83%) of the immigrants did miss family members and friends in India; while only 25 percent missed Indian food. All of the immigrants stated that most Indian food was available in their neighborhood. Sixty-three percent of the immigrants reported that they cooked only Indian food and 37 percent cooked both western and Indian food. A number of the females were quite pleased with the availability of Indian food in Canada. When asked if there were other things that they missed about India, a small percentage (38%) of the immigrants said that they also missed the closer relationships among families and friends, and the slower pace of life in India. One male remarked, that life in Canada was more boring than he had expected.

The adjustment of new immigrants is affected by their social relations with members of the host society. When the immigrants were asked if Canadians were friendly, 79 percent stated that they were, 8 percent felt that they were

Table 23

Adjustment to Canada

	Males(%) N-13	Females(%) N-11
Do you miss family members and friends?		
Yes	10(77)	10(91)
No	3(23)	1(9)
Do you miss Indian foods?		
Yes	1(8)	5(45)
No	12(92)	6(55)
What other things do you miss about India?		
Family closeness and relationships	3(23)	6(55)
Nothing	10(77)	5(45)
Are Canadians friendly to you?		
Yes	12(92)	7(64)
No	1(8)	1(9)
Don't Know	0	3(27)
Do you have Canadian friends?		
Yes	4(31)	3(27)
No	9(69)	8(73)
Have you, or any family member, encountered any prejudice?		
Yes	2(15)	3(27)
No	11(85)	8(73)

not, and 13 percent did not know. The two immigrants who stated that Canadians were not friendly reported personal experiences of discrimination in their neighborhoods. However, the majority of the immigrants stated that Canadians were both polite and helpful. Despite having been in Canada for at least four months, three of the female immigrants said that they had not met any Canadians, therefore, they could not say whether or not they were friendly.

Seven (29%) of the immigrants had Canadian friends and only one immigrant had visited a Canadian home. The majority (71%) did not have any Canadian friends, but had based their opinions on the limited number of Canadians that they had met. A greater proportion of the highly educated immigrants had both Canadian born and members of different ethnic groups as friends and expressed a desire to meet and become friends with Canadians. The responses in Table 23 indicate the immigrants' perceptions and experiences of discrimination in Canada. Fifteen percent of the males and 27 percent of the females stated that they, or a family member, had encountered discrimination, primarily in employment and housing. One immigrant commented, "there is prejudice and discrimination in Canada, however, it is quite subtle. You can feel it, but it is difficult to identify."

The immigrants were next asked a series of questions on their adjustment to general aspects of Canadian life. Table 24 (page107) shows 54 percent of the immigrants had difficulty adjusting to the Canadian climate. The majority of the women (91%) remarked that the winter was too long and they did not like the cold weather. They were also quite unprepared initially in terms of winter clothing. The women were asked if they were now wearing western clothing. Sixty-four percent stated that they were, while 36 percent said that they still

Table 24 (cont'd)

Adjustment to Canada

	Males(%) N-13	Females(%) N-11
Has it been difficult adjusting to the cold weather?		
Yes	3(23)	10(91)
No	10(77)	1(9)
If a woman, have you been wearing western clothing?		
Yes	-	7(64)
No	-	4(36)
Do you have Canadian neighbors?		
Yes	13(100)	11(100)
No	0	0
Do you go to see Canadian movies?		
Yes	12(92)	8(73)
No	1(8)	3(27)
Do you go to see Indian movies?		
Yes	13(100)	11(100)
No	0	0

did not feel comfortable in western clothing. Most of the women reported that they wore trousers and a special type of Indian clothing consisting of a tunic and pants. The majority reserved sarees for social occasions. The returning immigrant indicated that she prefered wearing Indian clothing, however, it could be an object of racial prejudice. She stated that "this clothing makes one very visible and it is better not to stand out in a crowd."

All of the immigrants reported that they had Canadian, in addition to other South Asian neighbors. However, 42 percent of the immigrants lived in neighborhoods made up primarily of immigrants from different countries. One immigrant stated that the majority of his neighbors were all originally residents of his village and the surrounding area. Noticeably there was a close to equal distribution of above average educated and less educated immigrants living in both areas. Eighty-three percent of the immigrants went to see Canadian movies and all of the immigrants watched Hindi or Bengali movies. The majority of the respondents had video machines, and watching Indian films on video was especially popular.

The majority of the males read Canadian newspapers, whereas only 36 percent of the women read these papers (see Table 25, p.109). The respondents stated that there were no Indian newspapers available in Canada, therefore, most of the news received about India came from the American press. Seventy-nine percent of the immigrants reported that they read or listened to news about India. However, most of their information on India came from letters and visiting relatives and friends. The replies indicated that all of the immigrants watched Canadian television.

Table 25 shows the extent to which immigrants felt that Canada was now their home. Seventy-five percent of the immigrants felt at home in Canada, 17 percent felt that home was still India and 8 percent reported it was too soon to call Canada their new home. The majority of the immigrants stated that Canada was now their home since they had freely chosen to live in Canada. Three sponsored mothers and one sponsored father stated that India was still

Table 25 (cont'd)

Adjustment to Canada

	Males(%) N-13	Females(%) N-11
Do you read Canadian newspapers?		
Yes	8(62)	4(36)
No	5(38)	7(64)
Do you read or listen to news about India?		
Yes	11(85)	8(73)
No	2(15)	3(27)
Do you watch Canadian television?		
Yes	13(100)	11(100)
No	0	0
Do you feel that Canada is now your home?		
Yes	10(77)	8(73)
No	1(8)	3(27)
Undecided	2(15)	

home. None of these parents spoke English or were learning (formally) to speak English. Their isolation and failure to feel at home in Canada may have resulted largely from their language difficulties, low educational level and their age. The two sponsored fiances who were undecided about their sense of belonging in Canada were both unemployed. Their inability to find employment had led to their initial dissatisfaction with Canada. These immigrants were reluctant to call Canada their new home and stated that their remaining in Canada would depend upon their ability to obtain employment.

Summary

This chapter presents the data from the follow-up interviews conducted in Canada. Thirty-six percent of the immigrants in Toronto and Montreal were interviewed in person, and 26 percent from British Columbia and other areas in Ontario were sent questionnaires. The immigrants had been in Canada for 4-6 months. Seventy-five percent of the immigrants still intended to enter the labor force in Canada. Sixty-nine percent of the males and 36 percent of the females had found employment. A large percentage (38%) of the immigrants were working as unskilled laborers for minimum wage. Twenty-five percent of the higher educated and skilled immigrants were unemployed or underemployed. They were experiencing difficulty finding positions commensurate with their educational level and skills. A substantial number of these immigrants felt the information that they had received from relatives and Canadian immigration authorities had been insufficient. They also stated that the information given by relatives had not been completely accurate, since they had not anticipated any difficulty finding employment.

Twenty-one percent of the immigrants had encountered prejudice in employment or in their neighborhood. The women in the sample now expressed a greater desire to retain their language, culture and customs in Canada and to teach their children to speak their mother tongue. The majority of the immigrants were rapidly adjusting to

general aspects of Canadian life, however, 17 percent of the immigrants felt that India was still their home and 8 percent reported that it was too soon to call Canada their new home.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze differences in the immigrants' pre-migration and post-migration responses. It was hypothesized that during the initial period of contact with Canadian society South Asians experience frustration and a lowering of aspirations, despite coming to Canada with high expectations regarding opportunities for status mobility. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that an important motive for immigration to Canada is the opportunity perceived in the educational and career spheres of both children and parents.

Training and Career Plans

All of the males were clearly influenced to a great extent by economic prospects in Canada. The availability of jobs, type of work and earnings were all major concerns of the immigrants. Of the males interviewed, both in India and Canada, only one sponsored father did not intend to work in Canada. Yet this parent was accompanied by three sons, age 19-22 who would be working in Canada. One sponsored fiance (age 22), who was now married, had stated in India that he planned to first complete his studies in Canada before working. However, after getting married he had decided to delay his studies to seek employment. He felt that he would continue university part-time when he had saved enough money. In addition, one sponsored father who had previously stated that he did not plan to work in Canada was now employed. He stated that he was pleased with his earnings and also planned to learn English. The majority of

the sponsored females (age 19-37) and the returning immigrant also planned to work in Canada.

The highly educated and skilled immigrants were experiencing difficulty in obtaining employment in their intended occupations and a high degree of underemployment was evident. These immigrants felt that the high unemployment rate, preference hiring of individuals with Canadian experience, unfamiliarity with the Canadian labor market and other job barriers such as language difficulties and low levels of education had put them at a disadvantage in the job market. The majority of the immigrants maintained their view that level of education and language ability were the most important factors in finding a job. However there was a slight decrease in the number of immigrants selecting language ability over educational level in the second set of interviews. Four (19%) of the males in the second interviews changed their opinions concerning the major determinant of employment in Canada. In one instance, the immigrant now felt that ethnic origin was more important than level of education since he had encountered discrimination in employment. He stated that this was particularly evident in hiring practices when an employer would stress Canadian experience regardless of whether the job actually required it. One immigrant who had previously chosen skills, now felt that language was most important in determining employment opportunities. This immigrant was a skilled machinist who had been unable to find employment in Montreal. He felt that his inability to speak either English or French was hindering his finding a job. The other two immigrants now chose level of education over language as the major determin-

ant upon employment opportunities. Both of these immigrants were taking English language courses. They felt that being able to speak English would help them to find better jobs based on their educational level and training.

Among the female immigrants, three women had changed their opinions on this question. The one returning immigrant stated that she no longer believed that level of education alone determined employment opportunities. She stated that even with a high level of education, if one did not have accurate reliable information on how the job market operates, it is particularly difficult to find professional employment in Canada. Two of the other women in the sample now selected level of education over their previous response of language. Both of these women felt that their employment opportunities would depend primarily on their level of education as their ability to speak English improved. One of these females was attending an English language course, and the other stated that she was learning to speak English from relatives at home.

None of the immigrants who had stated an intention to attend an educational or training course shortly after their arrival were taking a course. The majority of the immigrants had decided to seek employment and take an occupational or training course in the future. The three immigrants taking part-time courses had found it necessary in Canada to upgrade their qualifications or acquire new skills to seek employment. Twenty-two of the immigrants had stated that they would take a language course in Canada. However, only four of the immigrants were taking a language course at the time of the follow-up interviews. Nine of the immigrants remarked that their working hours conflicted with the language course timings, or their family responsibilities did not allow

them time to attend a language course. In addition, no immigrants who had expressed a desire to learn French were taking French courses or had plans to learn French. Since most of the immigrants were living in Ontario and British Columbia, where English was predominantly spoken, they did not feel learning to speak French was a necessity. The majority stated that they were too preoccupied with their concerns over finding employment and adjusting to their new life in Canada.

Knowledge About Canada

Knowledge about Canada influenced the immigrants' expectations and therefore their adjustment to Canadian life. During the initial adjustment period, the frustration and lowering of aspirations that occurred often was a result of the lack of information or misinformation that new immigrants had received. Immigrants formed their expectations for status mobility based on inaccurate information they had received from friends and relatives on educational or career opportunities in Canada.

Their knowledge about Canada was particularly important because it provided essential data on the types of information immigrants had acquired about Canada and their major sources of information. It also presented data on the areas which immigrants lacked information.

The major questions and concerns of the immigrants pre-migration and post-migration remained primarily those regarding employment, education, training and language. In Canada the immigrants stressed the need for more specific and individualized information. Usually this information could not be provided by relatives or friends who were also uninformed about many

aspects of Canadian life. The majority of the highly educated immigrants in both interviews stated that they did not have sufficient information on working conditions, educational opportunities and housing in Canada. In the follow-up interviews a large percentage of these immigrants felt that the information provided by relatives in Canada had been inaccurate and had not presented a realistic picture of the present economic situation.

The immigrants were generally reluctant to seek the help of government services and often were not aware of the services available for new immigrants. This was particularly true of the less educated and female immigrants who were suspicious of government help or unable to communicate in either English or French. The majority of the sponsored immigrants relied on relatives and friends for all information on Canada. Only two male immigrants belonged to an Indian association or organization in Canada. One immigrant had joined a Sikh organization in British Columbia, and the other a Gujarati organization in Montreal. Both of the organizations provided cultural events and activities for its members. They provided a close social network among new immigrants from their area in India and other immigrants from their community living in Canada. The Gujarati organization also provided a school for the children of its members to learn the Gujarati language and about the culture and customs of their area. Both of the immigrants stated that they had joined to meet other South Asians from their area who shared their language and culture.

A high percentage of the educated female immigrants felt the need for greater emphasis to be placed on retaining their culture and teaching their

children to speak their mother tongue in Canada. They felt that due to the peer group and mass media pressure affecting Indian children in Canada, it was essential that they learn about Indian culture and to speak their parents' mother tongue, in addition to English. One female added, "no matter where the child grows up, s/he is still Indian." The proportion (45%) of highly educated immigrants speaking only their mother tongue in the home was higher than expected. These immigrants stated that older family members often were not fluent in English, therefore their mother tongue was usually spoken at home. They felt it was good for the children growing up in Canada to have to speak their mother tongue with other relatives since outside the home they spoke only English. However, a substantial majority (83%) of the immigrants speaking only their mother tongue within the home were the less educated.

Over half (58%) of the immigrants stated that it was too soon to think of sponsoring any relatives to Canada, while only two sponsored spouses (8%) felt that they would definitely not encourage family members to immigrate to Canada. Each of them stated that they disliked Canada because of racial discrimination in employment and in their neighborhoods. They emphasized that they were not happy living in Canada and would not encourage relatives or friends to immigrate. The male spouse stated that he was undecided about remaining in Canada, while the female said that she would remain in Canada because her husband had chosen to live here.

Adjustment to Canada

Many new immigrants experience the most difficult problems of adjustment in their first few months after arrival in Canada. The adaptation to Canadian

society involves adjusting to various aspects of Canada, such as food, climate and clothing. The majority of the immigrants were generally satisfied with their living conditions in Canada. Many immigrants were particularly pleased with the good facilities ranging from health services to housing that were available in Canada. A number of the immigrants also stated that Canadians had very good civil and social habits, and a few women were pleased with the convenience of shopping and household chores.

Approximately 65 percent of the immigrants found the cost of living higher than they had anticipated. They were surprised by the high cost of housing in metropolitan areas, the cost of food items and transportation. The majority of the immigrants at the time of the second set of interviews were still living with relatives or friends in Canada, however, two of the sponsored fiances and the independent immigrant had recently found apartments and planned to move. They stated that it had been difficult to find housing that was accessible to their jobs and also affordable.

A greater proportion of the less educated immigrants were satisfied with their job opportunities. All of these immigrants were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled labor in the manufacturing sector. They expressed satisfaction with their earnings and felt that they had improved their economic positions since coming to Canada. The more highly educated and skilled immigrants showed the greatest job dissatisfaction because of their difficulty finding employment. A significant number of these immigrants had experienced discrimination or difficulty in obtaining recognition for their qualifications.

Table 26

Occupation in Canada

	Males N-13	Females N-11
Managerial/Professional	1	0
White Collar	1	1
Unskilled/Semi-skilled	7	3
Unemployed	3	2
Not planning to work	1	5

A number of the immigrants had experienced a decline in their employment status in Canada. Two of the unemployed males had professional positions in India, while the other male was a trained machinist with many years of experience (see Table 26). In addition, two of the immigrants in semi-skilled positions had university degrees. For most of these immigrants, the initial status dislocation and the employment problems they had experienced had given them a very negative view of their potential job opportunities in Canada. This was particularly true of the male immigrants who indicated that employment opportunities were their main reason for migration and an essential factor in their adjustment to Canadian life. As one male immigrant stated, "I have lost my job in India, and I cannot land one here, not in the near future in this current economic turmoil." The majority of the immigrants still felt that they had more educational and employment opportunities in Canada, than

were available in India. However, they stated that without a job it is impossible to feel accepted or a part of the mainstream of Canadian society. These immigrants felt that they had not received reliable information on Canada and discussed uncertainties about Canada and their future in it.

Summary

Analysis of the responses to the two questionnaires showed the importance of economic factors on the desire to immigrate among the majority of the immigrants. All of the males planned to enter the labor force in Canada and a large number of the females also planned to work in Canada. The majority of the immigrants continued to consider level of education and language ability as most important in determining employment opportunities. At the time of the follow-up interviews, three immigrants were taking training or vocational courses to upgrade their skills, and only four immigrants were attending language courses. A large percentage of the immigrants pre-migration and post-migration stressed the need for more accurate and reliable information on employment, education and training.

The less educated immigrants demonstrated a higher level of satisfaction and commitment to Canada as their new home. They felt that their economic position and material standard of living had improved in Canada. The lowest level of satisfaction was shown by highly educated unemployed immigrants. Those immigrants who had experienced difficulty in obtaining employment in their intended occupations, or who had experienced forms of discrimination expressed frustration and dissatisfaction with their situation in Canada. This was especially true of male immigrants who had come to Canada with high

expectations concerning employment and earnings. The immigrants' adjustment to Canada and level of satisfaction was closely related to their level of education, socio-economic level and original expectations.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

A limitation of this study has been the small size of its sample but its focus is in the qualitative data rather than quantitative, therefore, it has shed an interesting light on the study of immigrants. This study examined the educational and economic aspirations of South Asian families and the difficulties that each family member faced in training and retraining when they moved from India to Canada. An analysis was made of their expectations prior to immigration in light of subsequent experiences after 4-6 months of being in Canada.

It was anticipated that South Asian families come to Canada with high expectations regarding opportunities for status mobility (in terms of education and earnings), but during the initial period of contact within the new environment they experience frustration and a lowering of aspirations. It was also expected that an important motive for immigration to Canada is the opportunity perceived in the educational and career spheres of both children and parents. Of the 24 immigrants interviewed in India, with follow-up interviews conducted in Canada, the majority were sponsored by an immediate relative in Canada. Fifteen were low educated, working class parents and their dependents. The remaining seven were sponsored fiances, fiancées and spouses. Only two were independent and returning immigrants.

Analysis revealed that the immigrants primary motive for immigration were economic aspirations. The unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants expressed the highest degree of satisfaction with job opportunities and earnings in Canada.

The better educated and skilled immigrants were experiencing a high level of unemployment and underemployment in Canada. These immigrants faced problems such as lack of Canadian experience, difficulty having qualifications evaluated fairly and being trained in a skill that was not in demand in the Canadian economy. A number of these immigrants felt ethnic discrimination was also a major factor in their difficulty finding employment. For many of the highly educated and skilled immigrants their employment experiences had resulted in a lowering of aspirations and a great deal of frustration.

The findings showed the majority of the immigrants possessed very little specific information on Canada prior to immigration. Most of the immigrants, particularly the sponsored dependents, had relied primarily on the information that they had obtained from visiting relatives and friends. In Canada, many of the immigrants were still largely uninformed about facilities to learn English/French, educational options and training. They also did not know where to seek help in obtaining this information.

The 1982 moratorium has significantly reduced the number of independent immigrants entering Canada. The continued growth of family class immigration accounts for the large number of South Asian low educated, working class immigrants. The majority of the studies on South Asians have dealt with pre-1976 highly educated immigrants. Ghosh (1981:420) notes that working class South Asians are highly visible and face more overt forms of prejudice and discrimination. Unlike the majority of the earlier South Asians, these working class immigrants are more visible both culturally and linguistically. It is likely that their adjustment and acceptance into Canadian society will be slower.

Contrary to previous research, it appears that there is a greater tendency for these working class immigrants to live in neighborhoods consisting predominantly of persons from their village and the surrounding area in India. More research is necessary on their adjustment to Canadian life, their expectations and the constraints under which they must adapt. Empirical research based on actual experiences will help in developing new government programs and auxiliary services to facilitate their entry into the mainstream of Canadian society.

In the past, the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi had set up a weekly program to provide persons granted immigrant visas with information on Canada. This program presented a film in English about Canada, and a question and answer period. After one year, the program was cancelled due to the extremely low response of potential immigrants. South Asians are generally reluctant to seek information or the help of government agencies. This is particularly true of the women, who rely primarily on their husbands and other immediate relatives for all information. Yet immigration authorities have generally neglected providing information to the sponsored dependents of families immigrating to Canada. Information on facilities for learning English/French, educational opportunities and training are needed by sponsored dependents, however, if this information is to be utilized it must be provided in Punjabi or Hindi. There must also be more research on the problems facing South Asian women arising from their situation in Canada and especially examining the adjustment of working class women. These studies would provide a more accurate profile of these women and the values and culture that they bring with them to Canada.

Generally new immigrants recognize that they must adjust to the economic, political, social and legal structures of Canadian society. Most South Asians have come to Canada with a positive view of Canadian life and a willingness to adopt the new values and norms of Canadian society, while at the same time retaining their distinctive cultural identity. (Kurian and Ghosh, 1978). Government programs and special services can aid in the successful integration of Canada's new immigrants by confronting the ethnic discrimination that exists in the Canadian job market. Research is required that will focus on the economic aspects of immigrant adjustment, and particularly address the employment problems of visible minorities in Canada. Their difficulties are related to the non-recognition of qualifications, the demand for "Canadian experience" and in cases, explicit discrimination.

This study showed that there is a greater need for accurate, reliable information to be provided to immigrants before departure. Highly educated and technically skilled immigrants often lack knowledge on how to begin job hunting in Canada. They require additional information on government and private services that are available to help them to obtain employment. More specific information on finding job openings, becoming recertified and on upgrading their qualifications would be beneficial to new immigrants. Sponsoring relatives should also receive information on services available to new immigrants and be encouraged to contact government agencies to ask questions and request additional information.

There is a need for more studies which examine pre-migration characteristics of immigrants in their source countries with a follow-up of their adjustment in

Canada. A dearth of information exists on the expectations and aspirations of these immigrants prior to departure. It is clear that the immigrants' motive for immigration, original expectations and the quality of information which they receive are all important factors in the adjustment process and influence their level of satisfaction with life in Canada.

The immigrants examined in this study were at an initial stage in their adjustment to Canadian society. Their futures will depend upon their ability to adapt to their new environment and resolve many of the social-cultural and economic problems facing them, A longitudinal study of these immigrants would provide further insight into the adjustment process of new immigrants and their acculturation into Canadian society.

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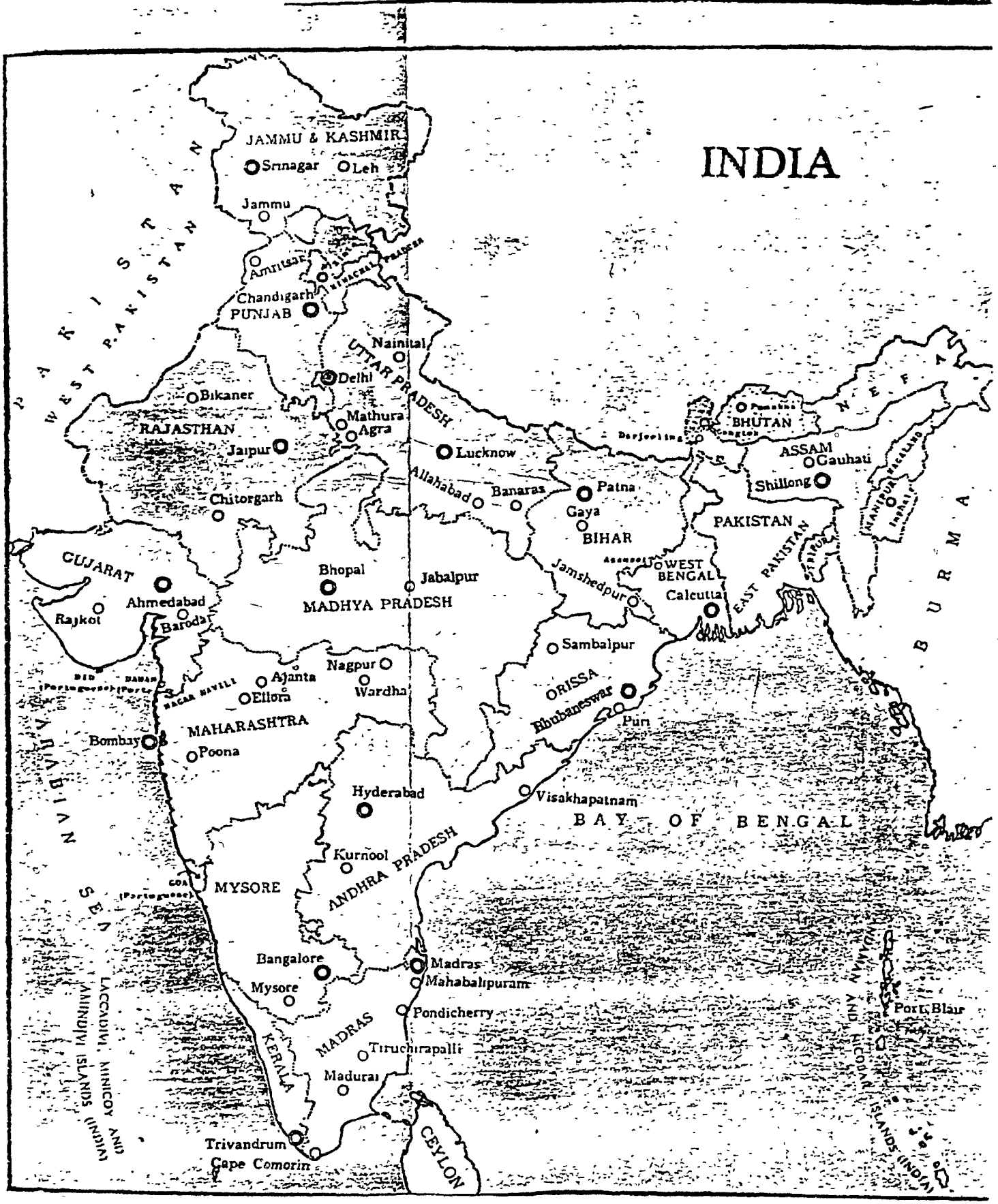
APPENDIX 1

Map of India

Map of the Punjab Region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JAMMU & KASHMIR
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Jammu
Amritsar
Chandigarh
PUNJAB
Nainital
UTTAR PRADESH
Delhi
Bikaner
RAJASTHAN
Jaipur
Mathura
Agra
Lucknow
Allahabad
Banaras
Patna
Gaya
BIHAR
Chitorgarh
BHUTAN
Darjeeling
ASSAM
Gauhati
Shillong
PAKISTAN
EAST PAKISTAN
WEST BENGAL
Calcutta
Jamshedpur
Sambalpur
ORISSA
Bhubaneswar
Puri
GUJARAT
Ahmedabad
Rajkot
Baroda
Bhopal
Jabalpur
MADHYA PRADESH
Nagpur
Wardha
Ajanta
Ellora
MAHARASHTRA
Bombay
Poona
Hyderabad
Visakhapatnam
BAY OF BENGAL
Kurnool
ANDHRA PRADESH
MYSORE
Bangalore
Mysore
Madras
Mahabalipuram
Pondicherry
Tiruchirapalli
Madurai
MADRAS
KERALA
Trivandrum
Cape Comorin
CEYLON
ARABIAN SEA
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ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (INDIA)
Port Blair
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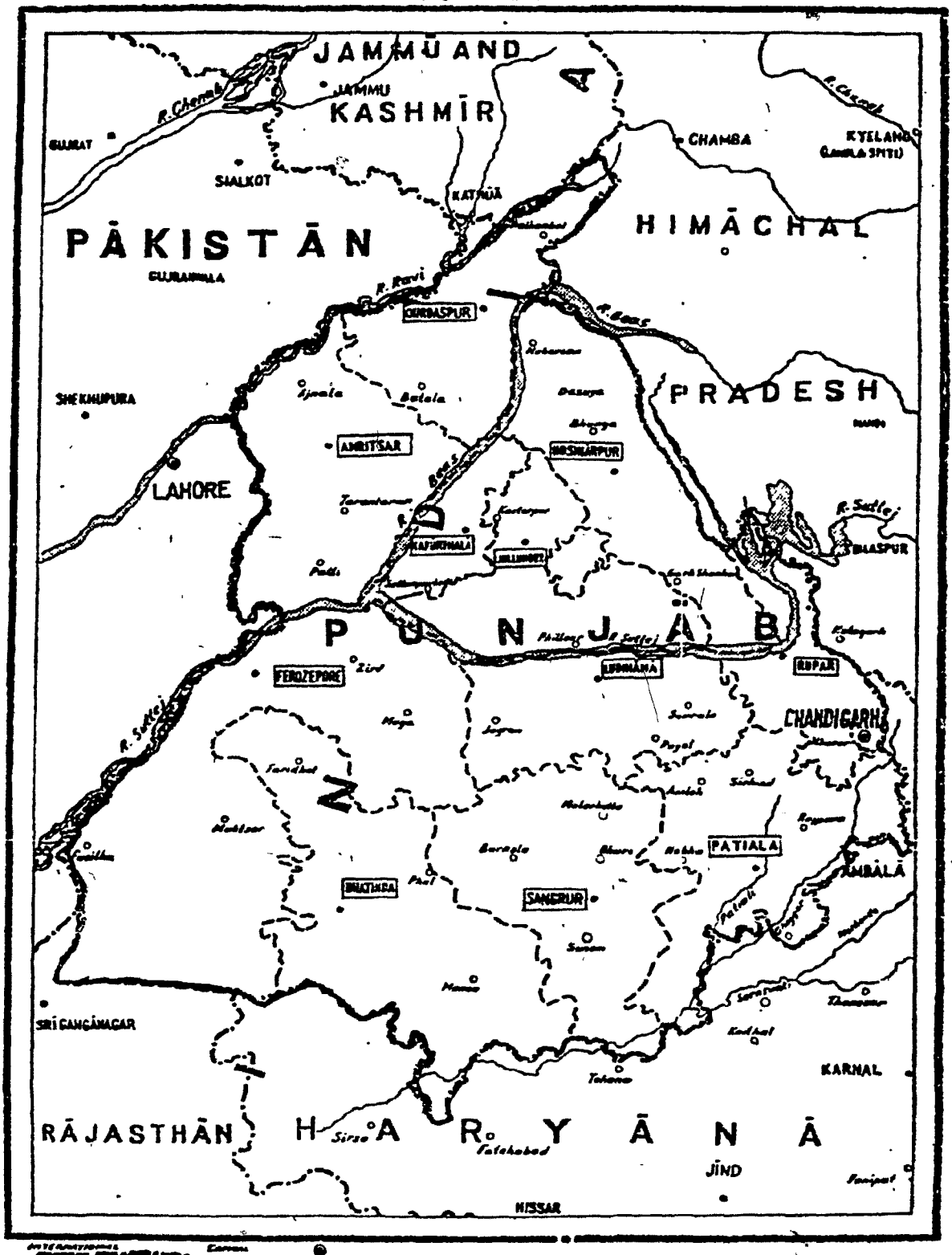
PUNJAB


JAMMU AND
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AMRITSAR
HOSHIARPUR
LAHORE
R. Beas
KAPURTHALA
JALLANDHAR
R. Sutlej
BIASPUR
PUNJAB
FEROZEPORE
LUDHIANA
RUPAR
CHANDIGARH
PATIALA
AMBALA
BHATINDA
SANGRUR
SRI GANGANAGAR
KARNAL
RĀJASTHĀN
HARYĀNĀ
Sirsa
Fatehabad
JIND
HISSAR

APPENDIX 2

Letter mailed by the High Commission
in New Delhi to participants

Letter Mailed by Canadian High Commission in New Delhi

Dear

This High Commission is assisting the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute in a research project.

Your cooperation is earnestly requested in a research study concerned with the educational and career plans of people who have been granted immigrant visas for admission to Canada. The purpose of this study will be to compare the expectations of immigrants before they leave India with their expectations after they have been in Canada for a few months.

A representative of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute would like to interview each member of the emigrating family (over the age of 10) for approximately 30 minutes at a time and place most convenient to them.

We assure you that your responses and all information collected in this study will be kept anonymous and strictly confidential and used only for advancement of knowledge in the field of immigration studies. The respondents are free to not answer any questions they may not like.

Please fill in the attached form and return it as soon as possible in the enclosed stamped envelope.

Yours very truly,

Counsellor
(Immigration Affairs)

APPENDIX 3

Interview Schedule Used in India

Interview Schedule in India

Part I Background Information

1. Date of Birth _____ _____
   month year

2. Sex _____female _____male

3. Religion ___Hindu ___Muslim ___Sikh ___Christian Other (specify)___

4. Place of residence _____

5. Place of birth _____ _____ _____
   district state country

6. In case of having changed residences on more than two occasions. State reason.

   _____employment
   _____family (closeness to kin)
   _____educational opportunities (self or family)
   Other (specify) _____

7. Are you presently employed? _____

8. What is your occupation? _____

9. What is the title of your job? _____

10. Are you presently: ___married ___single ___widowed ___separated
    ___divorced Other (specify)_____

11. What is your mother tongue? _____

12. What other languages are you able to speak?
    _____English
    _____French
    _____Hindi
    Other (specify) _____

13.

	English		
	fluently	a little	none
read	_____	_____	____
speak	_____	_____	____
understand	_____	_____	____
write	_____	_____	____

14.

	French		
	fluently	a little	none
read	_____	_____	____
speak	_____	_____	____
understand	_____	_____	____
write	_____	_____	____

15. What language is most often spoken in your home?_____

16. How many years of school have you completed?_____

17. Have you ever taken any training or vocation courses?_____
If so, when and where?_____

18. Do you have any children? _____yes _____no

19. Are they coming to Canada? _____ If not, why?_____

_____

20. Who is sponsoring you to Canada? _____

21. What is your relationship to the relative sponsoring you? _____

_____

22. Where does your sponsor live?_____

23. How long has this relative lived in Canada?_____

24. Relative's occupation_____

25. Where do you plan to live in Canada? _____

26. Do you have any other relatives in Canada? _____yes _____no
If yes, where? _____

27. Was the decision to migrate made mainly by:

_____father
_____mother
_____entire family (if children present)
_____Other (specify)_____

Part II Training and Career Plans

1. Do you plan to work in Canada? _____

2. What type of job would you like to have in Canada? _____

_____

3. Do you have an idea of how much you would earn in Canada?

_____

4. Do you think your employment opportunities in Canada are determined by your:

_____being male-female
_____ethnic origin
_____level of education
_____language
_____age
_____religion

6. Do you (or your spouse) anticipate taking any educational courses or training in Canada? Discuss _____

_____

_____

7. If a professional, are you aware of equivalency exams that are necessary for professional and academic accreditation in Quebec?

_____

8. Do you plan to learn English and French when you go to Canada?

_____

9. Do you know if there are any facilities for learning English and French when you go to Canada? (for spouse or children)

_____

PART III Education of the Children

1. What level of schooling (diploma-degree) would you like for your son to obtain? _____

_____

2. What level of school (diploma-degree) would you like for your daughter to obtain? _____

_____

3. What type of occupation would you like for your son-daughter?

_____

4. Is it more important for your son or daughter to be educated?

_____

5. Who will make the decision regarding the children's education?

_____

6. Would you like your son-daughter to attend a French or English school? Why? _____

7. Would you like your children to speak your language at home?

_____

8. Do you think you will have problems with your children growing up in Canada? (especially when they are teenagers)

_____food
_____dress
_____friends
_____dating

9. What would you like your daughter(s) to do? career or marriage?

_____

10. What would you like your son(s) to do? career or marriage?

_____

11. Would you try to decide your son's-daughter's career? Discuss.

_____

_____

12. Would you like to arrange your son's-daughter's marriage? Discuss.

_____

_____

_____

13. Would you object to your son-daughter marrying:

_____an Indian from another province speaking another language
_____an Indian of another religion
_____a white Canadian-American
_____a black Canadian-American
_____Canadians of other origins. (S.E.Asian, Middle Eastern, Chinese)

14. What would you do if your son-daughter married a .....?

_____

_____

_____

Part IV Knowledge about Canada

1. Who did you get the majority of your information about Canada from?

_____immigration authorities
_____relatives in Canada
_____friends
_____mass media (newspapers, radio, film, television)
Other (specify)_____

2. What area did you receive the most information about:

_____education
_____employment
_____housing
Other (specify)_____

3. Do you feel the information was sufficient? _____yes _____no
(i.e. on schools, training, child care) _____

_____

_____

4. What language is most commonly used in Quebec? _____

5. How much do you think you have to use English-French where you are going to stay? _____

6. Do you have any information on language laws in Quebec (Bill 101)?

_____

_____

7. Do you know of any Indian associations or organizations in Canada?

_____

_____

8. What other information have you learned about Canada?

_____

_____

_____

9. Do you have other questions or concerns about emigrating to Canada?

_____

_____

10. Do you think that for you (and your family):

_____it will be easier to integrate into the French milieu than the English milieu.
_____it will be easier to integrate into the English milieu than the French milieu.
_____it will be hard to integrate into either one.

Explain_____

_____

_____

11. Do you plan to remain in Canada? _____yes _____no

12. Would you like your wife-daughter to wear western clothes? If not, why?

13. Would you like to retain your language, customs and culture? (your children)

14. Please describe your picture of life in Canada.

APPENDIX 4

Interview Schedule Used in Canada

Interview Schedule in Canada

Part I Training and Career Plans

1. Do you still plan to work in Canada? _____yes _____no

2. Have you found a job? _____Was it difficult to find a job? How long did it take? Explain. _____

3. How much money are you earning?_____

   How much money would you like to earn?_____

4. Has it been more difficult for you, or your wife/husband to find a job in Canada? Explain_____

5. Do you now think your employment opportunities in Canada are determined by your:

   _____being male-female
   _____ethnic origin
   _____level of education
   _____language
   _____age
   _____religion

6. Are you (or your spouse) presently taking/or plan to take any educational or training courses? Discuss_____

7. If a professional, have you taken any equivalency exams for professional and academic accreditation? Discuss_____

8. Are you learning English? _____yes _____no French? _____yes _____n
   Where?_____
   Cost?_____
   Are you pleased with the course? _____

9. Are other family members attending?_____

_____

10. Is English more difficult than you expected? _____yes _____no

11. Is English easier than you expected? _____yes _____no

Part II Education of the Children

1. Has your son or daughter started attending school? _____yes _____no
   What school is he/she attending? _____

   _____

2. Are you pleased with his/her progress? Discuss_____

   _____

   Who selected the school? _____

   _____

3. Do the children speak English at home? _____yes _____no

4. Do you want your children to grow up here? _____yes _____no

5. Now that you are in Canada do you anticipate having any problems with your children growing up here?

   _____food
   _____dress
   _____friends
   _____dating

6. Do you will believe that your son/daughter's career should be decided by:

   _____mother
   _____father
   _____self
   _____entire family

7. Do you still feel the same about arranging your son/daughter's marriage? Discuss_____

   _____

Part III Knowledge about Canada

1. Do you feel the information you received on Canada from relatives was sufficient? _____yes _____no

   Was it accurate?_____

   _____

2. Do you feel the information you received on Canada from immigration authorities was sufficient? _____yes _____no

   Was it accurate? _____

3. What area could you have used more information about:

   _____education
   _____employment
   _____housing
   Other (specify) _____

4. Have you been able to obtain this additional information?

   _____yes _____no

   From what source?
   _____immigration authorities
   _____relatives in Canada
   _____friends
   _____mass media
   Other (specify)_____

5. Did the Manpower & Immigration office help you in finding a job?

   _____

   _____

6. Have you used any other services of the immigration office?

   _____yes _____no. If yes, which? _____

   Were you satisfied with the help you received? _____

   _____

7. What language is spoken in your home?_____

8. What language do you speak on your job?_____

9. Are you aware of any Indian associations or organizations in Canada?

   _____yes _____no

10. Are you or any relative a member of any Indian association or organizations in Canada?_____

    _____

11. Do you plan to remain in Canada? _____yes _____no

    If no, discuss_____

    _____

12. Would you like to sponsor someone? _____yes _____no

13. What other questions or concerns do you have about living in Canada? (i.e. family life, education, employment, etc.)

14. Have your views changed in any way about retaining your language, culture and customs?

Part IV Adjustment to Canada

1. Do you miss family members? Friends?

2. Do you miss Indian food?
   Are Indian food available in your area?

3. What other things do you miss about India?

4. Are Canadians friendly to you?

5. Have you (or any family members) encountered any prejudice? Describe.

6. Has it been difficult adjusting to the cold weather?

7. If a woman, have you been wearing western clothing? _____yes _____no
   Do you feel comfortable in this clothing? Discuss.

8. Do you have Canadian friends? _____yes _____no. Discuss.

_____

_____

9. Do you have Canadian neighbors? _____yes _____no

10. Do you go to see Canadian movies? _____yes _____no

11. Do you go to see Indian movies? _____yes _____no

12. Do you read Canadian newspapers? _____yes _____no

13. Do you read Indian newspapers? _____yes _____no

14. Do you watch Canadian television? _____yes _____no

15. Do you feel that Canada is now your home? Discuss._____

_____

_____

16. What do you like about Canada?_____

_____

_____

17. What do you dislike about Canada?_____

_____

_____

18. Please add any additional comments: