

McGILL UNIVERSITY

A Part of and Apart from the Mosaic: a Study of Pakistani Canadians' Experiences in
Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s

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ABSTRACT

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Professor John Zucchi

This thesis examines the experiences of the first wave of Pakistani immigrants to arrive in Canada after the immigration reforms of the 1960s and 1970s. It focuses largely on the Pakistani community in Toronto. Its primary thesis is that while the immigration reforms and accompanying national policy of multiculturalism of this era were intended to foster democratic, humanitarian, and egalitarian principles, Pakistanis, like other immigrants of colour, actually saw their efforts to join the social and economic mainstream thwarted by discrimination both at the hands of government officials and within Canadian society.

The thesis makes extensive use of a wide range of primary materials, including government documents, municipal records, commissioned reports, symposia proceedings, mainstream and Pako-Canadian newspapers, community newsletters, and interviews. Individual chapters examine: the background, social characteristics, and immigration and settlement experiences of Pakistani immigrants to Canada and Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s; the establishment and administration of immigration reforms and multiculturalism policies during these decades, with an emphasis on the ways that discriminatory government policies and traditions toward Pakistanis and other immigrants of colour carried over and continued to impact the era of progressive reform; the growth of intense anti-immigrant attitudes and the rise of "Paki-bashing" and other episodes steeped in discrimination and violence in Toronto during the 1970s; prejudice and other challenges faced by Pako-Canadians as they attempted to make a living within Toronto's economy; and issues of gender and the experiences of Pako-Canadian women in Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s.

ABSTRACT

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La présente thèse traite du vécu de la première vague d'immigrants pakistanais au Canada, soit celle qui est postérieure aux réformes du système d'immigration canadien des années 1960 et 1970. Elle est principalement focalisée sur la communauté pakistanaise de Toronto. Cette thèse soutient essentiellement l'hypothèse suivante : en dépit du fait que les réformes du système d'immigration, ainsi que celles apportées aux politiques nationales afférentes sur le multiculturalisme, bien qu'elles étaient destinées à étayer des principes démocratiques, humanitaires et égalitaires, les pakistanais, à l'instar d'autres immigrants de couleur, ont vu leurs efforts destinés à s'intégrer à la classe moyenne canadienne contrecarrés par des pratiques discriminatoires émanant tant de la part des fonctionnaires du gouvernement que de celle de la société canadienne elle-même.

Cette thèse s'appuie sur un vaste éventail documentaire issu de sources primaires, comprenant des documents gouvernementaux, des dossiers municipaux, des rapports produits par des commissions, des comptes rendus de symposiums, des articles de journaux torontois à grand tirage, des bulletins communautaires de pakistano-canadiens et des interviews. Les divers chapitres qui la composent ont pour objet de scruter les thèmes suivants: les antécédents, les caractéristiques sociales ainsi que le processus d'immigration et l'établissement d'immigrants pakistanais au Canada, tout particulièrement à Toronto, durant les décennies 1960 et 1970 ; la mise en œuvre et l'administration des réformes de l'immigration et des politiques afférentes au multiculturalisme à cette époque, en mettant l'accent sur les manières dont les politiques gouvernementales discriminatoires envers les pakistanais et les autres immigrants de couleur se sont perpétuées et ont continué d'avoir un impact significatif sur l'immigration et ce, même pendant l'ère des réformes dites progressistes ; l'intensification d'attitudes négatives envers les immigrants et la montée d'un ressentiment anti-pakistanaï, couplées à d'autres événements qui profilèrent l'entrée en scène de la discrimination et de la violence à Toronto pendant les années 1970 ; la discrimination et les autres défis auxquels étaient confrontés les pakistano-canadiens alors qu'ils tentaient de gagner leur vie au cœur de l'économie torontoise de l'époque ; les problématiques particulières reliées à leur sexe et les expériences de vie des femmes pakistano-canadiennes de Toronto au cours des années 1960 et 1970.

PREFACE

This thesis was inspired, in part, by a phone call I received in the early 2000s. I was at my parent's home in the Laurentians when I received a call from a government agent asking to speak with Akhlaq Khan. I informed her that my father was not available and offered to take a message. She asked if I was a relative and I confirmed that I was his daughter. She seemed pleased and proceeded to ask me personal questions about my father. I reminded her that my father would be back shortly and she should communicate directly with him. She was surprised and said "It's just that many of these immigrants designate a family member to answer questions, since they don't always speak or understand English very well." I quickly informed her that my father has an excellent command of English not only because he has lived in Canada as a citizen for the over 30 years, but one of the reasons he was selected as a "desirable" immigrant was for his language skills. She was dismissive of this information.

I found her comments or misinformed ideas of immigrants disturbing. Growing up with a father who had immigrated to Canada in the late 1960s as a qualified accountant exposed me to a certain understanding of these immigrants. It was always a joke among my siblings and I that if our parents introduced us to a new "aunty or uncle"- a term used indiscriminately for anyone of my parent's friends or acquaintances-that he or she was either a doctor, engineer, or accountant. Indeed, the majority of those in my parent's social circle were professionals who immigrated to Canada with established credentials; many would go on to enhance their educations by attending Canadian universities. My brothers, sisters, and I thought that this was normal and that all immigrants to Canada were like my father and his friends. To a great degree we were right. The majority of

independent immigrants, particularly immigrants of colour, who came to Canada from Pakistan during the 1960s and 1970s, were affluent, urban and professional.

As a student of Canadian history I was often drawn to the stories of immigrants and was especially interested in learning how immigrants such as the Ukrainians, Germans, Italians, Macedonians, Chinese, Japanese, and Sikhs were incorporated into to Canada. What was missing in these historical accounts, however, was how my father and his fellow Pakistanis fit into this picture. Disappointed by the lack of works that dealt with my own family and community, I decided to study Pakistani immigrants, to explore their lives and experiences within Canada.

My examination of the experiences of the first major wave of Pakistani immigration to Canada during the 1960s and 1970s led me to a central conclusion, a realization that there was a basic contradiction between what Pakistani migrants expected to encounter and what they in fact did encounter as they established new lives in Canada. During these years, Canada fundamentally changed its immigration policies, adopting progressive reforms and a formal national policy on non-discrimination and multiculturalism. These reforms opened the door to immigration from Pakistan and many other regions of the world that had previously been closed to Canadian immigration. The first wave of Pakistanis arrived in Canada enthusiastically embracing the new policy of openness and equality. They were optimistic about their ability to adapt to and find a satisfying place within Canadian society, believing themselves to be ideal candidates for rapid integration and looking forward to contributing to Canada's social, cultural, and economic development. In reality, however, they often found that the actual administration of national policies was not always in line with their stated progressive ideals. Often they encountered forces such as discrimination and suspicion, both at the

hands of the government and Canadian society itself. These forces undermined their sense of hope, impeded their economic progress, and worked against their integration into the mainstream of Canadian society. Hence, the title *A Part of and Apart from the Mosaic: a Study of Pakistani Canadians' Experiences in Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s*.¹

This thesis has been a long (a very long) and winding journey filled with triumphs and tribulations. Like any life journey, one seldom travels alone. I have been fortunate and must offer my sincere gratitude to the many people who have helped.

First, I would like to acknowledge my supervisor Professor John Zucchi for his years of patience, understanding, and insight. Professor Leonard Moore has also been an absolute beacon of support and encouragement and must be recognized for his keen advice, many suggestions, generously extending his time, and being dedicated fully to helping me with this project. I am also grateful to Professor Brian Lewis, Professor Jarrett Rudy, Professor Ratna Ghosh, and Professor Joseph Rochford for the interest they have shown my work and serving on my committee. The final version of this thesis has been improved significantly by the comments, suggestions, and efforts provided by Professor Hugh Johnston. I am deeply indebted to the time and attention he has given this work.

¹ I would also like to credit a book I read, which was a collection of essays on South Asians in America, for the inspiration behind my title choice. The book was entitled *A Part, Yet Apart: South Asians in America* and discussed the complexities of South Asian incorporation into the larger "Asian American" label. This was a process complicated by the fact that many other Asians, who comprised largely of those originating from East/Southeast Asia, did not see South Asians and themselves as belonging to the same or similar ethnic groups. Likewise, South Asians did not always feel that they belonged under this broad "Asian" categorization. Even those South Asians who sought to join in the "Asian American fray," were not always welcomed to do so and according to sociologist Nazali Kibria, "South Asian claims to legitimate 'Asian Americanness' [were] suspect because of perceived racial differences." See Nazali Kibria, "The Racial Gap: South Asian American Racial Identity and the Asian American Movement" in Lavina Dhingra Shankar and Rajini Srikanth (eds.), *A Part, Yet Apart: South Asian in Asian America* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 69-78. I thought the idea of being a part of a grander context, while at the same time being apart or excluded from mainstream categorizations and institutions was an appropriate way to describe some of the early experiences Pakistanis had when seeking inclusion into the broader Canadian society.

I would also like to thank Colleen Parish who has tirelessly worked to help me with my many years of “McGill needs” and has also been a strong source of moral support. I would also like to wholeheartedly acknowledge Professor John Hill for his help with acquainting me with a myriad of South Asian experts, and inspiring me to go forward when I felt I had come to a dead end. Professor Micheline Lessard has also given me precious insight and has helped me immensely in so many ways. I would also like to thank Mitali Das for her competence and concern.

In undertaking this project, I soon realized that researching Pakistanis would prove trying since there seemed to be no easy way of finding many of the sources needed for this project. A number of people and institutions came to my aid. First, I must offer my earnest gratitude to Sadiq Awan, whose knowledge and wisdom was invaluable. He was not only generous with his time, but also gave me access to numerous documents that were essential to this thesis. Mubarka Alam also merits my sincerest thanks not only because of her support and interest in this project but also for the rich resources she provided. Status of Women and Heritage Canada personally supplied me with several reports and academic works. The staff at Citizenship and Immigration Canada library along with Brit Braaten and Pasang from the MHSO were beyond helpful and allowed me to spend countless hours in their facility searching for the various documents and items I needed. I would also like to thank Bill Crawford at the Ontario Grievance Settlement Board and Dan Martin at the Department of Homeland Security in Washington D.C.

Mubarka Alam, Salma Ahmed, and all the other Pakistani women who invited me into their homes and so generously shared their stories, deserve my deepest appreciation. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Rashid and Nanita Ali, Anzar and Suzanne

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This process has not been easy and I must acknowledge the support and love I received from my siblings, in-laws, cousins, my Aunty Bergees and Uncle Iqbal, my Aunty Moon, and also Tata Jami. I would also like to thank my niece Katheryne and the newest member of the family-my nephew-Danyk- for being a constant source of light even during darker days. My brother, and friend, Zishann Ahmed Khan merits my sincerest acknowledgement. Shann, who perhaps has more library books on his Ottawa U account concerning Canadian immigration, ethnic, and gender studies, than he does on his own specialty, Geology, has been “rock solid” with his support, encouragement, suggestions, and technological savvy.

My loving partner, Mamadu Djam Ba, has been a source of inspiration from the moment we met. His uncanny ability to think ‘outside the box,’ his motivation, and confidence in me has given me the power to continue during the more difficult moments of this journey.

Above all this thesis is dedicated to my parents Akhlaq Ahmad Khan and Patricia Ann Ferrier who have given me more than words can say.

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INTRODUCTION

After the partition of India in August of 1947 my father Akhlaq Khan and his family, like millions of other Muslims, were forced to move from their home in India to the newly established country of Pakistan.¹ The Khan family was uprooted from Aligarh, India to Lahore, Pakistan, where they sought refuge in an abandoned three-room house. Considered *Muhajirs* (immigrants or migrants),² they were harassed and assaulted by the locals on a daily basis. The family relocated and struggled to establish itself in Karachi, the *Muhajir* capital for the majority of displaced Indian Muslims. My father and his siblings did have one advantage: a prestigious military background provided the luxury of attending English private schools and later university. Seven of the eight children graduated from the universities of Lahore and Karachi in the fields of science, commerce, economics, and general arts, all were fluent in the English language. In 1965 my father completed his Bachelor of Commerce Degree at the University of Karachi.

Since independence, Pakistan remained economically, socially, and politically unstable forcing many, including professionals, to leave in search of a better life.³ My

¹ A parallel movement occurred in territories that were assigned to Pakistan. Hindus and Sikhs who had previously dwelled in the new country of Pakistan moved to territories now given to India. For a detailed account of the Partition see Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (London: Yale University Press, 2007); Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997), chapter 16 and 17. For a brief yet evocative look at the Partition see Tariq Ali, *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (New York: Scribner, 2008), chapter 2.

² *Muhajir* in its literal sense is the Urdu equivalent for immigrant or migrant. After the partition of India and Pakistan the word became commonly associated with Urdu speaking Muslim Indians seeking refuge in Pakistan. In the 1970s, *Muhajir* populations, particularly those in Karachi, began to assert themselves as a unique ethnic group. This was done partly in response to the pro-Sindhi government of Zulfikar Bhutto and growing ethnic tensions between the *Muhajir* population and local Sindhi ethnic groups.

³ These are popular subjects in Pakistani historiography. Three excellent and comprehensive accounts of Pakistan include, Shahid Burki, *A Revisionist History of Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1998); Ian Talbot, *Pakistan a Modern History* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1999); and Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at the Crosscurrent of History* (Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2003). For political, constitutional, military, and economic

father was among them. Several months after graduation he and Shabir Siddiqui, his friend and colleague, decided to start the immigration process. Canada presented a sensible choice and seemed to offer a tolerant and accepting environment for newcomers. Tolerance and acceptance were important in the decision making process especially after hearing firsthand accounts of violent and brutal attacks on Pakistanis in Great Britain as well as the highly racialized climate of the United States.

Canada was an option for my father and other Pakistanis, as well as other migrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America because of fundamental changes taking place in Canadian immigration policies throughout the 1960s and 1970s. During these years, the government reformulated its immigration policies according to principles of non-discrimination and humanitarianism. This new focus was a major break from previous immigration policies and practices. Prior to these decades, the Governor in Council was given discretionary rights to refuse immigrants according to a broad range of ambiguous criteria that were prejudicial and racial in nature. An unofficial, yet real, hierarchy of “desirable” immigrants guided the selection process, with preference going to those of White European descent. The government also controlled the number of unwanted immigrants through policies and regulations that specifically prevented their admission. Asians along with most non-White immigrant and ethnic groups fell victim to provisos that barred entry. South Asians, for instance, were prohibited from coming to Canada through a series of Order in Councils issued at the beginning of the twentieth

accounts see Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan, the Formative Phase, 1857-1948* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); Keith Callard, *Pakistan: A Political History* (New York: Macmillian, 1957); Allen McGrath, *The Destruction of Pakistan's Democracy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998); Brian Cloughley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: War and Insurrections* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Shahid Burki, *Pakistan under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia Ul Haq* (Lahore: Pak Book Corp., 1991).

century and lifted only after the Second World War.⁴ While perceptions surrounding prospective immigrants were slightly more tolerable after the War, it was only in the 1960s that real changes occurred.⁵

By the early 1960s the government re-visited the Canadian Immigration Act making a series of regulation changes. In 1962, several years before the United States changed its discriminatory policies in 1965, Canada put forward new immigration regulations that would satisfy its labour needs and judge applicants according to merit regardless of race, ethnicity, and national heritage. The latter was a move expected to end

⁴The “Continuous Passage” (Order-in-Council P.C. 24), for one, prohibited the entry of all immigrants who did not come to the country directly from their place of birth in a single journey. This made it impossible for those in India to gain access into Canada since no existing shipping company at the time had a direct route from India to Canada. Order-in-Council, P.C. 23 was another decision taken, and required Sikhs to land in Canada with two hundred dollars, a fee that seemed unreasonable considering Japanese immigrants, who were not British subjects, had to possess only twenty five dollars. See Clippings from “The Daily News Advertiser,” Vancouver, B.C., Borden Papers, April 18, 1911, 17 605. It should be mentioned that not everyone felt that banning Sikhs was the right thing to do. Also, some believed, like Col. Falk Warren, that since “hundreds of these men had been soldiers in the Army and [wore] medals for their service,” it was appropriate to award them with all the rights of citizenship. Regarding the issue of disenfranchisement, of “natives of India not of Anglo-Saxon parents,” in British Columbia in 1907, Falk also argued that this was indeed “denying the rights of fellow subjects.” Col. Falk Warren to Laurier, January 2, 1907, Laurier Papers, 117772; and Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra, *Continuous Journey ...* 21.

⁵ Following the War, Canadian immigration did include more compassionate features and on May 1, 1947 Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King announced, in the House of Commons, a new more humanitarian approach to immigration:

Like other major problems of today, the problem of immigration must be viewed in the light of the world situation as a whole. ...Canada’s policy has to be related to the social, political and economic circumstances resulting from the war. Among other considerations, it should take account of the urgent problem of the resettlement of persons who are displaced and homeless, as an aftermath of the world conflict.

King also decided to rescind some formerly racist policies that affected East and South Asians. For instance, in 1947 the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed. In that year the Canadian Citizenship Act was formulated and it enabled the naturalization of people, which included Asians. Additionally, Chinese and Indians were now able to sponsor their wives and unmarried children less than eighteen years of age. Though Canadian immigration was starting to shift in a more positive way, it was still highly restrictive and selective during these years. King, himself, stated that it would be undesirable to drastically change the Canadian composition and was specifically against the idea of an immigration policy that encouraged Asian immigration; “The people of Canada [did] not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of population.” He further stated that “large scale immigration from the orient” would necessarily and lamentably “change the fundamental composition of the Canadian populace.” See Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1 May 1947, 2644-6.

what sociologist Alan Simmons has called the “White Canada Era.”⁶ Immigration policy was broadened and fine-tuned with more regulatory changes in 1967 and the emergence of a points system that favoured professional/skilled immigrants. With this system, applicants were scored on objective criteria such as language comprehension, education levels, and working skills.

Though the 1962 and 1967 modifications were significant, they were merely a step toward the greater objective: overhauling the entire Canadian immigration structure. In 1976 this goal came to fruition with a new Immigration Act. This statute was important because it replaced archaic immigration laws and provided the country with a formal framework for its commitment to national development, non-discrimination, humanitarianism, and family re-unification.

These transformations in immigration policy opened the door to a broader range of people. Under the new immigration policies, the total number of immigrants increased dramatically, averaging nearly one hundred fifty thousand each year between 1962 and 1979; an increase of twenty-five percent compared to the two previous decades (see Appendix 1). Not only did new immigration changes attract large numbers of immigrants, but they also brought in people with diverse religious, ethnic, national, and cultural backgrounds. Now significant numbers of people from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean, and Latin America were “welcomed” into Canada. Together these immigrants represented almost forty percent of all immigrants between 1967 and 1979 (see Appendix 2). Migrants from South Asia primarily India and Pakistan made up a notable portion of this group at approximately six percent of all immigrants during this period (see

⁶ Alan B Simmons, *Immigration and Canada: Global and Transnational Perspectives* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press Inc., 2010), 130.

Appendix 2). The number of newcomers entering from the developing world during these years was momentous and marked a pattern in which these immigrants, by the late 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, would outnumber those of White European descent.⁷

Liberal immigration policies and their consequences was largely a product of broad social, economic and political changes and new attitudes about race and ethnicity that shaped Canada in the era following the Second World War. Part of this had to do with Canada's experience in the war itself and the significance of world events such as the Jewish holocaust, the formation of the United Nations, decolonization, and the emergence of a global human rights culture. The American Civil Rights movement also inspired a growing awareness of the legacy of discrimination and a national responsibility to protect individual human rights in a democratic society. Like their neighbours to the south, albeit to a lesser degree, Canadians during this period began to examine their own record on a wide range of issues involving discrimination and civil rights.⁸ Women, homosexuals, aboriginals, and other marginalized minorities started to battle for recognition and equality. In response to a number of social movements, especially a rising sense of Québécois nationalism, in 1963 the government established a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (or the B and B Commission) to examine the country's current socio-cultural structure.

Changes in the fabric of Canadian society, according to Eve Haque, an expert in equity studies, forced the government to rework its "established ways of organizing

⁷Statistics Canada, Census 2006.

⁸ Three excellent discussions of Canada during this period include, Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A history of the Baby Boom generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Alvin Finkel, *Our Lives: Canada after 1945* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 1997); and Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s the ironies of identity in a rebellious era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

national belonging.”⁹ The focus was now moving away from a prevailing White Anglo Saxon Protestant model toward a more inclusive alternative. Upon the recommendations of the B and B Commission, in 1971, Canada adopted a formal policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. This policy was an important step in making concrete a new “national” identity and drew its inspiration from discussions of a “Canadian mosaic.” The mosaic referred to a myriad of ethnic groups, languages, and cultures that collectively and distinctively contributed to the nation’s socio-cultural fabric. Though this ideal was not entirely new and appeared in the early twentieth century,¹⁰ by the 1960s and 1970s it became an official model for Canadian policy-makers to negotiate a new national standard of belonging.

Depicting Canada as a mosaic now generates debate among those academics that see the model as limiting and static in nature and therefore not reflective of the fact that the country was (and is) shaped by a dynamic fusion of rich intercultural exchanges and experiences.¹¹ The mosaic model, however, was popular throughout the 1960s and 1970s and during these years immigrant/ethnic groups and various other minorities were

⁹ Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism Within A Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, And Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 52.

¹⁰The image of Canada as a mosaic first appeared in the late 1920s when writer Kate Foster used this metaphor to describe the country’s vibrant cultural ethnic composite. See Kate Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: Issued by the Dominion Council Y.W.C.A. c. 1926). The ideal was further transmitted in the late 1930s by John Murray Gibbon who was among the first scholars to popularize the term. He commended Canadian diversity and described immigrants as integral pieces of the nation’s socio-cultural fabric:

The Canadian people today presents itself as a decorated surface, bright with inlays of separate coloured pieces, not painted in colours blended with brush on palette. The original background in which the inlays are set is still visible, but these inlays cover more space than that background, and so the ensemble may truly be called a mosaic.

See John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1938), viii. Gibbon credited American writer Victoria Hayward as the first person to use the term mosaic in reference to Canada, *Ibid.*, ix.

¹¹See, “From Mosaic to Harmony: Multicultural Canada in the 21st Century: Results of Regional Roundtables,” www.horizons.gc.ca/doclib/SP_div_Mosaic_%20epdf. Accessed 28/10/2012.

described as important contributors within the Canadian mosaic or integral pieces of the whole.¹² Canadian multiculturalism, during the 1970s, reflected this vision and promoted integration while encouraging immigrant and ethnic groups to retain elements of their cultural heritage.

Though multiculturalism was not given a legislative framework until the late 1980s, the policy of the 1970s was an effort, on part of the government at the time, to “level the playing field” in order that Canada’s various cultural, ethnic, and minority groups might achieve greater equality. Moreover, the policy helped to inspire hope in ethno-cultural groups that their experiences with integration would be facilitated by the countries’ new tolerant and progressive approach to diversity.

Canada was the first nation in the western world to champion such a policy. Many national leaders pointed with great pride to the new multicultural/mosaic ideal and used it to perpetuate a particular image of the nation. Through their eyes, Canada was

¹² Describing Canada as a mosaic was common during these years and featured greatly in the political rhetoric of that time. Many Parliamentarians, senators, and government officials used the mosaic concept to perpetuate a particular image of the country as integrationist rather than assimilationist. Widespread use of the term during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s could also be measured by the attention it received not only in government reports and commissioned studies, but by scholarly works as well. A sample of some of these items, documents, and works include, The Mosaic Press started in 1967, Canada, House of Commons, Multiculturalism Building the Canadian Mosaic, *Report of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer for Canada, 1987); Wilson Head, *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and the Practice of Discrimination against Blacks in Metro*, submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1976); John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (reprinted 1989; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Gwen Matheson, *Women in the Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: P. Martin Associates, 1976); Leo Driedger, *The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic: A Quest for Identity* (Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1976); Wilson Head and Jeri Lee, “The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: Discrimination in Education,” *Interchange* 9, no. 1 (1978): 85-93; William Shaffir et. al., *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic* (Toronto: J. Wiley, 1981); and Rabindra Kanungo (ed.), *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic* (Montreal: Kala Bharati, 1984). It should also be mentioned that there are more recent examples of scholarly works that continue to use the word mosaic in their studies: Ninette Kelley and M.J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Eric Fong, *Inside the Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); and Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship policy, 1939-1945* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill Queen’s University Press, 2010).

distinguished from other countries in the world by its strong commitment to diversity, social justice, and by its rejection of a melting pot ideal or other assimilationist views.¹³

Canadian multiculturalism, liberal immigration policies, and the country's need for professional labour resonated deeply with many prospective immigrants, particularly those living in poor countries like Pakistan. Pakistanis, many of whom had witnessed much bloodshed and destruction in the name of religion, culture, and ethnicity, had a special appreciation for Canada's new commitment to pluralism and equality. For a majority of these newcomers, Canada appeared to represent a "land of milk and honey," a place where they might enjoy opportunity and stability. For educated professionals in particular, the promise of a tolerant climate raised hopes not just for economic security but for upward social mobility.

Whatever the merits of the new initiatives on immigration and multiculturalism, they continued to exist at the side of a long tradition of exclusion and discrimination against people of colour. The liberal changes that "welcomed" a broader spectrum of racially, culturally, and nationally diverse people along with support for an inclusive multicultural/mosaic model did not always work for the new ethnically diverse immigrants as they struggled to make a living, carry on their cultural traditions, and find a place of security and comfort within Canadian society.

This dissertation, on Pakistani immigration to Canada during the 1960s and 1970s, examines the gulf that separated the expectations of new migrants in a progressive country from the realities they faced fitting into the "Canadian mosaic." It is one of the

¹³ For a good discussion of the mosaic and melting pot metaphors see Allan Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America," *Canadian Historical Review* 51, (September 1970): 247-275; and Howard Palmer, "Mosaic versus melting pot?: Immigration and ethnicity in Canada and the United States," *International Journal* 31, no. 3 (Summer 1976): 488-528.

few scholarly works to focus on the history of Pako-Canadian experiences and in many ways challenges the national ideal of Canada as a bastion of good will, diversity and equality. Pakistani immigrants found that progressive national immigration policies were flawed. Many encountered a darker side to the nation's multicultural ideal as they faced discrimination and hardship from various levels of society based on race, ethnicity, religion, class, gender, and culture. This thesis shows that in many cases Pakistani immigrants were forced to confront the realization that they would not always be included as equals in the larger definition of "Canadians," and that while they may be a part of, they were also apart from, the Canadian mosaic.

Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History

Prior to the 1970s, Canadian immigration history was a relatively narrow field of national celebration tilted overwhelmingly, as historian Franca Iacovetta has noted, "in favour of the British 'stock' and Anglo-Celtic mores."¹⁴ Other immigrants seldom factored into mainstream histories. When they did, accounts were either patronizing and condescending or overly romanticized and filiopietistic.¹⁵ Prevailing social changes, however, triggered new interest in the field, particularly in the immigrant and ethnic groups who were ignored by conventional scholarship. By the late 1960 and 1970s immigration and ethnic history took a new direction leading to the emergence of what was called the "new immigration history." Historian Howard Palmer attributed this new approach and its growth to several factors: 1) the rise of social history in the 1960s, which challenged the dominant brands of political and economic history and focused on

¹⁴ Franca Iacovetta, *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1997), 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

neglected areas of Canada's past; 2) a growing number of scholars, with diverse immigrant and ethnic backgrounds working in this area; 3) revived personal interest in ethnic roots; 4) an increase in institutional support for such work; and 5) the appearance of scholarly outlets for publication of works dealing with immigrant and ethnic studies.¹⁶ By the 1970s and early 1980s, the first wave of immigration and ethnic historians began to explore some of the darker elements in Canada's past. They challenged the triumphal Canadian mosaic image and dispelled the myth that Canada's history was not plagued with similar degrees of racial intolerance as in the United States and other countries. Early works focused on the effects of xenophobia, prejudice, anti-immigrant sentiment, and discriminatory policies and brought issues of assimilability¹⁷ (or unassimilability), particularly that of Asians, to the forefront.¹⁸

Historians Peter Ward and Hugh Johnston were part of this early group of scholars and produced pioneering works on South Asians in Canada, specifically British Columbia. Their works analyzed west coast Canadian nativism in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and shed light on the negative stereotypes held by politicians and

¹⁶ Howard Palmer, "Recent Studies in Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History: The 1970s and 1980s," in *From 'Melting Pot' to Multiculturalism: The Evolution of Ethnic Relations in the United States and Canada* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1990), 55, 58. For other historiographical essays on immigration and ethnic studies see Donald Avery and Bruno Ramirez, "Immigration and Ethnic Studies" in *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Canadian Society: A Guide to the Literature* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 77-116; and Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," *Canadian Historical Review* LXIV, 4 (1983): 441-467.

¹⁷ Assimilability referring to the process by which minorities are forced to adopt patterns of the dominant culture, and involves changing modes of dress, values, religion, and language. See John J Macionis et. al., *Sociology: Canadian Edition* (Toronto: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1994), 131.

¹⁸ For a sample of these works see, Ted Ferguson, *A White Man's Country: An Exercise in Canadian Prejudice* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1975); Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1978); Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Colour Bar* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979); Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1981); Hugh Johnston, "The East Indians in Canada" (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1984); and Patricia Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigration, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989).

the general public toward Canadian Sikhs. In the view of many White British Columbians, Sikhs, like other Asians, posed a threat to their cultural homogeneity. These fears translated into pejorative depictions of India as a land of “teeming millions, of filth, squalor and peculiar customs,”¹⁹ and shaped the way some British Columbians perceived South Asians and their assimilability.

By the mid 1980s and 1990s, there were new shifts and new subjects explored in immigration and ethnic studies. Historians during these years (and beyond) were informed by a broader array of primary sources including written records of immigrants and ethnic institutions, ethnic newspapers, personal letters, diaries, and oral testimonies.²⁰ While this scholarship recognized the importance of government policies, policy-makers, and host society reactions, it started to include more in-depth analyses of the immigrants themselves.²¹ Historians now explored subjects including the immigrants’ transition between the old world and the new, immigrant coping strategies, settlement patterns, ethnic enclaves, ethnic group identities, ethnic organizations, militancy among newcomers and ethnic groups, immigrant women, and issues of gender. Consequently, more complex and diverse internal histories were produced on a wide range of immigrant and ethnic groups including Jews, Italians, Macedonians, Ukrainians, Mennonites, Lithuanians, and Germans.²²

¹⁹ Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever* ... 82. In 1909 James Woodsworth, a clergyman and founder of the CCF, perpetuated equally hurtful stereotypes by describing South Asians as “slow, incapable of hard work, and unable to adapt to the “rigorous climate of Canada.” See J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within our Gates: Or Coming Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, reprinted 1977), 154.

²⁰ Franca Iacovetta, “The Writings of English Canada... 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² See Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Ltd., 1982); Gerald Tulchinsky, *Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Ltd., 1998); Ruth Frager, *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement 1900-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Lillian Petroff, *Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940* (Toronto: Multicultural Society

This new school also produced studies that shifted discourse away from questions of assimilation and non- assimilation toward issues of integration or acceptance.²³ This was an especially popular theme for accounts of European immigrants who came after the Second World War. Milda Danys, Frances Swyripa, and Franca Iacovetta were among the scholars who studied these groups and their “survival”/integration.²⁴ Their works alluded to the impacts of new national policies on the process of integration. Milda Danys’s account of Lithuanian D.P.s, for one, suggested that Canada’s pluralistic and multicultural approach did a great deal to create a sense of acceptance among these newcomers, a strategy that encouraged their eventual integration into the larger Canadian polity.²⁵ Frances Swyripa, on the other hand, described integration as more than simply a process encouraged by government policies. She also revealed the active role played by Ukrainians in achieving this goal and the eagerness, demonstrated by some, to become equal partners in the Confederation.²⁶

Neither Danys nor Swyripa suggested that Canada, even with its cherished mosaic ideal was devoid of prejudice and discrimination. Ukrainians and Lithuanians were subjected to Canadian chauvinism. According to Danys, nativist sentiments were to be

of Ontario, 1995); John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988); Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); and Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940: A Peoples Struggle for Survival* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982).

²³ Integration is defined as the process by which immigrants and ethnic groups become incorporated into the larger community. See <http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=integration>. Accessed 04/10/2010.

²⁴ Milda Danys, *DP Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986); Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause...*; Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992).

²⁵ Milda Danys, *DP Lithuanian...* 314.

²⁶ Ukrainian integration was shown through evolving concepts of ethnicity that moved traditional stereotypical portrayals of a separate Ukrainian peasant culture toward ones with more integrated “Canadianized” content. “Canadianized” images, shaped by “elite” members of the Ukrainian community, were expected to encourage full integration. See Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause...* 6.

expected, and though certain prejudices existed, these immigrants were nonetheless classified among the most desirable candidates for integration.

Franca Iacovetta, in her analysis of Italian working class families provided a more detailed account of the prejudices and ambiguities that coloured Italian newcomers' incorporation into Canada. She revealed paradoxical views held by the federal government and other members of the Canadian polity. While the host society's reaction to southern Italians was imbued with racist, discriminatory, and nativist tendencies, it simultaneously took an integrationist approach to these newcomers and launched efforts to incorporate them into Canadian society.²⁷ Presumably, these efforts reinforced the belief that with time even southern Italians could be integrated into the broader Canadian community.

In 2006 Iacovetta's *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in the Cold War*, included a broad range of war-torn European immigrants and refugees in her analysis of their experiences and reception in Canada. During the Cold War while some people feared the growing presence of Europeans, according to Iacovetta "large numbers of Canadians welcomed the new arrivals as a necessary, vibrant addition to a growing country."²⁸ Moreover, Canadian gatekeepers, comprised largely of White-middle class individuals, saw it as their duty to instruct newcomers on "Canadian ways" and transform them into productive members of society.

While historical scholarship on postwar Canadian immigration has shown a broad range of new insights into the process of migration and the complex issues involving identity and acceptance within Canadian institutions, the main focus has been on the

²⁷ Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People...* chapter 5 and 6.

²⁸ Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 10.

European migrants of the immediate postwar era, not the immigrants of colour who began arriving in great numbers after the policy reforms of the 1960s and 1970s. As a result, there has been very little investigation by historians of the experiences of immigrants from the Middle East, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia.

One welcomed exception is Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen's recent *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth Century Canada*. Loewen and Friesen provided a well balanced account of diverse immigrant groups and their migration to major prairie cities. Though their work started with an analysis of early twentieth century immigrants, it also looked at those coming to Canada throughout the 1960s and 1970s, including people, many of them professionals, from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. The authors suggested that more liberal Canadian policies in conjunction with the skills and proficiencies exhibited by newcomers facilitated integration during the 1960s and 1970s. Immigrants coming to Canada during these decades were also, according to Loewen and Friesen, more self-reliant than previous groups, and therefore did not depend on ethnic enclaves to satisfy certain socio-cultural and economic needs. Moreover, new arrivals, which included Indians and Pakistanis, not only encouraged rich cultural exchanges, but also demonstrated high degrees of socio-economic integration:

Unlike the urban immigrants of the early twentieth-century decades, here was no great divide...Rather, a cultural mixing resulted in a multi-stranded, multilayered, and intersecting series of ethnic webs. Over time the immigrants' community had become less an ethnic base from which to negotiate an entry into the wider society than an ethnic kaleidoscope of cultural exchange shared by all who chose, or were compelled, to participate.²⁹

²⁹ Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 104.

Studies on South Asians and Pakistanis

Loewen and Friesen's research is exceptional. For the most part, the study of immigrants from the developing world remains uncharted territory among Canadian historians. Social scientists, on the other hand, have explored the complex relationship between immigrants of colour, including South Asians who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s, and their acceptability into the larger Canadian society.³⁰

One of the crucial contributions by social scientists to the study of Asians in Canada was the annual Canadian Asian Symposium which began in 1977. Led by sociologists Victor Ujimoto, Gordon Hirabayashi, and psychologist Josephine Naidoo, the symposium brought together a wide range of scholars studying Asians in Canada. Panels and presentations at the symposia brought a deeper awareness of the significance of this field, which led to an increase in scholarly articles and books about these various ethnic groups and helped focus attention on the experiences of South Asians in particular.

Perhaps one of the most important and comprehensive studies from this new line of social science scholarship was Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra's, *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada*. This book illuminated the multiple issues surrounding South Asian immigration, particularly that of early Sikhs, and brought issues concerning assimilability and integration to the forefront.³¹ The authors also

³⁰ Works by social scientists including Peter Li and Wolseley Anderson, for example, demonstrated that immigrants of colour, particularly Asians and Blacks, even in a climate where multiculturalism was an official government policy, were not as welcomed into Canada as were their European counterparts due to forms of explicit racial prejudice. See Peter Li, *Chinese in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); and Wolseley Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic Profile* (Canadian Scholars Press: Toronto, 1993).

³¹ Prejudice against Sikhs translated into exploitation, low paying jobs, institutional bigotry, and ghettoization, factors that blocked Sikhs from being properly integrated into Canadian society. The authors summed early Sikh experiences well; "...the early history of South Asians was characterized more by heroics and suffering than by happiness. South Asians bore the full brunt of racial ideologies, social

discussed the wave of South Asian immigration in the 1960s and 1970s and considered the impacts of liberal immigration policies and multiculturalism.³² They suggested that new policies, especially multiculturalism created a positive environment in which South Asians could contribute and prosper.³³

Additional studies produced by other social scientists including Ratna Ghosh, Josephine Naidoo, Vijay Agnew, Rabindra Kanungo, and George Kurian enriched our knowledge regarding Canada's South Asian communities and explored subjects such as prejudice, racism in immigration and employment practices, challenges faced by women, the struggles of raising families, and difficulties in adapting to the Canadian way of life.³⁴ These works demonstrated that South Asians who came in the 1960s and 1970s faced a

isolation, economic subordination and political disenfranchisement." Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra, *Continuous Journey...* 67. Despite this unfavourable environment the Sikh community thrived by forming close alliances with one another leading to the creation of a self-contained, tightly knit community that satisfied various social, economic, religious, and cultural needs.

³² What we also learn in this section was that South Asians were a religiously, culturally, and linguistically diverse group of people and spread throughout many countries. The authors mentioned various ethno-cultural South Asian groups found in Canada including, Northern and Southern Indians, Sikhs, Gujaratis, and Goans. They also included a brief discussion on Pakistanis, Bengalis, and South Asians from Africa and the Caribbean. Hugh Johnston's biography of Tara Singh Bains also enriched our understanding of the Sikh immigrant experience after the Second World War. Johnston tells Bains' story, Bains a Punjabi immigrant who came to Canada under the quota system in the 1950s. This book introduced us to personal experiences with immigration, identity, exploitation, work conditions, labour militancy, agency, and familial life through the eyes of a Sikh immigrant. Hugh Johnston and Tara Singh Bains, *The Four Quarters of the Night: The Life-Journey of an Emigrant Sikh* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

³³ Sociologist Kamala Elizabeth Nayar offered a more recent and multifaceted discussion of multiculturalism and its' impact on South Asians, Sikhs in particular. Nayar took into account the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom and the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Notwithstanding multiculturalism's dedication to anti-racism, she argued that a "Punjabi Bubble" had developed by encouraging Sikhs to preserve their culture and live separately from the mainstream. Third generation Sikhs were especial victims of this bubble and were involuntarily segregated from the broader Canadian society thus hindering their integration and blocking them of any sort of global cultural development. Kamala Elizabeth Nayar, *The Sikh Diaspora in Vancouver: Three Generations Amid Tradition, Modernity, and Multiculturalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

³⁴ Some of these works include, Rabindra Kanungo, "South Asian Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: Impact and Potential," *Asian Canadians Regional Perspectives*, vol. 5 (May 1981): 297-316; Naidoo, Josephine, "Stressful and facilitating life experience for South Asian Women in Canada," *Asian Canadians Aspects of Social Change*, vol. 6, (June 1984): 90-112; Ratna Ghosh, "South Asian Women in Canada: Adaptation," *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic* (Montreal: Khala Bharti, 1984): 145-155; G. Kurian, "South Asian in Canada," *International Migration* 29, no. 3 (September 1991): 421-433.

multiplicity of obstacles in their efforts to fit into the existing Canadian culture. Notwithstanding their merit, these studies tended to be overly generalized. They recognized that South Asians were victims of prejudice and racism but were weak in documenting precise instances. Furthermore they concentrated on Indians and did not consider fully the experiences of Pakistanis and other South Asians.

Pakistanis do share common experiences with their *Desi* contemporaries, but also substantial differences. Most Pakistanis were Muslims, while, with the exception of Indian Muslims and Bangladeshis (after 1971), most other South Asians who entered Canada during the 1960s and 1970s were Hindus or Sikhs. It is, therefore, also important to study Pakistanis in relation to the broader Canadian Islamic community, which comprised various nationalities, ethnicities, cultural, and linguistic groups. Pakistan is also an independent country, formed by unique, at times violent and traumatic circumstances in the post Partition period. As such, its migrants had their own distinct stories, identities, and experiences to add to the broader Canadian experience, a factor that must be taken into account by any scholarship on immigration/ethnic studies and integration.

There is a paucity of literature on Pakistanis in Canada. Works on this group are limited to a few sociological studies as well as a brief entry by historian Milton Israel for the *Encyclopedia of Canada's People*. To date the only monograph focusing directly on Pakistanis in Canada is *People of the Indus Valley: Pakistani-Canadians* by lawyer and educator Sadiq Awan. Awan's book focused on what he sees as Pakistanis' "successful" integration into the larger Canadian society. According to him, Pakistanis blended into

mainstream culture with general ease due to their language proficiency, professional status, and liberal attitudes.³⁵

Drawing from Awan's work, Milton Israel offered a similar account. Israel noted that while Pakistanis may have practiced "old values" and respected traditional clothing, food, decorations, and language in their homes, in other spheres of life they were "fully integrated into the Canadian environment."³⁶ He contended that integration was not an "overly daunting" task since "Many of those with higher education and training were accustomed to a bicultural lifestyle as part of the colonial legacy in Pakistan."³⁷

Awan and Israel's efforts to provide an initial look into the Pakistani Canadian community are noteworthy. There are, however, certain omissions that reveal a real need for more probing investigations. Like Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, Awan and Israel suggested that Pakistanis who came in the late 1960s and 1970s integrated well into Canadian cities.³⁸ While Pako-Canadians may have eventually adjusted to their adopted homeland, accounts such as these tend to glorify the integration process and downplay tribulations. Professional status, elevated skills, and language proficiencies did not always shield these newcomers from the realities of an environment that was, at times, discriminatory and racist.

³⁵ Sadiq Awan, *People of the Indus Valley: Pakistani-Canadians* (Ottawa: Ottawa: privately printed, 1989).

³⁶ Milton Israel, "Pakistanis" *Encyclopedia of Canada's People* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 1032.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ American expert, Raymond William made a similar observation for the American context. William provided an analysis of the many ways in which Pakistani and Indian immigrants adapted to their adopted country. He sought to dispel the myth of the American melting pot as wholly assimilative and maintained that South Asians, including Pakistanis, constituted a strong visible minority and as such their distinctive cultural contributions were incorporated into the broader culture of the United States. Raymond William, *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

This thesis fills some of the gaps in the literature by providing a more balanced and detailed account of Pakistanis and their integration into Canada during the 1960s and 1970s. Perhaps one of the most important steps for this study was to define “Pakistani.” Since Pakistan was only established in 1947, many of those who immigrated during the 1960s and 1970s were born in India and had only been in Pakistan for a short period of time. Milton Israel argued that an important component of “ancestral” Pakistani identity was rooted in “territorial and religious elements that [did] not necessarily include residence.”³⁹ American historian Iftikhar Dadi also recognized that “Pakistan” (and presumably being Pakistani) could be understood as a conceptual construct as much as a real entity.⁴⁰ Furthermore, according to American social scientist Raymond Brady Williams being “Pakistani” was a self label that was not necessarily a designation of nation-state, but “the designation of a passport written on the heart.”⁴¹ This project, informed by these definitions, categorizes Pakistanis not only as those who were born in that country, but also includes those immigrants who identified themselves as such regardless of regional, religious, linguistic, or cultural divergences. In order to appreciate the experiences of these Pakistani immigrants and their integration, I explored a variety of sources with an eye for discourse surrounding a myriad of issues including migration, religion, immigration policy, multiculturalism, racism, job equity, gender, and adaptability.

³⁹ Milton Israel, “Pakistanis” ... 1032.

⁴⁰ Iftikhar Dadi, “The Pakistani Diaspora in North America,” in *New Cosmopolitanism: South Asian in the US* (California: Stanford University Press, 2006), 43.

⁴¹ Raymond Brady Williams, *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan* ... 2.

Methodology

Canadian immigration policies, multiculturalism, and host society responses were integral to fully understanding the Pako-Canadian experience and their integration. It is, therefore, important to examine and analyze how policies shifted throughout the 1960s and 1970s and how policy-makers along with members of the general public responded to these changes. A variety of government documents were surveyed to help explore how South Asians factored into general Canadian immigration policies and multiculturalism. These documents were also scrutinized with an eye to issues, discourse, and political rhetoric surrounding immigrants of colour, South Asians, and Pakistanis. A complete review of House of Common Debates from 1962 to 1979 was undertaken to shed light on the ways in which government officials presented issues such as integration, diversity, pluralism, humanitarianism, multiculturalism, gender, and South Asian immigration.

The National Archives of Canada contained a variety of government documents that were important in uncovering the manner in which government personnel and departments shaped immigration policies and recruitment schemes. Annual immigration guides produced by the Department of Manpower and Labour in the 1960s demonstrated how South Asians factored into general recruiting practices. Furthermore, files concerning quotas and immigration posts abroad also provided insight into immigration officials' and policy-makers' approach regarding South Asians and Pakistanis and their potential as future Canadian citizens.

The Library of Citizenship and Immigration Canada also stored invaluable government sources. These records included: Immigration Acts and amendments; annual immigration reports; proceedings of the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower and

Immigration and Minute Books; immigration recruitment advertisements; immigration statistics; a complete set of *Kaleidoscope* - an official publication produced by the Department of Manpower and Immigration; videos and documentaries on South Asians; and immigration guide booklets teaching newcomers on how to be “good Canadian citizens.” These sources furthered my comprehension of immigration policies, schemes, and strategies and were used to determine government officials’ and other Canadians’ positions, opinions, and stereotypes pertaining to South Asians and Pakistanis.

Information on general migratory and settlement patterns was provided through immigration statistics available from The Department of Employment and Immigration, The Department of Manpower and Immigration, The Department of Immigration and Citizenship, and The Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Beginning in 1966, the Department of Manpower and Immigration began publishing reports that highlighted what it defined as the “more interesting aspects of immigration.” These documents contained statistical tables which detailed immigration by *country of former residence* and *citizenship, intended occupation, provincial destination, modes of transportation, sex, and age*. The government’s focus on gathering and reporting more detailed information about immigrants from this point forward coincided with the surge in Pakistani and other non-European immigration and was therefore particularly useful for this study.

Immigrants fell under several categories that changed over the decades. Pakistanis between these years, sometimes appear under the headings *country of last permanent residence*, and/or *country of birth*, and/or *landed immigrant*.⁴² In order to follow the statistics with as much consistency as possible, the category entitled *country of last*

⁴² After the 1990s these categories were simplified and immigrants were categorized by source country.

permanent residence was used. While *country of birth* (at least after 1947) may have been a better indicator of the real numbers of Pakistanis immigrating to Canada, this classification did not appear throughout all the years. *Country of last permanent residence*, on the other hand, featured regularly and numbers obtained under this grouping were used, by Statistics Canada, to calculate other information such as provincial distribution, sex ratio, age, and occupational status.

It is also important to note that since this study focuses on migrants from Pakistan (prior to 1971, West Pakistan), pre-1971 statistics are somewhat skewed and include those from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Overall, however, the number of migrants from East Pakistan was relatively small. The vast majority of migrants came from West Pakistan, primarily from the cities of Karachi and Lahore.

Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) were chosen as focal points for this project. While no one city can speak wholly of the attitudes and experiences of all, the Toronto area was a reasonable choice because it came to represent the largest concentration of Pakistanis in Canada. From 1962 to 1979, more than eighteen thousand Pakistanis entered Canada, approximately twelve thousand, or two thirds, settled in Ontario (see Appendix 3), with between seven and eight thousand⁴³ forming Toronto's dynamic Pakistani community.

Toronto was also selected based on its accessibility to key primary resources including several task force reports, academic studies, archival records, Pako-Canadian newspapers, and the immigrants themselves. These sources were used not only to reconstruct the Torontonians' climate during the 1960s and 1970s, but also to assess how Pakistanis and other South Asians were accepted into this setting.

⁴³ These numbers were provided by the Pakistani Embassy.

The City of Toronto Archives included sources that were important to this project. I examined complete sets of the Toronto City Council Minute Books and the Toronto Transit Commission Minute Books, for the years 1970 to 1980. These documents provided important examples of racism and discrimination in Toronto with respect to its South Asian populations and contributed in building a greater understanding of just how racialized the climate was. Vertical files containing letters, newspaper clippings, project proposals, meeting records, and reports, left by Toronto based organizations and associations, such as the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, also added to the larger discussion of prejudice in Toronto and were also helpful in reconstructing the city's racial problems apparent in the 1970s.

Holdings in the Toronto Public Library, specifically the Urban Affairs Branch, included several key Task Force reports, commissioned studies, and academic works specific to multiculturalism, immigration, and racism. Not only were they useful in that they highlighted injustices toward racial minorities with respect to employment, but they also shed light on instances of extreme violence toward Toronto's ethnic populations, evidence that was crucial to the progress of this thesis. The attitudes and opinions that some Canadians held also came to life in these documents. Examining these documents thus provided another important dimension to this project and revealed a mood that was not always favourable toward newcomers and at times quite hostile.

I also obtained a great deal of useful material from Toronto's major metropolitan newspapers, *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail*. Using these publications, however, presented certain challenges. Discerning the newspapers' political agendas was a problem at times, so, too, was the issue of sensationalism. Still, these were valuable

sources. They covered important events, reactions, and perceptions. Moreover, they were current and usually told a story from a first-hand account revealing responses from people who wrote, reported, and witnessed crucial historic moments. And, in fact, they published many stories involving the city's Pakistani community during the years that this thesis studies.

I consulted the databases of the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*, to search for articles, advertisements, editorials, letters to the editors, and opinion pieces pertaining to Pakistanis and South Asians in issues dating from 1962-1980. Databases functioned on word recognition, therefore terms such as "Pakistanis," "Paki," "Paki-Bashing," "South Asians," "East Indians," "immigration," "immigration law," "multiculturalism," "violence," and "racism" were used to generate information. This search resulted in over two hundred items that dealt specifically with Toronto's Pakistani and South Asian communities. To reflect the data and themes uncovered by these sources, findings were then categorized under headings including, "Racial attacks against South Asians," "Pakistani and South Asian agency," "Racism in Toronto," and "Editorials, Letters to the Editor, and Opinion Pieces"⁴⁴ Not only did information from these newspapers reveal in many instances how Pakistanis were viewed by Torontonians, but in some significant ways they also provided an arena in which the voices of Pakistanis themselves could be heard.

Another critical access to the voices of newcomers came from the written record left by Pakistani associations, organizations, and also from personal interviews. Items published by organizations, like the National Federation of Pakistani Canadians (NFPC),

⁴⁴ In the letters to the editor and opinion pieces, Pakistani and South voices were determined by either admission of belonging to these ethnic groups or having names that reflected a Pakistani or Indian heritage.

the Pakistan Canada Association, and the Pakistani Professionals Forum, were, for the most part, unavailable in any archives. An important way to acquire these types of documents, thus, was through key members of the Pakistani community and active leaders in these organizations. Such contacts included, the first NFPC president, Dr. Naseem Anwar, feminist activist Mubarka Alam, and Dr. Sadiq Awan, the author of *People of the Indus Valley: Pakistani Canadians*. Together Anwar, Alam, and especially Awan not only shared access to the records of these associations but also drew from their personal collections. Examples of the material they provided were, agendas, poems, surveys, questionnaires, theses and studies, budget ledgers, lists of upcoming community activities, symposia proceedings, surveys, statistics, newspaper clippings, video/audio tapes, and personal interviews. Collectively these items were used to uncover the activities, experiences, views, and sentiments of members of Toronto's early Pakistani community.

I also made extensive use of the rich collection of primary source material on South Asian Canadians at the Multicultural History Society of Ontario (MHSO). This collection not only stored over fifty personal interviews, but also held photographs, directories, and community newsletters. Samples of these items were left by Pakistanis and Pakistani organizations in 1960s and 1970s and, thus, contributed important pieces in the broader discussion of their experiences in Canada. Perhaps one of the most indispensable resources offered by the MSHO was their assortment of community newspapers, which included a fairly complete set of *Crescent*, a popular and well respected Pako-Canadian newspaper.⁴⁵ *Crescent* was fundamental in unlocking Pako-Canadian, and more precisely Pako-Torontonian, experiences. Originally titled *The Voice*

⁴⁵ I found any missing editions on <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/>.

of *Pakistan* when it surfaced in 1972, by 1973 it became *Crescent* and published regular bi-monthly issues in Urdu and English. I was unable to read Urdu, and therefore not able to exploit the full potential of this source.⁴⁶ A complete review of the English portion from 1972 to 1980, however, revealed crucial information about the Pakistani community in Toronto. Articles, editorials, opinion pieces, letters, advertisements, and classified ads spoke to a wide range of social, cultural, political and other issues. Through this newspaper we discover how the Pakistani Canadian community in Toronto began to emerge and place itself within the larger environment of the city and the nation.

In an effort to uncover more female voices, I turned to Status of Women Canada, but found relatively little applicable information. Among more than three-dozen reports concerning women, none focused on my period of study, only a handful dealt with immigrant women, and none were specific to Pakistani women.

In order to position Pakistani women within the Canadian mosaic, therefore, I relied on interviews. While the use of personal testimony may be problematic on some levels, it was nonetheless quite valuable in substantial ways. The richness and power of oral testimonies while they might “not be true in the sense that they represent some particular episodic moment” in history, they are, nevertheless, crucial in offering insight into the social and cultural worlds of those being interviewed.⁴⁷ Pako-Canadian women are ignored in mainstream histories. Interviews, therefore, presented a way to surface

⁴⁶ I ran into a similar problem when looking at another Pakistani Canadian newspaper based in Toronto entitled *Messenger*. This paper began publishing in 1978 and was predominantly written in Urdu. Nonetheless a complete review of this paper was done from March 1978 to December 1979. In the first year, the majority of the issues included a few pages of English content. By February 1979 English coverage was reduced to some advertisements only. Judging by the English content, this newspaper covered issues pertaining mostly to Pakistani and world affairs, there seemed to be very little on Pakistanis in the Canadian context.

⁴⁷ Alice Hoffman and Howard Hoffman, “Memory Theory: Personal and Social,” in *Handbook of Oral History* (United States: Baylor University, 2006), 294.

issues and concerns that were unique to them and their experiences as immigrants, wives, mothers, and the myriad of other identities they assumed.

As the daughter of a Pakistani immigrant I am not unfamiliar with stories of women and others inside the community regarding their experiences in adapting to life in Canada. For the purposes of this study, however, I developed a systematic approach to conducting and making use of interviews. After obtaining ethical clearance, I conducted formal interviews with seventeen Pakistani Canadian women who had immigrated to Toronto between 1966 and 1980 (see Appendix 4 for certification).⁴⁸ The women were given a synopsis of my project and asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix 4). Participants ranged in age between twenty and thirty at the time of their arrival and lived in communities across the Toronto region, including the suburbs of Scarborough, Pickering, Whitby, Mississauga, Brampton, East York, North York, and Markham.

While two of the women, Mubarka Alam and Salma Ahmed, were active Pakistani feminists and were contacted through Pakistani Associations, I selected the remaining interviews using snowball sampling. In other words, participants would recommend other women from among their own networks and I, in turn, interviewed them. The majority of interviews were tape recorded and a guide was used to generate conversation on topics such as, reasons for immigrating, early perceptions of Canada, community involvement, and experiences with integration (see Appendix 4). Questions were posed in an open-ended manner to encourage women to discuss freely the issues and subjects important to them. The average interview was an hour and a half long and in many cases once the recording stopped I was invited for further talk over *chai* and

⁴⁸ While I conducted twenty seven interviews the majority, or seventeen, of the interviews were with Pakistani women residing in Toronto, four separate interviews were with non-Pakistani women married to Pakistani men; the remaining six were conducted with male Pakistani immigrants.

snacks. Only Mubarka Alam and Salma Ahmed wished to reveal their identities. The remaining respondents opted for pseudonyms. Though these interviews represent a small sample of voices, they added greatly to my understanding of Pako-Canadians and the forces that shaped Pakistani women's experiences in Canada.

While the combination of sources in this study help to explain fundamental aspects of the experiences of Pakistanis who came to Toronto and Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, a number of limitations must be noted. In some instances I was forced to rely on anecdotal information and single sources. This was at times an unavoidable consequence of the lack of sources about the Pako-Canadian community. In other instances, existing sources did not always distinguish between Pakistanis and other South Asians, making it necessary, at times, to discuss the broader South Asian experience rather than being able to focus exclusively on Pakistanis. In addition, many of the existing documents available on Pakistanis in Canada and Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s were skewed toward the experiences of middle class and professional individuals. Many of the documents came from or involved voluntary organizations whose members tended to be more educated and affluent. The experiences of working-class individuals, therefore, are somewhat underrepresented. It is important to note at the same time, however, that a very large percentage – in some years, a majority – of Pakistani immigrants were highly educated professionals.⁴⁹ Finally, it must also be acknowledged that the overwhelming majority of Pakistani voices in this study are both urban and Muslim, despite the fact that not all Pako-Canadians originated from large cities, nor were they culturally, ethnically, or religiously homogeneous. This study, therefore, leaves room for, and hopefully will encourage, further study on the diverse social, cultural,

⁴⁹ Chapter Two and Four discuss this subject in more detail.

economic, religious, ethnic, and regional backgrounds of Pakistani immigrants and their experiences in Canada.

This work does, however, provide an initial look into the lived experiences of some early Pakistani newcomers, and the methods used here underscore several important themes. First, they help explain basic but important aspects of the Pako-Canadian experience: the forces behind decisions to immigrate to Canada, early expectations of life in a new homeland, subsequent settlement patterns, and experiences adapting religion (i.e. Islam) to the broader Canadian climate. Second, the sources used in this thesis help show how immigration policy and other factors reflected an environment that often failed to live up to the nation's progressive, multicultural ideal and how Pakistani Canadians responded. Third, this study reveals important information about Pako-Canadians' experiences in the work force and their relentless effort to find jobs that reflected their levels of expertise, skill, and education. A final theme focuses specifically on women and relates to Pako-Canadian experiences in the private sphere and issues surrounding religion, culture, marriage, childrearing, and household duties.

This thesis is, in many ways, a modern narrative and tells the stories of those Pakistanis who came during the 1960s and 1970s seeking to carve out a more stable, fruitful, and dignified life for themselves and their families. I have chosen not to delve deeply into theoretical issues, but rather to place the narrative at the center of this work. This approach has uncovered a wealth of information regarding Pakistani Canadians and has allowed the voices of these immigrants to emerge, thus, revealing the complexities of their experiences as they struggled with integration, inequality, racial violence, discrimination in the work force, and sex and gender issues. In an effort to share these

stories, the dissertation is divided into five separate but interrelated chapters. Chapter One examines the forces behind Pakistanis' journey to Canada. It gives an overview of Pakistani outmigration and focuses on those who settled in Canada during these two decades, early expectations surrounding their move, and their experiences with integration. Chapter Two studies national policies after the 1960s. It analyzes their strengths and weaknesses, their relationship to the political discourse surrounding assimilation and/or integration, and how they related to Pakistanis and other South Asians. Not all members of society supported liberal immigration and multiculturalism and many had a hard time accepting the Pakistani presence in Toronto. Chapter Three, therefore, explores the climate of racial conflict and discrimination that helped shape the experience of Pakistani Canadians. The fourth chapter positions immigrants in the workforce and sheds light on the challenges Pakistani professionals faced with economic integration. The fifth and final chapter centers on the experiences of Pakistani women. It highlights issues surrounding the domestic sphere and examines the complex balance forged by women to meet new responsibilities, preserve elements of their religio-cultural identities, and become part of the "Canadian mosaic."

CHAPTER ONE

A JOURNEY OF HOPE: FROM PAKISTAN TO CANADA

This chapter explores the experiences of the first significant wave of Pakistani Canadians that arrived in the 1960s and 1970s and addresses a number of basic questions. Why did Pakistanis immigrate? Who were the Pakistanis that came to Canada? What were some of their early expectations? Where did they settle? What role did religion (i.e. Islam) play in shaping their identities and experiences within the Canadian and Torontonion contexts? How did they adapt to their new environment?

The first section focuses on the inception and subsequent struggles of Pakistan, providing an overview of the period from Partition in 1947 to the rise of Islamization in the 1970s and 1980s. It is not a comprehensive study of course, but an attempt to outline the economic, military, constitutional, demographic, and geographic issues and conflicts that caused so many Pakistanis to immigrate to other nations. The second section examines some of the broad issues of Pakistani outmigration, with an emphasis on immigration to Great Britain during the 1950s and early 1960s. Britain was a popular choice among Pakistani migrants during these years because it allowed unrestricted numbers of Commonwealth members. The third section concentrates on the flow of Pakistani immigrants to Canada and the early development of Toronto's Pakistani community in the 1960s and 1970s. It highlights many of the demographic characteristics of Canada's Pakistani immigrants, how they differed from their British contemporaries, settlement patterns, community organization and institutions, as well as early perceptions regarding their new homeland. It also places Pakistanis within the larger subject of

Canada's Muslim populations and looks at how perceptions surrounding religion impacted their integration.

After Partition

On August 15 1947, the day after the country of Pakistan was officially established, newly appointed Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah, discussed the “birth” of the nation over the radio from Lahore:

...The creation of the new state has placed tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how a nation containing many elements can live in peace within, and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial friendly relations with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large... Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build it up into a country worthy of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come from all whole-heartedly. Pakistan Zindabad!¹

While Jinnah tried to present an optimistic and confident public image, he and other leaders of the new government knew that in reality they had inherited a fragile country, one they recognized as “mutilated,” “truncated,” and “moth eaten.”² Partition had brought complex, painful consequences for both India and Pakistan, but for Pakistan the division had been particularly devastating. Pakistan was divided into five provinces: Sind, the Northwest Frontier, Baluchistan, Punjab, and Bengal. Geographically the east and west wings of the country were separated by approximately 1600 kilometres of hostile

¹ <http://pakistanspace.tripod.com/archives/jinnah19470815.htm>. Accessed on 22/10/2011.

² Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998), 179; and Ayesha Jalal *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, The Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 260.

Indian land. A partition that, in the words of professor and journalist Anatol Lieven, made “absolutely no geographical, historical, economic or strategic sense...”³

The division of both the Punjab and Bengal had been particularly disappointing. Jinnah had hoped to gain these entire provinces and warned of the dangers in partitioning them.⁴ His pleas, however, went unanswered and he was forced to settle for a sliced up version of these regions.⁵ In the Punjab, India retained the fertile eastern regions of Ambala, Ludhiana, and Jullunder, a major deprivation to a newly created Muslim state that was primarily agrarian. Pakistan was at a similar loss with the division of Bengal into east and west. The west remained under Indian jurisdiction and included Calcutta, the “economic heart” of the province, as well as crucial western hinterlands. Breaking up Bengal in this manner had a debilitating impact on the development of East Bengal (the Pakistani portion of the territory referred to as East Pakistan), and stripped of these key regions, according to historian Ayesha Jalal, it was “reduced to the status of an over-populated rural slum...”⁶

The terms of partition also allowed the 565 Princely States (semi-autonomous principalities) to individually choose which nation to join. The states of Junagadh, Jodhpur, Hyderabad, and Kashmir were undecided at the time of partition. Of these four, three were either forced militarily or coaxed into joining India. Kashmir remained (and

³ Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2011), 58.

⁴ National Archives of the United Kingdom, Speech by Muhammad Jinnah on the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, 4 May, 1947, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/topics/jinnah-on-partition.htm>. Accessed on 06/06/2011.

⁵ Ian Talbot offered an excellent account of the impact that the division of the Punjab had on certain areas, particularly the cities of Lahore and Amritsar. See Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁶ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah ...* 3.

still is) disputed territory with tensions often leading to fully fledged wars requiring UN intervention.⁷

Partition had also placed Pakistan in a very difficult position in terms of industry, manufacturing, and finance. Of the more than fourteen hundred factories registered in 1947, Pakistan retained fewer than ten percent.⁸ Similarly there were approximately four hundred textile mills at the time of Partition, but only fourteen ended up in Pakistan. Moreover, of the one hundred mills that processed jute (a major staple in East Pakistan), none were located in Pakistan.⁹ The nation was left with a sparse industrial base consisting merely of a few cement plants, flour and rice mills, and cotton-ginning factories.¹⁰ Pakistan had little access to ready cash and though assets were to be divided to match the needs of each country, India controlled the disbursements and often withheld or delayed money transfers to Pakistan.¹¹ Moreover, the few financial institutions that existed in the form of banks and insurance companies remained in India.¹²

The reallocation of military resources proved to be another disadvantageous situation for Pakistan. Theoretically the army was supposed to be divided along religious lines. Muslims were expected to serve in Pakistan's army, while Hindus and other religious groups were to form the Indian army. This was a difficult task since many regiments were ethnically and religiously mixed. Of the twenty-nine British Indian army

⁷For more information of this see Iftikhar H. Malik, *The History of Pakistan* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2008), 131-132; and James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2009), 160.

⁸ James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* ...170.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan a Modern History* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1999), 25.

¹¹ James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History*... 170; and Iftikhar H. Malik, *The History of Pakistan*... 137.

¹²James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History* ... 170.

regiments, Pakistan received eight.¹³ While the division of regiments were equitable many other promises went unfulfilled. For example, Pakistan was ensured one hundred seventy tons of military equipment to be dispatched by three hundred train loads; the country saw only three train wagons containing obsolete materials.¹⁴ Circumstances such as these placed Pakistan in a vulnerable and insecure position especially vis-à-vis its neighbouring countries, which included top military powers such as India, Russia, and China.

The newly established Muslim state also faced the complicated task of forging a Constitution in a climate where there was no consensus regarding the role of Islam in the country's government. While Pakistan's ruling party, the Muslim League, had campaigned for a separate Pakistan in the name of religion, they were basically a secular party steeped in modernist ideology and support for western scientific thought. The Muslim League and other modernists advocated for a secular country and therefore placed religious law in an inferior position. Islamists or fundamentalists formed an opposing camp. They believed in the supremacy of *Sharia* law and viewed the establishment of a secular Muslim nation as blasphemous. Reconciling these conflicting influences had (and continues to have) a stagnating effect on the development of the country and exacerbated other hardships.¹⁵

In addition to these constitutional, security, and economic struggles, Pakistan in the aftermath of independence was flooded with millions of Indo-Muslim migrants seeking refuge (also referred to as *Muhajirs*). Partition came at a high human cost and

¹³ Brian Cloughley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ See Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

resulted in the migration of some fourteen million people: eight million Muslims bound for Pakistan and six million Hindus (and to a lesser extent Sikhs) destined for India.¹⁶ Not only did this migration account for one of the world's largest movement of people, but it was also marked by egregious levels of violence, crime, barbarity, and bloodshed.

Historian Yasmin Khan captured this tragedy and loss well:

Even by the standards of the violent twentieth century, the Partition of India is remembered for its carnage, both for its scale- which may have involved the deaths of half a million to one million men, women and children- and for its seemingly indiscriminate callousness. Individual killings, especially in the most ferociously contested province of Punjab, were frequently accompanied by disfigurement, dismemberment and the rape of women from one community by men from another. Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus suffered equally as victims and can equally be blamed for carrying out the murders and assaults. ...A whole village might be hacked to death with blunt farm instruments, or imprisoned in a barn and burned alive, or shot against walls by impromptu firing squads using machine guns.¹⁷

The unmitigated mayhem and violence surrounding the creation of India and Pakistan made migration a very dangerous journey. The majority of refugees made their way to their new homelands by land routes exposing them to the possibility of attacks, raids, massacres, rapes, and kidnappings.¹⁸ Those that were fortunate enough to cross the new borders into Pakistan faced a virtually non-existent administrative structure incapable of adequately integrating them.

¹⁶These numbers represent a fairly reliable estimate and were used in various sources including James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* ...162; and Iftikar Malik, *The History of Pakistan* ... 130. Yasmin Khan, however, placed these numbers at twelve million, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 6.

¹⁷Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition* ... 6.

¹⁸Iftikar Malik, *The History of Pakistan* ...130.

Cities and villages were unprepared to accommodate the millions of refugees and soon struggled with massive overcrowding, poverty, environmental degradation, and violent outbursts of ethnic strife. Karachi, which became the “*Muhajir* capital,” had less than half a million people in 1947, but began growing at a staggering pace within weeks of Partition. According to the *Pakistan Statistical Yearbook* Karachi’s population more than doubled by 1951 to over one million, then nearly doubled again in the next decade. By 1971 Karachi’s population reached three and a half million and more than five million by 1981. Other cities including Hyderabad, Lahore, Multan, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Lyallpur (Faisalabad), Sialkot, Sargodha, Okara, and Rahim Yar Khan also witnessed similarly unmanageable numbers of refugees (for a breakdown of population growth by city see Appendix 5).¹⁹

Pakistan’s underlining demographic, economic, political, and security issues led to a popular dissatisfaction with the Muslim League and by 1958 martial law was instituted. This marked a future pattern bouncing between civilian rule and martial law. Certain regimes throughout the 1960s, and 1970s sought to ameliorate Pakistan’s socio-economic situation through land reforms, industrial development, fixed prices on basic goods, as well as an expansion of the civil service sector. These efforts, however, remained nominal. Rather than really concentrating on improving the economy, investing

¹⁹ Absorption of refugees to this large scale would prove trying for any country, but was especially problematic for a country whose administrative system lacked basic resources including manpower, furniture, pencils, and papers. See Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at the Crosscurrent of History*, (England: Oneworld Publications, 2003), 46. The various governments also struggled with the accommodation of ethnic and cultural diversity. Shortly after Partition, ethnic tensions and power struggles rose between the east and west wings of Pakistan. West Pakistan dominated the political and economic process and various governments favoured the west in terms of industrial, national, and economic development much to the detriment of the east. Failure to address legitimate Bengali concerns and needs resulted in a growing sense of Bengali nationalism which subsequently led to a bloody civil war. The result of the war culminated in the succession of East Pakistan and, thus, the creation of a new independent nation, Bangladesh, in March of 1971. Moreover, Pakistan’s ruling governments also faced increasing conflicts among various other ethnic groups in the east including tensions between Punjabis, Sindis, and Muhajirs.

in public projects, increasing social services, or alleviating poverty, successive governments (legitimate or not) chose instead to spend the majority of their inflated budgets on military expansion, defence, and nuclear development. This resulted in disenchantment with the various governing regimes. Unsatisfactory economic conditions, an over-saturated housing market, insufficient social programs, fatigue with war and bloodshed, corrupt politicians, and the threat of chronic poverty led Pakistanis of various socio-economic backgrounds to seek better lives elsewhere. Immigration abroad offered a solution.²⁰

Pakistani Outmigration to the United Kingdom 1950s and 1960s

The Pakistani government generally looked favourably on emigration,²¹ a stance that facilitated the migration of more than three million Pakistanis from the 1950s to the

²⁰ Pakistani outmigration has received little scholarly attention with the exception of a few studies commissioned by Pakistani government institutions and universities along with occasional articles appearing in journals focussed on international migration. The majority of these works, however, discuss contemporary trends and do not focus on time periods prior to the 1980s. For a sample of these works see Pervez Zamurad Janjua (supervisor), *International Migration and Development in Pakistan* (Islamabad: International Institute of Islamic Economics, 2004), <http://www.corddaps.edu.pk/>, accessed 10/10/ 2009; Farooq-i- Azam, "Emigration Dynamics in Pakistan" *International Migration* 33, no. 3-4 (July: 1995): 699-728; Raisul Awal Mahmood, "Emigration Dynamics in Bangladesh" *International Migration* 33, no. 3-4 (July: 1995): 699-728; Pong-Sul Ahn, "Prospects and Challenges of Out-migration from South Asia and its Neighbouring Countries" *Labour and Development* 11, no. 1 (June: 2005):1-33; and "The Pakistani Muslim Community in England: Understanding Muslim Ethnic Communities" (West Yorkshire: Queen's Printer and Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 2009).

²¹ At the same time the Pakistani government did exercise control over those who could take leave and those who could not. Barriers were erected for some categories of professionals, including certain engineers, nuclear scientists, physicists, chemists, or those working in the fields of atomic and nuclear physics. On the other hand, doctors, lawyers, teachers, graduates in the humanities, and unskilled workers could migrate more freely. The desire to keep these professionals supports any early claim where it was stated that Pakistan chose to concentrate on nuclear development at the expense of its social programs. See, National Archives of Canada (henceforth NAC) RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, "Letter to Deputy Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration from the Office of the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs," 26 June, 1962; NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, "Numbered Letter from the Office of the High Commission For Canada to Karachi," 25 July 1965; NAC RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, M.H. Wershof, "Letter from Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (C.M. Isbister)," 4 January, 1965; and NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, "Memorandum to Robert Andras from Mark Macguigan," Visit to departmental offices in Asian and Australia," October 18, 1973.

1970s.²² Approximately two-thirds of that total, particularly during the 1970s, traveled to the oil rich nations of the Middle East,²³ many of whom were unskilled or semi-skilled and provided labour in what one scholar has referred to as the dirtiest, most dangerous and degrading types of work.²⁴ There was a significant number of Pakistanis, however, especially in the two decades after the Partition, who immigrated to Great Britain.²⁵

Following the Second World War Britain adopted a policy of allowing in unrestricted numbers of Commonwealth immigrants, in part to satisfy the country's labour needs. Pakistanis were among those who took advantage of this policy and during the 1950s close to fifteen thousand Pakistani immigrants went to Great Britain.²⁶ Yet more impressive, were the numbers that came during the 1960s and early 1970s as part of a larger wave of Commonwealth citizens bound for Great Britain. Though immigration would be tightened during these years, the country still saw large numbers of people and six million Commonwealth migrants entered Britain. A notable portion of them or over four hundred thousand were Indians and Pakistanis, Pakistanis alone accounted for well over one hundred thousand of these entrants.²⁷

²² Arif Ghayur, "Demographic Evolution of Pakistanis in America: Case Study of a Muslim Subgroup" *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 1, no. 2 (August 1984): 113.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Pong-Sul Ahn, "Prospects and Challenges of Out-migration from South Asia and its Neighbouring Countries" *Labour and Development* 11, no. 1 (June: 2005): 3. Quamar Ali Shah, on the other hand says that migrating to the Middle-East opened avenues for various categories of Pakistani workers, most, however, worked as drivers, electricians, carpenters, masons, welders, steel fixers, plumbers, and painters. See Quamar Ali Shah, "Pakistan: Migrant Workers Coping with Discrimination and Poverty," in *Migrant Workers and Human Rights Out Migration From South Asia* (New Delhi: International Labour Organization, 2004), 133.

²⁵ Farooq-i- Azam actually highlighted early international movements of Pakistanis which began in the 19th century following the abolition of slavery under the British Empire. These migrants provided a source of plantation labour and were generally bound for East Asia and the Caribbean. See Farooq-i-Azam, "Emigration Dynamics ...

²⁶ Hugh Tinker, *The Banyan Tree: Overseas Emigrants From India, Pakistan, And Bangladesh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 167.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 164-165.

Some Pakistanis, or around ten percent, who migrated to Great Britain were professionals or managers.²⁸ The vast majority or close to eighty-five percent, however, were unskilled, illiterate, and from poor rural areas of the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province.²⁹ The motives behind their immigration were economic and temporary in nature.³⁰ They sought to supplement economic resources and ameliorate their living conditions back home with their earnings from abroad. Most sent large portions of their wages home and planned eventually to return themselves. Because they saw their stay in Great Britain as temporary, they were inclined to accept immediate hardship in terms of both their work and their living conditions. Within the British economy, Pakistanis provided a source of cheap industrial labour and most found employment in factories. Some looked to make a living by owning and operating small businesses.³¹

Pakistani experiences in Britain should not be oversimplified, host society responses during the 1950s and especially the 1960s and 1970s were not always favourable toward newcomers. According to sociologist Anthony Richmond, Britons

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 176.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Of note, the main areas represented by Pakistanis in Britain were: Mirpur (NWFP), Attock (NWFP), Nowshera (NWFP), Faisalabad (Punjab), Jhelum (Punjab), Gujrat (Punjab), Rawalpindi (Punjab). We know a great deal about these immigrants largely thanks to a body of pioneering scholarship which includes Badr Dayha, "The Nature of Pakistani Ethnicity in Industrial Cities in Britain," *Urban Ethnicity*, ed. Adner Cohen (London: Tavistock, 1974); Verity Saifullah Khan, "The Pakistanis": The Mirpuri Villagers at Home in Bradford", ed. James L. Watson, *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1977); Muhammad Anwar, *The Myth of Return: Pakistanis in Britain* (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1979); Jeremy Seabrook, "Packie-Stan," *New Society* 15, 395 (April 1970): 677-678; Geoffrey Pearson, "Paki-Bashing" in a North East Lancashire Cotton Town: A Case Study and its History," *Working Class Youth Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976); Alison Shaw, *A Pakistani Community in Britain* (Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988); Suzanne Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice: Irish, Jewish, Italian and Pakistani Immigration to Scotland* (Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2000); and Roger Ballard ed., *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain* (London: Hurst and Co., 1994).

³⁰ Temporary plans often led to permanent stays, a major theme in Muhammad Anwar, *The Myth of Return...*

³¹ For instance, a study in Glasgow pooled seven hundred Pakistani men (a sizeable population at that time) in the mid 1960s and found one hundred and thirty of them worked in rubber and brick factories, while another thirty were employed in the chemical industry. One hundred people in this sample were retail grocers, and fifty one were involved in other retail outlets. See Suzanne Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice ...* 63.

during these years did not approve of liberal immigration laws and were largely against the idea of those from Africa and Asia coming in uncontrolled numbers or at all.³²

Britain's economic troubles in the late 1960s and 1970s, marked by massive industrial disputes, rampant inflation, and high levels of unemployment, worked with general anti-immigrant attitudes to create wide-spread fears. Immigrants bore the brunt of these fears and were generally seen as threats not only to the country's social and cultural value system, but to its precarious economic situation as well. Subsequently, people of colour and Pakistanis in particular became the unfortunate victims of prejudice, including being made the butt of hurtful jokes as well as more serious forms of violence and even fatal incidents of racism (This subject is discussed further in Chapter Three).

Pakistani communities throughout Britain, however, adapted to their circumstances in a variety of ways and developed coping methods and strategies. Ethnic segregation, for instance, was a fundamental way that Pakistanis protected themselves in an unwelcoming climate. While racial discrimination certainly shaped settlement patterns and helped to create ethnic ghettos, some studies suggested that Pakistanis who came to the United Kingdom voluntarily congregated in closed ethnic communities.³³

Evidence of Pakistanis' desire to build their own sense of place and identity within British society could be seen in the number of Pakistani-owned shops and businesses within communities. These ethnic establishments were self-assuring and flourished as the Pakistani presence in urban cities burgeoned through chain migration and sponsorship. British ethnographer Badr Dayha demonstrated that by 1970 in the

³²Anthony Richmond, "Black and Asian Immigrants in Britain and Canada," *New Community* IV, 4 (Winter/Spring 1975-1976): 505.

³³ See the above mentioned works by Badr Dayha, Verity Saifullah Khan, Alison Shaw, and Roger Ballard.

cities of Bradford and Birmingham alone, there were two hundred sixty Pakistani owned and operated businesses. Ethnic establishment generally comprised:

grocers, butchers, cafes, clubs, restaurants, cinemas, places of worship and a public house, travel agencies, laundry and dry cleaning businesses, income tax consultants, information and advisory bureaux, herbalists and astrologers, booksellers, photographic dealers, car and van hire firms, driving schools, secondhand furniture dealers, importers and exporters, drapers and tailors, barbers, jewelers, Pakistani-based banks and insurance companies, plumbers, estate agents, bakers and confectioners, coal merchants, and electrical goods and gramophone records dealers.³⁴

These types of establishments not only encouraged a sense of community and belonging, they also helped Pakistanis (and other South Asians) fend off the forces of assimilation. For many Pakistanis there was little desire to become part of a society they deemed culturally and morally inferior. Discriminatory attitudes and ideas worked bi-directionally here, some Pakistanis despised members of their host society with equal vigour, whether from their own inherent sense of ethnic chauvinism or in response to the disdain they felt from some Britons. Consequently, many Pakistanis chose to keep themselves separate from the mainstream, and recreated ethnic communities to resemble as best they could lifestyles in their native land. Britain, thus, became their home away from home or *desh pardesh*.³⁵ Strong familial or kinship connections, referred to as *biradaris*, further served to protect Pakistanis interests and allowed life in Britain to be perceived “as an extension of life back home.”³⁶ *Biradaris* enabled families to set priorities and plan daily activities much in the same way as they would in Pakistan and

³⁴ Badr Dayha, “The Nature of Pakistani Ethnicity... 91.

³⁵ Roger Ballard ed., *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain* (London: Hurst and Co., 1994).

³⁶ Verity Saifullah Khan, “The Pakistanis ... 58.

helped the community to “survive in Britain rather than disappearing as western observers assumed.”³⁷

By the 1960s and 1970s Pakistani immigration to Britain was stymied through a series of increasingly restrictive immigration regulations. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act was the first of these measures and virtually stopped the free entry of Commonwealth immigrants. Instead a voucher system was created. These vouchers had to be issued by Ministry of Labour and were based on specific labour needs. In 1965, new immigration regulations fixed an annual maximum of eight thousand five hundred vouchers, a proviso that basically halted primary immigration, though immediate family members or dependants were still allowed to come.³⁸ An amending act, in 1968, established additional limits on immigrants which included this time dependants as well as those holding United Kingdom passports issued abroad.³⁹ Further limitations were placed on certain migrants under the Immigration Act of 1971 which gave preference to people who had one or both of their parents born in the United Kingdom.⁴⁰ In 1973, new regulations were introduced confining this familial connection to Commonwealth citizens with a grandparent in the United Kingdom.⁴¹ The intended targets for these harsh restrictions were indeed African and Asian Commonwealth members, and as such it became increasingly difficult for these people to immigrate to the United Kingdom.

New immigration policies worked contemporaneously with a more racialized climate to make Britain a less popular choice among Pakistanis and others, who now sought migration options elsewhere. One example of how some Pakistanis, particularly

³⁷ Alison Shaw, *A Pakistani Community in Britain* ... 2-3.

³⁸ Hugh Tinker, *the Banyan Tree*...169-170.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Anthony Richmond, “Black and Asian Immigrants ... 501-502.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

those with educations and middle class aspirations, became disenchanted with circumstances in Great Britain and thus chose to migrate to Canada could be seen in the story of Charles Fernandez.⁴²

Fernandez was part of a large Karachi family that he described as well-off. Being “well-off” or even part of the middle class in Karachi during this time generally translated into a standard of living which included a large Bungalow styled house made of cement and brick, several bedrooms, a modern kitchen, living room, and bathroom. People from these socio-economic backgrounds usually had a full-time staff at their disposal that cooked, cleaned, and gardened, the very rich also employed chauffeurs. In an interview, Fernandez was not explicit about his specific living conditions while growing up, but he stated that his family was well respected and that he and all of his siblings did well in school.

In 1956, as a young man, Fernandez completed his bachelor’s degree in Pakistan and moved to Britain to further his education. He began working there for a successful real estate agency. He enjoyed working for the firm, was pleased with his salary, and shared a mutual respect for his colleagues. He married Dorothy, a Pakistani woman, whom he met at a dance in London and with whom he later had two children.

His initial successes, however, were soon offset by a series of humiliating experiences in racism and prejudice that took place outside of his work and home environments. According to Fernandez during the 1960s “racism in England [was] very open”⁴³ He remembered instances in which people refused to sit beside him and his family on the bus and subway cars. He also discussed upsetting signs placed in business

⁴²Oral History Collection, Multicultural History Society of Ontario (hereafter MSHO) sample, interview with Charles Fernandez.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

windows and rental lots saying “Asians need not apply.” Perhaps one of his more disappointing memories concerned his wife, who was being harassed constantly by one of their neighbours regarding “her people” and their “curry smells.”⁴⁴ Fernandez concluded that the British climate was not only “overly hostile,” but living there meant that he and his family “could not feel completely free.”⁴⁵ So as soon as his qualifications as a chartered accountant were finished he sought to return to Karachi. “I wanted to qualify and go back home,” he recalled.⁴⁶

Fernandez and his family did return to Pakistan sometime in the 1960s. Back in his family’s home in Karachi, Fernandez and his wife enjoyed a dignified lifestyle. But Fernandez was eager to be independent and establish his own home and build a career. When his attempts to find satisfying employment in Pakistan did not materialize, he thought again of migrating, this time to Canada. This was a bold move since the Pakistani community in Canada was in its infancy and Fernandez and his wife had only one contact, Charles’s cousin in Toronto. Though their social network was sparse, they were not discouraged and decided that “Canada [was] going to be [their] home.”⁴⁷ Fernandez was confident that because of his university training, qualifications, and skills he would find apposite employment and be well on his way to enjoying a high standard of living, one even better than what he was accustomed to in Pakistan.

Opening the Door: Progressive National Policies in the 1960s and 1970s

Charles Fernandez and others like him could be optimistic about their decision to immigrate to North America, in part, due to profound changes taking place throughout

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

the continent. The 1960s was marked by a culture of civil and human rights. During this decade the United Nations spearheaded a global movement and asked for international co-operation with regard to peace-keeping, decolonization, eliminating racial inequality, refugee resettlement, and humanitarianism. Both the United States and Canada were influenced by these shifts. The United States, for one, was in the midst of a civil rights revolution during the 1960s, the outcome of which would fundamentally challenge a long tradition of racial nationalism. First, the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawed segregation and later, in 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act to prohibit state laws from being manipulated to keep southern Blacks from voting. In Canada, Prime Minister John George Diefenbaker and the Conservatives presented the Canadian Bill of Rights in 1960, which gave formal recognition to the equality of all Canadians regardless of race, colour, sex, and religion.

Immigration policies in both of these countries also began to reflect more humanitarian and democratic approaches. As an extension of the “Great Society” Congress passed the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act which abolished racist features of the 1924 National Origins Act and reaffirmed under the Nationality Act of 1952. The new Act eliminated the marginal quotas reserved for non-White, non-European countries and established an annual intake of one hundred seventy thousand immigrants from countries outside of the Western hemisphere.⁴⁸ People who demonstrated good skills, a strong education, and close family connections to those living in the United

⁴⁸ George Donelson Moss, *Moving On: The American People Since 1945*, 2nd ed. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 2001), 184.

States were now deemed eligible prospects.⁴⁹ Race or national origin was no longer supposed to guide the selection process.

Canada, like its neighbour to the South, also re-evaluated its immigration policies. In 1962, several years before the United States, the Canadian government introduced modifications to its immigration policies through regulatory measures that reduced racial biases found in the Immigration Act. New initiatives criticized certain discretionary powers given to the Governor in Council and scrutinized clauses particularly those found under section 61. This section gave the Governor-in-Council the right to prohibit or limit the admission of persons by reason of nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, or class.⁵⁰ Those with “peculiar customs, habits or modes of life” could also be rejected from the Canadian immigration process.⁵¹ The Governor in Council was also permitted to refuse people on the basis of “unsuitability having regard to the climate, economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health and other conditions or requirements existing, temporarily or otherwise, in Canada or in any country from through which such persons come to Canada.”⁵² The final clause of the section read that anyone who was “[unable] to become readily assimilated or assume the duties and responsibilities of a Canadian citizen,” could also be barred from entering the country.⁵³

Modifications in the policy were expected to curb these types of unrestricted powers. Furthermore, quota arrangements forged between the Canadian, Indian, Pakistani, and Ceylonese Governments, in 1951, that restricted the number of South

⁴⁹ Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, vol.2 (New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1993), 835.

⁵⁰ Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *The Immigration Act and Regulations*, 1952.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Asian entries were also re-evaluated.⁵⁴ In 1960 a confidential memorandum from R.B. Bryce, the secretary of cabinet, supported the idea of allowing in larger numbers of immigrants from the developing world and asked the Prime Minister to reconsider the country's immigration policy and quota arrangements:

...[immigration] should include if possible a large diversity of talents and skills that we feel will contribute to the variety and interest of our national life; it should include a fairly substantial sprinkling of coloured people deliberately included to make evident that we do not object to them on principle. Perhaps we could afford, even now, to broaden the small quotas we already provide for persons from Indian, Pakistan, and Ceylon...⁵⁵

While these quotas were not officially revoked until 1967, by 1962 "enlarged provisions" were made for people coming from these South Asian countries, providing they were well qualified.⁵⁶ New regulations now placed a "primary stress on education, training, and skills as the main conditions of admissibility regardless of country of origin."⁵⁷

⁵⁴These numbers included one hundred fifty immigrants from India, one hundred from Pakistan, and fifty from Ceylon, see "Agreement between Canada and Pakistan," *Treaty Series*, no. 1, 1951. It should also be noted that by 1957 the quota for India was doubled, see NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, "Outgoing Message" Department of External Affairs, Canada, 7 May, 1957. The Pakistani government responded to this by requesting that their quota be doubled as well, see NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, Nasim Haider "Letter from Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relation Karachi," 21 May, 1957. The Canadian government refused to increase Pakistan's quotas. This may have had to do with the fact that it saw the request as part of a political contest between Pakistan and India. More importantly, up until this point, Pakistanis unlike Indians, were not maximizing their allotted places, see NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, M.O. Moran, "Numbered Letter from Office of the High Commissioner for Canada to Karachi subject Canada-Pakistan Immigration Agreement," Department of External Affairs, 25 July, 1958; and NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from the Director of Immigration, "Immigration from Pakistan," 9 December, 1960.

⁵⁵ Canada, Documents on Canadian External Relations, "Memorandum from Secretary to Cabinet to Prime Minister," April 4 1960, 1292.

⁵⁶Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 January 1962, 9. See also NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, "Letter to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Rawalpindi from the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs," 24 October 1967. This letter mentioned that since 1963 the Canadian government had been allowing in Pakistani immigrants in excess of the agreed quotas.

⁵⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 January 1962, 9.

Elaborating on the 1962 policy modifications, in 1967 the Pearson government initiated the acclaimed “Canadian points system,” a system which sought to further limit discretionary judgements by rating immigrants on seemingly objective criteria. Points were awarded to immigrants in nine categories: education, experience, specific vocational preparation, occupational demand, labour market balance, age, arranged employment or designated occupation, competence in one of both official languages, and personal suitability. Qualified people of colour could now apply for immigration to Canada and be assessed, theoretically, on a level playing field with White prospects.

Canada’s formal commitment to equality, democracy, and justice was further established in the 1971 policy of multiculturalism. The policy promised to create a just society for all and break down discriminatory attitudes as well as various forms of cultural jealousies. Moreover, through this policy Canada would negotiate a new sense of cultural identity that would include its various diverse immigrant, ethnic, cultural, and religious groups as opposed to a narrow focus on the duality of its two so-called founding cultures: English and French. The government pledged its support to these principles in four key ways:

1. The Government of Canada will support all of Canada’s cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.
2. The government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.
3. The government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.
4. The government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada’s official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, October 8, 1971, 8546.

In 1976 the federal government also put forth a new Immigration Act. This statute replaced the archaic legislative framework of previous acts and defined Canadian immigration in terms of the country's economic and demographic needs, non-discrimination, humanitarian objectives, and family reunification.

New immigration initiatives and the policy of multiculturalism were not without discrepancies, incongruities, and biases, a subject that will be explored in detail in the following chapter. Nonetheless, new national policies diversified Canada's cultural composition. Pakistanis were part of a wave in which unprecedented numbers of immigrants of colour came, and from 1967 to 1979 over eighteen thousand Pakistanis immigrated to Canada (see Appendix 6). Although Pakistanis bound for the United States during these same years outnumbered those coming to Canada (at just under thirty thousand, see Appendix 7), many who chose Canada did so for particular reasons.

For some, Canada was a much better alternative than the United States because of its shared colonial experience within the British Empire; an experience that many felt would familiarize them with various Canadian institutions and ease the transition into their adopted homeland. According to historian Milton Israel it was only natural for Pakistanis coming to Canada to think this way since the "educated elite had already experienced more than a century of acculturation that informed their view of the world and gave them confidence in their ability to move about it."⁵⁹

Moreover, as members of the Commonwealth, Canada held a position of respect among political leaders in Pakistan. In 1950, when touring North America Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, spoke in the Canadian House of Commons of the two countries shared values and common principles:

⁵⁹Milton Israel, "Pakistanis" ... 1031.

I know that in Canada I am among friends and speaking to people who are in the same family circle... Your great country and our young state both belong to the Commonwealth of Nations. ...It is enough for me to know that they basically [have] the same constitution, even though one is a monarchy and one is a republic...[they] subscribe to the common principles of democracy, freedom and peace. ...⁶⁰

Khan further highlighted that as members of the Commonwealth both countries were part of those “leading the world” in establishing a “brotherhood of men, irrespective of race, creed or colour.”⁶¹

Pakistanis in Canada

Liberal policies, colonial ties to the British Empire, and membership in the Commonwealth were among the reasons Pakistanis felt optimistic about immigrating to Canada during the 1960s and 1970s. It should be mentioned that few Pakistanis came to Canada prior to these decades. Some evidence suggests that a handful of Pakistanis came to Canada with early Sikh settlers in the late nineteenth century.⁶² South Asian immigration, however, was halted early in the twentieth century. It was not until the late 1940s that complete exclusion was lifted and quotas were established for some of these immigrants. Pakistanis, during the 1950s and the early 1960s, came under the “quota system,” though it is difficult to exact how many. In most cases Pakistanis only filled

⁶⁰ *Pakistan the Heart of Asian: Speeches by Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister of Pakistan During a Visit to the United States and Canada, May to June 1950* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950), 121-122.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² See Milton Israel, “Pakistanis... 1030; and Sadiq Awan, *People of Indus Valley* ... 53. Also of interest, one of the first documented “Pakistani” immigrants in Canada was Amanat Ali Khan, he was from a territory in the Punjab assigned to Pakistan after the Partition. He came to Vancouver in the early 1900s. His interview with Sadiq Awan gave a detailed account of what it was like to be a Muslim in what he described as a Sikh dominated society. Khan observed that regardless of religio-cultural differences the early South Asian community was able to bond and forge important friendships that transcended these divergences. Amanat Ali Khan, interview by Sadiq Awan Vancouver, c. 1980.

sixty percent of their one hundred allotted spaces per year.⁶³ Thus, the collective total of those who came, in these years, was well under one thousand. Moreover, many were sojourners or students who did not necessarily stay in Canada permanently.⁶⁴ Hence, while there were trickles of Pakistanis who came throughout the years, real interest in coming to Canada did not begin until the mid 1960s.⁶⁵

The first significant wave of Pakistanis to Canada was made up of thousands of young professionals from middle and upper middle class backgrounds. Their decisions to move to Canada were shaped by a variety of factors. For some of them, the motivation was politics, a desire for independence, an interest in travel, a sense of adventure, or other quality of life issues.⁶⁶ Still, for many Pakistani women, the decision the move to Canada was often a function of marital status (see Chapter 5). Overwhelmingly, however, Pakistani immigration was driven by a powerful middle class desire for educational and economic opportunity.⁶⁷

A comparison between Pakistani immigration to Great Britain in the 1950s and 1960s and the migration to Canada in the 1960s and 1970s clearly underscores this

⁶³ NAC, RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, G.M. Mitchell, Director, Operations, "Manpower and Immigration Operations in Pakistan, 21 August, 1972. This was further confirmed by looking at the handwritten lists with respect to Pakistani immigration under the quota system, from 1951 until 1962, there were blank spaces where names could be written and the totals were rarely equal to one hundred. See NAC RG 76 Vol. 714, "Pakistan Quota System," List of names and occupations, 1951-1962). See also Milton Israel, "Pakistani" ... 1030.

⁶⁴ Regarding education and students it is important to note that the bulk of early Pakistani immigrants had university degrees, and came to Canada to pursue graduate studies or obtain further specialization in their fields of interest. Certain Canadian universities, particularly McGill and the University of Toronto, were internationally renowned and attracted a number of foreign students, including Pakistanis. Moving to Canada was a way for some aspiring Pakistani students to attend "prestigious" universities giving them a more recognizable academic portfolio for back home. See Sadiq Awan, *People of the Indus Valley...* Chapter Four.

⁶⁵ NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, G.M. Mitchell, "Manpower and Immigration Operations in Pakistan," 28 August 1972.

⁶⁶ Sadiq Awan, *The People of the Indus Valley* ... 64, and Milton Israel, "Pakistanis" ... 1031.

⁶⁷ Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Pakistanis in Michigan: A Study of Third Culture and Acculturation* (New York: AMS Press, 1986) 66; Milton Israel, "Pakistanis" ... 1031; and Sadiq Awan, "People of the Indus... 64.

middle class theme. While the great majority of Pakistani migrants to Great Britain were from poor, rural regions and found employment as factory workers or similar unskilled positions, Pakistanis arriving in Canada were overwhelmingly urban and relatively affluent, most of them coming from the cities of Lahore and Karachi.⁶⁸ These cities had the highest rates of literacy in Pakistan and served as vital educational, cultural, and industrial centres. These “urban Pakistanis,” a term used by sociologist Iftikhar Malik, were generally accustomed to highly westernized institutions, open to cultural exchanges, and were not only fluent in either Punjabi or Urdu (or both) but English as well.⁶⁹ Financing travel to Canada was not particularly burdensome, and by this time almost all arrived by plane rather than ship (see Appendix 8). Also, many could maintain international ties with relative ease by returning to Pakistan for family visits or other purposes, and or paying for family members to come and visit with them in Canada. Moreover, unlike their unschooled and unskilled contemporaries bound for Britain, Pakistani immigrants to Canada were highly qualified for work in middle class and professional occupations. In the years 1966, 1967, and 1968 more than fifty percent of all Pakistanis coming to Canada destined for the labour force were professionals, from 1969-1974, numbers remained high ranging from forty to forty-five percent. These percentages were comparably higher than many other immigrant groups (see Chapter Two).

⁶⁸Milton Israel indicated that most Pakistanis who immigrated to Canada were either Punjabis or *Muhajirs*; see *Encyclopedia of Canada's People*...1030. Since the majority of *Muhajirs* migrated to Karachi, Sind, one can deduce that many Pakistanis came from Karachi to Canada. Also, a survey conducted by Sadiq Awan in 1971, indicated that close to seventy percent of Pakistani immigrants came from the Punjab or Sind. Though Punjabis and *Mohajirs* comprised the largest number of Pakistani immigrants to Canada, some Pakistanis also came to from Baluchistan; see Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, “International Arranged Marriages,” (Ottawa: Indo Canadian Women’s Association, 2005), 4.

⁶⁹ Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Pakistanis in Michigan* ...29,86, 95

Pakistani migrants to Canada and Britain also envisioned their move in another fundamentally different way. While Pakistani British immigrants often saw their journey as temporary, the great majority of Pakistanis who settled in Canada viewed their move as permanent.⁷⁰ Therefore, while British Pakistanis were less interested in assimilation and more willing to endure exploitive conditions that they saw as temporary, Pakistanis in Canada wanted, and believed they deserved, a high standard of living and were more focused on becoming part of the social mainstream.

This strong desire to be incorporated into the mainstream could be seen in a variety of ways. Loewen and Friesen's study on immigrants in prairie cities found that professional immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s, including Pakistanis and other South Asians, sought rapid integration into middle-class Canadian culture. This process was expedited by the fact that these immigrants experienced "urban and technologically advanced communities in Asia, South America, or Africa" and that they represented "skilled, educated, resourceful and heavily anglicized middle-classes."⁷¹ The situation was much the same for Pakistanis in Toronto. In newspapers, symposia proceedings, interviews with members of Toronto's Pakistani community and other sources, there is clear evidence of a very strong desire to contribute to, and be considered part of, the social, economic, and cultural mainstream. Sadiq Awan, for example, argued that Pakistanis were well prepared in terms of their educational background and their excellent command of English to be "successful in their economic, social, and cultural life in Canada."⁷² Anwar Nasim, a medical doctor and the first president of the NFPC, linked professional status to issues of adaptability and fitting into the new Canadian

⁷⁰ Sadiq Awan, *The People of the Indus Valley*... 179.

⁷¹ Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairies Cities*... 123.

⁷² Sadiq Awan, *The People of The Indus Valley*... 70.

climate. He argued that a high regard for academia and professional backgrounds would certainly garner respect for the “Pakistani community” by other Canadians and would therefore help them integrate into Canada’s socio-economic fabric.⁷³

Pako-Canadian desires to enter the social, cultural and economic mainstream could also be seen in their settlement patterns. Unlike their counterparts in Britain, Pakistani Canadians generally sought to avoid living in ethnic enclaves. Loewen and Friesen found this to be the case for South Asians in the Prairies. They found South Asians scattered throughout Prairie cities, so much so “that one could hardly find two [South Asian] families living on the same street.”⁷⁴ This trend applied to Toronto as well. Pakistani immigrants in Toronto did not segregate residentially preferring instead to spread across the city. Sadiq Awan noted that “scattering’ throughout the city and living closer to other fellow Canadians was actually a “healthy sign” and a decision that would “speed [Pakistani] integration into the Canadian life-style.”⁷⁵

One woman interviewed for this study, Sultana Begum, clearly shared the same point of view. During the 1970s, she and her husband choose to settle in Toronto specifically because it was a multicultural city in which Pakistani enclaves did not exist. For her, diverse cultural exchanges were of utmost importance as she expressed poignantly:

Wherever I rented a house or bought a home my neighbours have always been Canadians or other races. Not Pakistanis. One culture (referring to Pakistani) does not appeal to me. I like a mix. My husband and me (sic) always thought it

⁷³ Anwar Nasim, “Reflections on Community Development: Need for the Pakistan Center”, in the *Perspectives of a New Homeland Pakistanis in Canada: Proceedings of the First National Symposium (National Federation of Pakistani Canadians) held in Montreal, Quebec September 1983*, ed. I.A. Mirza (Montreal: Canada, 1983), 16.

⁷⁴ Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairies Cities*...123.

⁷⁵ Sadiq Awan, *The People of The Indus Valley* ... 68.

good. We like our culture and everything, but we are not too much attached. We are very opens people. This is for this reasons we like so much Toronto. We like to learn new things, new peoples, new cultures...⁷⁶

Some members of the Pakistani Toronto community openly criticized those wishing to remain separate from the mainstream, a point that was articulated by Pako-Canadian Khalid Bin Saeed as he spoke at the multicultural symposium in 1976. He went to great lengths to distinguish Canadian Pakistanis from Pakistanis in other parts of the world, mainly Britain. With a certain degree of snobbery he noted that:

The professionals who came [to Canada] from Pakistan [were] very different from the Pakistanis who were brought to Britain. The latter originate from the lower classes. It [became] therefore difficult for the British to stimulate an economy with Pakistanis of that background.⁷⁷

Essentially, Saeed ignored the fact that many Pakistanis did indeed provide a significant source of work for Britain during a time of great labour shortages. Rather, he insisted that since Pakistanis in Canada were overwhelmingly professionals, they were somehow more important to their new country's socio-economic development and, were thus, more inclined toward integration.⁷⁸

Another speaker at the same 1976 symposium, Kathija Haffagee, also encouraged her fellow Pakistanis, women in particular, to seek full integration into Canadian society. "Let's abandon that old 'self-centeredness,'" she declared, "and get where the action is:

⁷⁶ Sultana Begum, [pseudo.], interview by author, Markham Ont., May 19 2005. I would also like to note that I preserved the original manner in which Pakistanis' expressed their views, sentiments, and experiences. In other words I did not alter their phrases, nor did I correct certain grammatical issues.

⁷⁷ Khalid Bin Saeed, "Canadians and Pakistanis: Their Mutual Expectations," in the *Proceedings of the First National Multicultural Symposium (Canada-Pakistan Association) Held in Ottawa, Ontario 30-31 July 1976*, ed. S.N. Awan (Ottawa: Canada, 1976), 34.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 35.

the total Canadian community.”⁷⁹ Pakistanis, she advised, should not to be defined by their own ethno-cultural lines and instead should seek involvement in mainstream culture:

It is important that Pakistani women participate and contribute to activities that affect not only their immediate environment but that have a bearing on Canada and the Canadian quality of life. ...And this is crucial... It is mainly through interpersonal relations that we can motivate other Pakistani-Canadians to also become actively interested in matters affecting our new country and thereby achieve recognition from other groups.⁸⁰

Khalid Saeed argued even further that integration was not just an advantage for Canada’s Pakistanis, but contributed significantly to a higher national, social, and moral purpose:

We don’t want to seek shelter in a cultural island and minimize our cultural transitions. To the contrary, we want to contribute to each other’s cultural richness by teaching and learning, by telling Canadians what we stand for and at the same time extending our arm and hearts to learn from Canada. This is what the civilizing process is all about.⁸¹

It would be unjust, he went on to assert, for Pako-Canadians to withdraw in their own “insular shells” when they were fortunate enough to be part of a society that promoted multiculturalism and thus did not force assimilation into one monolithic culture.⁸² Rafiq Ahmed, in an interview with the *Toronto Star*, shared this perspective. According to Ahmed Canada’s uniqueness and its appeal to Pakistanis lay in “its policy of allowing immigrants to retain their own culture and traditions.”⁸³ While Pakistanis intended to maintain certain cultural elements, they were open to adopting certain western

⁷⁹ Kathija Haffajee, “The Changing Role of Pakistani Women in the Canadian Society” in the *Proceedings of the First National Multicultural Symposium (Canada-Pakistan Association) Held in Ottawa, Ontario 30-31 July 1976*, ed. S.N. Awan (Ottawa: Canada, 1976), 30.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Khalid Bin Saeed, “Canadians and Pakistanis ... 37

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Dale Brazao “Racism costs top salesman his livelihood,” *Toronto Star*, March 21, 1977.

ways. Ahmed stated; “Our attitude is to keep our good things, and learn more good things. ...I will encourage my children to get involved and learn all good things of the Western World...”⁸⁴

Still another example of Pako-Canadian integration, according to Sadiq Awan, was their involvement in mainstream activities and events. He observed that Pakistanis participated in a host of social activities. His statement was supported with survey findings indicating that Pakistanis enjoyed leisure activities with other Canadians, read mostly Canadian and American newspapers and periodicals, watched Canadian winter sports, some took up skiing, while others went camping and enjoyed outdoor life.⁸⁵

One Pakistani immigrant, Taqi Ahsan, who moved to Canada from Karachi at the age of 67, supported Awan’s claim. He proudly described himself as adaptable and reported taking up certain activities to ensure that his time was well-occupied. Taking a job as a crossing guard, playing tennis, and gardening were activities that placed Ahsan in direct contact with members of the broader community, something he appeared to cherish. Ahsan stated that due to these hobbies, especially tennis, he was able forge many important friendships that crossed ethno-cultural and religious boundaries. In reference to such friends Ahsan stated; “We meet every day, we say hello to each other. We have the friendliest feelings for each other. I feel that I have so many friends here.”⁸⁶

Waheed Ud Din, who was in Toronto during the 1960s, was another example of a Pakistani newcomer who spoke affectionately of the culturally, religiously, and ethnically diverse people he was able to meet, and the social life he enjoyed as a result of their

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Sadiq Awan, *The People of Pakistani Origin in Canada: The First Quarter Century* (Ottawa: Canada Pakistani Association, 1976), 6. Iftikhar Malik made a similar observation for Pakistanis in Michigan; see Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Pakistanis in Michigan ...* 96.

⁸⁶ MSHO sample, interview with Taqi Ahsan.

friendship. In his published memoirs, Din spoke of a particularly close bond with the Lazlos, Hungarian immigrants, whom he briefly rented a room from. Despite this short living arrangement, when he left their house he remained in close contact with them. Not only did he consider them part of his family, but he also remembered enjoying numerous activities with them, especially watching Hockey Night in Canada on a regular basis with Mr. Lazlo in the family living room “practically every” Saturday Night.⁸⁷ The Alimans, a Jewish family who lived on Toronto’s Lakeshore Drive, was another family who made a great impression on Din.⁸⁸ Din recalled many engaging conversations, dinners, and casual meetings with them. Din was explicit to say that these friendships were an important source of comfort for him and helped for a smooth and pleasant transition into his new adopted homeland.

Blending into mainstream culture had a special meaning for Pakistani Canadians. For some it meant, embracing multiculturalism, forming new friendships, participating in a wide range of intercultural activities, and eschewing ethnic residential enclaves. At the same time, however, it was inevitable that Pako-Canadians would also find ways to uphold their ethnic identity and build institutions that fostered a sense of community. By the mid-1970s, many commercial enterprises catering to Indo-Pakistanis began appearing across the Greater Toronto Area. By the end of the decade the city contained more than one hundred-sixty⁸⁹ grocery stores, restaurants, cafes, clothing and textile enterprises, accounting services, auto repair shops, real estate and travel agencies, jewellery boutiques, music stores, cinemas and other businesses that served the Indo-Pakistani

⁸⁷ Waheed Ud Din, *The Marching Bells: A Journey of a Life Time* (Indianapolis: AuthorHouse, 2011), 95 and 137.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁸⁹ This is a rough estimate based on advertisements found in South Asian directories and community newsletters, which are detailed in the corresponding Appendix.

population (see Appendix 9). It is difficult to designate such enterprises as Indian or Pakistani but by using the business names or owners' names, target clientele, and self-admission as indicators it appeared that at least forty of these businesses were Pakistani or Indo-Muslim.

These businesses could be found throughout the city along Bathurst, Bloor, Danforth, Dundas, Dupont, Gerrard, King, Lawrence, Pape, Queen, and Yonge. There were notable concentrations of Indo-Pakistani businesses on sections of Yonge and Bloor. Eventually, Gerrard Street East became the leading center of Indo-Pakistani commerce (see Appendix 9 and 10). By 1979 it was a major shopping district that included over thirty restaurants, grocery and general stores, jewellery, clothing and fabric boutiques, music, electronic, appliance and furniture stores, as well as a print shop and an Urdu/Hindi theatre.

Toronto's Pako-Canadian population, as powerfully as it was attracted to the idea of living and working within the mainstream, still found ample reason to be drawn to Gerrard Street East.⁹⁰ Charles Fernandez spoke with great fondness of his attachment to the neighborhood. "... Of course we go to Gerrard Street. We love it. ...We take our

⁹⁰An article appearing in the *Globe and Mail* provided a look into what a typical Indo-Pakistani restaurant during the 1970s may have looked like. Though not situated on Gerrard Street, Samina Abdullah's restaurant, "Samina's Tiffin Room," was described as warm, welcoming and reinforcing of the importance of food, family, and hospitality in Pakistani culture. See, Joanne Kates, "Samina's Tiffin Room an Indian Gem at bargain prices," *Globe and Mail*, July 28, 1975. Also of interest, the way some restaurants advertised spoke to the importance of certain Pakistani and Bangladeshi cultural elements. Advertisements were sure to reinforce the ideals of hospitality and a home-like feel. This came through in the manner that the Golden Bengal restaurant was presented. The advertisement read; "We have just opened our newly renovated air conditioned restaurant for Indian, Pakistani and Bangla Desh Dishes. Our dishes are made with the finest ingredients available and prepared personally by myself Mashud Siddique. Guaranteed you will like my dishes. My dear wife Bushra will be proud to serve you personally in a pleasant family like environment." See *Viewpoint*, "Golden Bengal Advertisement," September 1978.

visitors from the States when they come down... [We] just love it.”⁹¹ Remembering his early years in Canada, Fernandez spoke of his attachment to the various restaurants, movie “halls” and he especially recalled how much he enjoyed “eating of the *paan*.”⁹²

Parveen Abdul also had good memories of time spent on Gerrard. For her the colours, smells, and people reminded her of Pakistan:

Being at Gerrard was like Pakistan a little. You could bump with (sic) people and talk about ...you know all the stuff... It was very nice. You could find all authentic things. Some stores even had same same (sic) fragrance.⁹³

In addition to building a sense of community around Gerrard Street East, many Pakistanis also began to construct their own voluntary organizations. In the 1960s and early 1970s that process had been slow, a situation underscored by one plea for a more cohesive Pako-Canadian community in a 1972 newsletter:

When we assess our position as a community in Canada, we find that we have no status as an ethnic group. ... Turning now to the specific problems and challenges that we are faced with are that we have no immigrants’ aid society, no school for Islamic education of our children. No community centre, no radio and T.V. programs. These and many other projects need our urgent attention. So far we have failed to meet these challenges because we are neither organized nor united. Unity is the need of our community...⁹⁴

This situation slowly began to change as more Pakistanis immigrated to Canada and by the mid-1970s there were several institutions, organizations, and associations including, The Ontario Association of Pakistani Canadians, the Pakistani People’s Association, the Pakistan Study Circle, the Urdu Society of Canada, the Pakistani Community Aid Center, the Pakistan Cultural Association, along with the Toronto branch

⁹¹MHSO sample, interview with Charles Fernandez.

⁹²*Ibid.*

⁹³ Abdul, Parveen, [pseudo.], interview by author, Mississauga, Ont., March 8 2004.

⁹⁴ *The Voice of Pakistan*, “Unity in Community,” June 15, 1972.

of the Pakistan Canada Association, that contributed to building a sense of community among Pako-Canadians. Since the Pakistani community was in its infancy regional, ethnic, and cultural differences were generally put aside as these institutions provided an essential outlet for Pako-Torontonians to gather and participate in a number of activities.⁹⁵ Collectively or individually such organizations and associations hosted parties and other gatherings that allowed Pakistani Torontonians to celebrate a variety of common cultural events, religious holidays, and national festivals. The Pakistan Study Circle was particularly well-known for its regular “Tea Parties” in which attendants were treated to an evening of refreshments along with guest speakers, poetry, *ghazals*, and *mushairas*.⁹⁶ The Urdu Society of Canada offered a similar forum, promoting the “literature, cultural, and secular aspirations of Urdu-Speaking people,” in monthly meetings devoted to discussion and analysis of significant literary, scholarly, and artistic Urdu works.⁹⁷

The main objectives for many of these associations and organizations was to function as conduits for members of the Pakistani community to preserve and promote their unique identities, and add to the cultural, economic, and social development of their adopted homeland. The Canada-Pakistan Association, for example, urged Pakistanis to be proud of their cultural heritage while simultaneously encouraging its members to be

⁹⁵ An important observation must be made. This encompassing outlook may not have included class. The majority of these organizations were formed by professionals. As such members reflected this demographic. It is difficult to know how non-professionals fit into these groups. Some evidence, illustrated in Chapter Five through oral testimonies, demonstrated that elitism existed and non-professionals were not made to feel welcomed and were looked down upon by some members of these groups. Also, there is little evidence to suggest that non-Muslim Pakistanis were well represented or served by these establishments, though an interview with Sadiq Awan indicated that the Canada Pakistan Association did have a few Christian members.

⁹⁶ For a sample announcement for one of these events see *Crescent*, June 15, 1977.

⁹⁷ M.H.K. Qureshi, “Urdu in Canada,” *Polyphony*, vol. 12 (1990): 36.

“positive contributors to the multicultural mosaic of Canada.”⁹⁸ The organization’s mission statement called on all Pako-Canadian associations to support four major objectives:

1. To assist Pakistani immigrants in adjusting to their new country.
2. To provide a medium for the preservation and normal evolution of basic social and religious values.
3. To provide a medium for cultural and personal exchange between these new Canadians and other minority or socially dominant groups in the community.
4. To identify and implement measures by which Pakistani Canadians can contribute effectively to the Canadian community.⁹⁹

One of the most important vehicles for connecting Pakistanis with each other, and building stronger bonds with Canadian society at the same time, was the Toronto-base newspaper, *Crescent*. Founded by Lateef and Zahida Owaisi in 1972 and published for the first year under the name *The Voice of Pakistan*, *Crescent*’s goal from the beginning was to be a central voice in the Pakistani community. One of its main objectives was to help members of the Pako-Canadian community to keep abreast of international affairs, particularly with respect to Pakistan. The newspaper frequently detailed Pakistan’s economic, political, and social problems and informed Pako-Canadians about what they might do to ease the burdens of their former country. *Crescent* also provided its readers with information on Canada’s current affairs. This usually took the form of profiling prominent Canadian political figures, reporting on federal and provincial political contests, and discussing government policies especially those concerning immigration and multiculturalism.

⁹⁸ <http://pakcan.com> Accessed 29/02/2011. This point was also confirmed by Sadiq Awan, a founding member of the association, in a personal interview over the telephone on 17/03/2012.

⁹⁹ *Proceedings of the First National Multicultural Symposium (Canada-Pakistan Association) Held in Ottawa, Ontario 30-31 July 1976*, ed. S.N. Awan (Ottawa: Canada, 1976), vii.

Crescent also served as an avenue for various Pakistani associations and organizations to announce upcoming events. Members of the community were informed of meetings, parties, religious celebrations, movie nights, *mushairas*, and other special occasions. Readers were also given details about upcoming Toronto concerts and poetry recitations performed by famous Pakistani artists such as Mehdi Hasan and Faiz Ahmed. Announcements regarding lectures by well known Pakistani intellectuals and Islamic leaders were also featured throughout the newsletter.

The newspaper also connected its readership with the broader Pako-Canadian community by profiling prominent members, such as Sharif Khan and Sultan Hasan Khan who were presented with an award by *Crescent* in recognition of their outstanding community service.¹⁰⁰ It also played a role in raising funds for those in need, and reported community news such as the death of members. The paper kept its readers in touch with the broader Islamic community as well and wrote about various mosques openings not only in the Toronto area, but in other Canadian and American cities. It printed a regular column entitled “Sayings of Muhammad (PBUH) The Last Prophet,” that instructed Muslims on proper codes of conduct. The column emphasized how, through the teachings of Muhammad, people should strive for virtues such as love, kindness, charity, modesty, hospitality, cleanliness, and compassion, while on the other hand, avoid envy, usury, hoarding, hypocrisy, ostentation, and gossip.

Another major benefit offered by the newspaper was a classified section which catered to members of Toronto’s Pakistani community. This section announced apartments for rent, job opportunities, as well as Indo-Pakistani Muslim men and women

¹⁰⁰ *Crescent*, “*Crescent* Man of the Year,” March 15, 1979. It should be mentioned that other Canadians, who were not Pakistani, were also recognized with this honour. James Carson received this award for coming to the defence of two South Asian men who were being beaten in a racial assault.

seeking marital partners: the latter comprised the bulk of the classified section.¹⁰¹ This way of requesting a marriage partner was novel for Pakistanis and, thus, offered an alternative to traditional arranged marriages (a subject that is explored further in Chapter Five). Matrimonial ads focussed on Indo-Pakistani Muslim professionals residing in Canada and the United States and were written by men and women who provided a brief description of themselves along with what they were looking for in a spouse. A sample of these ads included:

- 30 year old Karachi born Muslim engineer who is well-placed searching for a qualified or professional Pakistani girl.
- 29 year old Pakistani Canadian professional engineer seeking a charming well-educated Muslim woman residing in North America.
- Well established professional male with a modern outlook, enjoys travelling, disco music and sports is seeking a modern good-looking educated woman in Canada or the U.S. who shares similar interests and is modern enough to play sports with her would- be husband. She should be proud of her Muslim heritage and values.
- 26 year old Sunni Muslim woman is looking for a U.S. or Canadian immigrant doctor or other professionally qualified person from a respectable Pakistani family.
- 27 year old Muslim girl is searching for a Muslim man who is well-settled.¹⁰²

Pakistanis and Islam

While the development of Pako-Canadian identity was shaped by a wide range of circumstances, events, and institutions, Islam held a place of special significance.

¹⁰¹ See Classifieds *Crescent* January 15, 1977; April 15 1977; June 1, 1977; June 15, 1977; July 15, 1977; August 15 1977; January 1, 1978; February, 1 1978; March 15, 1978; August 15 1978; October 1, 1978; October 15, 1978; November 1, 1978; December 1, 1978; December 15, 1978; January 15, 1979; February 1, 1979; February 15, 1979; March 15, 1979; April 15, 1979; May 1. 1979; May 15, 1979; June 1, 1979; July 1, 1979; August 1, 1979; October 1, 1979; December 1, 1979; and February 15, 1980.

¹⁰² See Classifieds in *Crescent* July 15, 1977; October 15, 1978; March 15, 1979; June 1, 1979; and February 15, 1980.

Canadian census records have made it difficult to know with certainty the religious affiliations of Pakistani newcomers. Prior to 1981, the census did not list Islam as a separate religion, but did provide some estimates for Canada's Muslim populations in the years following the Second World War. Even the decision in 1981 to begin counting Muslims separately in the census did not paint a clear picture of Pakistani religious identity. At the time, approximately nine thousand five hundred Canadian residents who were identified as Muslims listed Pakistan as their place of birth.¹⁰³ When compared to the overall Pako-Canadian population of nearly twenty thousand at the time, this figure seemed quite low, since Pakistan itself was more than ninety-seven percent Muslim.¹⁰⁴ The census also showed, however, that more than nine thousand Muslims in Canada listed their place of birth as India.¹⁰⁵ It is unclear how many of these individuals were Muslims who remained in India after Partition or how many of them were part of the *Muhajir* population that made its way to Pakistan at some point. The real percentage of Muslims among Pako-Canadians, it is safe to conclude, was almost certainly higher than the 1981 census figures suggest. A survey taken by Sadiq Awan in the 1980s, showing that approximately eighty-five percent of Pakistanis in Canada were Muslims, was probably much more accurate.¹⁰⁶ Of the remaining fifteen percent, fourteen percent were Christians, while one percent did not specify a religion.¹⁰⁷ The survey, however, did not

¹⁰³ A Rashid, "The Muslim Canadians: A Profile," *1981 Census of Canada* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1985), 30.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Grieve, *Islam History, Faith and Politics: The Complete Introduction* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 2006), 272.

¹⁰⁵ A. Rashid, "The Muslim Canadians..." 30.

¹⁰⁶ Sadiq Awan, *People of the Indus Valley...* 72.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* The subject of Pakistani Christians merits further research. This was a particularly impressive percentage considering that Christians account for around two percent of Pakistan's total population. See <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Pakistan.pdf>. Accessed 07/04/2012.

distinguish Muslims according to sect, but the majority was almost certainly Sunnis.¹⁰⁸

Sunnis comprised approximately seventy-five percent of the population in Pakistan, while Shi'ias made up just twenty percent.¹⁰⁹

While it is clear that the majority of Pako-Canadians were Muslims, and most of them Sunnis, it is also clear that they were far from homogeneous. In Canada, Pakistani Muslims and Muslims in general represented (and continue to represent) great diversity, a diversity that may have even prevented a sense of belonging to a broader Canadian Muslim community. Karim H. Karim, in his study on Muslims in Canada, for one, indicated that there was “no monolithic voice that [spoke] for all Muslims,” and this heterogeneity, according to him, created certain limitations for Canadian Muslims particularly regarding their role in the general Muslim community or *Umma*.¹¹⁰ A recent study on Muslims in Canada by Haideh Moghissi, Saeed Rahnema, and Mark Goodman supported this view. The authors illustrated how deeply fragmented the Canadian Muslim world was. They indicated that there were over seventy-two sects within Islam and hundreds of sub sects.¹¹¹ Canada’s population reflected these divergences:

¹⁰⁸ Of note, the fact that Sunni Muslims may be over represented in Canadian immigration in comparison to other religious groups and sects can be linked to the structure of Canadian immigration policies. The very essence of which concentrated on those who were well educated and skilled. In Pakistan since the dominant groups are Sunni Muslims they are the ones, most likely, with the means to immigrate according these Canadian requirements. This point was alluded to by the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in a confidential numbered letter regarding enlarging Pakistani quotas and how this would impact minority groups, particularly Pakistani Christians; “A side effect to this proposed policy could be that the immigration of Christians from Pakistan to Canada will virtually cease...This discrimination against Christians is not announced publically but is very effective.” NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, From the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, “Immigration Procedures for Pakistan,” 18 June, 1963.

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook>. Accessed 01/03/2011. See also Paul Grieve, *Islam History, Faith and Politics*... 272.

¹¹⁰ Karim H. Karim, “Crescent Dawn in the Great White North: Muslim Participation in the Canadian Public Sphere” in ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 264.

¹¹¹ Haideh Moghissi et. al., *Diaspora by Design: Muslim Immigrants in Canada and Beyond* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 8.

Apart from religious and sectarian identities... they are distinct in terms of ethnic and national groupings (Arabs, Pakistanis, Indians, Turks, Kurds, Algerians, Nigerians, Iranians, Somalis, Indonesians, Albanians, Bosnians, Chinese, and many others), and many of them identify themselves first as Iranians, Arabs, Pakistanis, Afghans, or Nigerians, for example, and then as Muslims. In fact, the national and ethnic divisions are often so strong that, other than the occasional individual friendship or business dealings, there are no regular social relations and interactions among the various Muslim groups. They speak different languages, dance to different tunes, and have distinctively different cultures and tastes.¹¹²

Canada's Muslim population had also grown rapidly since the immigration reforms of the 1960s. By 1971, the nation's Muslim population was probably less than fifteen thousand, but by 1975 these numbers had grown to around forty thousand.¹¹³ The population had reached nearly one hundred thousand by 1981, making it second only to Judaism as the nation's largest non-Christian faith.¹¹⁴ It would continue to blossom, and now stands at more than half a million, and has become Canada largest non-Christian religious group.¹¹⁵

Though sparse, there is some evidence that the early years of Islam's growth in Canada were marked by less sectarian, more communitarian relations among Muslims than would be the case in later years. One study by Sheila McDounough and Huma Hoodfar indicated that in Canada's early Muslim communities it was common for there to be a great deal of uniformity, cooperation and a de-emphasizing of traditional ethnic differences. It was even not unusual for early Sunni and Shi'ia immigrants to pray in the

¹¹² *Ibid.* 9.

¹¹³ A Rashid, "The Muslim Canadians ... 17.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Statistics Canada, Census 2001.

same mosques.¹¹⁶ Zohra Husaini, a specialist in Islamic studies, similarly observed that Muslims in Canada were able to unite for certain common purposes, participate in congregational prayers, and celebrate religious holidays in spite of linguistic, national, and ethno-cultural differences.¹¹⁷ An early study by sociologist Baha Abu-Laban, produced in 1980, similarly noted that though Canada's post-war Muslim population came from diverse national origins, they "were all bound together by commitment to Islamic faith ..."¹¹⁸ According to Abu-Laban many of those Muslims emphasized religion over nationality.

This point was also noted by Sadiq Awan in reference to Pakistani Canadians. According to him, early newcomers wished to preserve their cultural heritage. When it came to religion and Islam, however, they showed a greater desire to be known as a religious community rather than an ethnic entity.¹¹⁹ Essentially, Pako-Canadians sought to transcend ethnic, national, and cultural barriers in favour of incorporation into the

¹¹⁶ Shelia McDonough and Huma Hoodfar, "Muslims in Canada: From Ethnic Group to Religious Community" in ed. Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2005), 136. Of note, this statement may not have been the case for some of Toronto's Shi'ia community. In 1978, an article in *Crescent* announced the building of a Shi'ia mosque. According to the article, the mosque would be a much welcomed institution and serve over three hundred Shi'ia families who were then worshipping in rented quarters. See *Crescent*, "Construction starts on new Mosque," December 12, 1978; and *Crescent*, "Mohamedis Islamis Centre Opened," November 3, 1979. A lack of sources concerning Canada's Shi'ia populations makes it difficult to uncover their experiences within the broader Canadian Islamic community. Shi'ia Muslims in North America are indeed subjects who merit greater attention. Liyakat Takim, for one noted that the experiences of North American Shi'ias have been widely overlooked and most of the existing literature on the Muslim Diaspora is written about Sunnis, see Liyakat Takim, "Multiple Identities in a Pluralistic World: Shi'ism in America," in *Muslims in the West...* 218-232. American religion scholar Raymond Brady Williams made mention of Shi'ias in his book on South Asian religions in the United States. He maintained that Shi'ias did not generally mix with Sunnis. Though "a few" Shi'ias may have attended Sunni mosques for prayers, there was little interaction between the two groups, and Shi'ias established separate religious centers for the different immigrants groups who were part of this sect. See Raymond Brady Williams, *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan* ...86 and 92. The experience I had interviewing women may offer a contrast to this claim. Two of the women Tahseen Anwar, a Sunni, and Amina Rashid, a Shi'ia, were very close friends. They visited each other frequently, attended each other's children's wedding, and celebrated holidays together.

¹¹⁷ Zohra Husaini, *Muslims in the Canadian Mosaic* (Edmonton: Muslim Research Foundation, 1990), 14.

¹¹⁸ Baha Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980), 139-140.

¹¹⁹ Sadiq Awan, *The People of Pakistani Origin in Canada...* 35.

Umma. Undoubtedly, this desire stemmed from an Islamic emphasis on oneness and community unencumbered by national, ethnic, or cultural differences. Furthermore, articles appearing in *Crescent* also reminded Pako-Canadians, as well as others, of the universality of the faith. On September 15, 1977 an example of this message was featured on the front page:

Our religion is Islam, Our culture is Islam and our attitude,
behaviour and manner must reflect the spirit of Islam ...
Islam teaches universal brotherhood and that we put into
practice sinking our differences and divergences.¹²⁰

At the same time, Muslims in Canada (of which South Asians comprised a majority)¹²¹ during the 1960s and 1970s, like most minority groups, faced certain challenges adapting to their new surroundings. Investigations by Sheila McDonough and Harold Coward, and David Goa explored some of these obstacles.¹²² Coward and Goa noted that in some ways Canada “prove[d] hostile to those trying to be faithful to the practice of Islam.”¹²³ There were no minarets to call in prayers and no time off provided by employers for the performance of prayers during working hours or days off for religious holidays.¹²⁴ Some Muslims also felt varying degrees of distress and discomfort at, “the sexual freedom of Canadian society, the presence of pornographic books, improper slaughter of meat, conflict between Islamic and Canadian inheritance, marriage

¹²⁰ *Crescent*, “Eid Mubarak,” Sept 15, 1977.

¹²¹ A. Rashid, “The Muslim Canadians...” 30

¹²² Sheila McDonough, “The Muslims of Canada,” *The South Asians Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States* (New York Press: State University, 2000); Harold Coward and David Goa, “Religious Experiences of the South Asian Diaspora in Canada,” *The South Asians Religious Diaspora...*, For a glimpse at the evolution of the Muslim community in Canada see Sheila McDonough and Huma Hoodfar, “Muslims in Canada: From Ethnic Groups to Religious Community” in *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 133-153.

¹²³ Harold Coward and David Goa, “Religious Experiences of South Asian Diaspora in Canada...” 77.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

laws, and dating practices among young people.”¹²⁵ The social acceptance of alcohol, the idea of usury, and the problem of raising children in a predominantly Christian society were also cited as areas of concern.¹²⁶

One 1975 article in *Crescent* entitled “Keeping the Faith Despite Society” underscored the challenge many Pakistanis and other Muslims faced in confronting mainstream social and cultural values. The article pointed particularly to a widespread sense of permissiveness regarding drugs and alcohol and the contrast between their availability in Canada compared to Pakistan. It also emphasized societal differences regarding premarital sex and dating. The article, however, also made an effort to assess these concerns in a broad, relatively optimistic context. It ended with the sentiments of Dr. S.M. Ahmed who said that while North America may not always be conducive to a “proper Islamic manner,” the advantages of living in Canada “outweigh[ed] any of these problems.”¹²⁷

As Ahmed suggested, Pakistanis and other Muslims recognized benefits of being in Canada. Many were satisfied about their move and felt that they could live within the basic tenets of Islam while fitting into their new homeland. Perceptions of a tolerant Canadian climate helped shape these attitudes. Amin Malak, for one, spoke of cultural exchanges forged between Muslims and other Canadians. He argued that Canada’s commitment to pluralism created an environment for Muslims to “flourish culturally,

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Ghulam A. Nanji, “Keeping the faith despite Society,” *Crescent*, July 1, 1975.

spiritually, and materially.”¹²⁸ On the other hand Canada could also be enriched by injections of Muslim ethos, values, and traditions.”¹²⁹

To ease transition, certain members of the Canadian Muslim community focused on similarities between cultures and progressive attitudes. Ahmad F. Yousif, for example, highlighted some of the shared values between “Canadian society” and what he called the “Islamic society.” Yousif admitted that the Qu’ran and Sunnah set certain rules for religious observance which, at times, seemed inconsistent with Canadian customs and norms. At the same time, however, he emphasized that there were common threads that bound the two cultures. “Canadian society, like Islamic society,” he observed, “recognizes certain basic social needs, such as education, general productiveness, democracy, sexual equality, fairness and peace.”¹³⁰

Zohra Husaini, further suggested that despite contrasts between certain “Canadian” and “Islamic” mores, there were also important similarities and Canadian Muslims, who represented an “urbanized, well-educated and prosperous community,” adapted themselves to circumstance.¹³¹ Baha Abu-Laban made a similar observation. He stated that Muslims believed that any contradictions between their faith and living in a Canadian environment were more apparent than real and that Islam was flexible enough to be adapted to twentieth century North American life.¹³²

Some Pako-Canadians were among those Muslims who believed in a flexible approach to religion, one that could be integrated into their new homeland. These early

¹²⁸ Amin Malak, “Towards a Dialogical Discourse for Canadian Muslims,” in ed Natasha Bakht, *Belonging and Banishment: Being Muslim in Canada* (Toronto: Coach House Printing, 2008), 84.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Ahmad F. Yousif, *Muslims in Canada: A Question of Identity* (Ottawa: Legas Publishing, 2008), 19.

¹³¹ Zohra Husaini, *Muslims in the Canadian Mosaic...* 16.

¹³² Baha Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree...* 140.

newcomers did not see their religion as a hindrance to their integration. Sadiq Awan characterized Pakistani Muslims as liberal and progressive. According to him Pakistanis did not intend to import and replant the brand of Islam practiced in their native land. Instead, they were prepared to recreate and transform religious practices to suit their Canadian circumstances. In other words, making certain changes to religious practice and holding flexible attitudes was seen as a necessary and reasonable part of the integration process.¹³³

Khalid Bin Saeed also held this view. According to him, Pakistanis who chose to settle in Canada were learned professionals who were aware of “western ways,” and as such had no difficulty adapting, as Muslims in Canada. Saeed linked professional status to a more “balanced” approach to religion. In other words, professionals who came to Canada throughout the 1960s and 1970s were more broad-minded and less extreme with respect to religiosity than other Pakistani migrants, particularly those who settled in Britain. Pako-Canadians, in his view, were better able to adapt and integrate than their British counterparts who were less educated and more stringently attached to their traditional, religious, and cultural identities.¹³⁴

Some Pakistani Canadians also thought that adhering to the principles of Islam could, in fact, make them more productive members of society and better Canadian citizens. These Pakistanis viewed Islam not simply in narrow sectarian terms, but as the basis of a broad humanitarian vision. Pako-Canadian Waheed-ud-Din, made this point in a 1975 article in *Crescent*. Waheed-ud-Din argued that every individual had two basic duties: one to God and the other to humanity. The latter, he maintained, was more

¹³³ Sadiq Awan. *The People of Pakistani Origin in Canada...* 46-47

¹³⁴ Khalid Bin Saeed, “Canadians and Pakistanis: Their Mutual Expectations...” 35.

important. In his view, all Canadians, regardless of religious affiliations, had a duty to see to the well-being of their country and community:

We are members of society and owe certain obligations to it in order to upkeep our society healthy, prosperous, disciplined, law-abiding and ethically good. If there are different communities residing in one country, we shall try to make them as one society with the ties of mutual love and service.¹³⁵

Muslim Organizations in Toronto

Although building ties with others and establishing strong bonds with Canadian society was crucial for Pakistani Muslims, they also sought to create religious institutions and organizations that would fulfill their own spiritual needs. Some of the more important in Toronto included the Jami mosque, The Muslim Society of Toronto, The Canadian Society of Muslims, and the Toronto chapter of the Muslim Student's Association (MSA).

Perhaps the most significant of these institutions was the Jami mosque. Founded in a former Presbyterian church in 1969, it was Toronto's first official masjid.¹³⁶ As the first identifiable place for worship and prayer for Muslims in Toronto, it served a multitude of purposes. It provided a place for required, ritualistic daily prayer which, according to Islamic faith, should also be a means to bring people together and encourage equality, unity, sorority, and brotherhood. Reconfigurations to the interior of the building, such as removing the existing church pews and providing carpet for this area angled in a direction facing East (toward Mecca) provided Muslim Torontonians with a comfortable

¹³⁵ Waheed-ud-Din, "A Glimpse of Multiculturalism," *Crescent* May 1, 1975.

¹³⁶ "An Historical View of the Islamic Center of Toronto," <http://www.jamimosque.com> accessed 28/02/2011

and tranquil place for prayer.¹³⁷ The Jami mosque also held regular Friday *Jumah* prayers at noon. These prayers are obligatory. Muslims, men in particular, are required to assemble, listen to a *Khutba* (or a sermon) delivered by the Imam, and then offer a congregational prayer. The mosque regularly attracted two hundred people for these Friday prayers, and at times as many as one thousand.¹³⁸

The early years of the mosque's existence were marked by internal conflict and financial woes.¹³⁹ Some of these conflicts and problems, in fact, represented a sharp contrast to the idea that Canadian Muslims in the 1960s and 1970s enjoyed a period of unity and harmony. In the early 1970s it became clear that some members of the Muslim community, including Pakistanis, found themselves in strong disagreement with some of the mosque's activities and policies. Pako-Canadian Monsoor Ally Judge, for example, objected to efforts by the Muslim Society of Toronto to transform the Jami mosque into a recreational center in addition to being simply a place of worship. In protest, he led a hunger strike outside of the masjid beginning on March 2, 1970.¹⁴⁰ Judge was also part of a movement by more than one hundred Muslims who objected to the financial operations of the mosque. Pako-Canadian Qader Baig, a professor at the University of Toronto, led the protesters, criticizing the Muslim Society of Toronto's claim to ownership of the mosque, the expected dues payments for members, and other issues.¹⁴¹ The mosque's leadership, under Ayuba Ally president of the Muslim Society of Toronto

¹³⁷ Prior to the establishment of the masjid, Muslims in Toronto usually worshipped in private homes or small rental facilities.

¹³⁸ Melva Tulk, "Toronto Muslims welcome visitors to their mosque," *Toronto Star*, March 20, 1971. See also *Crescent*, "1 000 Attend Friday Prayers at Jami Mosque," April 15, 1979.

¹³⁹ An Historical View of the Islamic Center of Toronto ...

¹⁴⁰ *Toronto Star*, "A Muslim Pickets His Mosque," March 2, 1970; and *Toronto Star*, "100 Moslems vow to stay in Mosque," April 10, 1972.

¹⁴¹ *Toronto Star*, "100 Moslems vow...; and *Toronto Star*, "Metro Moslems ask change of law to save mosque," July 24, 1972.

responded by swearing out warrants for the arrest of certain protestors, claiming trespass.¹⁴²

Despite a near foreclose in 1973, the mosque managed to stamp out a stable and secure presence. This was partly due to the role of the Muslim Students Association (whose membership was predominantly South Asian). The MSA not only acquired funds to pay off the mosque's outstanding debts, but under their auspices the Jami Mosque became a dynamic center for religious guidance, activities, and events. Muslims were provided with a number of services, including a lobby area for social networking, a small library, and rooms in the basement which were open for religious instruction, guest lecturers, community gatherings, and conference meetings. The masjid also prepared celebratory parties in which patrons could partake in an evening of activities and dinner. Dinner typically consisted of a traditional Indo-Pakistani meat *Biryani* and salad, followed with dessert, fruit, and tea.¹⁴³

In 1977, the mosque also established the first full-time Islamic school in the Metro area. The school had an enrolment of around one hundred children and teenagers. Students were not only provided with instruction of Arabic, the Qu'ran, and hadith, but topics including living in a Western society, family life, multiculturalism, and the rights of women were also discussed. The school fostered a healthy balance of study and recreation. Religious teachings were interspersed with sports, movies, games, and play.¹⁴⁴ The masjid was also responsible for hosting Toronto's first Muslim Youth Festival, a

¹⁴² *Toronto Star*, "100 Moslems vow...; and *Toronto Star*, "Moslem prayer meeting 'interrupted' by police," March 25, 1972.

¹⁴³ *Crescent*, "Large Turn Out For Eid Dinner at Jami Mosque," September 15, 1978.

¹⁴⁴ *Crescent*, "Summer Islamic School for Children," July 15, 1977.

national event that brought together Muslim teenagers from various Canadian cities including London, Ottawa, and Montreal.¹⁴⁵

In addition to its various functions, the Jami mosque played a vital role in bridging gaps between Muslims and other Canadians. In order to achieve this objective, representatives actively sought to teach other Canadians about Islam and eradicate prevailing stereotypes and misconceptions. This charge was important for Pako-Canadians as well.¹⁴⁶ For many of Toronto's Muslim Pakistanis, living harmoniously with other Canadians was a prime objective. This meant substituting pejorative images surrounding Muslims and the Islamic faith with more enlightened and informed views. Pako-Canadian Lateef Owaisi, quoted in a 1976 article for the *Toronto Star*, showed particular concern about the common misperceptions some Canadians held concerning Islam. "Canadians," he said, "know very little about Muslims. Most people think all Muslims are Arabs that they want more than one wife and they're a violent people. And that's all wrong."¹⁴⁷ The Jami Mosque shared these concerns, and launched efforts to

¹⁴⁵ *Crescent*, "Muslim Youth Festival in Toronto," March 15, 1978.

¹⁴⁶ On a side note Pakistani Muslims and other Muslims in Toronto played an important role in trying to remove erroneous information about Islam from Ontario school textbooks. The Canadian Society of Muslims under the leadership of Dr. M.Q Baig launched an official complaint with the Ontario Ministry of Education concerning certain offensive and ignorant material published on Islam and the prophet Mohammad. On August 22, 1976 around five hundred Muslims Torontonians marched in protest from the College of Education on Bloor Street to City Hall in an attempt to draw attention to the inaccuracies in text books regarding Islam and Muslims. See *Crescent*, "Distorted Image of Islam," June 1, 1976; *Crescent*, "Interfaith Group," August 14, 1976; and *Crescent*, "Metro Muslims March in Protest to City Hall over Ontario School's textbook issue," September 1, 1976.

¹⁴⁷ Joe Serge, "Few understand our faith Metro Moslem leader says," March 11, 1976. Also of interest, Arabs too succumbed to a number of negative typecasts. Baha Abu-Laban provided some early examples of pejorative stereotypes associated with Arabs, perpetuated by some Canadians; "They are generally of a most undesirable class... The most dangerous feature is the general prevalence of contagious and loathsome diseases ... any of which constitutes a serious threat to foreign communities into which these aliens are absorbed. Baha Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch* ... 83. A report submitted to the Near East Cultural and Educational Foundation of Canada also outlined some unflattering images associated with Arabs in the Canadian context: "Arabs are seen to think and live differently. They are driven by emotions (hate, jealousy, anger) and instincts (sex, violence). They are uncouth, selfish and untrustworthy. Their religion is based on the sword. They are clannish and tribalistic. They have no regard for human life, no attachment to land, and little appreciation for the finer things in life." See Farid E. Ohan and Ibrahim Hayani, *The Arabs*

correct widespread misconceptions about Islam and combat the stereotyping of Muslim people. Qutbi Mahdi Ahmed, an Imam for the masjid, expressed his distress about these issues in a 1979 article in the *Toronto Star*:

They (referring to some Canadians) picture Moslems as having four wives, a camel, and a sword. Most misconceptions come from old story books written to entertain Christians who had no contact with Moslem lifestyle. These stories have been coming out since the time of the Crusades.¹⁴⁸

Representatives of the masjid wanted to replace these archaic and misguided depictions with more truthful and educated accounts. One of the ways the mosque sought to achieve this was by publically opening its doors to non-Muslims. Non-Muslim Canadians were invited to observe Muslim prayer services, attend Islamic wedding ceremonies, and partake in other religious customs.¹⁴⁹

Following the establishment of the Jami Mosque a number of other Islamic institutions started to surface.¹⁵⁰ The Jami mosque in conjunction with the Islamic Foundation Mosque, and the Croatian Mosque formed Toronto's Islamic Co-ordinating Council, a council that was greatly needed to service the city's growing Muslim population. Toronto's Islamic communities continued to grow throughout the 1970s. The 1981 Canadian census indicated that Ontario had over fifty thousand Muslims, more than

in Ontario: A Misunderstood Community (Toronto: The Near East Cultural and Educational Foundation, 1993), 2.

¹⁴⁸ Joe Serge, "Lunch-break prayers to Allah: Metro Moslems mix worship and work on Fridays," *Toronto Star*, January 6, 1979.

¹⁴⁹ Melva Tulk, "Toronto Muslims welcome visitors ...

¹⁵⁰ The establishment of new mosques and Islamic centers was representative of a general Canadian trend. Baha Abu-Laban, noted that by 1980 Islamic institutions could be found across Canada in cities such as St. Johns, Dartmouth, Montreal, Ottawa, Hamilton, London, Windsor, Kingston, Hespeler, Thunder Bay, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina, Edmonton, Calgary, Lac La Biche, and Vancouver. See Baha Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch...* 140. See also Sheila McDonough, "The Muslims of Canada....

fifty percent of Canada's total Muslim population.¹⁵¹ These figures may have been low. According to the *Toronto Star* in 1976 over fifty thousand Muslims resided in the Greater Toronto Area alone.¹⁵² Increasing numbers meant that local mosques could not accommodate the congregations of Muslim who assembled en masse twice a year in honour of the faith's most important occasions: *Eid-Ul-Fitr* and *Eid-Ul-Adha*. *Eid-Ul-Fitr* marks the end of *Ramzan* (also referred to as Ramadan). *Eid-Ul-Adha*, on the other hand, is celebrated at the end of Hajj and commemorates Abraham's devotion to God, a devotion that was solidified when called upon by *Allah* to sacrifice his son Isma'il. The Islamic Co-ordinating Council reserved large public venues such as Varsity Stadium and the Queen Elizabeth Building at Exhibition Place, to provide room for thousands of Muslim Torontonians who wished to offer group prayers. For instance, in 1977 over five thousand Muslims gathered at Varsity Stadium for *Eid* prayers.¹⁵³ A year later it was reported that Toronto hosted the largest *Eid-Ul-Fitr* gathering in North America with an attendance of approximately ten thousand people.¹⁵⁴ Later that year, eight thousand Muslim worshippers assembled at the Queen Elizabeth building for *Eid-Ul-Adha*.¹⁵⁵

Eid Prayers were generally followed with a wide range of activities such as visiting friends, going to the cinema, or celebrating at halls and community centres. The Islamic Co-ordinating Council arranged dinner parties in its individual mosques and rented halls in acknowledgement of the occasions. Other organizations including the

¹⁵¹ A. Rashid, "The Muslim Canadians: A Profile... 19

¹⁵² Joe Serge, "Few understand our faith... An article in *Crescent* also confirmed this number; see *Crescent*, "Eid Mubarak," September 15, 1977. Another article in the *Toronto Star* estimated Toronto's Muslim population to be at sixty-five thousand in 1979. See Joe Serge, "Lunch-break prayers....

¹⁵³ *Crescent*, "5000 Attend Eid-Ul-Fitr," October 1, 1977.

¹⁵⁴ *Crescent*, "Biggest Muslim Gathering in North America: 10000 Gather at Varsity Arena for Eid-Ul Fitr Prayer," September 15, 1978. It should be noted that the jump in attendance from the previous year may be due to the fact that in 1978 *Eid-Ul-Fitr* coincided that year with a national holiday, Labour Day.

¹⁵⁵ *Crescent*, "8000 attend Eid Prayers in Toronto," December 1, 1978.

Muslim Urdu Cultural Association, the Peel Islamic Centre, and The Canada Pakistan Association also prepared lively *Eid* festivities which offered food and other refreshments as well as entertainment in the form of Urdu movies and music.¹⁵⁶

Other religious holidays that were observed by Muslims throughout the GTA, albeit on a lesser scale, were *Eid-Milad-Un-Nabi*, which marks the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, and *Lailat al Mi'raj*, an event that remembers the evening ascension of Muhammad to the heavens.¹⁵⁷ The Canadian Society of Muslims was particularly instrumental in planning programs for these two occasions. Festivities for these holidays generally started with recitations of Qur'anic passages. Guest speakers were also invited to discuss the significance of Islam. The events usually ended with dinner, sweets, poetry, and singing.¹⁵⁸

The Muslim Student's Association (MSA) also organized events that celebrated Islam on a more academic level. According to religious scholar Raymond Brady Williams the MSA was one of the most important institutions for students and immigrants in general.¹⁵⁹ As such, the MSA was particularly well-known for its annual conventions which could attract upwards of two thousand participants from the North American Muslim and non-Muslim community.¹⁶⁰ Islamic scholars and university professors were invited to annual conferences that usually took place in the United States

¹⁵⁶ An example of this can be seen in *Crescent*, "Large Turn Out For Eid Dinner at Jami Mosque," September 15, 1978.

¹⁵⁷ While this note is a tangent I feel that it is a story worth telling. It concerns Ayesha Farooq and one of her early experiences in Canada. One morning Farooq woke up to a snow covered scene outside her home in Toronto. She was so impressed with what she described as "sparkle[s] off the Earth," that she was sure this was a miracle in honour of *Miraj* and started praying. Ayesha Farooq, [pseudo.], interview by author, East York, Ont., April 22 2005.

¹⁵⁸ See *Crescent*, "Eid Milad in Toronto," March 15, 1977; *Crescent*, "Canadian Society of Muslims Arrange Eid Milad-Un-Nabi Programs," March 15, 1977; Letter to the Editor, *Crescent*, "Eid Milad in Toronto," April 1, 1977; and *Crescent*, "Commemoration of Mi'raj," July 15, 1977.

¹⁵⁹ Raymond Brady Williams, *Religions of Immigrants From India and Pakistan* ... 91.

¹⁶⁰ *Crescent*, "15th annual Convention of MSA," June 15, 1977.

at the University of Indiana. Those who attended were invited to share their views on a wide variety of subjects such as the Islamic Renaissance, the Muslim family, and the rights of women, among other topics.

Together, Muslim religious organizations and ethnic institutions played a vital role as Pakistani immigrants began the process of adjusting to their new lives in Canada. They would help Pako-Canadians not only in spiritual terms, but in terms of building social, cultural and even political networks that would be a source of strength as anti-immigrant sentiments grew and the challenges of finding a place of security and comfort within Canadian society became more formidable.

CHAPTER TWO

“STEMMING THE FLOOD:”CANADIAN IMMIGRATION, MULTICULTURALISM AND PAKISTANIS DURING THE 1960s and 1970s

Canada’s progressive immigration policies and its commitment to multiculturalism were fundamental parts of the Pako-Canadian experience, and for a number of Pakistani immigrants they carried a special meaning. They represented in many ways the very essence of what it meant to build a new life in Canada and to benefit from the nation’s professed commitment to democratic principles and civil rights. For hundreds of Pakistanis with higher education backgrounds, professional training, and middle class aspirations, Canada’s progressive policies led to great hopes for economic security, fair treatment, and the opportunity to find a comfortable place within mainstream society.

This chapter explores in detail Canada’s immigration policies of the 1960s and 1970s and its 1971 multicultural policy and shows how some Pakistanis, along with other immigrants of colour, struggled to reconcile their hopes for a new life in Canada with the reality of government policy that continued to reflect widespread, deeply ingrained anti-immigrant attitudes. Rather than a truly “open” approach to people of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, the government’s approach to immigration and multiculturalism during these decades actually reflected a compromise between the nation’s progressive political interests and those of its more conservative and traditional elements. Even in the new climate of immigration reform and non-discrimination, policies were still designed, in part, to place a strong emphasis on the “quality” of immigrants, and policy-makers and

immigration officials continued to use race and ethnicity as a means of deciding if a particular immigrant to Canada was likely to become a good Canadian. This system of evaluation often worked to disadvantage Pakistanis and other immigrants of colour, as people of white European descent were more positively viewed and generally seen as more desirable citizens.

The 1962 Policy

As previously discussed, changes in immigration policy during the 1960s were intended to reflect the government's commitment to social justice, democracy, and equality. Ellen Fairclough, the minister of immigration, spearheaded the formation of the new approach and announced in 1962, that policy changes would eliminate prejudice in Canadian immigration, shifting the focus away from national, ethnic, or racial backgrounds to education and skill level.¹ According to Fairclough now "any suitably qualified person from any part of the world [could] be considered for immigration to Canada, without regard to his race, colour, national origin or the country from which he comes."² Moreover, she and other members of Parliament asserted that if Canada were to hold a place of prominence within the United Nations and the multi-racial

¹ As the first female member appointed to cabinet, Fairclough played a crucial and dynamic role in Canada's political culture. As a lone woman in a male dominated forum, Fairclough survived numerous gender based obstacles throughout her political career. For a more thorough examination of her political life, see her autobiography, Ellen Louks Fairclough, *Saturday's Child: Memoirs of Canada's First Female Cabinet Minister* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

²Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 January 1962, 9.

Commonwealth then its immigration policies had to reflect principles of democracy and equality.³

An article in the *Globe and Mail* praised new immigration regulations and claimed that they were a distinct improvement on current practices. The article predicted that new policies “would go a long way to clear Canada of the reproach of practicing racial discrimination in its immigration policy.”⁴ These changes were also heralded in the *Toronto Star* as one of the Diefenbaker Government’s “crowning achievements.”⁵ Proud of their accomplishments, the Progressive Conservatives maintained that eradicating racist policies and practices would allow Canada to emerge as a forward-thinking liberal society and thus an attractive place for newcomers to settle.

Other parties, including the Social Credit Party and the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), which in 1961 merged with The Canadian Labour Congress to form the New Democratic Party, also embraced these changes. Harold Winch, a member of the NDP, offered his enthusiastic support:

We welcome anything that is going to mean the placing of citizenship and immigration laws of Canada on the basis which will better demonstrate what democracy means to our country, our people, our governments and our legislative bodies. We welcome anything that will demonstrate to the world that we are completely honest in our position on immigration; that it should be on a non-discriminatory basis and not influenced by colour, sex, creed or the country from which these people come.⁶

³ Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1989), 39.

⁴ *Globe and Mail*, “The Opening Door,” January 22, 1962.

⁵ *Toronto Star*, “The Government’s Achievements,” May 14, 1962.

⁶ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 January 1963, 11.

Also in keeping with humanitarian objectives set by the United Nations, members of Parliament agreed that Canada too had a moral obligation to take in immigrants from all geographic areas and all social and economic conditions. One member asserted "...we have a responsibility to the human race. While more than half the world's people live in grossly overcrowded conditions, we cannot morally justify keeping them out..."⁷ At the same time, members of the federal government also believed that growing international concerns about the problem of world overpopulation would obligate Canada to make use of its vast territorial resources. One 1960 memorandum from the office of the Privy Council made the point:

Troublesome though it might be, Canada will inevitably be expected in the next two or three decades to play its part in relieving pressures in the over-populated areas of the world, both within the context of the Commonwealth and beyond it. I wonder, therefore, whether this is not the time to make a virtue of necessity and indicate our awareness of this problem and our willingness to assist in its solution, in such a way that our national needs will be served and we will at the same time demonstrate leadership which will be expected of us in this context.⁸

⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 27 May 1963, 331.

⁸ Canada, Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Documents on Canadian External Relations. *Memorandum to Secretary of Cabinet*, "Immigration," D.F. Wall, February 26 1960, 1290. It is worth noting that Canadian humanitarianism during these years was also couched in arrogance and admission into Canada was construed as a privilege rather than a mutually beneficial arrangement. A member of the House, for one, implied that immigrants coming into the country should be reminded that coming to Canada was in fact a great privilege:

I believe that the responsibility of citizenship should be impressed upon them. People coming to Canada should be accepting their privileges and benefits and within the border of this country must be prepared to accept the responsibility of citizenship.

See, Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 14 August 1964, 6834. Guy Favreau, of the Liberal Party, also asserted that, "it [had] been established for many years that immigration to Canada [was] not a fundamental human right, but a privilege..." See, Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 14 December 1963, 5879. Sentiments averred by Mackenzie King during the 1940s regarding Canadian citizenship as a "privilege and not a right," evidently lingered. See, Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1 May 1947, 2644-2646.

It was also not uncommon during the early 1960s for members of Parliament to speak of the nation's humanitarian duty "to open the doors to immigration and accept into the country those coming from very crowded conditions in other parts of the world."⁹

Economics, Self- Interest, Demographics, and the "Brain Drain"

Canada, however, did not begin fundamentally altering its immigration policies during this time simply for humanitarian purposes or to raise its international standing. Economic realities and demographic concerns also played a crucial role in the 1962 reforms. Amid the expanding affluence of the post-war period in North America, Canada found that it began losing large numbers of educated, highly skilled and professional workers and between 1953 and 1963 nearly eighty thousand Canadian workers in these categories migrated to the United States.¹⁰ This migration concerned some members of Parliament, who at the time spoke frequently of the idea that the United States was "stealing" the very best of Canadian talent. One member of Parliament at the time expressed the widely held fear that the movement of this labour or this "brain drain" would strip Canada of its "best brains and best skills."¹¹ Marcel Lessard, representing Lac-Saint-Jean, also fretted that the "exodus of our graduates to foreign countries constitute[d] an extremely serious loss for Canada..."¹²

Canada's new, more open immigration policy, therefore, was also an attempt to counterbalance this population outflow and facilitate the entry of professional and skilled

⁹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 27 May 1963, 331.

¹⁰ Peter Li, "The Economics of Brain Drain," *Deconstructing a Nation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and Racism in 90s Canada* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1992), 152.

¹¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 24 September 1964, 8454.

¹² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 September 1964, 8440.

labour, including those from the developing world with experience as doctors, nurses, scientists, architects, teachers, professors, accountants, managers, and proprietors in commercial and industrial enterprises.¹³ NDP member Frank Howard argued that this type of manpower was essential to the prosperity of the country and was required to “put [Canada] in a strong and virile position economically.”¹⁴ Progressive Conservative Thomas Bell, who represented Saint-John-Lancaster added; “Canada needs more population. We need the cultural advantages of the best immigrants from other lands. We need the continuing stimulus to our economy.”¹⁵ These concerns about the “brain drain” were already well established before the 1962 reform took effect and Canada had already received more than one hundred twenty-five thousand professionals and skilled immigrant workers in the previous decade.¹⁶

Opening the door to skilled and professional immigrants was justified on a number of levels. According to sociologists Peter Li, Singh Bolaria, economist Louis Parai, and others, the state preferred this type of “ready-made” labour because it not only addressed a shortage, but was also cost effective.¹⁷ Parai demonstrated this point in a study for the Economic Council of Canada. He showed that between 1953 and 1963 it would have cost well over five hundred million dollars to provide a university education for persons who otherwise arrived fully trained. On the other hand, the cost of educating professionals and skilled persons who left Canada during that decade amounted to less

¹³ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 14 August 1964, 6819.

¹⁴ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 March 1964, 1469.

¹⁵ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 3 June 1966, 5946.

¹⁶ Peter Li, “The Economics of Brain Drain...152.

¹⁷ Peter Li and Singh Bolaria, “Racial Problems and Foreign Labour,” *Racial Oppression in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988), 226-234; and Louis Parai, *Immigration and Employment of Professional and Skilled Manpower During the Post-War Period* (Canada: Economic Council of Canada, 1965).

than three hundred million dollars. Canada, thus, enjoyed a net gain of nearly two and a half hundred million dollars.¹⁸

Others made the case that Canada needed a larger population to compete internationally, particularly with the United States. “The need [for immigration] should be obvious,” according to one article in the *Globe and Mail*, it continued to write:

Canada still only has some 18 million inhabitants. In this overcrowded world, such a handful cannot expect to occupy half a continent indefinitely: nature does not long tolerate a vacuum. If Canada is to survive, to grow, to be prosperous, its first requirement is more people, and they can come in time only through immigration.¹⁹

The stark population differences between Canada and the United States helped create real fear that the nation might be overwhelmed by the demographic and economic expansion coming from the south. Canada needed to respond to this threat in the view of many, by augmenting its population and increasing the number of immigrants. Paul Roddick, an advisor for the Department of National Defence, warned of Canada’s “dire” need for immigrants in these terms in 1956:

The fundamental fact of life for Canadians... is the necessity of expanding our population as quickly as possible... The imposts borne by every Canadian to meet the handicaps imposed on us by limited consumers, small industries, overwhelming communication problems, outside defence commitments and severe climatic limitations are too obvious to need elaboration. If we are to remain a nation, rather than become a forty-ninth state, we must have more people as quickly as possible.²⁰

¹⁸ Louis Parai, *Immigration and Employment of Professional and Skilled Manpower During the Post-War Period* (Canada: Economic Council of Canada, 1965); and the *Toronto Daily Star*, “It was a brain gain, not drain,” September 4, 1963.

¹⁹ *Globe and Mail*, “The Opening Door,” January 22, 1962.

²⁰ Paul Roddick, “Canadian Immigration Policy: The Hard Facts,” *International Journal* 11, no.2 (Spring 1956): 124.

Others issued similar alarms. In 1958, John Diefenbaker famously declared that “Canada must populate or perish.”²¹ Ellen Fairclough similarly observed in 1960 that, “If Canada [was] to survive in the form most Canadians wish, it is necessary to populate our land.”²² Later that decade, another progressive conservative, Thomas Bell, similarly warned, “We don’t have enough people to make this a great nation. We live beside a country with 200 million, yet we have a mere 19 million.”²³

While there was broad support for a more open immigration policy that would address the need for well educated and professional individuals, this new approach did not receive universal support from members of Parliament. Liberal minister J.W. Pickersgill suggested that by catering to immigrants with these talents, the new policies did not erase unfair practices, but rather substituted one set of discriminatory criteria for another. By retaining discretion over the type of immigrant, he argued, the government would continue to act in a prejudicial manner.²⁴ This point was supported by several other Liberals including Hubert Badanai:

...with reference to regulations which will make it possible for immigrants from all parts of the world to enter Canada if they can qualify in respect of education, training and other skills is supposed to be an improvement on the former regulations. This seems to me to be just another way of saying to the prospective, if for any reason he or she is not wanted: we are sorry, but unfortunately you do not meet the requirements of our regulations so your application for admission to Canada is therefore not approved.²⁵

²¹ <http://www.ggower.com/dief/quote.shtml>. Accessed 10/10/2010.

²² Canada, Documents on Canadian External Relations, “Memorandum from Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to Cabinet,” 15 February, 1960, 1285.

²³ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 3 June 1966, 5946.

²⁴ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 January 1962, 11.

²⁵ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 January 1962, 226-227.

In a later speech Badanai, with some sarcasm, asserted that “unless the applicant [was] a doctor, nurse, medical laboratory technician, dietician, teacher, accountant, qualified social worker or lawyer, he or she need not apply.”²⁶

Biases and Preferential Treatment 1962-1966

Notwithstanding the country’s pressing need of immigrants as well as the political discourse surrounding good-will, democracy and equality, certain biases, prejudices, and incongruities did indeed remain part of the 1962 policy and general immigration practices. One clearly stated bias revolved around sponsorship. European immigrants and those from the Western hemisphere were able to sponsor a full range of relatives, whereas citizens from non-European and non-White countries were limited to sponsoring only members of their immediate family. Controlling the quality and quantity of sponsors was a daunting task for the Canadian government. Several years before the 1962 policy came into effect, Fairclough issued a Privy Council Order to limit the list of admissible sponsors, rein in rising numbers of unskilled entrants, and increase the number of independent applicants who would gain entry based on merit. Italian newcomers were the prime targets of this legislation and made up the bulk of unskilled newcomers. This regulation, however, was rescinded on April 22, 1959 due to its unpopularity and the political cost among voters, especially Italians, many of whom were situated in Fairclough’s own riding.²⁷

²⁶ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 9 October 1962, 312.

²⁷ Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gate: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 148.

While it became unacceptable to completely deny particular sponsors, a system of prioritization was practiced. Five categories were created and the lowest priority was reserved for married children, brothers, and sisters of permanent residents.²⁸ This system, however, did not extend to people from the developing world. For them, the categories of people they could sponsor were more severely restricted. This was so because Parliament continued to panic over unskilled sponsorship requests and was particularly fretful that the 1962 policy would prompt an even larger flood of undesirable immigrants. Perhaps more alarming than the number of Southern Italian applicants was the potential for large pools of unskilled newcomers from the developing world, especially those from South Asia. The policy, thus, under Section 31 included a clause meant to stymie an influx of relatives especially from the Indian subcontinent.²⁹

Another area of bias in immigration related to the types of immigrants the government actively recruited. In the House of Commons Fairclough championed a policy that promised to focus attention on immigrants from non-White, non-European countries, or those who had been previously neglected from recruitment efforts. The 1962 policy actually named its “chief beneficiaries” Asians, Africans, and those from the Middle East.³⁰ This, however, was somewhat disingenuous and these stated goals were not always met in practice. Fairclough, for example, admitted to the press that despite new provisos she did not expect immigration rules to “result in any basic change in Canada’s current pattern of immigration,” a pattern that favoured people from northern

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared* (McGill-Queen’s University Press: Montreal-Kingston, 1989), 39.

³⁰ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 January 1962, 10.

European countries.³¹ Essentially, even following the 1962 policy Canadian immigration focused more fervently on recruiting people from Europe and the United States than elsewhere. White people of European descent continued to be viewed by some politicians as the best suited for the “Canadian way of life.” Favouring these immigrants made sense to Jack Pickersgill:

We try to select as immigrants those who will have to change their ways least in order to adapt themselves to Canadian life and contribute to the development of the Canadian nation. This is why entry into Canada is virtually free to citizens of the United Kingdom, the United States, and France, so long as they have good health and good characters.... That is why a deliberate preference is shown for immigrants from countries with social and political institutions similar to our own.³²

Increasing European immigration was a top priority for the Conservatives and Liberals and both of these governments embarked on substantial promotional campaigns directed towards these people. From 1962 to at least 1966, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration issued guidelines on how to select “appropriate” immigrants. It warned that newcomers “must be generally suitable and desirable future residents of Canada,” and demonstrate a high degree of “the qualities of adaptability, versatility, initiative and resourcefulness necessary to their establishment.”³³ Immigration and visa officers were further instructed on ways to achieve a “desirable” flow of immigrants. To obtain this balance, Canadian immigration officials were told to sustain “vigorous” promotional and informational programs in countries like the United Kingdom and Ireland, Austria,

³¹ *Globe and Mail*, “Immigration at Lowest Since 1947,” January 26, 1962.

³² Louis Parai, “Canadas’ Immigration Policy, 1962-74,” *International Migration Review* 9, 4 (Winter, 1975): 452-453.

³³ NAC, RG 76 vol. 932 551-20, “Instructions for the Guidance of Immigration and Visa Officers,” December 1963.

Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.³⁴

A concerted campaign utilized “every means” possible to attract desirable people from these regions to Canada. These “means” included:

- Using newspapers, television, and radio to foster interest in Canada.
- enlisting the support and assistance of city, town, and village representatives [who could] help disseminate programs such as film, shows, lectures or discussions.
- co-operating with influential citizens or groups who could help foster interest in Canada.
- seeking joint participation in relevant programs utilized by transportation companies, travel agencies, and labour exchanges.
- developing the interest, support and good will of educators at universities and schools, in order to distribute literature and have discussion groups, film shows, and other similar.
- forming liaisons with government official concerned with emigration, in an effort to secure their assistance and co-operation.
- encouraging visits to Canada by government, t.v., radio, motion picture, newspaper, and media representatives because they could be of assistance by reporting on such visits upon returning to their prospective countries.³⁵

These “all out efforts” only targeted traditional source countries. South Asian and other developing countries were generally omitted from these elaborate campaigns.

Immigration officers were even given strict instruction by government directives to not actively recruit people from Pakistan and other similar countries.³⁶

There was a call by certain members of Parliament to diversify immigration campaigns beyond preferred regions in Europe and England specifically. Marcel Lessard,

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*

for one, advised the government to strengthen its efforts in attracting “equally good citizens” from France, Belgium, and Italy. With these immigrants in mind he stated:

Our government needs to put more effort into immigration policy and make more appropriate selections of prospective immigrants who would act as an asset to our country. England is not the only source where you can find good citizens coming to settle in Canada.³⁷

Another member of Parliament suggested that government explore future prospects from some of the best “reservoirs” around: central and eastern Europe.³⁸ Some politicians thought it crucial that Canada share its democratic lifestyle and high standard of living with those “less fortunate” Europeans including those from Italy, Greece, and Portugal. Referring to these immigrants, David Orlikow requested that people act compassionately and suggested that the government create facilities to ease their transition.³⁹ He, along with others, insisted that the Department of Citizenship and Immigration foster a system that would better assist immigrants with integration, English or French language comprehension, while also instructing them on how to become “useful and happy citizens.”

The government provided its own interpretation of integration. These views came through in a series of booklets that were published and reproduced by the government for the benefit of newcomers and members of the general Canadian public. Integration was portrayed as a mutual process of understanding between newcomers and other Canadians:

Integration is not something that the immigrant can achieve all by himself, nor can it be thrust upon him by well-meaning Canadians. The newcomer and the Canadian must

³⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 16 March 1964, 956.

³⁸ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 26 October, 1967, 3515.

³⁹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 September, 1964, 8440.

both make adjustments, the newcomer to conditions and the Canadian to strange ideas [and] different ways of looking at things.⁴⁰

Though this interpretation was somewhat patronizing the government did caution members of the receiving society to resist pressuring immigrants to abandon all “cultural habits” and therefore make them “indistinguishable from other Canadians as soon as [they stepped] on Canadian soil.”⁴¹ To further ease transition, ordinary people were asked to welcome immigrants by “extending to them a warm and friendly hand.” This meant volunteering in neighbourhood agencies, initiating projects for newcomers, organizing cultural events, or even inviting a newcomer into their home.⁴² The rationale being that if immigrants were accorded with a fair adjustment period and given a proper reception, in due time he or she would indeed adapt to the “Canadian way.”⁴³

This emphasis on the “Canadian Way” often worked to disadvantage South Asians and other immigrants of colour, and had become a popular excuse to deny them entry. Policy-makers and many other Canadians purported that immigrants of colour were innately incapable of adjusting to the physical and cultural circumstances they would encounter in Canada. As Sociologist Vic Satzewich has pointed out, non-White newcomers in the 1960s were often prejudged according to fictitious notions surrounding biology, which stipulated that immigrants of colour, due to their genetic make-up, were

⁴⁰ Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, “The Community and the Newcomer,” (Ottawa, 1965), 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴² Franca Iacovetta and Valerie Korinek, “Jell-O Salads, One-Stop Shopping, and Maria the Homemaker: The Gender Politics of Food,” in *Sisters of Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 196; Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, “The Community and the Newcomer...” 6.

⁴³ Franca Iacovetta and Valerie Korinek, “Jell-O Salads, One-Stop Shopping, and Maria the Homemaker...” 196.

unable to change culturally and unable to adjust to a competitive capitalist Canadian society.⁴⁴

Paul Roddick, an advisor for the Department of National Defence, who advocated for increased immigration, was staunchly against a policy that allowed entry to people of colour. Though writing in the late 1950s, before policy change took effect, he thought it sensible for the government to evaluate immigrants according to race and national origin:

As a matter of policy the Canadian government... bars or severely limits the immigration of Asiatics and coloured people, not on the basis of individual merit, but wholly on the basis of race. We do so, I believe, on two entirely justifiable grounds, one concerned with the economic integration of the immigrant, and the other with his social and cultural evolution into an indigenous Canadian citizen. Civilization as it has been evolved in Canada is set on three foundations, one Western, one Christian and one industrial. In view of this circumstance it is neither surprising or reprehensible that we should prefer to build our nation of people from similar climatic regions of the world whose backgrounds resemble our own.⁴⁵

In 1964, Reginald Cantelon, who represented the constituency of Kindersley, echoed similar sentiments when he stated that it would be:

Unwise to open the doors wide and let them all flood in, because they [were] not accustomed to the climate. Some of them [would] not be able to adjust to our system. [Canada] has also ignored immigrants from Asia and Africa

⁴⁴ Vic Satzewich, "Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government's View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 21, no.1 (1989):79. A statement made in 1958 by the Director of the Immigration Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration also reflected these views:

It is not by accident that coloured British subjects other than negligible numbers from the United Kingdom are excluded from Canada... They do not assimilate readily and pretty much vegetate to a low standard of living. Despite what has been said to the contrary, many cannot adapt themselves to our climatic condition.

Ibid., 77.

⁴⁵ Paul Roddick, "Canadian Immigration Policy... 127.

because it [was] a fact that it [was] impossible for some of these people to get used to the northern climate.⁴⁶

Several years later, Progressive Conservative member Steven Paproski felt perfectly justified in criticizing a policy that relied on immigrants who were not only “primitive” and “unsophisticated” but due to climatic difference could not be absorbed into the Canadian mainstream. These were sufficient reasons, according to Paproski, to curb immigration from the developing world:

...I do believe it is legitimate to criticize a policy that concentrates on immigrants who, by reason of climate conditions in their country of origin and by their standard of skill and training, inevitably pose great problems for everyone concerned with their relocation in a radically different, highly sophisticated industrialized urban society such as ours.⁴⁷

Some attitudes regarding immigrants and immigration policy apparent in the 1960s were hardly revolutionary and, in fact represented a clear continuity with past discriminatory views. Barring immigrants on the basis of “climatic” difference, among other pretexts, was reminiscent of early twentieth century rhetoric when Mackenzie King justified keeping South Asians out of Canada. King, the then Minister of Labour, reported that; “Their (referring to Sikhs) inability to readily adapt themselves to surroundings entirely different could do no other than entail an amount of privation and suffering which renders a discontinuation of such immigrants.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 September 1964, 8443.

⁴⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 16 December 1969, 2013-2014.

⁴⁸ “Report by W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.O., Deputy Minister of Labour, on mission to England to confer with British authorities on the subject of immigration to Canada from the Orient and immigration from India in particular,” *Sessional Papers*, (1907-1908) no. 36a,5.

“Turning the Tide”: looking at South Asians and Other Immigrants of Colour

By the mid-1960s obtaining desirable immigrants from the preferred source countries proved increasingly difficult. In 1966 one member of the House grimly observed:

Our immigration is surely not always what we hoped it to be, for many reasons. As a matter of fact, we are unable to obtain all the skilled labour we would like at present, because certain countries refuse to send immigrants to Canada. For instance, France rather frowns upon the immigration of its citizens. Most European countries enjoy full employment and want to keep their skilled labour, and rightly so, but this obviously puts a limit on our immigration sources.⁴⁹

Government officials recognized the futility in directing attention toward countries in Europe. Instead other countries needed to be more thoroughly examined for new immigration possibilities. Orlikow's statement reflected this realization:

Great Britain, Germany and the Scandinavian countries are experiencing prosperity with full employment. Therefore it has not been easy to encourage people from those countries [from] which we have received the bulk of our immigrants. We have had to turn to other non traditional countries. I think we ought to open the gates - to immigrants from many countries who in the past years we have discouraged. The federal government believes that we need an aggressive and active policy of immigration and that we need to encourage people from countries in which the mother tongue is neither French nor English.⁵⁰

Realistically Canada could no longer solve its workforce issues by extracting labour from the United Kingdom, France or Germany. As “quality” immigrants from these countries declined, the Canadian government was forced to turn its attention

⁴⁹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 7 March 1966, 2306.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2318.

towards non-White, non-European regions of the world. Accordingly, in 1964, Frank Howard of the NDP thought it necessary for Canada to re-focus its promotional campaigns to include people from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.⁵¹ Later that year Ian Grant Wahn, a Liberal, questioned the government's "hopeless" attempts to bring in Europeans and underscored the need to look beyond these traditional sources:

The hard truth is that people no longer want to come to Canada. It is a big mistake if the minister believes that by opening more immigration offices he will attract more people from Greece, Britain, Norway, Sweden, Belgium or Germany. The people from these countries are already well informed. The government should consider other countries such as Asia and Africa. We should be open to all people irrespective of racial origin so that we can take position in that our immigration practices are non discriminatory and are founded upon justice and equality.⁵²

A member of the Social Credit Party, Henri Latulippe of Compton-Frontenac, also criticized Canada's neglect of other countries and said that Canadian immigration policies had "ignored for too long immigrants from other countries [including] Asia, Africa [and] South America."⁵³

Even though many government officials recognized the need for immigration policy to look toward non-traditional source countries, this shift was exercised with a certain degree of caution. Jack Manion, an official for External Affairs, gave a statement, at a Canada-West Indies Conference in 1966 that exemplified such concerns:

Although our policy is not racially biased we do concentrate our main operations in those countries (Europe and the United States) which have traditionally given us most of our immigrants. While our immigration intake has since 1962

⁵¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 March 1964, 1468.

⁵² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 14 August 1964, 6850.

⁵³ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 September 1964, 8453.

been becoming less European and more racially varied, we have proceeded with some caution in order to avoid a too-rapid rate of change which might result in adverse reaction by the Canadian public which in turn could weaken the whole concept of a universal and non-discriminatory policy.⁵⁴

The government's cautionary approach toward non-Europeans was actually demonstrated by the distribution of immigration offices abroad. Posts were established primarily in the areas from where the Government hoped to receive the bulk of its newcomers: Europe and the United States. For instance, the 1965 annual report of the Department of Manpower and Immigration indicated that thirty-four Canadian immigration posts were maintained in twenty-one countries; six in the United Kingdom, five in Germany, four in Scandinavia, two in France, one each in Austria, Ireland, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and four in the United States; or a total of thirty posts. The other four posts were located in Egypt, Israel, Hong Kong, and India.⁵⁵

Biases regarding the distribution of Canadian immigration posts did not go unnoticed. One member of the Pako-Canadian community referred to liberal Canadian immigration policies as a "farce." As an anonymously written article in *The Voice of Pakistan* revealed:

[The European] continent is littered with Canadian immigration offices. Italy has at least two till 1967 that I know of – in Rome and Milan. And every main square in England displays a big billboard enticing the British to "Come to Canada the Land of Opportunity." Not to mention the Americans who cross over as if entering their back yards. On the other hand, for the nearly 700 million people

⁵⁴ Vic Satzewich, "Racism and Canadian Immigration... 84.

⁵⁵ Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Annual Report*, 1965.

of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh there is only one office in New Delhi. The continent of Africa is covered from Beirut. One wonders how to blame Australia, New Zealand and South Africa etc., for their discrimination against colored immigration. At least they have the courage of their conviction.⁵⁶

Later in the 1960s, it became clear that Canadian policy-makers realized the inevitability of increasing immigration from non-White, non-European countries. In an effort to use resources more efficiently, Canada consolidated several immigration offices in Europe (i.e. in Britain and Germany), and strengthened offices by increasing budgets in China, Africa, India.⁵⁷ Moreover by 1967 a few new posts were opened including several throughout Europe. More extraordinary, however, were the ones established in other regions of world which included one in Lebanon, one in the Philippines, one in Japan, one in Jamaica, one in Trinidad, and one in Pakistan.⁵⁸ Prior to this year applications from these countries had no permanent facilities to process immigration requests.

Though the government did expand its number of posts around the world, immigration services in the Middle-East, Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia were still inadequate in relation to the large number of applicants received from these areas. In the late 1960s a Special Joint Committee on Immigration commented on this situation and

⁵⁶ *The Voice of Pakistan*, "Canadian Immigration Farce," November 15, 1972. Just a note, by the time the article appeared there was an office open in Islamabad. To offer another perspective, the total population of Britain in 1965, which was around fifty three million, had six Canadian immigration posts while the entire population of South Asia which was over six hundred thirty million was served only by one post located in New Delhi. For population totals see <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRH/Resources/population.pdf> Accessed 25/03/2012.

⁵⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence on the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower, and Immigration*, no. 7, 28 November 1968, 109.

⁵⁸ Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration...* Appendix 5, 410-412. See also, NAC RG 76 vol. 1321 5867-B-2, "Counselling Unit; Foreign Branch Headquarters," 7 March, 1969.

the tremendous “bottled up demands” for immigration in South East and South Asia, demands that could not be handled feasibly by these understaffed posts.⁵⁹ Nonetheless by the end of the 1960s the “tide had turned” and Canadian politicians now directed immigration policies to include, albeit cautiously, countries that had long been overlooked.

The 1967 Points System

In hopes of moving forward with a more open policy of non-discrimination, in 1967 immigration regulations were further fine-tuned. The Government now supported a novel system that awarded points to immigrant prospects according to supposedly neutral criteria, a policy that would become known as the points system. Policy-makers insisted that ranking immigrants this way would demonstrate the country’s commitment to racial equality in assessing applicants.

As was the case with the 1962 policy reforms, however, the stated purpose of creating a bias-free system did not insure that old forms of discrimination had disappeared. One clear shortcoming of the new points system was that it still allowed immigration officials to make highly subjective assessments of individual applicants. While a majority of points were granted for criteria such as education, language proficiency, and work experience and potential, other points were reserved for traits such as affability and personality. Moreover, officers in charge of scoring candidates were not provided with any sort of official guideline and could largely award or penalize points in

⁵⁹ Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Immigration, *Minutes of Proceedings and evidence*, 10 February 1968, 8-10.

a non-standardized and discretionary manner.⁶⁰ Immigration officers could use their own judgement in vague categories such as “suitability” or how well a “person could fit into the Canadian way of life,” to manipulate points in order to reject the applicants who they deemed “undesirable.”⁶¹ The lack of a systematic scoring procedure did bother some members of the House including liberal member Eugene Whelan who said:

I am of the opinion that we turn our immigration off and on like a tap, that we use the point system to our liking, that an immigration officer can interpret the point system to his own liking, that no two immigration officers interpret the points system similarly.⁶²

In addition, processing applications from countries including China, India, and Pakistan took longer than those coming from other countries.⁶³ This fact seemed to reinforce NDP member John Gilbert’s suspicions that perhaps long waits in these countries were due to the interviewing officer having used discretion “far more than it ha[d] been exercised in other countries.”⁶⁴

Another, less than fair policy procedure was that immigrants were not permitted to see a breakdown of their scores. This made it very difficult for them to challenge their results or know if a negative assessment was just or worth appealing.⁶⁵ Moreover, the points system’s emphasis on education, placed people who did not have access to

⁶⁰ Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Immigration, *Minutes of Proceedings and evidence*, 10 February 1968, 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*; See also Canada, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence on the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower, and Immigration*, no.31, 6 June 1977, 7,13,19,32.

⁶² Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Immigration, *Minutes of Proceedings and evidence*, 6 April 1971, 12:20.

⁶³ Canada, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence on the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower, and Immigration*, no.31...26.

⁶⁴ Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Immigration, *Minutes of Proceedings and evidence*, 06 April 1971, 12:27.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 4-6.

extensive educational opportunities at a significant disadvantage. This fact, according to experts Alan Simmons, Yasmeen Abu Laban, and Christina Gabriel fostered class, geographic, racial, gender, and ethnic biases, the very features the policy promised to eliminate.⁶⁶

The points system was further skewed in that it disadvantaged women. The very language of the policy favoured male applicants and encouraged the “head of the family” to immigrate, which throughout these decades were invariably men. The Director of the Home Services Branch, for the Immigration Division, E. P. Beasely, acknowledged that this was the case and expressed little concern that it presented any problem:

The head of the family is the one who must qualify under the selection criteria. In our society normally the husband and father is expected to be the head of the family. He is the one who in the long term is expected to provide for the family. On this basis it is the policy of the department-and if this is not actually spelled out in the regulations, it is the intent of the regulations-that the head of the family must qualify. As I say, this is normally the father or the husband.⁶⁷

Andrew Brewin, of the NDP, on the other hand, was more critical of the overt gender inequities prevalent in new immigration regulations:

It concerns the situation that arises where a wife is fully qualified under the regulations for admission, has the right education and skills, and there is occupational demand, but is married to a man who supposedly, by virtue of being her husband, is the head of the family, but who is not qualified for admission or perhaps does not have sufficient points.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Alan Simmon, “Racism and Immigration Policy” In *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1998), 87-114; Yasmeen Laban and Christina Gabriel, *Selling Diversity: Immigration, multiculturalism, employment equity, and globalization* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002. *Selling Diversity*), 49.

⁶⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence on the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower, and Immigration*, no. 7, 28 November 1968, 120.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

He continued to question existing gender biases; “is there any reason why such a wife should not be regarded as an independent applicant, allowed to qualify and to come to this country, and then, if the regulations permit, bring her husband into the country?”⁶⁹ Several years later, fellow NDP member John Gilbert, demanded that the category ‘head of the household’ be re-evaluated and re-defined to reflect an evolving society and growing concerns with women’s rights; “...In this changing society and with the Status of Women Report being tabled recently, there is an indication that ‘head of the family’ can be either the husband or the wife.”⁷⁰

Aside from a few concerned members, the subjects of sex and gender discrimination were predominantly dismissed in the House of Commons throughout the 1960s. Only in 1980 were sexist immigration practices and gender biases more seriously examined. Margaret Mitchell was among the first politicians to question the chauvinism and sexism apparent in Canadian immigration laws.⁷¹

Evidence is also very strong that under the points system immigrants of colour were much less likely to be accepted for admission if they did not meet high standards of educational and professional training. Meeting these requirements for the most part accounted for the large upsurge of immigrants entering Canada from East Asia, the Caribbean, India, and Pakistan between 1967 and 1969. And it was particularly the case for Pakistani immigrants. In 1967, sixty-nine percent of Pakistanis entering Canada were

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Canada, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence on the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower, and Immigration*, no. 12, 6 April 1971, 28.

⁷¹ Mitchell was the N.D.P. critic for immigration, housing, status of women, health and welfare along with multiculturalism and citizenship. She was also one of the first members of Parliament to take action to stop domestic violence against women. For more information about Mitchell see her memoirs *No Laughing Matter: Adventure, Activism & Politics* (Vancouver: Granville Island Publishing, 2007).

professionals. The figures for 1968 and 1969 were forty-nine percent and forty-three percent respectively. The only other country with similarly high numbers during this period was India. Migrants from Ceylon/Sri Lanka, China, and Japan, also came disproportionately from professional classes (a trend that continued into the early 1970s. see Appendix 11). People coming from European countries during this same period, however, were much less likely to have the same level of training and education. Among immigrants from Great Britain between 1967 and 1969, for example, only thirty-five percent were professionals. For Germany during the same period, the figure was twenty percent, and for France, fourteen percent. For Italians, Greeks and Portuguese these immigrants averaged at less than five percent (see Appendix 11).

Declining trends in European immigration and increasing numbers of immigrants from the Middle East, Africa, East Asia, and South Asia disturbed some members of the House such as Progressive Conservative Steven Paproski:

The skilled European worker, professional man or person with capital to invest in a small enterprise would look twice at the Canada of today... We are being bypassed by the most desirable type of immigrants. I am not against immigrants coming to Canada from Asia, the Middle East or the West Indies. I simply feel that the current flow of immigrants has been thrown out of balance to the point where immigrants from those areas are a flood and immigrants from Northern Europe a trickle.⁷²

⁷² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 16 December 1969, 2014. It should be mentioned that Paproski's comments against immigrants from the developing world did not go unchecked. Both Prime Minister Trudeau and Progressive Conservative leader Robert Stanfield publically denounced such comments. Moreover, an article printed in a British journal, commented on Paproski's pointed remarks and compared him with Enoch Powell, a figure well known for his anti-immigration stance in the United Kingdom. See, Aleyamma Samuel, "Does Canada Have Its Own Enoch Powell," *Race Today* 2, 3 (March: 1970): 81.

Some government officials also fretted over what they described as an influx of “inferior” immigrants who came as a result of the points system. Liberal member Mark MacGuigan was an example of someone who was troubled about the quality of immigrants accepted in Canada. Referring to Indians specifically he said:

I am convinced that we are admitting many immigrants... many immigrants who would not be admitted from a European country. This is partly inevitable since officers in a locality have to judge a given applicant in comparison with his fellow countrymen, and when the education and skill levels are low, standards are consequently lowered. But this is also unfair to the European immigrant. I believe that immigrants are rejected in Italy and Yugoslavia... who would be admitted in India.⁷³

A report prepared by G.M. Mitchell the Director of Operations for Manpower and Immigration, had similarly scathing comments concerning Pakistani professional immigrants and Canada’s practice of “universality”:

Since universality was somewhat weighted in favour of the highly educated, in Pakistan where the educational standard is generally known to be of low standard in professional fields we gained a pyrrhic victory when selecting under the new Regulations began.⁷⁴

The idea of “inferior” immigrants flooding the country was of great concern and under the 1967 points system Parliament found ways to exert control over the “quality” of immigrants. One such method was to re-visit the categories of eligible sponsors. Certain sponsored applicants were reduced to dependent relatives and a new “nominated class” of immigrants was established. This class made it more difficult for some family

⁷³ NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, “Memorandum to Robert Andras from Mark MacGuigan Visit to departmental offices in Asian and Australia,” October 18, 1973.

⁷⁴ NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, G.M. Mitchell, “Manpower and Immigration Operations in Pakistan,” August 28, 1972.

members to come, especially those designated for the labour force, since they were now scored according to criteria that required them to demonstrate qualifications less than independents but higher than those sponsored.⁷⁵

Manipulations of the recruitment effort were another strategy adopted by the government to control the number of immigrants of colour. Despite interest in Canada among those in the developing world, actual efforts to attract these people remained inadequate and lacklustre. In reference to the Caribbean, India, Ceylon, and Pakistan, Allan MacEachen, Minister of Manpower and Immigration stated:

... We do not recruit actively [from there] because we realize that these countries have a greater need for the skilled people than we do. But we have offices there, I think in most cases at the request of the host governments. They have asked us to service these countries and put offices in.⁷⁶

The budget for immigration recruitment also reflected a half-hearted attempt to promote Canada in non-White, non-European countries. For the greater part of the 1960s the Canadian government spent close to two million dollars a year on advertisements, broadcasts, displays, and exhibits in Britain and other countries in Europe.⁷⁷ The recruitment effort remained high in European countries until declining immigration numbers there, by the late 1960s, no longer justified the cost. By this time, when the shift to immigrants of colour began, the federal government also started to drastically cut its

⁷⁵ The nominated class included sons and daughters of any age or marital status, brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces and grandchildren. These applicants had to qualify under a more relaxed points system and were rated in five of the nine categories including education, personal assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, and age.

⁷⁶ Canada, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence on the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower, and Immigration*, no. 1, 24 March 1970, 32.

⁷⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence on the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower, and Immigration*, no. 3, 14 November 1968, 36-37.

annual costs on promotional campaigns. From 1968 to 1969, for instance, a mere three hundred thousand dollars was spent.⁷⁸

The Policy of Multiculturalism

While the first decade of reform brought only mixed success at best in eliminating discrimination in immigration policy, progressive attitudes involving, ethnicity, diversity, and national identity continued to have wide support. A growing civil consciousness and an increasingly diverse population exerted pressure on the government to think more broadly about the contours of national identity and its historic connection to British Anglo Saxon ideals. By the end of the 1960s it was becoming evident that the traditional definition of national identity was no longer befitting. The nation, now, was ready, to alter what historian Bryan Palmer referred to as, “age-old attachments” to British Empire, monolithic projections of “oneness,” and myths of shared communal experiences.⁷⁹ To achieve this, Canada deliberately invented new traditions to replace the old.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ This is a common theme throughout Palmer’s recent work on this decade. See Bryan Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s the ironies of identity in a rebellious era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

⁸⁰ Historian C.P. Champion discussed this subject in detail. He argued that one of the most prominent examples of Canada’s break from its “British past” was the introduction of the maple leaf to replace the Red Ensign and Union Jack as its new national flag in 1965. Champion pointed out that while Pearson and like-minded thinkers sought to establish a Canadian identity void of “British” influences, a certain “Britishness” was nonetheless perpetuated in supposedly new Canadian traditions. C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberal and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2010). It should also be mentioned that the need to assert a unique identity was further precipitated by American influences inundating Canadian economic, social, and cultural institutions. In 1965, the influential political philosopher George Grant’s essay *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* was published. In this work Grant warned that Canada was losing its cultural identity and national sovereignty to the forces of continentalism, see George Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, reprinted 2007). On an aside, a recent work by Kent Roach, a professor of law at the University of Toronto, discussed this theme in a more contemporary context. While Roach acknowledged that defining Canadian identity has historically been one of “continual pushes towards continental integration and pulls towards sovereign nationalism,” following the tragedy of September 11th Canadians

In 1971, Canada adopted an official policy of multiculturalism. On October 8, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau outlined the new policy in a speech before the House of Commons stipulating that a “policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” would be “the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedoms of Canada.”⁸¹ The policy, Trudeau argued, involved more than simply addressing the complex relationship between Canada’s two “founding cultures.” Multiculturalism, would also take into account the place of aboriginals and other ethnic groups within Canadian society:

...there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly.⁸²

While the rhetoric surrounding multiculturalism was optimistic and encouraging, the policy itself was born out of very uneasy circumstances surrounding the country’s social, cultural, and national future. At the center of these circumstances were the critical changes taking place in Québec during the 1960s- the Quiet Revolution and the great rise in Québec nationalism. Québec’s Quiet Revolution was marked by a massive upsurge in the social, political and economic power of the province’s working-class and growing middle-class Francophone majority. Driving Québec’s ethnic politics during this period were two major concerns: first, widespread anger over the powerful role exerted in the

once again had reasons to fear an “erosion” of Canadian independence and difference from the United States. American pressures, demands, and requests, post September 11, concerned many in Canada who fretted that their country was being driven towards an Americanized criminal justice, immigration, and military foreign policies that departed from “Canadian values” such as multiculturalism, peacekeeping, and respect for international laws and institutions.’ See Kent Roach, *September 11: Consequences for Canada* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2003).

⁸¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, October 8, 1971, 8546.

⁸² *Ibid.*

province's major economic institutions by the Anglophone minority⁸³ and second, deep resentment over the long standing control by the Catholic Church over state affairs, and almost all other "aspects of Québecers lives."⁸⁴ The Quiet Revolution ushered in an extraordinary period of change in Québec, bringing about state control of major industries, the expansion of unions in both the private and public sector, and the rapid secularization of major public services previously controlled by the Catholic Church, particularly in the areas of health care and education. The popular political forces that brought about these changes, along with the intense expressions of Québec nationalism that accompanied them, created great concerns about the future relationship between Québec and Canada. This was crystallized in 1968 with the creation of the Parti Québécois, a new provincial party whose main purpose was to gain political, social, and economic autonomy for Québec. Issues surrounding national unity were further tested after the events of the 1970 October Crisis, which were characterized by a series of terrorist acts that culminated with the kidnapping and murder of Québec labour and immigration minister Pierre Laporte.⁸⁵

⁸³ Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework* ... 44-45. These significant economic disparities among the French and the English were made all the more real through studies such as John Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic*. This work clearly established the British and Anglophones as the country's ruling elite. Porter's research revealed that not only were these Canadians among the most privileged groups in society, but they also earned more money, could access superior health services, and enjoyed better educational opportunities than most other groups, including the French. Moreover, over a three decade period Porter demonstrated how the British and English groups of Canada were consistently overrepresented in the professional and financial classes of society. The French, on the other hand, were underrepresented in these areas and had become even more so by 1961. Contemporaneously, the French were overrepresented in primary and unskilled occupations while here the English were underrepresented. See John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (reprinted 1989; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 86-87.

⁸⁴ Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism Within A Bilingual Framework*... 44.

⁸⁵ For more on these events see, Kenneth McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis* 3rd ed. (Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1993), 200-202; and also John English, *Just Watch Me* ... Chapter Three.

One of the early responses by the federal government to the changes taking place in Québec during the 1960s was the establishment by the Pearson government in 1963 of a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (the B and B Commission). In an effort to calm rising tensions, the Commission examined growing socio-cultural conflicts and recommended ways to create an officially bilingual/bicultural country based on the equal status of Canada's "two founding cultures" English and French, while taking into account the contributions made by other ethnic groups.⁸⁶

The First Nations of Canada also began to make demands for growing recognition of their special heritage and separate identities within the nation during this same time. Conflict over these concerns became a major issue in 1969 when the federal government issued a White Paper making a series of recommendations regarding the future of Aboriginal people inside Canada. This document suggested abolishing the Indian Affairs Branch of government, absolving the government of any financial responsibility toward its First Nations peoples, and pursuing a policy of assimilation that would end Natives' status as distinct peoples. Canada's First Nations had historically resisted any attempts at assimilation, and shortly after the White Paper was released Natives organized nationwide to reject the document unequivocally.⁸⁷ Part of the opposition centered on the issues of biculturalism and bilingualism. As Eve Haque has noted, Native leaders expressed grave concerns "about being left out of the national reformulation project," and

⁸⁶ Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration ...* 218.

⁸⁷ For more on this subject see Alan Cairn, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), Chapter Two; and J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* 3rd edition. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), Chapter Fourteen.

challenged the mandate's "bicultural logic at both the preliminary and public hearings of the commission."⁸⁸

Natives were not the only ones to challenge the government's stance on biculturalism and bilingualism. The government's project to establish Canada as a bicultural and bilingual country was also met with scepticism by a collection of other ethnic groups. An impressive front was launched, mostly by other Europeans, who were not considered "founding nations" and who were commonly referred to as the "third element/ or third force" (i.e. Canadians of non-British, non-French, and non-Aboriginal ancestry). Though these groups were regionally, culturally, and ethnically diverse and represented a variety of opinions, many shared concern that the Commission's "myopic" references to only two charter cultures and its strong focus on bilingualism and biculturalism would relegate them to second-class citizenship. To prevent this situation, members of these groups, especially Ukrainians, galvanized to demand broader state recognition, especially regarding their contributions to national development.

Rising Québec nationalism, pressures from Aboriginal groups, and the concerns by various other ethnic groups forced the government to address this growing civil consciousness with more care and sensitivity. The B and B Commission, therefore, in its final report-Book IV- *The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups*, published in 1969- recommended that ethnic groups be accorded a higher priority in state affairs and be given more government support. The 1971 policy of multiculturalism was, thus, a response to an intense and complex set of demands involving ethnic identity and

⁸⁸ Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism Within A Bilingual Framework ...* 43.

recognition, and would represent an attempt to form a new sense of national unity that took all of these issues of ethnic identity and diversity into account

The policy of multiculturalism that Trudeau outlined in 1971 had four main objectives: first, to preserve human rights; second, to develop Canadian identity; third, to strengthen citizen participation in national development; and fourth, to reinforce Canadian unity while encouraging cultural diversification within a bilingual framework.⁸⁹ These policy objectives were to be implemented through a series of programs that would fund multicultural grants, cultural development programs, the writing of ethnic histories, the development of Canadian ethnic studies centers, greater access to instruction in Canada's official languages, and programs by federal cultural agencies to be more representative of Canadian diversity.⁹⁰ These initiatives would lead to the expansion of the National Museum of Man (later, the Museum of Civilization), the National Film Board, the National Library, and the National Archives in the way of diverse ethno-cultural content. In 1972 a Multicultural Directorate, was formed within the Department of the Secretary of State and was designed to assist in the implementation of multicultural policies and programs. A Ministry of Multiculturalism was created, in 1973, to supervise and monitor multicultural initiatives within government departments. Furthermore, to ensure that ethnic groups were included in the decision-making process concerning matters of multiculturalism, the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism was established in 1973 and included more than one hundred members representing forty-

⁸⁹Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, October 8, 1971, 8581.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 8581-8583.

seven ethno-cultural backgrounds.⁹¹ The policy of multiculturalism and its implementation seemed to encapsulate many of the progressive ideals Canada was striving for. Moreover, it appeared to be the ultimate promise made to immigrant and ethnic minorities about how they would be recognized as equals in society.

Notwithstanding the merits of the policy and its program initiatives, there were also clear shortcomings. The policy was flawed in that it did not adequately set out serious, thoughtful strategies and objectives for the realization of a truly multicultural state, whereby all ethnic, cultural, and minority groups would enjoy fully equal status. Instead, as political scientist Freda Hawkins effectively demonstrated, the policy had no well-defined limits, was overly ambiguous, and never intended to be more than a modest contribution towards good community relations.⁹² Lacklustre management of its program and limited funding gave further evidence that the government never really meant for the policy to “be a departure of great significance.”⁹³ These types of deficiencies lent further credit to critics who accused the government of mainly serving narrow political interests, trying to secure “the ethnic vote,”⁹⁴ acknowledging Canada’s many cultural groups with lip service only, and doing little more than providing minimal funds for “folk dances, songfests, and parties.”⁹⁵

⁹¹ Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration* ... 221.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Howard Palmer and Jean Burnet, “Coming Canadians:” *An Introductory to a History of Canada’s Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988), 176. For a more recent discussion of how various political parties courted the “ethnic vote” see C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberal and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2010), chapter 6.

⁹⁵ John English, *Just Watch Me*...146.

The policy's inadequate support base resulted in other major problems and stood in the way of making concrete some of its original goals, particularly that of instilling a stronger, more inclusive sense of national belonging among the country's diverse social groups. Rather than create unity per se the policy was actually quite divisive and not universally accepted. The policy managed to further alienate Québécois, who not only viewed it as a contradiction to the original mandate of the B and B Commission, but also saw it as a clear slight to the distinct and special status of French culture. It did not address significantly First Nations concerns. And it also fell short of many of the expectations of other ethnic groups. As Freda Hawkins pointed out about multiculturalism; "More than updated rhetoric and the promise of respect for cultural heritage, they [the nation's various ethnic groups] might in fact expect significant political change to arise from it."⁹⁶

Despite these powerful failings and shortcomings, during the 1970s various members of Parliament garnered their support around a policy that they presented as a solution to the nation's assorted struggles. Ignoring certain realities, through their rhetoric, the policy was construed both as an effective system of managing diversity and as creative new expression of Canadian nationalism. Canada would now be defined as a collection of nationalities, races, and cultures. The honourable Stanley Haidasz, of the Progressive Conservative Party, reinforced this ideal; "a policy of multiculturalism is a policy of virtually unlimited scope and one which allows all strands of thought, values and beliefs to contribute to the identity we have as Canadians."⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration* ...223.

⁹⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 30 May 1973, 4263.

Parliamentarians also used the policy to contrast an innovative and “superior” Canadian way of accepting diversity with an “unimaginative” and assimilationist U.S. model.⁹⁸ In 1973 Stuart Legatt, of the NDP, expressed this point:

Canada is not a melting pot... that is one of the unique and nice things about this country, a quality that sets it apart from the United States. We are a rich mosaic of a multicultural nature. Thank God [we] have not melted [ourselves] into some sort of morpheus North America. They (various ethnic groups) continue to contribute in many interested ways to the mosaic and originality of this country.⁹⁹

Progressive Conservative Paul Yewchuk made a similar observation that year:

Multiculturalism is a uniquely Canadian concept and represents the traditional difference between the American melting pot and Canadian mosaic. The mosaic probably remains the single most important strand in the fabric of our national identity. Inside the melting pot everyone is rootless, floating like driftwood in the ocean, no roots to attach it to firm soil. Here in Canada, the English, the French and other European origins, the Indians are maintaining their identity and therefore maintaining their roots on Canadian soil.¹⁰⁰

The irony of this statement is while Yewchuk was praising a Canadian mosaic based on cultural diversity, his view remained limited. Excluded were those groups who were not English, French, Native, or European. Africans, those from the Middle East, and Asians remained omitted from Yewchuk’s definition of multiculturalism.

⁹⁸ It should be noted that these sorts of stock comparisons were not necessarily true. In reality the models were much more complex than this. Multiculturalism, for one, sought to encourage cultural retention but at the same time it did not want to force immigrants into their own cultural bubbles or separate from them from the mainstream, thus a certain degree of assimilation was required or expected of immigrants and ethnic groups. The “melting-pot” model was similarly not simply the forced system of assimilation that it was portrayed to be. Like in Canada, there was support for cultural pluralism and multiculturalism in the United States; see Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 348-257.

⁹⁹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 22 June, 1973, 5038.

¹⁰⁰ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 3 March 1973, 4260.

Nevertheless, prominent policy-makers viewed multiculturalism as an important step in selling Canada as egalitarian and anti-racist both internationally and to its newcomers.

Positive rhetoric surrounding the policy and the message of equality, democracy, and pluralism was further spread through various ministers responsible for multiculturalism. John Munro, for one reinforced the government's policy when he stated:

Our commitment to diversity- and multiculturalism as a policy expresses this commitment- as a fundamental and integral part of Canadian society and nation is basic. Our commitment to establishing acceptance of all Canadians equally also expressed in our multicultural policy is basic.¹⁰¹

Norman Cafik, in 1977, echoed similar approbation:

We believe Canada is a free country and we believe in the importance of someone coming to Canada and being able to bring his or her culture into Canada and share it. That in our minds, is a unifying force building a strong country. Multiculturalism is a policy that permits an integration of values, where in Canadians don't have to confine themselves to a cultural mold, but can achieve cultural equality, making all Canadians equal in terms of their background and culture.¹⁰²

At the end of that year, Cafik reconfirmed the government's commitment to multiculturalism and defended the policy's integrity; "Far from being a token policy or a token program, Multiculturalism is here to stay as an absolutely fundamental policy to hold this country together."¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Hon, John Munro, Minister Responsible for Multiculturalism, "Multiculturalism Integral Part of Canadian Society," *Crescent*, April 1 1977.

¹⁰² *Crescent*, "Cafik Sees Multiculturalism a Unifying Force in Canadian Life," April 1 1977.

¹⁰³ *Crescent*, "Multiculturalism-A Fundamental Policy of Canada Cafik," December. 1 1977.

Pakistanis and Multiculturalism

Regardless of the government's true motives, the policy of multiculturalism did inspire a great deal of positive support from many observers, and from many immigrants as well, including Pakistanis and other South Asians. Anthropologists Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra concluded that multiculturalism would not only create greater general awareness in the nation of newly established ethnic communities, but it would significantly alter the basic sense of "what it [meant] to be Canadian, shifting it away from a mechanical association with the two founding European groups."¹⁰⁴ Sadiq Awan agreed and further suggested that multiculturalism would teach mutual tolerance, "resolve the conflict that exist[ed] between one's culture and the mainstream culture of Canada" and pave the way for a "civilized" integration process.¹⁰⁵

Like Awan, other Pakistanis also viewed the policy as a very positive development. Waheed-ud-Din, for one, was particularly impressed with Canadian multiculturalism and described it as a humane, loving, and nurturing code of life:

Lovely Canada is like a garden. Different communities residing in it are like flowers of different colours. The gardener looks after every flowery plant very carefully. The collective fragrance of these flowers a breeze imparts to our brain and refreshes them is the essence of Multiculturalism. Here the gardener and the breeze are used metaphorically for the Canadian Government.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra, *Continuous Journey*...300.

¹⁰⁵ Sadiq Awan, *People of the Indus* ... 73-74.

¹⁰⁶ Waheed-ud-Din, "A Glimpse of Multiculturalism," *Crescent* May 1, 1975. This quote is somewhat reminiscent of one made by former Prime Minister John George Diefenbaker in a metaphor he used comparing Canada to a garden; I liken Canada to a garden... a garden into which have been transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land." See Senator Paul Yuzyk, *For a Better Canada: A Collection of selected speeches delivered in the Senate of Canada and at banquets and Conferences in various centres across Canada* (Toronto: Ukrainian National Association, Inc. 1973), 88.

Lateef Owaisi was another staunch advocate of the policy. Owaisi, who for over a half a decade served on the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, was privy to an inside perspective on multiculturalism and was moved by the enthusiastic rhetoric surrounding the policy. He maintained that the policy would, indeed, reinvigorate Canadian identity and create an effective strategy to help newcomers reach their full potential:

The images of the old must now give way to new visions where in the numerous cultures and ethnic groups will not only feel like distant poor cousins but active partners in Canadian confederation¹⁰⁷

While Owaisi recognized that the policy was in its infancy, he fervently believed it an essential component for the development of a healthy equality-based state and felt that a strong majority of people agreed with him:

...One thing is generally agreed: Canadian multiculturalism- while this may not be fully developed at several levels its importance cannot be over-emphasized because this will determine the destiny of Canada in the future. The idea of a multicultural Canada is also key to a united Canada because in recognizing the individual personality of each culture we are also recognizing the diverse elements of Canadian society.¹⁰⁸

An article appearing in *Crescent* by an anonymous Pako-Canadian further highlighted the merits of multiculturalism and its impact on ethnic minorities:

¹⁰⁷Lateef Owaisi, "Keeping Canada United," *Crescent*, July 1, 1977.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.* Owaisi's views on multiculturalism caught the attention of Joseph P. Guay (minister of State responsible for Multiculturalism for part of 1977). Guay wrote a personal letter to Owaisi thanking him for his positive comments and belief in multiculturalism. The minister further promised that he and his colleagues would do everything in their power toward the preservation of an equal and united Canada. See *Crescent*, "A Letter From Minister of State Responsible for Multiculturalism." August 15, 1977.

Multiculturalism is an important aspect of the Canadian way of life ... the fact that it exists is a source of comfort to all ethnic groups. Through it, the aspirations of ethnic minorities their difficulties in the Canadian mainstream and their contribution to the Canadian way of life are realized.¹⁰⁹

This type of positive assessment was typical of many articles, editorials, opinion pieces, and letters to the editor published in *Crescent*, which was no surprise since Owaisi, a strong supporter of multiculturalism, was an editor. Despite the frequent attention given to unfortunate instances of racism (a subject explored in Chapter Three), the paper encouraged its readers to view multiculturalism in a positive light, as a potential solution to current racial problems, and as a useful guide toward integration. In almost every edition, readers could see pro-multicultural articles along with bilingual Urdu/English advertisements applauding the policy. Slogans appearing in these advertisements included phrases such as “Canada Works,” “You belong to Canada and Canada belongs to you,” and “Multiculturalism, Unity through Diversity.”¹¹⁰

The value of the policy was more widely acknowledged in a report, produced by Lateef Owaisi, Zafar Bangash, and Amina Syed, for the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. The report reflected prevailing assumptions that Canada’s policy of multiculturalism was far superior to models adopted in the United States. Moreover, it posited that Canada, as a nation, would be greatly enriched by its emphasis on mutual respect and encouragement of cultural exchanges:

Multiculturalism as a policy rejects the melting-pot theory in which people of diverse national, ethnic, linguistic and

¹⁰⁹ *Crescent*, “Why you Must Vote,” May 15, 1979.

¹¹⁰ For a sample of these advertisements see *Crescent*, February 15 1977; *Crescent*, June 15, 1977; *Crescent*, March 1 1978.

cultural backgrounds are expected to discard their own heritage for the sake of uniformity. Multiculturalism promotes the retention of various cultures and aims at preserving the best traditions and values of every ethnic group, adding to the diversity and richness of the culture that is distinctly Canadian.¹¹¹

Khalid Saeed, continuing also these lines, admitted that Canadian multiculturalism increased his appreciation of the country. He actually chose to settle in Canada largely because its “multicultural approach was far superior and more civilized” than the lacklustre “Unitarian” and “monolithic approach” observed in the United States.¹¹²

Some newcomers were initially hopeful that in multicultural Canada they would be spared the types of racial prejudice that plagued other countries like Britain and the United States. Mohammad Alam, who came to Canada in 1972, alluded to these reasons. While Canada was not Alam’s first choice the idea of a country that promoted pluralism and equality was an inviting feature:

I went first to England, but didn’t like it at all at all. There was so much problems, people like us had such hard times. There was too, too much prejudice. I read about Canada and knew that everybody was equal there, so I thought it was good choice.¹¹³

Pakistani immigrant Joy Biswas similarly viewed Canada as a bastion of equality and ethnic pluralism. In 1972, she told the *Toronto Star* that Canada was an obvious destination for her and her family. Not only was Canada a land of opportunity, but it was

¹¹¹ Lateef Owaisi, Zafar Bangash, and Amina Syed, “Visible Minorities in Mass Media Advertising,” *Report submitted to the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1978), v. It should be mentioned that while the author’s viewed the policy with general favour, their report showed how, according to their research, the policy was not being implemented in some crucial ways (see Chapter Three).

¹¹² Khalid Bin Saeed, “Canadians and Pakistanis: Their Mutual Expectations ... 36.

¹¹³ Mohammad Alam [pseudo.], interview by author, Bramelae, Ont., June 22, 2005.

noted for its welcoming and tolerant approach to people from all over the world, including Pakistanis:

Canada alone of the Western countries has continued to welcome Pakistani immigrants. Canada is a young, prosperous nation whose streets seem paved with gold when viewed from 10000 miles away in Lahore. ...Canadian's attitude to life is marked by tolerance.¹¹⁴

A Turn for the Worse: The mid 1970s, The Green Paper, Reactions and Actions

High hopes surrounding Canada and multiculturalism, however, were met with unhappy circumstances. By the mid-1970s there was a dramatic change of climate and the optimism of the earlier part of the decade was fading. Political rhetoric also started to shift, dovetailing with a declining Canadian economy and the increased presence of immigrants from the developing world. As was the case for most western economies, Canada during these years experienced an economic downturn. Sharp increases in the price of crude oil in 1973 and 1974 due to the Arab-Israel War led to worldwide inflationary pressures and economic recession. Between 1972 and 1974, annual rates of inflation in most OECD¹¹⁵ economies rose from around five to thirteen percent. Increasing inflationary trends were observed in 1975 as well,¹¹⁶ and Canada was not immune. Not only was Canada affected by these global events, but the economy further plummeted when the United States, in its' own economic crisis, started to cut government spending and impose trade restrictions. As a result, the economic boom that Canada had

¹¹⁴ *Toronto Star*, "I have been accepted as an equal and an individual," April 8, 1972.

¹¹⁵ Acronym stands for Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. At this point in time the participating countries and regions included, Western Europe, United States, Australia, Japan, and Canada.

¹¹⁶ Toronto Archives (hereafter TA) Series 10, Item 930, Box 115620-9, "An Economic Strategy for Metropolitan Toronto," Metropolitan Toronto Economic Development Steering Committee, 1980, 2.

enjoyed through most of the post-war period was now coming to a halt. The attempts made by the government to alleviate economic pressures and stimulate the economy worsened conditions causing budget deficits, a depreciated dollar, and unmanageable rates of both inflation and unemployment.

During the 1970s Pakistan too was caught in economic crisis. Although Pakistan's economy had made some positive changes throughout the 1960s and early 1970s in terms of industrial development and an overall growth in its GDP, by the early 1970s the economy was mired in perennial trade deficits, budget deficits, high defence expenditures, a low tax base, and low investment in human capital.¹¹⁷ The loss of East Pakistan, a decline in real wages, an increase in poverty, and a significantly devalued rupee added to the country's economic turmoil. Furthermore, higher oil prices following OPEC's 1973 oil embargo along with natural disasters like floods and a major earthquake also had a disastrous impact on the economy. According to one observer, by 1974 Pakistan was unable to make its debt payments on loans, which resulted in further economic dislocation.¹¹⁸ To escape these financial woes many Pakistanis sought immigration abroad. As Pakistanis looked to Canada as a potential solution, Canadian immigration by the mid-1970s became increasingly restrictive.

Growing concern over the state of the Canadian economy led to a significant roll-back in the overall number of immigrants, dropping from over two hundred thousand in 1974 to fewer than one hundred thousand by 1978.¹¹⁹ Most source countries were affected by these measures. During this same period, hard economic circumstances also

¹¹⁷ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan A Modern History* ...39.

¹¹⁸ James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan*... 211.

¹¹⁹ Employment of Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistic*, 1980.

caused the government to change immigration policy in a way that would alter the types of immigrants that would be admitted to the country. During these years the government significantly cut back the number of independent immigrants allowed to enter the country, and placed emphasis instead on family reunification. This meant that larger numbers of immigrants were allowed to enter and join family members without having to meet the standards of the points system. As a result, there was a noticeable increase in the number of immigrants who were less skilled, less qualified, and less educated, and a decrease in immigrants who were professionals and/or skilled.

The fact that sponsors were outnumbering independents disturbed many members of Parliament and immigration officials alike and raised familiar questions about assimilability and integration. Some revived the old fears of unfit immigrants and concerns that “less desirable” classes of immigrants were being served at the expense of independent applicants who were regarded as “more likely to make a contributive [sic] life in Canada.”¹²⁰ These new immigration patterns did not make sense to some and were linked to a devaluing Canadian standard of living. Progressive Conservative member Ian Arrol, for one, warned that if “we were to take hordes of those who are unskilled and whose social conditioning is not that of the work ethic, we could be well on the way to reducing our own standard of living.”¹²¹ In 1977 Armand Caouette, of the Social Credit Party, also voiced concern over what he felt was becoming an immigration crisis. Caouette could understand an immigrant’s attraction to Canada, but cautioned the government to be more selective when choosing prospective immigrants. In his view, “it

¹²⁰ NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, “Memorandum to Robert Andras from Mark MacGuigan ...

¹²¹ Canada, House of Common, *Debates*, 22 June, 1973, 5028.

was only normal that Canada should seek immigrants who [could] adjust to our society and play an active role in it.”¹²² He further advised the country to reject people who he characterized as unbeneficial; “...We should turn down ... undesirable applicants who could not make any worthwhile contribution to the development of the country.”¹²³

Caouette referred to undesirable immigrants as those who were “unskilled” or “uneducated”- or non-independent applicants- and implied that to allow in these types of people would be reckless from an economic and social standpoint:

No country, no nation can survive if it deliberately bungles its economic stability by opening its door to everyone. ...it would be irresponsible and criminal to open our doors to immigrants and make the problem even worse. We live in an industrialized country where jobs require increasingly greater skills. ...We live in a remarkable and tremendously rich country, with one of the highest living standards in the world. ...our country could not maintain such a high standard of living if it threw its doors wide open to welfare recipients...¹²⁴

Ron Huntington agreed with these sentiments and further cautioned that to encourage those who were so ‘different’ from Canadians, especially Asians, would in fact destroy the country’s existing social apparatus:

It is high time we ask ourselves if immigration from Asian countries in great numbers is helping solve the world’s population problems. Each year the populations of India and China increase by a number in excess of the population of all Canada. India’s population increased annually by 13 million. This is a world situation which cannot be solved

¹²² Canada, House of Common, *Debates*, 15 March 1977, 4018.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

by destroying the Canadian social fabric with an over-anxious immigration policy.¹²⁵

Huntington went a step further and said that helping East and South Asian countries would only result in the further “breeding” of these kinds of people.¹²⁶ People from these countries, in his view were “not fitting properly into the fabric of Canadian society.”¹²⁷ To solve this calamitous situation and save the country’s socio-cultural composition, Huntington proposed halting this type of immigration.

A memorandum written from the overseas director also wrote on the situation of “undesirable” or sponsored immigrants, this time with a specific focus on Pakistanis and Indians:

For several years it has been known that Sponsored Quotas from India and a lesser degree Pakistan has brought immigrants to Canada who are not at all suitable to our country. The unsponsored immigrants selected from these countries, however, have been good immigrants.¹²⁸

As an aside, though this report recognized a certain value regarding independent South Asian immigrants, other accounts, painted even these immigrants unfavourably (Chapter Three and Four provides more information on this subject).

These questions regarding immigrant suitability and claims that sponsored immigrants represented a particular threat to the fabric of Canadian society fell especially hard on women. Women made up a large number of those immigrants who arrived by sponsorship rather than as independents under the points system. As worries about

¹²⁵ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 9 December 1974, 2086. Huntington’s racist stance was brought to the attention of the *Canadian India Times*. See *Canadian India Times*, “Asian Immigration Worries “Racist M.P.,” January 2, 1975.

¹²⁶ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 9 December ...

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, “Memorandum from the Director Overseas Service: Canada- Indian Agreement-Canada-Pakistan Agreement,” 12 April, 1966.

immigration mounted, some voices within the government began to single out sponsored women as a particular problem in immigration policy. A Special Joint Committee on Immigration Policy warned in a 1975 report that immigrant women were less likely to become properly assimilated and to make worthwhile contributions into Canadian society:

It is clear that we are not very successful in having immigrant women adapt to the Canadian way of life. ...immigrant women, especially wives and mothers...when not in the work force have little opportunity to learn the language and make personal contacts, advantages enjoyed by their husbands and their school-aged and working children. Many of them remain in the home isolated by language differences, and can become estranged from community...¹²⁹

As the type of immigrant coming to the country changed so did the political discourse surrounding the country's open-door immigration policy. Social and demographic shifts stimulated at times a near panic situation. Immigrants seemed the convenient scapegoats and were linked to social problems, including infectious diseases, taxing the welfare rolls, and abusing government services.¹³⁰ Government officials were now more wary of the current system and in 1974 the Minister of Manpower and Immigration decided to open the question of immigration to extensive public debate. Though this tactic did not lead to any sort of consensus, it was the first time that the government attempted to do a detailed analysis of population and immigration issues. These efforts resulted in the release of the Green Paper on Immigration in 1975 which

¹²⁹ Canada, House of Commons, *Report of the Special Joint Committee on Immigration*, no. 53, 8 December 1975, 41.

¹³⁰ Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Ethnic Kaleidoscope*, 4 (February 1976):12.

was supposed to offer ways to improve existing policies by closely examining and scrutinizing the country's situation.

The paper's findings were that of alarm, especially regarding open immigration. A prevailing theme throughout the document was that the country no longer stood to benefit from this kind of immigration policy due to the problems it was causing:

To many Canadians, living in a modern industrialized and increasingly urbanized society, the benefits of high rates of population growth appear dubious on several grounds. Canada like most advanced nations counts the costs of more people in terms of congested metropolitan areas, housing shortages, pressures on arable land, damage to the environment, in short, the familiar catalogue of problems with which most prosperous and sophisticated societies are endeavouring to overcome.¹³¹

These types of passages found support among some members of Parliament who now questioned the country's "generosity" regarding its national policies.¹³² Favouring mass immigration, according to some would have dire consequences for the country, create "social strain," and lead to a surplus population. As liberal member Donald Johnston cautioned:

We, too, are becoming a crowded country. Things in this land have changed, too, and what used to be regarded as wide open spaces, are not wide open anymore. ...many of our so-called vast empty spaces are virtually incapable of

¹³¹ Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population*, (Ottawa, 1975), 9.

¹³² According to various studies the average Canadian also overwhelmingly supported these ways of thinking. Gallup polls taken between 1945 and 1973, for one, indicated that Canadians were actually more supportive of immigration in the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s than they were in the late 1960s and 1970s (years that corresponded with policy changes and increasing numbers of immigrants to Canada). For instance, in 1973 only thirty percent of Canadians thought that the country should take in immigrants. It is important to mention that of this average, increased immigration was only approved of as long as it was restrictive, selective, and adapted to the needs of Canada. See Nancy Tienhaara, *Canadian Views of Immigration and Population: An analysis of post-war Gallup poll*, Prepared for the Department of Manpower and Immigration, (Canada: Ottawa, 1974).

supporting human life. ...we should no longer look on the vast spaces of Canada as empty places to be filled by all who want to come here.¹³³

The Green Paper also made Asian and Caribbean immigrants the main targets of much anxiety and implied that it was these immigrants who were creating major societal problems:

The rapid increase during the past few years in the number of sources of significant immigrant movements to their country- with those from certain Asian and Caribbean nations now larger than some traditional flows- has coincided with the latest and most dynamic phase of post-war urban expansion in Canada. In the circumstances it would be astonishing if there was no concern about the capacity of our society to adjust to a pace of population change that entails after all, as regards to international immigration, novel and distinct features.¹³⁴

The Paper's underlying racial prejudices did not go unnoticed. Controversy surrounding its findings provoked protest especially by people from groups singled out as undesirable. In June 1975, more than two hundred people, including many Pakistanis, protested what they felt were anti-immigrant sentiments prevalent in the Green Paper. Speaking on behalf of the Pakistani People's Association and other members of Toronto's visible minorities, Schams Ahad, a Pako-Canadian engineer, demanded that the government, stop blaming newcomers from Asia and the Caribbean for Toronto's social and economic problems. "This small percentage of Canadians," he declared, "could not

¹³³ Canada, House of Common, *Debates*, 8 December 1975, 9814.

¹³⁴ Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Highlights from the Green Paper* ... 11.

possibly be responsible for housing shortages, transportation tie-ups, and the general shortage of space.”¹³⁵

Several academics also criticized the document for its numerous racial implications and unfair assessment of immigrants.¹³⁶ Sociologist Anthony Richmond, for one, accused the Green Paper of inciting racial antagonisms and deliberately misrepresenting facts to make it look as though immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean were overwhelming Canada’s social structure. Moreover, Richmond argued that the document seemed to imply that immigrants from the developing world were greatly exceeding all other newcomers when, in fact, immigrants from Great Britain and the United States still accounted for a majority of entrants during these years.¹³⁷ He cautioned that these types of misconstructions were harmful and placed these immigrants in danger of being made scapegoats for the country’s social and economic problems.¹³⁸

Sociologist Gurbachan Singh Paul was another critic of the Green Paper. In his view the paper was purposely misleading. Paul attributed a malevolent undertone to the document, stating that it ignored any positive contributions made by immigrants of

¹³⁵ Deborah Sproat, “Green paper is ‘Fascist, lies’, 200 at immigration rally told,” *Globe and Mail*, June 9, 1975.

¹³⁶ See, Gurbachan Singh Paul, “The Green Paper and Third World Immigrants: A Subjective Analysis,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada* 7, no. 1 (1975):40-49; Anthony Richmond, “The Green Paper-Reflection on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada* 7, no. 1 (1975):5-21; and Paul Cappon, “The Green Paper: Immigration as a tool of Profit,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada* 7, no. 1 (1975):50-54. John Wood added to the debate and indicated that though the origins of the 1976 Immigration Act was rooted in White backlash, and a policy review board, which focussed criticism on immigrants from the developing world, the actual Immigration Act of 1976 was not a racist document. The Act did not unjustly target South Asians; instead it reflected a compromise which limited overall numbers of immigrants, while accommodating the interests of immigrants from the developing world, including South Asians, by continuing to focus on family re-unification. See John Wood, “East Indians and Canada’s New Immigration Policy,” *Canada Public Policy/Analyse de Politiques* 4, no. 4 (Autumn, 1978):547-567.

¹³⁷ Anthony Richmond, “The Green Paper ... 19.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

colour, and instead construed them as “an immigration policy problem.”¹³⁹ In another article he wrote, which was featured in *Canadian Indian Times*, Paul underscored some of the other ramifications of the Green Paper. According to him this document and the public attention given to immigration at the time attracted negative responses.¹⁴⁰ Paul argued that the document actually triggered a backlash and brought out wide-spread opposition to immigration and multiculturalism. Especially from members of Canada’s middle-class White Anglo-Saxon Protestant groups who felt threatened by change and its impact on their social, cultural, and political hegemony.¹⁴¹

Despite these criticisms of the Green Paper, open concerns about how immigration was tilting the national balance between White and non-White people continued to be expressed by members of Parliament. Progressive Conservative David MacDonald, in one statement, acknowledged that the question of Canada’s racial identity was at the center of concern and debate about the Green Paper:

Words used [in the Green Paper] to discuss immigration are really code words in respect of how far we want to adjust our view of society from what has been basically a white society to one that is multi-racial, not multiracial in the sense of equal proportions of various races because that, I suspect, would be a very long time away, but one that would certainly have a significant recognition of other racial groups. I think fundamentally there is this difficulty.¹⁴²

Others in Parliament were less temperate and spoke openly about the dangers of bringing too many non-Whites into Canada. “In the last seven years,” Progressive

¹³⁹ Gurbachan Singh Paul, “The Green Paper and Third World Immigrants ...43

¹⁴⁰ G.S. Paul, “Multiculturalism at Crossroads,” *Canadian India Times*, February 19, 1976.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Canada, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence on the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower, and Immigration*, no. 31, 6 June 1977, 8.

Conservative Ron Huntington declared, “we have brought in more non-Whites than our total native population. ...it is happening too fast and imposing a great social burden on the country.”¹⁴³ Fellow Progressive Conservative Gordon Ritchie similarly warned of the dangers of an open door immigration policy and its long-term impact on the racial composition of Canadian society. “I suppose that in time,” he lamented, “the mix of Canadians will change. Yet I doubt if there is any advantage to encouraging vast numbers of third world people to come to this country and we will encourage them [by] enact[ing] easy immigration laws.”¹⁴⁴ Social Credit member Léonel Beaudoin resurrected the old excuse that immigrants of colour were unprepared to live in a cold climate and in an advanced economy:

...I think we must consider that our country interests a lot of people, most of them coming from south-east countries as well as from India and elsewhere. ...we have a problem of which those people are unaware -our cold winter and much higher standard of living than in their own country. In my opinion, those people do not know what they are getting into when they come to Canada.¹⁴⁵

The 1976 Canadian Immigration Act

Controversy surrounding the Green Paper and immigration led to the formation of a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Immigration Policy. The Committee was charged with the task of critically examining Canadian immigration and coming up with recommendations for a reasonable, fair, and equitable policy. These recommendations became the foundation of a new Canadian Immigration

¹⁴³ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 9 December 1974, 2085.

¹⁴⁴ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 10 December 1975, 9915.

¹⁴⁵ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 10 December 1975, 9905.

Act in 1976. On many levels, the Act was in keeping with immigration policy that for nearly two decades had attempted to become more enlightened and compassionate, and more consistent with Canada's image of itself as a liberal, progressive nation. The government now clearly defined immigration objectives in terms of non-discrimination, family reunification, humanitarian obligations, and economic development. Achieving these objectives resulted in the reclassification of immigrants into three broad categories. A family class comprised the first category and consisted of immediate family, made-up of dependent children, as well as parents and grandparents. The second class of immigrants were refugees followed by a third class of immigrants who were selected on the basis of the points system and included independent applicants along with assisted relatives (other relatives sponsored by a family member in Canada).

Notwithstanding a stated commitment to equality, a moral obligation to provide asylum for international refugees, and a limited form of family reunification, certain prejudices remained. New immigration policies still widely discriminated against women. In 1982 Margaret Mitchell brought attention to this fact when, in the House of Commons, she stated; "...the Immigration Act itself discriminates against women. The very language of the bill is he, he, he, women are not treated as individuals."¹⁴⁶

Women were further disadvantaged due to the very nature of the system. As was the case for the 1960s, the new Immigration Act also favoured men as independents and therefore accorded them with privileged statuses in this category. Women were actually discouraged from entering Canada as independents, despite their credentials. Married women were often unable to apply as principal applicants and usually had to be

¹⁴⁶ Canada, House of Commons *Debates*, 5 February 1982, 14738.

sponsored by their husbands even if these women were educated and skilled and therefore able to accumulate sufficient points.¹⁴⁷ This system worked to reinforce unequal power relations among women and men and instilled a sense of female dependency, an undesirable circumstance that was once again highlighted by Mitchell:

Many women come in family groups, but they are treated as spouses. They do not have rights in their own names. They are in danger of being deported if they happen to separate from their husbands or if they must go on welfare.¹⁴⁸

Aside from gender and sex biases, new immigration policies had other discriminatory features; the government still discriminated against immigrants of colour and worked to control the “quality” of applicants. Many of the old structures that had favoured European immigrants over people of colour remained in place. This was particularly clear in regard to the location of immigration offices abroad. With the exception of new immigration offices that opened between 1972 and 1976 in Seoul, Singapore, Rabat, Port au Prince, Bogota, Mexico City, Bridgetown, and Pretoria¹⁴⁹ there was no other radical change in the distribution of immigration offices abroad; the bulk of which were concentrated in Europe. Moreover, the problem was not just the number of offices but the conditions and staffing in those offices. Liberal MP Mark MacGuigan,

¹⁴⁷ House of Commons, *Debates*, 5 February 1982, 14738. See also Monica Boyd, “The Status of Immigrant Women in Canada,” *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 12, no.4 (1975): 407.

¹⁴⁸ House of Commons, *Debates*, 26 September 1985, 7068. A 2001 report produced by the Status of Women Canada further confirmed that sponsorship “constrain[ed] the experiences of emigration and lock[ed] women into patriarchal power relationships that imprison[ed] them... and rendered their status subordinate and unstable. See Andrée Côté, et. al., “Sponsorship... For Better or For Worse: The Impact of Sponsorship on the Equality Rights of Immigrant Women,” Prepared for Status of Women Canada (Ottawa, 2001), 68. This report also detailed the experiences some immigrant women had with sponsorship. It revealed the inequalities and gender imbalances that resulted from this system. There were indeed numerous examples of how being a sponsored female immigrant could impact women of colour negatively. Examples pertaining to South Asian women, or Pakistani women, were rare.

¹⁴⁹ Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Annual Report*, 1973-1974; 1974-1975; and 1976-1977.

following an official visit of Asian offices in Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Korea, India, and Pakistan, reported that with the exception of Japan, these posts were understaffed, resulting in long backlogs and particularly long waiting times for applicants. Pakistan's office in Islamabad, according to Macguigan, was one of the worst. There was a "serious shortage of local support staff everywhere," and Pakistan was in "urgent" need of more officers, he said.¹⁵⁰ Average processing times for applicants from Pakistan, according to Macguigan, were approximately ten and a half months, longer processing times than for applicants from Japan, Hong Kong, and even India.¹⁵¹ And the ten and a half month estimate for Pakistan may have been optimistic. A 1980 article in *The Leader Post* found that Pakistani applicants were among those who had to wait the longest for processing, up to sixteen months on average.¹⁵² One Pakistani immigrant remembered that it took two full years to process his application in the early 1970s. Looking back, however, Mehboob Sayed did not begrudge his long wait, assuming that it was standard and that it allowed an immigrant "sufficient time to think before taking a final decision."¹⁵³

A study by sociologist Alan Simmons also concluded that by 1980, almost two decades after the government's supposed rejection of a country-preference system, the emphasis was still in many ways on Europe.¹⁵⁴ Canadian immigration officers abroad

¹⁵⁰ NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, "Memorandum to Robert Andras from Mark MacGuigan ...

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *The Leader Post*, "Skilled Labor Shortage in West to be eased by Immigrants," November 3, 1980.

¹⁵³ MHSO sample, interview with Mehboob Sayed.

¹⁵⁴ This point was further impressed upon by Yasmeen Abu-Laban who reported that even in the 1990s, Canadian immigration posts were more favourably concentrated in Europe and other countries in the developed world. While fifty percent of immigration posts were in fact located in the developing world, and fifty percent in the developed world, these percentages reinforced great disproportions. In other words the fifty percent of Canadian posts in the developing world were being used to service more than eighty percent of the world's population. See Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "Keeping 'em Out: Gender, Race, and Class Biases in

were still more highly concentrated in Europe than anywhere else in the world, though interest in immigrating to Canada from Europe was actually declining. Simmons noted that “Europe came out with an exceptionally high allocation of immigration officers, while Black Africa was ignored” and “large parts of South Asia were clearly understaffed relative to the population in that region.”¹⁵⁵ In 1973 India had five immigration officers and Pakistan had two. Although the numbers were raised by 1980 to seven in India and three in Pakistan these small increases were hardly sufficient to deal with the large number of immigration applications.¹⁵⁶ In 1980, Britain alone had thirteen officers.¹⁵⁷

In short, the Immigration Act of 1976 failed to change many of the structural forms of discrimination that continued to affect Pakistanis, South Asians, and other immigrants of colour through the period of immigration reform. The same problems, according to a report by C.V. Kalevar of South Asians for Equality three years before the 1976 Act, remained essentially unchanged. South Asian immigrants were still forced to cope with an immigration bureaucracy strongly slanted in favour of European recruitment and processing. Often, as Kalevar pointed out, with many of the same individuals who

Canadian Immigration Policy” *Painting the Maple: Essays on Race, Gender, and the Construction of Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 77-78.

¹⁵⁵ Alan Simmons, “Racism and Immigration Policy” In *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1998), 103-104. It should be mentioned that Simmons does not necessarily attribute racial prejudice to the allocation of immigration officers since Asia, in general, had almost as much staff as Europe. Rather than racial bias the more obvious bias, according to Simmons, was toward where “one [could] find individuals (1) motivated to come to Canada through established ethnic and family links and, (2) meet Canadian immigration criteria.” Simmons further suggested that a better, though more challenging, way of assessing possible bias in Canadian immigration recruitment in different countries and regions would be to compare “Canadian immigration from each world region relative to what one would expect if inflows from each region were proportional to the number of people living in them.” See Alan Simmons, *Immigration and Canada* ... 125, 134-135.

¹⁵⁶ For numbers in 1973 see NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, “Comments of Reports by Dr. Mark MacGuigan on his Visit to Departmental Offices in Asian & Australia,” 18 September, 1973; and for numbers for 1980 see Alan Simmon, “Racism and Immigration Policy...104.

¹⁵⁷ Alan Simmon, “Racism and Immigration Policy ... 104.

administered the system before the reforms of the 1960s and 1970s and whose commitment to racial equality was questionable.¹⁵⁸

Despite Canada's era of progressive immigration reform, hundreds of Pakistanis were forced to look for alternative means of accessing Canadian immigration, rather than applying directly from Pakistan. Between 1971 and 1980, over seventeen thousand Pakistanis immigrated to Canada and of this total more than twenty-three hundred (or slightly less than fifteen percent) came to Canada from third countries, where the application process was much more adequately supported. More than sixty percent came from European nations and the United States (see Appendix 12).¹⁵⁹ Pakistani immigrant Waheed Ud Din was one example of an individual who represented this trend. In his memoirs, Din remembered applying for a Canadian immigration visa at an embassy in London, England, a total processing and wait time, that he recalled, took no longer than three weeks.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ C.V. Kalevor, "The Immigration Policy: Is It Fair?" *Crescent*, March 23, 1973.

¹⁵⁹ It should be noted that immigrating from outside of Pakistan meant that these migrants were also able to avoid certain Pakistani controls as well. See NAC RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, "Memorandum to Director of Immigration," 6 September, 1962. Also, this thesis only considers legal Pakistani immigrants. Pakistanis, like others, thwarted conventional procedures, sometimes diverting long wait times and inadequate immigration services by coming into the country as visitors and then once in Canada applying for permanent residence.

¹⁶⁰ Waheed Ud Din, *The Marching Bells...* 91.

CHAPTER THREE

“PAKI GO HOME”: RACISM AND VIOLENCE IN TORONTO DURING THE 1970s

Multiculturalism and liberal policies instilled an image of Canada as a country committed fully to the principles of egalitarianism and non-discrimination. Though not widely acknowledged at the time, fundamental biases and prejudices remained an important part of these new progressive policies and influenced perceptions and opinions toward certain newcomers, many immigrants of colour. The previous chapter revealed how Pakistanis and other immigrants from the developing world were impacted by various forms of chauvinism, bigotry, and racism that continued to exist in the administration of Canada's immigration policies. This chapter explores how widespread anti-immigrant and racially bigoted attitudes in Canadian society shaped the experience of Pakistanis and other immigrants of colour. A focus on the city of Toronto shows many examples of anti-immigrant hostility, racial intolerance, and xenophobia. There, Pakistanis and others became the unsuspecting victims of aggression, violence, and danger, forces which not only affected their perceptions of Canada, but also their integration into that city.

To help understand the reasons for why Pakistanis and others became prime victims of racially motivated attacks, it is useful to position these immigrants in the general discussion of Canadian immigration, race, and racism.

Racist Ideology and Canadian Immigration

Contemporary scholarship on the concepts of race and racism places a strong emphasis on the Scientific Revolution, colonial expansion, the growth of nation states and other developments in nineteenth-century Western societies.¹ According to American historian George M. Fredrickson, racism was especially apparent:

when the kind of ethnic differences that are firmly rooted in language, customs, and kinship are overridden in the name of an imagined collectivity based on pigmentation, as in white supremacy, or on a linguistically based myth of remote decent from superior race, as in Aryanism. ...It also expresses itself in the practices, institutions, and structures that a sense of deep difference justifies or validates. ...It [racism] has a historical trajectory and is mainly, if not exclusively, a product of the West.²

Western nations, including Canada, embraced these racialized concepts and they became the foundation for popular nineteenth-century ideologies including

¹ French aristocrat, Count de Gobineau is known as the father of racialist theory. His work entitled “An essay on the Inequality of the Human Races,” published in the mid 19th century (1853-1855) sought to provide a scientific rationale for the superiority of the Aryan race; see Wilson Head, “The Concept of Race and Racism in Society” *Research Studies of the Commission on Equality in Employment* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1985), 643; George M. Fredrickson argued that a prototypical form of racism originated in the 14th and 15th centuries and was “originally articulated in the idioms of religion more than in those of natural science.” See George Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 6.

²George M Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* ... 5-6. According to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the term “racial discrimination” is defined as follows:

...any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on equal footing, of any human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

See, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm>. Canadian Human Rights activist, Wilson Head, defined racism in the following way:

Racism refers to the negative evaluation of one individual or group because of the colour of skin. It is based on the firm belief in the extraordinary value of superiority of one's own group, and the inferiority of others. [Moreover] inferior individuals or groups should be subjected to negative evaluation and treatment... because of colour alone.

Wilson Head, “The Concept of Race and Racism in Society ... 645.

biological/scientific racism, social Darwinism, and eugenics. Under the influence of these movements, Canada, among other western nations, began advocating the supremacy of the White Anglo Saxon Protestant race. Prominent Canadian doctors, businessmen, clergymen, social workers, and many others within the upper echelons of this group sought to assert the superiority of their class and race by conjuring ways to control society's "less desirable" demographics (i.e. working classes, "ethnics," and immigrants).³ According to Canadian scholar Mariana Valverde, East Indians and Africans were their special targets because they were viewed as "savages," and their "peculiar" habits and "deviant" practices made it highly "unlikely [for them] to lead orderly and civilized lives..."⁴

Members of Parliament and other government representatives used racial concepts and theories to influence national policies, including those pertaining to immigration. The Canadian Government, thus, over many decades sought to admit only immigrants it saw as racially fit to assimilate effectively into the mainstream Anglo/British mould, or those capable of productive citizenship in a White-Anglo nation.⁵ These attitudes translated

³ Angus McClaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990); and Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap & Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press reprinted 2008). Historian Barrington Walker drew on similar arguments, when studying how Blacks were represented in Canada's criminal justice system. Canadian criminal courts became a forum where members of the White Canadian elite could affirm the superiority of their race and "ways." In these arenas, White Canadians were constructed as morally superior, of higher intellect and maturity, and more civilized when foiled against Blacks who were "innately" more inclined toward violence and criminal behaviour due to uncontrollable urges, lack of intellect, and an inability to comprehend the gravity of their crimes. See Barrington Walker, *Race on Trial: Black Defendants in Ontario's Criminal Courts, 1858-1958* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

⁴ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap & Water*...105.

⁵ Early immigration policies as assimilationist in nature have been discussed in several works including, Jean Burney and Howard Palmer, *Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988). Evelyn Kallen, "Multiculturalism: Ideology, Policy and Reality" *Multiculturalism and Immigration in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2004); Howard Palmer, "Social Adjustment of Immigrants to Canada: 1940-1975," *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1975). For an older discussion of immigration and assimilation see J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within our Gates: Or Coming Canadians* (reprinted 1977 Toronto: University

into the recruitment and preferential treatment of White immigrants of European descent. A discriminatory system that was summed up well by anthropologists Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra in their discussion of nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian immigration policies; “British and Americans were the best, Germans and Scandinavians were alright, Eastern Europeans could be tolerated, South-Eastern Europeans were to be discouraged,” while “Asians and Blacks should not come at all.”⁶

Perceptions of race did begin to change slowly following the Second World War. By then overt expressions of White supremacy were becoming less universally tolerable. Though significant changes were taking place, racist ideals supporting the superiority of some people over others persisted, sometimes in more subtle and concealed ways. Historian Constance Backhouse studied the complexities surrounding race and concluded that even in the more “enlightened” decades following the war, Canadians clung to race as a valid classification and used it to “create, explain, and perpetuate inequalities.”⁷ Other recent studies by sociologists Sharene Razack, Richard Day, and Sunera Thobani similarly showed how race and racial constructs have continued to play an influential role in Canada’s social, economic, and political structure. Even in the years of the 1960s and 1970s, decades of tremendous reform, racialized concepts remained intact and worked to disadvantage certain religious, immigrant, and ethnic groups especially natives, blacks,

of Toronto Press, 1909); and Rev. John Cormie in *Canada and the New Canadians* (Toronto: The Social Service Council of Canada, 1931).

⁶ Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra, *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada* (Canada: McClelland Stewart Ltd., 1985), 4.

⁷ Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 8. Racial profiling and how certain minority groups including Black, Aboriginal, Asian, Muslim, Arab, and Latino Canadians fell victim to pejorative stereotypes is the subject of Henry, Frances, et. al., *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 2000), and Carol Tator and Frances Henry, *Racial Profiling in Canada: Challenging the Myth Of A Few Bad Apples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

Asians, and Muslims. Many of whom were portrayed by some Canadians as “foreigners,” “exotics,” or “others.”⁸

Canadian Opinions: National Surveys and Commissioned Studies

As these and other studies suggested, race remained a deeply embedded way for many Canadians to distinguish themselves from those they considered “others,” despite the establishment of progressive immigration and other reforms. National surveys and commission studies conducted during a twenty year span following the 1976 Immigration Act showed general support for the ideals of equality and multiculturalism, but at the same time also attested to the continuing power of racially driven thinking among ordinary Canadians and the pervasiveness of conflicted, contradictory attitudes toward open immigration, multiculturalism, and immigrants, especially those of colour.⁹

Social scientists John Berry, Rudolf Kalin, and Donald Taylor were among those who systematically measured the opinions Canadian shared regarding multiculturalism and immigration. Their report, published in 1976, revealed that the majority of Canadians were unaware of the fact that Canada even had an official multicultural policy. In other words only one-fifth of their sample actually knew about multiculturalism.¹⁰ Despite a lack of knowledge regarding this policy, the researchers found that Canadians, or over

⁸See Sherene Razack, *Looking White People: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Richard Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); and Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

⁹ Sociologists Ronald Lambert and James Curtis produced a study that measured English Canadian and Québécois attitudes toward multiculturalism. Interestingly, while a more general anti-immigrant and anti multicultural attitude was exhibited among the Québécois, a different trend was noted regarding South Asians and those from the Caribbean. Rather, English Canadians were more likely to be against immigrants from India, Pakistan, and the Caribbean than were Québécois, see Ronald Lambert and James Curtis, “Opposition to multiculturalism among Québécois and English-Canadians,” *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 20, no. 2. (1984):198.

¹⁰ John Berry, et al., “Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada” (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977), 142.

sixty percent of their sample, were nonetheless accepting of diversity and immigration in general.¹¹ A similar percentage of people claimed to be tolerant of racial differences.¹²

The idea of tolerance and acceptance among Canadians, however, was challenged by other findings in the study. When respondents, for example, were asked to rank different ethnic groups, six of whom were visible minorities, according to the criteria of “hard working,” “important,” “clean,” “likeable,” “wealthy,” “interesting,” “Canadian,” “well known to me,” “similar to me,” and “sticking together,” clear hierarchical preferences were noted. People of White European descent were overwhelmingly scored well, while there was a general rejection of people from visible minorities.¹³ People from the developing world were placed at the very bottom of the list and the survey actually identified East Indians (a term used synonymously with Indians and sometimes all South Asians) as the least preferred among all groups.¹⁴

A series of surveys tabulated by sociologist Reginald Bibby (between 1975 and 1995) substantiated similar attitudes. Bibby observed that throughout these decades the majority of Canadians indicated that they preferred the “mosaic” ideology over the “melting pot.” However, when asked to rate levels of “uneasiness” with respect to ethnic minority groups, Indians and Pakistanis consistently rose to the top of the list, while disdain for other visible minorities including, Natives, Blacks, Jews, and other Asians were also high but shifted throughout the decades.¹⁵

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 175.

¹³ An exception to this rule, were the Japanese who ranked 8th.

¹⁴ John Berry, et al., “Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada... 104-105.

¹⁵ Reginald Bibby, *The Bibby Report: Social Trends Canadian Style* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Company Ltd, 1995), 57.

In 1991 Heritage Canada, under the Multiculturalism and Citizenship branch of government, commissioned a national poll to evaluate attitudes toward ethnic pluralism. Three thousand Canadians were sampled, and like other studies it too found that the majority of Canadians approved of multiculturalism. However, when asked to rate how comfortable respondents would feel being around recent immigrants, people from the developing world were ranked at the bottom of the comfort zone. Sikhs and Indo-Pakistanis were among the more negatively rated, followed by Muslims, Arabs, and those from the Caribbean.¹⁶

Other academic studies demonstrated similar trends in various Canadian regions and cities. In 1978, sociologist Peter Li produced a study that examined prejudice against Chinese and East Indian immigrants in western Canada and discovered that certain Canadians held particularly negative views toward these groups, especially South Asians.¹⁷ Li's results indicated that over forty percent of the people sampled were against East Indian immigration to Canada, while less than thirty percent opposed Chinese immigration. Similarly, approximately thirty percent of the respondents thought that Canada had been harmed by East Indian immigrants; ten percent expressed the same sentiment concerning Chinese immigrants.¹⁸ Twenty percent of the sample said they would move if East Indians came to live in their residential district. The corresponding

¹⁶Leo Driedger and Angus Reid, "Public opinion on Visible Minorities" in *Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 163.

¹⁷Peter Li, "Prejudice Against Asians in a Canadian City," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada* 11, no.2 (1979):72-73. Six hundred and fifty two telephone interviews were conducted and each respondent was asked five attitudinal questions about Indian and Chinese immigration which included:

- 1) Whether Canada has been harmed by their coming;
- 2) Whether the respondent would oppose their immigration to Canada;
- 3) Whether the respondent would move if they came in great numbers to live in the respondent's district;
- 4) Whether the respondent would move if they came to live next door; and
- 5) Whether the respondent would oppose their becoming a close relative by marriage.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 72.

figure for Chinese immigrants was over eleven percent.¹⁹ More than twenty percent did not approve of either Indians or Chinese people becoming close relatives through marriage.²⁰

There were also studies that specifically measured the degree of racism apparent in Toronto. In 1978 a full scale academic report on racism in Toronto was produced by Professor Frances Henry with the support of The Department of the Secretary of State of Canada. The project, “The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto Research Report,” closely examined attitudes concerning race. Henry’s results were alarming and her research concluded that sixteen percent of White Torontonians were “extremely racist,” thirty-five percent were inclined to some degree of racism; thirty percent were inclined to tolerance, while only nineteen percent were categorized as “extremely tolerant.”²¹ Her study also found that over thirty percent of those sampled thought that there were too many Blacks in Toronto while over forty percent felt that there were too many Indians and Pakistanis.²² Overall, immigrants from Pakistan and India fared very poorly in this study and were overwhelmingly perceived by respondents as “culturally very different” from other Canadians in terms of their dress, food habits, education, religion, and language.²³

In 1980, Wilson Head conducted a study that considered how well certain immigrants adapted to Toronto and their perceptions of racial discrimination.²⁴ His study suggested that South Asians and those from the Caribbean were more likely than their

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Frances Henry, “The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto” (Ottawa: Group Understanding and Human Rights Programme & The Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1978), 1.

²² *Ibid.*, 38.

²³ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁴ Wilson Head, “Adaptation of Immigrants: Perceptions of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination” (York University: 1980). Head used a sample of 324 respondents, 126 South Asians, 107 West Indians, 97 Europeans, and 7 others. Information was extracted utilizing two techniques; personal interviews and a questionnaire.

European counterparts to recognize and experience discrimination in the Metro region. In fact, when asked if racial discrimination existed in Toronto, ninety percent of those from the Caribbean and over seventy percent of South Asians answered yes, while thirty-five percent of the European respondents thought that racism was a reality in Toronto.²⁵ Moreover, close to seventy percent of South Asians and just over sixty percent of those from the Craibbean reported to having been subjected to racial discrimination in Toronto, only twenty-eight percent of the Europeans sampled said they had experienced any discrimination.²⁶

National surveys teamed with these reports conveyed that although the Canadian government had launched a policy of multiculturalism and openly committed itself to anti-racism, general Canadian attitudes toward this policy and diverse immigrants remained unclear. On the one hand, some Canadians professed to support multiculturalism and ethnic pluralism but these views were not always translated into supportive behaviour, and South Asians, in particular seemed to face the most rejection.

The fact that immigrants of colour were rated so poorly in these studies probably had to do with a number of very complex issues and circumstances. There is strong evidence to suggest, however, that deeply engrained negative stereotypes influenced the way some Canadians viewed newcomers. A study produced by the Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1974 analyzed Canadian perspectives and confirmed that a majority fretted over issues surrounding immigration. According to this report

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Canadians had an unshakeable mental image of an immigrant “as a poor, starved and pathetic creature grateful to be given a new chance in [this] country.”²⁷

Despite the fact that these images did not correspond with the affluent professionals and educated elites who immigrated during the late 1960s and 1970s, they nonetheless continued to shape popular opinion. Political scientist Freda Hawkins found that these pejorative constructs were profoundly embedded into the psyches of Canadians and were not adapted to new realities or new classes of immigrants:

The image (of immigrants) has been a lower class one inherited from the great migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The army of migrating engineers, doctors, scientists, graduate nurses, and secretaries has not yet quite obliterated the mental image of the poor, huddled immigrant family with its meager possessions and hungry look.²⁸

Negative depictions of immigrants were prevalent and found wide-spread institutional support, including in important Canadian media sources. According to Pako-Canadians’ Lateef Owaisi, Zafar Bangash, and Amina Syed stereotypes perpetuated by mainstream media coverage actually reinforced a negative and misguided image of immigrants and visible minorities. Though minority groups like Blacks and Asians did not factor significantly in mass media - a form of discrimination in and of itself- when they did they were portrayed as “poor,” “emaciated,” “hungry,” and in need of “hand-outs from Whites.”²⁹

²⁷ Nancy Tienhaara, *Canadian views on immigration and population...* 4.

²⁸ Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern* (Montreal: McGill Queen’s University Press, 1972), 30.

²⁹ Lateef Owaisi, Zafar Bangash, and Amina Syed, “Visible Minorities in Mass Media Advertising,” *Report submitted to the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1978), 9 and 21.

Certain data and researches found in “Ethnic Kaleidoscope” a monthly journal published by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, gave further examples of unflattering opinions about newcomers. Views that were captured in George Bonavia’s article, “Let’s Discuss the Immigrants’ Contribution to Canada” included: “they (immigrants) do not do much for Canada, except take jobs from Canadians;” “They celebrate different feasts, wear unusual clothes, eat exotic food, and generally don’t spread out into the community;” “They are slow to adapt to life here (Canada), don’t make friends easily [and] don’t contribute to [the Canadian] way of life.”³⁰

In a personal interview, Pakistani Torontonians Mehboob Sayed shared an example of one of his early experiences that seemed to reflect the ignorant perceptions some Canadians may have associated with newcomers, especially Pakistanis. Sayed spoke of a prank phone call he received from a “youngster” who asked; “where did you park your camel?”³¹ As a wealthy entrepreneur Sayed felt compelled to respond; “Look here you have got the wrong impression about Pakistan ... I can tell you we have more Mercedes cars in Pakistan than you do in Canada. People live more luxuriously there than you live here.”³²

While some people may have held anti-immigrant attitudes based on ignorance and misinformation others expressed a more calculated disregard for newcomers. Examples of strong anti-immigrant views within the federal government have already been discussed in the previous chapter. Prominent politicians like Steven Paproski, Ron Huntington, and Gordon Ritchie were among those who worried that an open door

³⁰ George Bonavia, “Let’s Discuss the Immigrants’ Contribution to Canada: Prejudices Regarding Immigrants,” *Ethnic Kaleidoscope* (Ottawa: Manpower and Immigration) February 4, 1976.

³¹ MHSO sample, interview with Mehboob Sayed.

³² *Ibid.*

immigration policy would undermine Canada's predominantly White cultural make-up and high standard of living.

Well-known journalist Doug Collins expressed similar frustrations with Canada's immigration laws. In his book, *Immigration: The Destruction of English Canada*, published in 1979, Collins was quite vocal about his views and was troubled by the effects, he thought, such "liberal" policies would have on Canada's cherished White-English image:

As recently as 1961, 98 per cent of Canadians were of European stock. Since then the once inconceivable has happened. In the past decade, the gates have been opened to Asiatics, Africans, West Indians, and South Americans in numbers that are dangerously indigestible. ...the rules have been organized in such a way that the untraditional-consisting mainly of non-white immigration... Inevitably, this will invoke all the stresses that racial divisions have brought to other countries-stresses that already exist in our larger cities. Canadian immigration policies with its open door approach "robbed English Canada of a choice between preserving a way of life and destroying it..."³³

Collins was further disturbed by the emergence of diverse ethnic communities and worried that metropolises like Toronto would be turned into suburbs of Hong Kong, Kingstown, Georgetown, Port au Prince, Calcutta, and Islamabad.³⁴

Contextual Shifts and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Toronto

Attitudes towards immigrants, prevalent in Canada and Toronto, reflected profound ethnic, cultural, and racial prejudices. The city's changing economic and demographic conditions also contributed to negative responses to newcomers. According to sociologist Anthony Richmond economic and demographic factors were the chief

³³ Doug Collins, *Immigration: The Destruction of English Canada* (Toronto: BMG Pub., 1979), 10-11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

reasons for a general rise in nativism, xenophobia, and racism in the country during the 1970s.³⁵ An article appearing in the *Toronto Star* underscored a similar point and wrote that; “the twin stacks of dynamite under Toronto’s exciting but fragile racial harmony [were] immigration and employment.”³⁶

The economic crisis of the 1970s was manifested by growing rates of inflation, high levels of unemployment, and a lack of economic growth. The province of Ontario was especially devastated by these recessionary forces and its position within the Canadian economy declined between 1970 and 1978. The annual rate of growth in Ontario during these years plummeted to levels well below that of other provinces.³⁷ Subsequently Ontario’s share of the Canadian gross domestic product declined from close to forty-two percent in 1970 to around thirty-eight percent 1978.³⁸ The province also witnessed a decrease in its share of total capital expenditures which went from close to forty percent of the Canadian total in 1970 to just under thirty percent in 1979.³⁹

As the country, province of Ontario, and city of Toronto, entered a period of economic hardship and high levels of unemployment, large numbers of immigrants continued to arrive.⁴⁰ While immigrants came to fill a specific labour shortage and did not necessarily contribute to rising levels of the “jobless,” average Canadians, including

³⁵ Anthony Richmond, *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), 7. Richmond noted that these reactions were not unique to Canada, but the result of any economy that shifted from industrial to post-industrial.

³⁶ Frank Jones, “Racism: Is Metro ‘turning sour?’” *Toronto Star*, May 10, 1975.

³⁷ TA Series 10, Item 930, Box 115620-9, “An Economic Strategy for Metropolitan Toronto,” Metropolitan Toronto Economic Development Steering Committee, 1980, 5.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Daniel Singer, of Etobicoke, voiced an opinion that was representative of these sentiments. In a letter to the editor of the *Toronto Star*, he gave a fairly sarcastic commentary, “It may be wrong of me to even think of offering solutions to our highly educated elected officials. After all, I am not a lawyer or a political science major...The first thing that should be looked at is immigration. Somehow it does not make sense to allow more newcomers into the country, when there is already an increasing amount of surplus labor;”see Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, March 29, 1977.

Torontonians, did not always rationalize in this way. Instead, they begrudged their experiences with unemployment while having to witness immigrants “flocking” to Canada “whenever the government would give them visas” and often “when it would not.”⁴¹

Diverse immigration also contributed to significant demographic shifts in Toronto. By the mid 1970s the “face” of Toronto began to change. The once predominantly White-Anglo city was quickly becoming more multicultural and diverse in nature. For instance, prior to the Second World War, over ninety-five percent of those who immigrated to Toronto were “officially” English-speaking.⁴² Although these percentages remained high throughout the following decades, a declining trend was observed. From 1946-1950, ninety-two percent of immigrants coming to Toronto were English speaking; from 1951-1955 this portion was ninety percent and from 1956-1961 there was a drop of approximately ten percent.⁴³ Over the decade these percentages continued to fall and from 1971 to 1976 around seventy percent of people living in the Metro region professed English as their mother tongue; in 1981 English mother tongue speakers comprised just slightly less than seventy percent of the population.⁴⁴

As the economy declined and the Anglo-cultural character of Toronto was rapidly being replaced, some people in the city entered a state of panic. A sample of these negative attitudes could be seen in letters to the editors of Toronto’s largest newspapers. One woman, in a letter to the *Toronto Star*, for example, linked the increase of non-White

⁴¹ Bothwell, et. al., *Canada Since 1945* ... 353.

⁴² Anthony Richmond, *Immigrants and Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Toronto* (Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, 1967), 44 table 18.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto*, volume 1, (1971 and 1976) 7; and volume 2, (1981), 7.

immigrants to infectious diseases and dangerous illnesses. With regards to immigration and cutbacks she said, “It’s about time.”⁴⁵ According to another female reader, multiculturalism was highly undesirable and was only put forward by people who were “cushioned” from the realities of interacting with people of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. She maintained that immigration should be “halted, limited,” or at least “highly selective.”⁴⁶ Another letter shared similar views and in reference to halting immigration, it wrote; “We have a perfect right to choose whom we want...The taxpayer of this country has been very generous in helping rejects of other countries, but there are limits.”⁴⁷ Another irate Torontonians was more specific about the types of immigrants that should be kept out of the country and wrote:

A decade ago or so Indians and Pakistanis flooded to England. Now the floodgate is partially shut in England. So the Indians and Pakistanis switch to Canada. I strongly believe that the floodgate should be shut or we will soon face the same situation as in England.”⁴⁸

On the wide spectrum of anti-immigrant attitudes, perhaps the most vicious of all were expressed by the Toronto based Western Guard, a right-wing White supremacist group formed in 1972. The Western Guard spread hate propaganda through a variety of means including leaflets, pamphlets, and racist graffiti. Members of this group also vandalized construction sites by spray painting derogatory messages such as RACISM IS NOT EVIL, KILL RACE MIXERS, and WHITE POWER.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, August 30, 1976.

⁴⁶ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, January 20, 1977.

⁴⁷ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, November 11, 1972.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Warren Kinsella, *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network* (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers, Ltd., 1994), 209. Of note, the actions of the Western Guard, were under the surveillance of the Emergency Task Force of the Metro Police, and did lead to arrests. On Saturday June 14, 1975, notorious white supremacists Walter Droege, Roker Crescent, Armand Siksna were arrested for writing White power racial slogans on walls and hoardings. See *Canadian India Times*, “Racists Arrested,” June 19, 1975.

One of the group's most popular ways to propagate hate was through hotline phone messages, the first of its kind in Canada.⁵⁰ On August 17, 1977 when calling their hotline, listeners would hear "...Our government continues to bring hundreds of thousands of culturally alien people into this country [while]...the deterioration of the nation's morality runs unchecked..."⁵¹ In the following months messages grew increasingly vile. On April 4 1978, the Western Guard warned its listeners of the immense dangers inherent in race mixing:

Where large groups of different races mix in all phases of daily contact, race mixing or miscegenation is inevitable. Compared to race mixing an Atomic War with near total destruction is preferable as race mixing is permanent destruction of the higher values of each race whereas Atomic War will leave a remnant (sic) however small that can rebuild but a race mixed society is forever doomed. The Western Guard advocates racial amity, which means friendship according to well defined racial spheres of influence or in other words each race being in its own geographical location...If you were born in Canada or a White European immigrant, then remember the time to fight for Canada and if necessary to give your life is now.⁵²

Certainly, the Western Guard represented an extreme example of Canadian racism and nativism, but as various sectors of society grew increasingly skeptical and critical of Canada's "open door" immigration policy and multiculturalism, acts of violence in Toronto against minority groups, especially South Asians, increased sharply. During the mid 1970s South Asians, including Pakistanis, became targets for violence and other forms of racial hostilities in Canada. By 1975 the phenomenon known as "Paki-bashing" had reached Toronto.

⁵⁰ Warren Kinsella, *Web of Hate* ... 208.

⁵¹ *Smith et al. v. Western Guard Party*, http://www.chrt-tcdp.gc.ca/search/view_html.asp?doid=1&lge=-e&isruling=0. Accessed 10/04/2007.

⁵² *Ibid.*

Origins of “Paki-Bashing” in Britain

Various sources suggest that wide-spread violent attacks against Pakistanis and other South Asians, commonly known as “Paki-bashing,” took form in Great Britain. As the South Asian presence increased during the 1950s and 1960s in cities and towns such as London, Birmingham, Bradford, Notting Hill, Blackburn, and Accrington, pejorative images of South Asians under the umbrella term ‘Paki’ started to surface. According to Jeremy Seabrook, Pakistanis were singled out for especial contumely:

There [was] a kind of folk ogre nearly always referred to in the singular- a compound and minatory personality who is an agglutination of all the least acceptable characteristics of the immigrants in the towns and whose name sounds like Packie Stan. He kills goats and chickens in his backyard, his children pee on the flagstones wherever he happens to go. He contrives to filch people’s job and yet batten on Social Security at the same time.⁵³

Another equally obnoxious yet popular depiction of Pakistanis was provided by Historian Geoffrey Pearson. According to Pearson, a stereotypical assessment of Pakistanis was as follows:

The Paki is [found] sitting down at home (where he lives in filth with at least a dozen others in a couple of rooms) to a meal of tinned cat food or dog meat. Weary from his day of labour at the dole office. He is dirty and promiscuous and cheeky, but also keeps to himself and does not mix at all. He is a ‘homo’, but nevertheless sneaks up to white girls in search of ‘jig-a-jig’. He is a layabout and idler who threatens to put men out of work. Working every hour that he isn’t sleeping (and when he isn’t sleeping another ‘Paki’ is sleeping in his bed and with more money than sense, the “Paki’ is always, inevitably out of work and scrounging on social security. In short, he is a thrifty spendthrift, a secretive show-off, a rampantly heterosexual homosexual, a social security scrounger on night shifts in the spinning

⁵³ Jeremy Seabrook, “Pakie Stan,” *New Society* 15, no. 395 (April 1970):677-678.

room, a randy man with an exotic religion which forbids
sexuality, a workshy layabout with the strength of a horse
who is only too happy to take the lowest, butt-end job
which a white man would only laugh at.⁵⁴

While stereotypes of Pakistanis extended beyond these preposterous and contradictory notions, the above quotations provide sufficient evidence of just how nonsensical and intense hostilities towards this minority group were.

Contemptuous attitudes were indeed the foundation for a series of more hostile attacks on South Asians in Britain. One of the first documented cases of anti-Pakistani hooliganism occurred in 1962 when it was “officially” declared that the smallpox scare that was raging in Britain had been introduced by Pakistani immigrants. Consequently, violence broke out, windows were smashed, and anti-Pakistani slogans were daubed on the walls of Pakistani-owned businesses and homes.⁵⁵

Another early example of anti-Pakistani hostility took place in Accrington. On July 21, 1964 a brawl between some young Pakistani and White men was cited outside of a local coffee bar.⁵⁶ The argument was allegedly sparked by a Pakistani man flicking matches and a cigarette end at a White man. As news of this incident broke, tempers flared among the White community. Later that evening a mob of over one hundred youths between the ages of fifteen and thirty gathered outside that same bar. The gang, armed with dogs, chains, belts, and sticks, stormed down the main streets in search of random Pakistanis (and presumably other South Asians) that they could threaten and brutalize. Pakistanis who crossed their paths were knocked down, beaten, and trampled on.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Geoff Pearson, “Paki-Bashing’ In a North East Lancashire Cotton Town: A Case Study and its History,” *Working Class Youth Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976), 65.

⁵⁵ *Globe and Mail*, “Smallpox in Britain Sparks Hooliganism Against Pakistanis,” January 22 1962.

⁵⁶ Geoffrey Pearson, “Paki-Bashing”... 51.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 52.

Commercial enterprises and personal dwellings owned by South Asians were also vandalized, ransacked, and destroyed.⁵⁸

While these early examples of aggression against Pakistanis may not have been isolated events, according to several British scholars, unprovoked racial attacks against South Asians became an undeniable social problem in the late 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁹ British scholar Benjamin Bowling, for one, linked “Paki-bashing” to three important British developments: the wider moral panic about immigration and race during this period, popular support for right-wing racist organization such as the National Front, and the emergence of skinheads (a new violent and explicitly racist youth culture, who targeted Pakistanis as one of their main victims).⁶⁰ Subsequently, these were dark years in Britain’s race relations and Pakistanis and other South Asians bore the brunt of racial hostilities.⁶¹

“Paki-Bashing” Comes to Canada

Britain was not alone in its antagonism toward South Asians. During the mid-1970s, Canada and particularly Toronto shared a blemished record regarding harmonious relations and its South Asian minorities. Academics including, Jeffrey Reitz, Anthony

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Benjamin Bowling, *Violent Racism: Victimization, Policing and Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 42.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ In 1970 over a three month period more than 150 cases of assaults aimed at South Asian immigrants were recorded. These cases included the murder of Tosir Ali, a Pakistani kitchen porter who was stabbed to death. The following years proved equally violent and deadly. For instance, in 1971 a young Sikh student was stabbed at school. That same year eleven year old Sohail Yusuf was beaten on his way home from school and left unconscious at a building site. Violence against South Asian immigrants peaked in 1976. Both Dinesh Choudhary and Ribhi Al Haddida were murdered in Essex during May of that year. In the following month Gurdip Singh Chaggar and Emmanuel Allombah were killed in South Hall and West London respectively, while Mohan Gautam was murdered in Learnington Spa. Killings were obviously the most extreme forms of violence against South Asians in Britain. Presumably it was more common for South Asians to be beaten and mocked or have their homes, places of business, and religious institutions broken into, vandalized, and desecrated. See Benjamin Bowling, *Violent Racism* ... 43-45.

Richmond, Suzanne Model, and Lang Lin, have compared race relations in both of these countries. They found that while popular discourse and immigration policies seemed more favourable in Canada, little difference could be found between the actual levels of racism in both Canada and Britain.⁶² In fact, Jeffrey Reitz indicated that though overt racial conflicts were more apparent in Britain than Canada, Canada was indeed guilty of hiding, ignoring, and denying, dangerous forms racism found within its borders.⁶³

In Canada, like Britain, fictitious, ignorant, and ridiculous images of Pakistanis surfaced. Walter Pitman, for one, in a study he produced on racism in Toronto (discussed later in this chapter) revealed common stereotypical viewpoints concerning Pakistanis. These views were portrayed through the eyes of a typical young Canadian man's description:

He does believe that there is a land, apparently gigantic, called Pakistan, and that every brown-skinned person he has ever seen comes from there, and that there are more of them on the way all the time, and that they are taking over the country ... He understands that "Pakis" worship a number of animal gods, and ritually slaughter goats in their living room gardens during their religious festivals. Their living room gardens he points out, are filled with earth, and present a danger to the structure of many high rise buildings, causing many a Christian ceiling to stand in imminent danger of collapse.⁶⁴

Freelance researchers Dennis Adair and Janet Rosenstock, in their report on racism in the Metro region, found similarly contemptuous depictions:

⁶² Anthony Richmond, "Black and Asian Immigrants in Britain and Canada: Some Comparisons," *New Community: Journal of the Community Relations Commission* iv, no. 4 (Winter/Spring 1975-1976):501-517; Jeffrey Reitz, "Less Discrimination in Canada, or Simply Less Racial Conflict?: Implication of Comparisons with Britain," *Canadian Public Policy/ Analyse de Politiques* 14, no.4 (Dec. 1988): 424-44; Suzanne Model and Lang Lin, "The Cost of Not Being Christian: Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in Britain and Canada," *International Migration Review* 36, no. 4 (Winter, 2002):1061-1092.

⁶³ Jeffrey Reitz, "Less Discrimination in Canada...437.

⁶⁴Walter Pitman, *Now Is Not Too Late*, Submitted to the Council of Metropolitan Toronto by Task Force on Human Relations (November, 1977), 56.

Indians (including Pakistanis) coming from the subcontinent are not wanted anywhere. They are the wretched of the earth, unable to feed, clothe, or house themselves. They are lazy and slothful and come to live here on welfare.⁶⁵

According to many members of Toronto's Pakistani and South Asian communities, widespread ignorance, like the kinds apparent in the above mentioned views, and anti-Pakistani sentiment in general could be explained in several ways. First, many of Toronto's Pako-Canadians felt that "Paki-Bashing" was directly imported from Britain. According to an article in *Crescent* written by an unnamed author, the term "Paki" had unfortunately found its way from Britain to Canada.⁶⁶ Nizhat Amin, another concerned Pakistani, made a similar observation. According to her, "Paki" was a slur coined in England and "Paki-bashing" in Canada imparted an "ominously British flavour."⁶⁷ Amin suggested that this was due to the British influences prevalent in Canadian cities, like Toronto, where "notorious attitudes toward ex-colonies (particularly the non-White ones) were maintained."⁶⁸ Arshad Majeed, also argued that the derogatory use of the word "Paki" was spread into Canada from Britain. He later expressed nervousness about such implications and regretfully noted; "Our little piece in the ethnic mosaic seems to be rattling."⁶⁹ "The ugly phenomenon of the "Paki Joke," he remarked "reveals widespread ignorance shown by Canadians to Pakistani culture and tradition."⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Margaret Mironowicz, "East Indians found butt of student prejudice, report says talk of "Paki-busting in horrifying," *Globe and Mail*, January 13, 1977. See also Carola Vyhnak, "Teenagers show prejudice against East Indians," *Toronto Star*, January 13, 1977; and *Crescent*, "Wide-Spread Prejudice in Schools: Study, October 15, 1978..

⁶⁶ *Crescent*, "Racism in Canada," May 25, 1975.

⁶⁷ Nuzhat Amin, "Pakistanis in Canada: The Other Face of Their 'Brave , New World,' *Crescent*, October 15, 1978.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Bon Pennington, "Prejudice is not a Joke for Metro's Pakistanis," *Toronto Star*, May 24, 1976.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

A second rationale for the origins of “Paki-bashing” was offered by anthropologist/sociologist Norman Buchignani. He argued that Canadians have always been racist and hostile toward South Asians, the case of Sikhs in British Columbia particularly demonstrated this. Standard criticisms of South Asians included:

1. The use of deviant dress, food and language;
2. They live in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions;
3. They are violent, contentious, socially distant themselves above the law;
4. They are not committed to Canadian life and hence avoid their societal responsibilities, dodge hard work and drain social services;
5. Immigrate illegally;
6. Exploit each other.⁷¹

Anti South Asian hostilities had been a Canadian tradition for over three-quarters of a century. Mass influxes of South Asians to central Canada, during the 1960s and 1970s, altered an immigration pattern or a destination point which had previously focused on British Columbia. As such, negative perceptions associated with these groups in western Canada simply travelled eastward.

Thirdly, Pakistanis blamed the *Toronto Star* for inciting racism in the Metro with an article it ran on May 10 1975. On that day the front page read “Racism: Is Metro turning sour”? Frank Jones, the writer, was among the first journalists to explore the touchy subject of racism in Toronto and his piece demonstrated that Pakistanis were among the most victimized groups in the city. The animosity that some people felt towards Pakistanis was recorded in the comments of nineteen year old housewife, Joan Hutchinson who said; “Everyone I know is against Pakistanis. They are dirty, physically

⁷¹ Norman Buchignani, “South Asian Canadians and the Ethnic Mosaic: An Overview,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/ Études Ethniques du Canada* 11, no.1 (1979):54.

dirty- you can see it on them. And they smell. Their houses are dirty too. That's what my friends tell me."⁷²

The article instantly outraged members of the Pakistani community. According to an article in *Crescent* that was the first time the Canadian press ever used the derogatory idiom "Paki"⁷³ and many Pakistanis thought that the article was disgraceful and would tarnish their image.⁷⁴ Tariq Malik, a member of the Association of Pakistani Canadians, for one, argued that this inflammatory article attacked Pakistanis and he feared that this piece would trigger wide-spread anti-Pakistani sentiment. Recalling this article Malik revealed; "We had a feeling of horror and fear. On that day, you could expect anything, from anyone."⁷⁵

Khalid Hasan, also expressed his frustration with the content of Jones' story and in a letter to the editor of the *Toronto Star*, he wrote; "Your special report on racism contains passages which can cause nothing but deep injury to the pride, self-respect and image of the Pakistani immigrant in Canada."⁷⁶ Moreover, Hasan was critical of Jones' use of Hutchinson's remarks:

That you chose to quote a mindless 19-year-old Scarborough housewife who in turn quoted 'friends' to the effect that all Pakistanis live uncleanly, is unfortunate. Surely there are less provocative ways of highlighting the irrationality that lies at the heart of all racism. You unwittingly succeeded in stamping on the mind of your average reader an image of the average Pakistani which he may continue to nourish despite its total unreality.⁷⁷

⁷² Frank Jones, "Racism: Is Metro 'turning sour'?" *Toronto Star*, May 10, 1975.

⁷³ Shamin Sheikh, "Star's Racist Report," *Crescent*, June 1, 1975.

⁷⁴ Of interest, the letters to the editor section of the *Toronto Star* May 17, May 23, and May 29 published the condemnations of over twenty readers, Pakistanis and non-Pakistanis both who expressed dissatisfaction with this article.

⁷⁵ Arnold Bruner, "Racism: Problems of Indo-Pakistanis," *Globe and Mail*, August 1, 1975.

⁷⁶ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 29, 1975.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

A fellow Pakistani reader, W. Nazir, conveyed a similar point of view; “The special report by Frank Jones on racism in Toronto was extremely in bad taste. It is an example of cheap journalism and sensationalism. The only effect this so called report is likely to have is to further deteriorate the existing uneasy racial harmony.”⁷⁸ Shamin Sheikh, yet another angry Pakistani argued that this “bad piece of journalism” was malicious and deliberately intended to insult Toronto’s Pakistani community. She called for immediate action on part of the Pakistani community.⁷⁹

Nine days after the featured article, the Toronto based Pakistan Canada Association did act and organized a protest. Three hundred Pakistanis and other sympathizers demonstrated in Nathan Phillips Square.⁸⁰ Pakistanis asserted that the article attacked their dignity and honour. Placards carried by members enveloped their messages: ‘Uphold honour and dignity of the Pakistani community,’ and ‘Keep Canada peaceful for immigrants.’⁸¹ For Shamin Sheikh this protest was of grave importance and she cautioned; “Racism is reaching a stage where open propaganda ... is entering the scene. Our future and the future of our generation is (sic) at stake. If today we do not stand together against such acts, we will have to suffer tomorrow.”⁸² Mahmood Khan,

⁷⁸ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 17, 1975. Even two years after the featured article, several members of the Pakistani community continued to blame this piece for racial aggressions against South Asians and Pakistanis. They argued that by disseminating the word “Paki” in Toronto, Jones’ was responsible for introducing the masses to the term, therefore transforming it to a household word. Following the appearance of this article, Torontonians Rafiq Ahmed, argued that the term “Paki” “spread like wildfire,” throughout the Metro region, see Dale Brazao, “Racism Cost Top Salesman His Livelihood,” *Toronto Star*, March 21, 1977.

⁷⁹ Shamin Sheikh, “Star’s Racist Report...”

⁸⁰ These are the numbers provided by *Crescent*, See Shamin Sheikh, “Star’s Racist Report ... The *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* gave a more conservative estimate of 250, See Pat McNenly, “250 Pakistanis in Metro Protest Star Story on Racism,” *Toronto Star*, May 20, 1975, and *Globe and Mail*, “250 Pakistanis rally to oppose article in the Star.” May 20, 1975. The East Indian Defence Committee suggested that more than 600 Pakistanis and others participated in the rally, see Hardial Bains, *Fight State-Organized Racist Attacks Through Revolutionary Struggle* (Vancouver: The East Indian Defence Committee, 1976), 22.

⁸¹ Pat McNenly, “250 Pakistanis in Metro Protest ...

⁸² Shamin Sheikh, “Star’s Racist Report ...

chairman of The Pakistan Canada Association, upheld a similar message and urged Pakistanis to react and stop the dissemination of this “horrendous social disease.” “If we do not stop it [racism] today,” Khan warned, “it will spread, like fire, [and] those who do not fight for their principles today will have to fight for their lives later.”⁸³ Sheikh’s and Khan’s words were foreshadowing.

“Paki-Bashing” and Other Forms of Violence

By the mid-1970s, Pakistanis and others of South Asian descent became the prime targets of a series of unprovoked violent, racial assaults. It is, however, important to recognize that these types of abuses did not only impact South Asians, other visible minorities were affected as well. Perhaps one of the direst examples occurred in early May of 1975. Michael Habbib, a fifteen year old of Jamaican descent, was shot to death in the parking lot of the Fairview Mall. The murderer, Ronald Ryan, was charged and when interviewed cited “racial reasons” for his crime.⁸⁴ Another instance of racial violence occurred in 1980 when a nineteen year old Vietnamese refugee was viciously beaten by three teenagers who then proceeded to throw their victim onto the subway tracks.⁸⁵

Though racial crimes spanned the decade and most definitely affected all of Toronto’s visible minority groups in some way or another, by the mid 1970s South Asian had become the main victims, and in 1976 one of the first documented cases of such acts was recorded. An article in the *Globe and Mail*, on October 7, 1976, read “Unprovoked

⁸³ Pat McNenly, “250 Pakistanis in Metro ...

⁸⁴ Frank Jones, “Racism: Is Metro ‘turning sour’ ...

⁸⁵ TA Series 39, File 161, Box 62490-43, Carol Tator, “Letters to the Editor,” Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 22 January, 1981.

Racial Attack.” Journalist Stan Oziewicz reported that “two youths shoved a “Pakistani” fellow over the lip of the Islington subway platform.”⁸⁶ The perpetrators were twenty two year old Steven Ingram and nineteen year old Thomas Allan Grimsdale. The victim, Shamshudin Kanji, was actually a forty nine year old Tanzanian immigrant. After repeatedly kicking and punching the victim, Bill Rogers, a third youth, shouted “push the Paki” and Ingram responded by launching Kanji off the four foot platform. Toronto transit Commission officers, policemen, and paramedics found Kanji “huddled on the wooden platform covering the electrified third rail.”⁸⁷ The attack left Kanji hospitalized for four and a half months, bed ridden for a total of seven and half months and according to doctors “crippled for life.”⁸⁸

When Crown Counsel Frank Moskoff questioned Ingram on his violent actions, he sarcastically responded; “We should get a trophy or \$10 000.”⁸⁹ Moreover, Ingram told Moskoff, that he had hoped Kanji would die, or get hit by a car on his way to court.⁹⁰ Ingram also admitted that he did not fear a heavy sentencing, since it was a fact that “no one likes Pakis.”⁹¹ Moskoff was critical of Ingram’s racist attitude and unremorseful outlook, and in his closing argument he urged; “When the ugly head of racism appears it must be stamped out immediately by a severe sentence before its insidious claws tear

⁸⁶Stan Oziewicz, “Unprovoked racial attack, Crown says Man shoved on the rails, trial told,” *Globe and Mail*, October 7, 1976. An article appearing in *Crescent* offered a more dramatic account. According to the writer, Nuzhat Amin, Kanji was thrown on the tracks of an oncoming train, the train was, thus, forced to come to a “screeching halt.” See Nuzhat Amin, “Pakistanis in Canada ... For other reference to Kanji see also *Crescent*, “Unity in Adversity,” March 1 1976. Also see Bhausaheb Ubale, *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy* ...20.

⁸⁷Michael Keating, “Crippled for life, Two convicted of attack on Tanzanian man,” *Globe and Mail*, November 10, 1976; TA Series 203, Item 234, Box 117449-2, Minutes of the Toronto Transit Commission, Meeting no. 12550 Thursday February 12, 1976, “Toronto Transit Commission Report No. 5,” From General Manager Operations, Jan 29, 1976.

⁸⁸Michael Keating, “Crippled for life ...

⁸⁹Warren Gerard, “Drop-outs had 20 beers—and then rode the subway,” *Toronto Star*, December 2, 1976.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹*Ibid.*

apart the community.”⁹² Judge Patrick Lesage agreed that the crime was atrocious, he, however, downplayed the racial overtones; “Mr Kanji is a fellow human being” and “my sentence would be the same whether he was black, brown, red or yellow.”⁹³ He continued to say that; “Our streets, subways, and transit systems must remain places where citizens can walk and ride in safety, free from actions of cowardice or hooliganism.”⁹⁴ Although Judge Lesage did not give Ingram and Grimsdale the five year maximum sentence, they were indeed found guilty of assault causing bodily harm, and on November 9, 1976, both were convicted and sentenced to twenty one months and sixteen months respectively of prison time.⁹⁵

Kanji’s case was taken to The Ontario Court of Appeal where on April 23, 1977 both Grimsdale and Ingram’s sentences were increased by judges Charles Dubin, Arthur Martin, and Maurice Lacourciere. The three judges agreed that the racial implications of the attack could not be ignored and described the incident as a “cowardly, unprovoked, racially motivated attack.”⁹⁶ Since the Criminal Code of Canada rendered racially motivated offences “more heinous,” Grimsdale was sentenced to nine additional months in the penitentiary and Ingram’s prison time was raised by eight months.⁹⁷ The appeal ruling was applauded by some members of Toronto’s Pakistani community who took special notice of provincial attorney general Roy McMurtry’s “bold and courageous stand against race offenders.”⁹⁸

⁹² Farrell Crook, “Mr. Kanji is a fellow human being, ‘Streets must remain safe’ 2 jailed for subway attack,” *Toronto Star*, Dec 2, 1976.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Michael Keating, “Sentences increased for racial attack in subway,” *Globe and Mail*, Saturday April 23, 1977.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Crescent*, “Sentences increased for Race Offenders,” May 1, 1977.

While it is difficult to discern exactly how many of these kinds of subway attacks occurred, it is clear that they were commonplace and widespread. An article in *Crescent*, warned readers to beware of gangs of youths between fifteen and twenty years old who prowled the street and randomly beat people of South Asian origin with objects such as “bottles or anything else they can lay their hands on.”⁹⁹ On December 31/ January 1 1977 over a half dozen violent subway assaults against South Asians were reported.¹⁰⁰ On this date, nineteen year old Gurmail Singh and thirty two year old Ranjeet Singh were brutally beaten by three unidentified men.¹⁰¹ Approximately three hours after this attack, sixteen year old Manzur Popat and his two cousins, sixteen year old Karim Dhanani and fifteen year old Mahmoud Mandani were harassed and assaulted by three young ‘White’ men after boarding a train at the Islington station.¹⁰² That same day it was reported that another young ‘East Indian’ man was beaten by a White man who pounded his temples and smashed his head against the glass partition in the subway car.¹⁰³ Less than one week later, on January 6, twenty two year old Indal Narine, was brutalized by three teenagers. After being called a ‘Paki,’ Narine was pushed against an oncoming train, and then knocked to the ground and kicked in the back of his legs while waiting at the Victoria Park subway station.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ *Crescent*, “Toronto: Good, Bad and Ugly,” January 15, 1977.

¹⁰⁰ On that day estimates were given suggesting that gangs of 20 or 30 youth were randomly assaulting non-White subway travellers in the late hours of the evening. See *Crescent*, “Racial Violence Hits Toronto: Youth Gangs Beat Up Subway Riders,” January 15, 1977. See also TA Series 39, File 151, Box 62490-33, Toronto Transit Commission, Report no.2, “Security Statistics-TTC System,” Chief General Manager, January 27, 1977.

¹⁰¹ Carola Vyhnaak, “Scared all the time now, subway attack victim, says,” *Toronto Star*, January 14, 1977; *Globe and Mail*, “TTC investigating actions of crew in subway assault,” January 7, 1977; *Globe and Mail*, “2 identified as men beaten in subway car,” January 14, 1977.

¹⁰² *Globe and Mail*, “Racist attack on subway reported by 3 cousins,” January 12, 1977.

¹⁰³ *Globe and Mail*, “New Year’s race beating left witnesses stunned,” January 8, 1977.

¹⁰⁴ Narine suffered from severe contusions, sustained injuries above his right eye, and his left thigh was also badly hurt; see Wendy Darroch, “Subway attack ‘vicious, racial,’ youth gets two years,” *Toronto Star*, March 1, 1977; Arthur Johnson, “Guyanese man beaten, kicked at subway station in week’s 3rd race attack,

Though assaults in subways were perhaps the most infamous forms of violence against South Asians, racially motivated attacks were by no means confined to Toronto's subway stations. Acts of racial aggression were rampant and penetrated public and private spaces including: public buses, private cars, streets, places of worship, places of work, places of business, and private homes. Lawrence Simoes, for instance, was returning home on a southbound Brimley road bus when two young men started yelling racial slurs at him. After shouting "Hey Paki you need a transfer to get off the bus," the two men proceeded to kick and punch him.¹⁰⁵ John Prakash, on the other hand, was driving in his car when a fellow motorist screamed racial taunts at him and attempted to run his car off the road.¹⁰⁶

" *Globe and Mail*, January 8, 1977. The police formed a special team to search for the perpetrators, see *Toronto Star*, "New TTC beating: Special team hunts 3 attackers," January 7, 1977. Five days after the attack the police arrested 18 year old Steven Creighton and accomplice Harold Reynolds, also 18. Sentencing was held on February 23 and Reynolds, pleaded not guilty, and was released, while Creighton who pleaded guilty was charged with assault causing bodily harm. Creighton was sentenced to two years of reformatory; see *Globe and Mail*, "Man pleads guilty to assault on immigrant in subway station," February 18, 1977; *Toronto Star*, "Citizenship query on victim," January 11, 1977. See also see Bhausaheb Ubale, *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy* ...20.

¹⁰⁵ *Toronto Star*, "2 Youths charged in attack on bus," June 4 1977. After the beating Simoes was rushed to the Scarborough General Hospital where he was treated for a chipped tooth, bloody nose, various bruises and swelling on his head. Curtin and Baoine were charged with assault causing bodily harm; see also Bhausaheb Ubale, *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy* ... 21. Mehboob Sayed was also a victim of a racial incident taking place on a bus. "I was travelling in a bus and they spat on me, not spat on me actually but when I was sitting, one of the fellows was behind me he spat, he's a Paki and spat like that on the floor. And he said 'Oh we'll have him we'll have him.' I looked there were so many Canadians not one of them told them what are you doing he's an elderly person talking like this about him. There are five and I am one and they are all young, what will I do? I felt rather, I was rather afraid, but then it hurt my ego." Sayed's experience with this particular racial act reminded him of the dangers in Toronto and Kanji's unfortunate racial attack. He remarked; "From that day I never take the subway at night because I remember that Kanji was hammered and he lost his legs and I came here not to be abused or butchered like this by people like this." See MHSO sample, interview with Mehboob Sayed.

¹⁰⁶ *Globe and Mail*, "Driver called him 'Paki' and 'nigger,' guitarist tells court," December 3, 1977. Judge Frank Callaghan concluded that Vaughan had been operating his car in "wanton and careless disregard of the lives of anyone who may have been in the area," and described the defendant's actions as "disgraceful" and "disgusting." Vaughan was found guilty of criminal negligence, a charge that carried a maximum penalty of two years in prison. Of note, Prakash's celebrity status as Alice Cooper's bassist did not protect him from racial outbursts. Ubale also noted that a South Asian man, who remained unidentified, was attacked at a traffic light while waiting for the signal to turn green. The victim suffered profuse bleeding and after going to the hospital discovered that he had a fractured nose, see Bhausaheb Ubale, *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy* ... 22. Vinod Luthra, on the other hand, was attacked by four youths as he was getting into his car in the Parkdale area, see Richard Furness, "Indian man claims racial attack in

Pakistanis and South Asians alike were also randomly accosted on various streets in Toronto. For example, Gian Naz, owner of the first South Asian theatre in Toronto, and his friend Ghulam Rabbeni were physically assaulted while standing outside Naz's place of business on Gerrard Street. According to these two men, three "hippie type young men" walked by and taunted them with phrases including, "You dirty Pakis" and "look at the dirty Pakis, they're making the country dirty."¹⁰⁷ The assault turned criminal when the young men took turns punching Naz and one of the three knocked Rabbeni unconscious with a heavy metal pipe.¹⁰⁸ Karim Ladha, an eighteen year old accounting student was also assaulted outside of a restaurant on Don Mills. He received bruises all over his body and required sixteen stitches on his upper lip.¹⁰⁹ Nazeer Sadar, a Pakistani writer, was also beaten and stabbed with a screwdriver while visiting a friend in the Bloor and Dovercourt area.¹¹⁰

The workplace could also prove dangerous. On December 21 1976, Naseem Dar, a glass cutter from Pakistan, was taunted and assaulted by factory co-worker, Sidwell

Parkdale," *Globe and Mail*, October 13, 1977. Fifteen year old Satendra Prasad was also brutally beaten at his apartment complex in North York. Three teenagers shouted racial slurs at him and knocked him to the ground, his head slammed against the pavement. He was rushed to the Northwestern General Hospital where he was treated for a concussion; see *Toronto Star*, "Racial attack on boy 3 teenagers charged," September 2, 1977. Twelve year old Nassir Basith was attacked while returning to his home in North York as well. He was punched repeatedly, pushed to the ground. Snow was then shoved into his face and he was called a "Dirty Paki," Harvey Schachter, "Get to know us, say East Indians and it'll slow the rise of racism," *Toronto Star*, August 14, 1976. See also see Bhausahab Ubale, *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy* ... 28.

¹⁰⁷ *Globe and Mail*, "East Indian knocked unconscious, Pipe used in '75 racial attack, witness says," February 3, 1977; and *Globe and Mail*, "Hit immigrant, man gets 90 days," April 1, 1977.

¹⁰⁸ Naz later testified in court that Rabbeni while unconscious "for five or ten minutes" bled profusely. The assailant was Thomas Givens. He was charged with possession of a dangerous weapon and assault causing bodily harm. Nirmal Singhrandhawa was also attacked while walking along Symington Avenue. The beating not only left him with serious injuries to his head, chest, eyes, and cheeks, but the attack caused severe nerve damage which left him completely deaf in his left ear, see Virginia Corner, "Pakistani Deaf after racial attack court is told," *Toronto Star*, February 7, 1978.

¹⁰⁹ Ladha was awarded \$1 072 as compensation for his injuries and the two young men responsible for the assault were sentenced to three years of probation. See *Crescent*, "Youth Compensated for Racial Beating," November 15, 1977.

¹¹⁰ Sadar suffered serious injuries to his head and ribs and received stitches from the wounds inflicted by the screwdriver. See *Crescent*, "Pakistani-Canadian Injured in Racial Assault," October 1 1978.

Samuels. Samuels provoked Dar by continuously calling him a “Paki.” Dar asked him to stop but the attack intensified. Dar was left to suffer cranial trauma, extreme dizziness, and lacerations over the left eye. He was hospitalized for six days.¹¹¹

Racism affected both men and women equally and was gendered. Though men were victims of overt displays of physical violence, women, on the other hand, tended to experience racism in more subtle ways, such as people sneering or jeering at them because of their appearance, attire, or accents. Twenty one year old Afshan Basith confirmed certain subtleties in the kinds of prejudice she experienced when in public, including when at her university. “It’s not so much outward hostilities. People say it behind your back... they might say I’m not prejudiced, but why don’t you dress like us or speak like us.”¹¹² In a personal interview Yasmine Hyder revealed a similar experience; “There were looks. Everybody used to look. It was worse than words. People would whisper “go back to your country. People used to look at us and assume we were from a different planet.”¹¹³

Pakistani women were also subject to more outwardly aggressive forms of discrimination including verbal insults. Yasmine Hyder, again, recounted an incident she endured at Ontario Place. As she and her family were walking in the park a little boy called out; “Mommy, mommy look they are from the zoo.”¹¹⁴ Rather than apologizing or

¹¹¹ *Toronto Star*, “\$1,068 awarded to man injured in racist attack,” September 25, 1977. On September 25 1977 Judge Robert Graham ruled that the assault was racially motivated and Samuels was sentenced to 30 days of jail time. See also *Globe and Mail*, “Taunted, assaulted Pakistani youth, 18, jailed for 30 days,” June 23, 1977. Though not in Toronto, Ranjit Singh, an assistant manager at the Red Oak Inn located in Thunder Bay was brutally beaten while at work. The attack left him hospitalized for two days and he suffered five broken teeth and a hemorrhaged left eye. See Arthur Johnson, “Charge laid in Thunder Bay in beating of East Indian,” *Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1976.

¹¹² Harvey Schachter, “Get to know us, say East Indians and it’ll slow the rise of racism,” *Toronto Star*, August 14, 1976.

¹¹³ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author, Toronto, Ont., April 19 2005.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

expressing embarrassment on their son's behalf, according to Hyder, the parents laughed. She remembered thinking that more injurious than the boy's hurtful words was the way his parent's responded. A *Toronto Star* article reported an instance where a female Pakistani public transit user suffered a barrage of insults from a male passenger, which included statements such as "Jeez it stinks around here."¹¹⁵ As the woman got up to leave, the man spit in her hair and on her face. In a separate incident a South Asian woman was hit in the head with pop bottles while walking home.¹¹⁶

In an interview, Razia Khan also spoke of instances where she was subject to ridicule. She recalled an unpleasant incident that occurred when she went out, one day, dressed in a *shalwar kameeze*, or traditional Pakistani attire:

People were very prejudice[d] at that time (the 1970s). If you dress up in *shalwar kameeze* they did not like our way of dressing up. When we used to go out they used to make faces and feel that we were in our pyjamas. One day I was walking wearing *shalwar kameeze*, youngsters about seventeen, eighteen years old were calling me 'Paki', 'Paki.' 'You dirty Paki go back to where you came'. I felt really bad. I came home and realized that they cannot accept any other part of the world. They think that Canada is for higher people and they do not like coloured people.¹¹⁷

Samina Anwar was also affronted and exposed to similar attitudes; "I went to the park and was sitting on the bench and this typical, typical Canadian guy said, 'I don't like immigrants and wish they would all go back to where they came from.'"¹¹⁸

While Pakistanis and others of South Asian descent bore the brunt of personal, racial attacks, Indo-Pakistani enterprises were also targeted with racially motivated acts. An example of this occurred on February 25, 1978, when the front windows of a popular

¹¹⁵ *Toronto Star*, "Human rights-a sick joke," December 4, 1977.

¹¹⁶ Olivia Ward, "How you can get help to fight Racism," *Toronto Star*, January 22, 1977.

¹¹⁷ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author, Brampton, Ont., November 1 2004.

¹¹⁸ Samina Anwar, [pseudo.], interview by author, Pickering Ont., November 30 2004.

Pakistani restaurant, Darbari-e-Akbari (Akbar's Court), were smashed and the front entrance spray painted with Swastikas.¹¹⁹

Religious institutions and known South Asian celebrations were also affected by instances of racial bigotry. In late September 1976, The San Marco Veneto Club on Weston Road was rented by a group of Hindus to house their weeklong festival, *Durga Puja*. Festivities were interrupted when, outside the hall, a group of young people starting shouting taunts such as "Paki bastards go home." Attacks escalated when a "hail of stones, eggs, tomatoes, and mud balls," were hurled at worshippers outside the prayer room.¹²⁰ One hour later, a gang of seven to eight people armed with knives, sticks, and baseball bats confronted the celebrants. In one case, Bismal Chattergee, a worshipper, endured severe head injuries when bludgeoned by the use of an axe.¹²¹

Later that year the *Bhavan Hindu Temple*, located on Indian Road was desecrated. Phrases like "Pakis go home" and "Keep Canada White" were spray painted outside the walls of the temple.¹²² On July 9, 1977 the Hindu Prarthana Samaj's (Prayer Society) was also vandalized.¹²³ Kirpa Ram Sabharwal, the general secretary of the society, told reporter Brian Rogers, that the Prarthana Samaj had witnessed plenty of other racially

¹¹⁹ The owner of the restaurant, Haider Khan, responded to these instances in a rather unconventional way. Rather than continually washing the hate propaganda from his windows, a nuisance he was "fed up with cleaning off every day," he decided to leave the symbols of hate on the front door. According to Khan he did this as a reminder to Torontonians of the problems faced by minorities. With sarcasm he also added that leaving the symbols in place would "save the hooligans the bother of painting it every night." See *Crescent*, "Front Windows Smashed in Racial Attack," March 15, 1978; *Crescent*, "Leave The Swastika," *Crescent* February 15, 1980, and *Toronto Star*, "Swastika daubed on restaurant door," February 27, 1978.

¹²⁰ Bhausaheb Ubale, *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy* ... 29-30; Michael Moore, "Axe-wielding youth wounds man who was attending Hindu festival," *Globe and Mail*, October 1, 1976; *Globe and Mail*, "Beaten with an axe, East Indian gets \$2,231," January 19, 1978. see Bhausaheb Ubale, *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy* ...30.

¹²¹ Michael Moore, "Axe-wielding youth wounds... The hit left him unconscious. He was then rushed to the emergency unit at York-Finch General Hospital where a six inch gash was sutured with fifteen stitches.

¹²² *Toronto Star*, "Around the Town," July 29, 1976.

¹²³ *Globe and Mail*, "Paki go Home' sprayed on the doors Hindu society complains of racial attacks," July 9, 1977.

motivated incidents. While people were at temple praying, a large tire was thrown through the door. Shoes left in the hallway were taken and flung into the snow. Sabharwal reported other occasions where tomatoes, eggs, and beer bottles had been “spattered” on the walls, windows, and entrance way.¹²⁴

Dashed Hopes: Pako-Canadians Changing Perceptions

Racial prejudice had a debilitating impact on the morale of Pakistani (and other South Asian) newcomers, causing many to question their high hopes of integrating into Canada’s mainstream. Mehboob Sayed reflected these sentiments:

When I came in 1973 I thought Toronto was really good, the people were really really helpful. [The] atmosphere [was] really hospitable, but it changed with the passage of time. We never came here with the hopes or any idea that we would be insulted like this. Or that our children will be abused, or our women will be tortured. Never came with the idea that they will do this to us. And we really feel sorry for them. I am a spiritualist and believe one thing that we are all God’ creation and if you are unkind or cruel to us there is God above and don’t forget.¹²⁵

In reference to immigrating to Canada especially from other countries like Britain, Nuzhat Amin argued that some Pakistanis “... left England for a brave new world (Canada) because they were fed up with being second class citizens. And now they ask themselves if it were not a mirage.”¹²⁶ Another newcomer despondently observed in an article appearing in the *Toronto Star*; “I feel like a second-class citizen. I’ll always feel

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* Hindu religious institutions bore the brunt of such racial attacks; this is probably because during the 1960s and early 1970s mosques were not yet established and thus not readily visible or identifiable to the public. The majority of Toronto’s Muslims who offered prayers rented existing public spaces, such as arenas, halls, and churches, or prayed in private homes. Toronto’s first official Islamic religious center, The Jami Mosque, was established only in 1969 when a group of Muslims purchased an old Presbyterian church. No major modifications or alterations were made to the outside of the church structure, thus making it difficult to be identified as a Muslim institution.

¹²⁵ MHSO sample, interview with Mehboob Sayed.

¹²⁶ Nuzhat Amin, “Pakistanis in Canada...”

that way for the rest of my life. I'll feel that way until there is equality, but there never will be. I don't want to fool myself.”¹²⁷

Shamin Sheik also drew attention to the difficulties some Pakistanis had integrating into the mainstream Canadian culture, often to no fault of their own:

It is almost impossible for most of our people to mix with the so-called royal Canadians. Not because we do not want to mix with them but because they pull their hands away even if we are ready to adopt their way of life ...¹²⁸

Pakistani Canadian M.H.K. Qureshi, in an article he wrote for the bulletin *Polyphony*, was overcome with a similar degree of upset and pessimism regarding Pakistanis and their actual experiences in Canada:

The lure to come here was, of course, economic-better opportunities for professional growth, a better standard of living,... and more material comforts. Furthermore, North American (Canadian in particular) life was found to be culturally vibrant and socially free and independent. So...Pakistanis made their way to Canada. For many it was a risky adventure and for a few it proved to be a total disappointment. ...Worse still, [was] a realization that they were not part and parcel of the mainstream... Psychologically, it was very unsettling. The talk of day was nothing but the fear of the Paki-bashing phenomenon. It made many newcomers depressed and schizophrenic.¹²⁹

Qureshi then dejectedly wondered; “how could one become Canadian when the hosts were not ready to accept them as Canadians.”¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Arnold Bruner, “Racism: “Problems of Indopakistanis,” *Globe and Mail*, August 1, 1975. In a personal interview Mr. Ishwaran, a professor at York University, shared a similarly morose sentiment. Although he was a Canadian citizenship, due to racial prejudice he did not feel welcomed into his new homeland and stated; ...Canada is my country in terms of citizenship, but ... I very much regret to say this in the last couple of months I have thought of leaving the country and going away to a country where I am liked and it can make my home. The racial problems have deeply hurt me. I feel that I am watched, that I am not wanted... In Canada I am a second class citizen.” See MHSO sample, interview with Mr. Ishwaran.

¹²⁸ Shamin Sheikh, “A Problem Approach to the Racial Problem,” *Crescent*, December 1, 1975.

¹²⁹ M.H.K. Qureshi, “The South Asian Community,” *Polyphony: Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario: Toronto's People* 6, no.1 (Spring/Summer 1984):192.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Yet, other Pakistanis also expressed concern with how racial acts of violence and xenophobic attitudes would affect Canada's general image. Some Pako-Canadians wrote to the *Toronto Star* about how racism would ruin Canada's good reputation and do much to tarnish its image as a bastion of social justice not just for Pakistanis, but others as well. One Pakistani newcomer warned; "Bigotry does not make a society great."¹³¹ K.A. Chaudhry, also cautioned that, "Racial hatred is one of the most negative sentiments and does more harm to the one who conducts it than the victim" and "does the most harm to the land where it is happening."¹³²

Zafar Bangash took an even more accusatory approach regarding racial assaults and argued that the Canadian government had an obligation to provide solutions to these existing problems. He advocated a stronger enforcement of the tenets of multiculturalism and criticized the government policy for failing to instill multicultural values in society. Bangash further argued that the policy did not go far enough in the way of legislative safe-guards and in reference to multiculturalism he stated:

It is the duty of the federal government to provide legislative protection to the victims of racial prejudice in the same manner as it does victims of rape or other injustices. Failure to come to grips with this problem will strengthen the hands of narrow-minded people on both sides and will perhaps help bring about the chaos of some southern American cities that everyone is so vehemently claiming to avoid.¹³³

¹³¹ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, January 20, 1977.

¹³² Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 23, 1975.

¹³³ Zafar Bangash, "A Dialogue on Race Relations," *Crescent*, December 1, 1975. Indera Anjena also thought that legislative changes were necessary in order to improve Toronto's racial tensions. She argued that such changes must go hand in hand with important ideological shifts as well; "All of us as East Indian experienced discrimination because of the way we looked and where we came from. The only changes will have to come through legislation and from people's hearts. One could be hopeful for change, but cannot be certain." MHSO, sample, interview with Indera Anjena.

Reports and Actions Pertaining to South Asians on Racial Problems in Toronto

The magnitude of Canada and Toronto's racial problem was so great by the mid-1970s that it began to draw international attention, attracting coverage from American television. A twenty minute exposé by NBC in 1977 assessed the violence that was playing out in Toronto and described the city's climate of racial conflict as a ticking "time bomb."¹³⁴ Embarrassment over these portrayals triggered responses by Toronto community leaders including the then mayor David Crombie. Crombie was "loud and vociferous" in his protestation against what he described as "irresponsible journalism" on behalf of the American network.¹³⁵ In an attempt to preserve the image and integrity of "Toronto the Good," the mayor criticized the report and denied the gravity of racial conflict in Toronto.¹³⁶

Other Toronto citizens, however, agreed that racism was indeed a real problem and displayed a genuine desire to ameliorate the situation. Subsequently, numerous Torontonians, including those of non-South Asian descent, shared their distress with the *Toronto Star*. Between 1975 and 1978 this newspaper featured the concerns of approximately seventy citizens, including an estimated forty Torontonians who appeared not to be of South Asian descent.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Dick Chapman, "Indian Group agrees city is a time bomb," *Toronto Star*, January 8, 1977.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* The idea of defending the integrity of Toronto, even with respect to its racial climate, was probably linked to the fact that Crombie was a committed reformer and campaigned on the notion of "preserving neighbourhoods" from the darker elements associated with expansion, which included growing ethnic and racial conflicts. Denying the severity of racial problems may have been in the best interest of his political career. Evelyn Ruppert, *The Moral Economy of Cities: Shaping Good Citizens* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 15-17; and Anthony Richmond, "Immigration and Ethnic Conflict," (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), introduction.

¹³⁷ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, April 20, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 17, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 23 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 29, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, September 15, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 10, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, April 21, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, August 30, 1976;

Apprehension surrounding Toronto's racially charged climate led to investigations by several provincial, municipal, and other local institutions including, the Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism, The Ontario Human Rights Commission, The Ministry of the Attorney General, the Council of the Metropolitan Toronto, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, and the Toronto Transit Commission. Subsequently, between 1977 and 1980, reports were written and measures were taken by these councils and organizations to address racial discrimination and encourage racial harmony.

In 1977 The Urban Alliance on Race Relations published a document, *Readings in Community Involvement*, that discussed minimizing racial hostilities and ways that non-Whites could be more successfully integrated into "Torontonians" society.¹³⁸ That same year the Human Rights Commission endeavoured to provide solutions to Toronto's growing racial conflicts in a document entitled *Life Together: A Report on Human Rights in Ontario*. To speak to rising violence against minorities the Human Rights Commission proposed a full scale revision of the Ontario Human Rights Code. The amended code included sections that not only expanded on existing legislation but more explicitly outlawed discrimination based on age, sex, sexual orientation, religion, and nationality.¹³⁹

The Toronto Transit Commission also took an important step toward reducing instances of violence and racism in the subway. In 1977, Chief General Manager,

Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, June 12, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, September 11, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, January 8, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, January 14, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, January 20, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 8, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 10, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, August 16, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, November 19, 1977; and Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 17, 1978.

¹³⁸ Urban Alliance on Race Relations, *Readings in Community Involvement* (Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1977).

¹³⁹ Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Life Together: A Report on Human Rights in Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1977).

Michael Warren, noted with concern, that “racial discrimination ranging from verbal harassment to aggressive acts appear[ed] to be increasing in the community generally and on the TTC system.”¹⁴⁰ In response to this increase, the TTC enacted numerous security measures. These measures included increased presence of the Metro police, special passenger assistance alarms, interior security mirrors, better lighting systems, and the installation of public telephones with free emergency calling on all subway platforms.¹⁴¹

Moreover, the TTC, in conjunction with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, the Metro Police Commission, and the Ministry of Culture and Recreation organized public information sessions aimed to decrease racially motivated incidents by teaching cultural awareness and an appreciation for ethnic diversity. Also as part of the effort, the TTC vowed to make better use of ethnic advertising media and design programs inspired by multiculturalism.¹⁴² At the recommendation of South Asian C.V. Kalevar and as a reminder of the TTC’s commitment to equality and safety, the Ontario Human Rights Code was displayed in numerous subway stations and at TTC buildings.¹⁴³

In 1977, after the upsurge of racial attacks some members of the Toronto Police Force did their part to address racism by creating an “ethnic relations squad,” which included seven South Asian officers. Jamal Khan and Muhammad Nazir, were among the officers assigned to represent Toronto’s Pakistani Muslim minorities. Robert Fowler,

¹⁴⁰ TA Series 39, File 151, Box 62490-33, Toronto Transit Commission, Report no. 4, “Minority Groups’ Rights on the TTC System,” Chief General Manager, February 23, 1977.

¹⁴¹ TA Series 39, File 151, Box 62490-33, Toronto Transit Commission, Report no.2, “Security Statistics-TTC System,” Chief General Manager, January 1, 1977.

¹⁴² TA Series 39, File 151, Box 624990-33, Toronto Transit Commission, Report No. 4, “Meetings with Government Agencies” and ““Minority Groups’ Rights on the TTC System,” Chief General Manager, March 1, 1977; and TA Series 203, File 250, Box 117457-2, Toronto Transit Commission Meeting No. 1284, “Safety and Security of TTC Passengers-Proposed Public Information Program-The TTC Answers Questions about Transit Security, March 15, 1977.

¹⁴³ TA Series 39, File 151, Box 624990-33, Toronto Transit Commission, Report No. 4, “Minority Groups’ Rights on The TTC...

head of the squad, maintained that the mission was to bridge the gap between South Asians and other Canadians, and furthermore, create an environment where South Asians could develop trust and confidence in their police force.¹⁴⁴ Khan, Nazir, and other members of the ethnic squad gave courses to new recruits on multiculturalism, diversity, and pluralism, with the hope of establishing a police force that was more culturally sensitive and tolerant.¹⁴⁵

The Ontario courts were also instrumental in their attempts to eliminate violence. Various Ontarian court judges demonstrated little leniency for racially instigated crimes and took strong punitive measures against such actions. Of the sixteen violent attacks which appeared in the body of this chapter, the majority of the perpetrators were found guilty and sentenced to time in prison (see Appendix 13). Most judges delivered a strong message against the heinous nature of these acts. One example was Judge Fred White who reflected a zero tolerance policy. Addressing the courtroom, regarding a subway attack, he stated; “I know no word to attach to the gravity of this racial attack...we must put a halt to the spread of the sickness of discrimination.”¹⁴⁶

The two most comprehensive and famous efforts focusing on racism in Toronto and solutions to this problem were the reports written by Bhausahab Ubale and Walter Pitman. In 1977, Ubale’s report, which was released first, was commissioned by the Attorney General of Ontario to discuss how Toronto’s ‘racial situation’ affected the South Asian Canadian Community. After carefully analyzing newspaper articles, personal interviews, and arranging meetings with various South Asian community

¹⁴⁴ Joe Serge, “These Cops Smooth Ethnic Relations: East Asian Policemen Help Build Trust In Their Community,” *Toronto Star*, August 5, 1979.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Wendy Darroch, “Subway attack ‘vicious, racial,’ youth gets two years,” *Toronto Star*, March 1, 1977.

leaders, Ubale concluded that the intensity of racial violence created “fear, a sense of insecurity and a great deal of racial tension” for Toronto’s South Asian population. In his report, Ubale cited over fifty racially motivated attacks on South Asians in the Metro region from 1976 to 1977 alone. Some attacks ranged from verbal harassment, to moderate physical aggression. The majority of cases, however, were vicious and left many South Asian victims with severe injuries requiring hospitalization.

While not all South Asians were subjected to brutal beatings, most lived with a constant and genuine fear for their own and their family’s safety. A letter written to the General Attorney of Ontario by an unidentified South Asian effectively summed up these worries:

My purpose for writing this letter to you is to seek help in solving a very serious problem which is making life for my family and myself a nightmare. The problem is that my family and I are simply unable to step out of our house without being abused, insulted and having racial slurs shouted at us. In the last two years my property has been damaged windows of my house have been broken with slingshots... All my efforts to solve this problem have been to no avail. It is becoming so bad that we have stopped using the front door, but the problem has followed us to the back door. Mr. McMurtry, you are the champion of individual rights. You must protect my right to live in dignity as a good hard-working Canadian citizen.¹⁴⁷

A few weeks after Ubale’s report appeared, Walter Pitman's findings were published. Pitman’s report was the result of a task force commissioned by the council of Metro Toronto. While Pitman wrote in response to the violent subway attacks in 1976

¹⁴⁷ Bhausahab Ubale, *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy* ...48-52. Another case of a house being vandalized made the news. Dean Nensy’s house, in Bramalea, was spray painted with anti-Pakistani slogans. The five teenagers found guilty of the offense were fined three hundred dollars, and ordered to repair the damages. The judge also ordered the youths to write essays on Pakistan. The irony here is that though the victim was East African, even the judge mistook him as being Pakistani. *Toronto Star*, “Victim Tanzanian but court ordered Pakistan essays,” December 2, 1976; and *Globe and Mail*, “Ethnic error, Man who received apology as Pakistani says he’s a Tanzanian of Indian origin,” December 2, 1976.

and 1977, like Ubale, Pitman realized that violence towards Toronto's South Asian population was rife and widespread.¹⁴⁸

Following this extensive study, which included seventy-five interviews with victims, assailants, and witnesses, Pitman was convinced that South Asians were the most victimized group in the Metro region. "Brown-skinned," he declared were, indeed, "bearing the brunt of violence associated with racist attitudes."¹⁴⁹

The report suggested the following reasons why South Asians were the most victimized groups:

1. The slight physical build of many of the victims alluded to a meek and timid victim, who would not pose any real physical threat;
2. South Asians, including Pakistanis, were seen as passive and easy-going and therefore did not respond to provocation;
3. The South Asian community was scattered, thus hindering a cohesive force that could fight back. For instance, South Asians tended to travel alone or in small groups thereby rendering themselves easy targets.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Walter Pitman, *Now is Not Too Late* ... 32-33. The exact quote expressing this was:
The subway attacks were the most obvious examples of violence. The Task Force found that there were instances of violence in parks and recreation areas, in public housing complexes, in school playgrounds, on the streets, in shopping plazas. Particularly vicious were instances of continuous harassment of businessmen and repeated attacks on the homes of visible minority members. The most cursory survey of the situation revealed that there was indeed a problem, that a substantial number of Toronto's citizens lived in fear, unwilling to use the subway system, uncomfortable and threatened in going about their activities in their own neighborhoods.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 34. This finding was also supported by Wilson Head, human rights activist and leader of the Urban Alliance on Racial Relations. See Donald Grant, "South Asians constantly fear attacks, report says," *Globe and Mail*, Oct 31, 1977.

¹⁵⁰ Walter Pitman, *Now is Not Too Late* ... 91; and Harvey Schachter, "Get to Know Us, say East Indians and it'll slow the rise of racism," *Toronto Star*, August 14, 1976. In response to the first and second point Nuzhat Amin suggested that these passive responses stemmed from a style of familial upbringing in which parents teach their children to "keep their izzat (or respect)" even when they are being attacked. Amin stated, "Their advice is: 'Run, hide, and don't fight back.'" Amin continued to say that rather than respecting "browns" for not physically fighting back this behaviour is encouraging abuse; "the white man knows that he is not putting himself in an (sic) danger by picking a fight with a timid brown." See Nuzhat Amin, "Pakistanis in Canada ... Pitman's comments obviously do not take the actions of more militant and radical South Asians like the East Indian Defence Committee into account. For a sample of their views see Hardial Bains, "Fight State-Organised Racist Attacks Through Revolutionary Struggle! (Toronto: People's Canada Publishing House, 1976).

The report also showed examples of racism in many other societal institutions, including the police force and schools. To counter the rising tide of racism the report made numerous recommendations to improve race relations. Some of these recommendations included:

- Having the federal government finance a long-term study of racism, and methods used to control racism throughout the world;
- Having the Metro make appointments to boards and commissions from visible minorities until the representation of those minorities reflected the population mix;
- Having the Metro support the Toronto Transit Commission in preventing assaults on subway and surface routes;
- Having the Council request a statement of concern and intent regarding racist violence from the police;
- Having the Federal and provincial authorities responsible for welcoming immigrants at Toronto International Airport be asked to provide accurate information about Canadian laws to avoid the misunderstanding and friction which comes from unrealistic expectations;
- Having the police put more emphasis in pre-service training on racism as a problem in policing in Metro;
- Having the council establish a media race relations committee with representatives from the print and electronic media to receive the complaints and concerns of minority groups regarding their treatment in the newspapers and periodicals and in radio and television broadcasting in the Metro;
- Having the Metro along with the Ministry of Colleges and Universities and the Ministry of Education encourage immigrants to train for careers in the media be urged to hire those persons.
- Having the council ask the Advertising Standards Council to encourage its members to use all available talent of visible minorities fairly and impartially, and prevent the projection of stereotyped images of those groups. The ad council should also discard all constraints of height, stature and cultural background which violate the rights of minority groups.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Walter Pitman, *Now is Not Too Late...* 217-267.

Some Torontonians argued that reports and actions taken to subdue Toronto's racial climate were outlandish and unnecessary. Al Evelyn, president of the Metro Police Association stated that the frenzy surrounding complaints by South Asians were overblown and intended to stir conflict and he "categorically deni[ed]" any widespread prejudice against South Asians in Toronto.¹⁵² Both North York's mayor Mel Lastman and Scarborough's mayor Paul Cosgrove critiqued anti-racist responses and were particularly upset by Pitman's report.¹⁵³ Former East York mayor, Leslie Saunders, was perhaps the most vociferous in his disapproval for the report. He claimed that Pitman's report was a sheer "waste of money" and that there was "no real racism in Metro." He went one step further and blamed Pakistanis immigrants for the city's problems; "Ethnic minorities like the Pakistanis are the ones who cause all the trouble because they refuse to adjust to our way of life."¹⁵⁴ He then asked; "You don't have these sorts of problems with Italians, Germans or Finns, do you?"¹⁵⁵

Numerous people including South Asians, however, wrote to the *Toronto Star* to show their support for Pitman's findings and recommendations. The majority of Toronto's non-White communities heralded the report as necessary, sensitive, and timely. Daljit Singh Gill, president of the Shromani Sikh Society, publically endorsed the report saying that if taken seriously, the recommendations set forth by Pitman could solve Toronto's race problems.¹⁵⁶ Lateef Owaisi, the editor of *Crescent*, similarly praised Pitman's report and agreed that the solutions offered would, in fact, educate the general

¹⁵² Alan Christie, "Pitman Report, Police racism? Only by a few spokesman says," *Toronto Star*, November 29, 1977.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Paul Dalby, "There goes last of the Orangeman," *Toronto Star*, February 19, 1978.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Joe Serge, "Non-whites say report's right—now act on it," *Toronto Star*, November 29, 1977.

public about immigrant cultures, and thus create a more tolerant and harmonious environment.¹⁵⁷

Combating Racism: Pakistani Agency

Pakistanis themselves were strong advocates for change and employed various methods to help reduce racial conflicts. One of these ways was through organized protest. As earlier observed in this chapter, on May 20, 1975, hundreds of Pakistanis launched a protest in Toronto's downtown core to defend their integrity and to speak out against racism. Less than one month after this demonstration, Pakistanis joined an anti-racism rally consisting of more than two hundred people who lobbied against racist attacks on the Pakistani community, supremacist groups like the Western Guard, and anti-immigrant sentiments expressed in the Green Paper (the document that was supposed to guide the government's new immigration policy, see Chapter Two). Moreover, the surge of violent attacks on South Asians, in 1977, alarmed Pakistanis and roused further militancy. On November 6, of that year, Pakistanis with the participation of other South Asians organized a march against racism and inaction at City Hall. The rally included around two thousand members of Toronto's South Asian community as well as some 'sympathetic others' who carried a particular message: "Unite Against Racism."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Toronto Star*, "Call for action against Racism," October 23, 1977; See also *Crescent*, "2 000 attend city hall rally," November 15, 1977. Protests such as these could lead to backlash. For instance Ahad, who was vocal in both major rallies, was heavily criticized by one reader who advised Ahad, and other whining Pakistanis to return to where they came from because Canada did not "need" them; see Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, June 3, 1975. Also, reader Debbie Holt in response to Pakistanis said that she was "tired of hearing immigrants cry prejudice whenever they can't accomplish something here in Canada..." see Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, March 29, 1977. For other comments along these lines refer to the Letters to the Editor sections of the *Toronto Star* on February 10, 1977; February 17, 1978; June 30, 1979; and October 23, 1979. The fact that Pakistanis sought to effect change should come as no surprise. Since becoming its own separate country the various Pakistani governments in charge (legitimate or illegitimate) have struggled with concepts like democracy, social justice, and secularism. From the onset of its creation,

Pakistanis also responded to deteriorating race relations through a national symposium on multiculturalism, which was organized by the Canada Pakistan Association in 1976. One of the main purposes of this symposium was to bring about broader awareness about of Pakistani Canadians. While panels and presentations sought to assist Pakistanis in adjusting to their new home country, they also served as a medium for cultural and personal exchanges between Pakistani newcomers and other Canadians. The conference featured a number of Pakistani and non-Pakistani speakers who discussed subjects including blending into a new country, the mutual expectations of Pakistanis and other Canadians, and multiculturalism.

The Pakistan Show a cable television program was yet another way for Pakistani Canadians to stand up to racism. The show began to air early in 1977 and was hosted by prominent members of Toronto's Pakistani community: Zafar Bangash and Khalid Usman. The show was dedicated to presenting the point of view of Pako-Canadians and twice a month on Tuesday, members of the community were provided with a forum to do so. Race relations and combating racism were among the important topics discussed on the program and important guests such as Walter Pitman, were featured to enhance such dialogues.¹⁵⁹

in 1947, Pakistan has had a large contingent of its population who continually pushed for a country that would be based on these values. Efforts along these lines were realized in 1971 with the democratic election of Zulfikar Bhutto who promised to rehabilitate the country and ameliorate everyday living conditions by making the basic necessities of "*roti*," "*kopra*," and "*makan*" available to all. Bhutto found a number of his supporters among university students. Bhutto's campaign and government, as well as the dismantling of martial law, occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s. This time frame corresponded with Canada's intake of university trained Pakistanis. It is therefore logical to assume, that some of the Pakistanis who came to Canada were politicized and had first-hand experience with bringing about change.¹⁵⁹ See *Crescent*, "Pakistan Show on T.V.," February 15 1977; and *Crescent*, "Pitman on Pakistan Show," June 1, 1977. Though based in Ottawa, *Projections Pakistan*, was another cable television show, in the mid 1970s, designed to create mutual understanding between Pakistanis and other members of the Canadian population. The show featured interviews with scientists, social scientist, doctors, artists, and writers and discussed vast topics including multiculturalism, blending into Canada, experiences with immigration, the

Pakistanis also extended beyond their ethno-cultural associations to join forces with other associations and organizations to bring about more peaceful race relations in Toronto. In 1975, Pakistani Canadians played an important role serving on a series of public forums on multiculturalism and racism in Toronto organized by the Unitarian Congregation. The purpose of these forums was to increase public awareness of racial prejudice in Metro Toronto, provide a non-confrontational venue for honest and open discussion among people of diverse racial and cultural backgrounds, and stimulate joint action towards a community of greater tolerance and understanding.¹⁶⁰

In addition, Pakistanis addressed congregations of churches and synagogues throughout the Metro area, with the intention of creating mutual respect, understanding, and racial tolerance.¹⁶¹ These actions culminated in an Interfaith Task Force on Racism and Human Rights, established in 1976, which sought to combat the ignorance and fear responsible for numerous “mindless hostilities” against Toronto’s South Asian population.¹⁶²

Moreover, in 1978 Lateef Owaisi, Zafar Bangash, and Amina Syed submitted a report to the Executive of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism which shed light on the systematic discrimination of non-Whites, particularly Asians and

education system, and similarities between Pakistanis and other Canadians. The show still airs today and is now produced by Rogers.

¹⁶⁰ Shamin Sheikh, “A Positive Approach to the Racial Problem,” *Crescent* December 1, 1978. See also *Crescent*, “Racism in Toronto,” January 1, 1977.

¹⁶¹ *Toronto Star*, “Fighting Bad Jokes,” August 25, 1976.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* Also see Malcolm Johnson, “Pakistanis seek voice on racism committee,” *Toronto Star*, December 1, 1977; and *Toronto Star*, “Churches urged to lead war on racism,” January 13, 1977. Efforts such as these were among the influencing reasons behind the archbishop of Toronto, Cardinal Gerald Emmett Carter’s report, in 1979, on race relations in Toronto. Carter’s report and “discoveries” were reminiscent of earlier ones. In his report, Carter noted that verbal abuses were as damaging as physical assaults. “When a person is called a nigger, a queer, a faggot, a chink, a paki, usually with the appropriate accompanying adjective, he has been attacked as surely as if he were struck.” The report also proposed a number of recommendations to improve Toronto’s race relations; see Cardinal Gerald Emmett Carter, *Report to Civic Authorities of Metropolitan Toronto and its Citizens* (October, 1979), 20-26.

Blacks, in mass media advertisements. While the report proposed a number of recommendations that could be taken to improve this specific situation, these suggestions could also be more broadly applied to Canadian race relations and reducing racial conflicts. The report advised:

- Use all available talent of the visible minority groups fairly and impartially.
- Prevent the projection of stereotyped images of visible minority groups in order not to deny them dignity as equal citizens.
- Present people with different accents and reflect Canada as a proud society of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.
- visible minority groups should participate more and more in the rich cultural heritage of Canada and share their values with others as well as appreciating those of others.¹⁶³

While the cumulative effect of these various efforts on the part of many Pakistanis aided in bringing about public awareness of racism, one of the most powerful ways in which Pakistanis sought to end this problem was through mainstream media, primarily newspapers. Toronto's most widely read newspapers, the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*, were effective mediums for Pakistanis and other South Asians to make their voices heard. By offering interviews with staff writers, positing opinion pieces, writing letters to the editor, and penning articles, Pakistanis and other South Asians, wanted to educate other Canadian in order to diminish racist attitudes and behaviours. Between 1975 and 1978 over one hundred seventy articles focusing on issues crucial to Pakistanis and other South Asians appeared in the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*. Furthermore, of the eighty three letters to the editor and opinion pieces that were examined with an eye for discourse around solving Toronto's race problem over thirty six percent appeared to have

¹⁶³Lateef Owaisi, Zafar Bangash, and Amina Syed, "Visible Minorities in Mass Media Advertising ... 25-26. See also *Crescent*, "Study by Pakistani-Canadian Lauded at Multicultural Convention," July 1, 1977; and *Crescent*, "Now is not Too Late," December 15, 1977.

been submitted by South Asians, while close to fifty percent of these were written by Pakistanis.¹⁶⁴

Pakistanis believed that their presence in the media would encourage Torontonians to “get to know” them, a knowledge that many felt would “certainly” forge friendships, create respect, and dispel negative stereotypes. Perhaps the most successful program, along these lines, was the one advanced by the Pakistani Community Aid Center, under the presidency of Aslam Khan. With the help of his committee he devised “The Good Neighbour Proposal,” a venture aimed at reducing racial tensions between Pakistanis and their “White” neighbours. This project, advertised in local newspapers, encouraged Pakistani families living in the Metro region to invite their non-Pakistani counterparts into their houses for a traditional meal. Khan hoped that this initiative would show other Canadians that Pakistanis were sincerely committed to racial harmony. Moreover, he thought that such a measure would cultivate multicultural exchanges which would foster mutual comprehension, tolerance, and respect.¹⁶⁵

The project was deemed successful. Four hundred Pakistani families participated and invited non-South Asians to partake in an evening of Pakistani cuisine. Following the event Aslam Khan remarked; “It’s a good step towards creating racial harmony. It

¹⁶⁴ Numbers determined by using Letters to the Editor including, Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, April 20, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 17, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 23, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 29, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, September 15, 1975; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 10, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, April 21, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, August 30, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, June 12, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, September 11, 1976; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, January 8, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, January 14, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, January 20, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 8, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 10, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, August 16, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, November 19, 1977; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 17, 1978; Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, June 30, 1979; and Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, October 23, 1979.

¹⁶⁵ Joe Serge, “Metro Pakistanis are urged to invite neighbours to tea,” *Toronto Star*, March 1, 1978.

certainly shows that ... Canadians ... are gladly accepting our hand of friendship.”¹⁶⁶

Moreover, it was initiatives such as these that prompted Mayor David Crombie to proclaim March 18 to 25 as “Pakistani Community Friendship Week.”¹⁶⁷

The media was also used, by some Pakistanis to dispel common stereotypes. Stereotypes that were particularly bothersome to many Pakistanis were the ones that referred to their hygiene as substandard. Rafiq Ahmed was one example of an individual who seized the opportunity to address such ignorance, when he agreed to an interview for the *Toronto Star*. Obviously offended by the injurious typecast of the “dirty, smelly Paki,” he asked the *Toronto Star* staff writer, “does my house stink, is there dirt on the walls?”¹⁶⁸ Writer Dale Brazao, responded to this by saying that Ahmed’s house was indeed clean, nicely decorated, and comfortable. He also observed that “nothing in the house was noticeably Pakistani” and resembled the average Canadian home.¹⁶⁹ (What Brazao was referring to when he wrote “nothing noticeably Pakistani” remained unexplained).

A letter written to the *Toronto Star* by another Pakistani Canadian, Javed Hashmi, informed readers that the majority of Pakistanis were indeed clean, cleanliness being of utmost importance for practicing Muslims (the religion of most Pakistanis) who are instructed by the Qu’ran to wash their hands frequently and bathe before prayers (which are performed five times daily).¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Joe Serge, “Pakistani Family asks a stranger to dinner,” *Toronto Star*, March 23, 1978.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Dale Brazao “Racism costs top salesman his livelihood,” *Toronto Star*, March 21, 1977.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 23, 1975. Appearing in that same section was another voice which suggested that Pakistanis were perhaps cleaner than other Canadians. This sentiment is reminiscent of the ones expressed by Pakistanis in Britain who argued that “English” practices such as using “toilette paper and not water to clean themselves, reject[ing] showers in favour of infrequent baths, and failing to wash after sexual activities,” was uncivilized. Roger Ballard, “The Emergence of Desh Pardesh... 11.

Also using this medium, Pakistanis reminded Canadians that they were a learned group of individuals who did not wish to threaten or change “Canadian” culture. Rather, they admired Canada and yearned for integration. On June 12 1976, one Pakistani newcomer wrote that Canada was among the greatest countries in the world to live in and it was the “inescapable responsibility” of all to learn, respect, and adopt the dominant Canadian culture.¹⁷¹ Asif Khan, the director for the Association of Pakistani Canadians reassured readers that Pakistanis who settled in Toronto were indeed committed to Canadian standards and wanted to contribute to the nation’s progress.¹⁷² Similar sentiments were echoed in Zafar Quraishi’s 1979 letter; “...We came to this great land with a variety of rich technical knowhow in the fields of law, education, engineering, medicine, etc... We are striving to give all that we have to Canada.”¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ *Toronto Star*, “Racial Problem will disappear, immigrant believes,” June 12, 1976.

¹⁷² Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, May 30, 1975.

¹⁷³ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, June 30, 1979.

CHAPTER Four

“CANADA NEEDS OUR SKILLS”: PAKISTANIS AND THEIR STRUGGLE FOR JOB EQUITY IN TORONTO DURING THE 1960’S AND 1970’S¹

This chapter, like the previous one, explores some of the more disappointing experiences Pakistanis endured integrating into the Canadian mainstream, and, for the most part, concentrates on the difficulties Pakistani professionals had reaching their full economic potential in Toronto’s workforce. Despite the government’s focus on professional labour and a policy of multiculturalism that was supposed to “form the base of a society which [promised] fair play for all,”² many in the Pakistani community struggled to find employment and earnings that reflected their levels of education, experience, and skill. They cited racist hiring practices and double standards in the workforce as the main causes. Pakistani women experienced a multiplicity of obstacles, including racism, sexism, and gender bias.

This chapter looks at the types of employment assumed by some Pakistani immigrants and their experiences with discrimination. It is important to note that the objective of this section is not only to show examples of the discrimination that Pakistanis faced when seeking employment, it also attempts to demonstrate how perceptions of discrimination by Pakistanis influenced their efforts to make a living and their sense of becoming integrated into the economic mainstream.

¹ The title for this chapter was inspired by a statement made by Pakistani engineer, Shams Ahad, during a protest against racism organized by the Pakistani Canadian Association. Ahad, offended by comments like, “Pakistanis are smelly,” and “Pakistanis can’t assimilate,” retaliated by saying that “Canadian society needs the Pakistanis, who brought skills to this country.” Pat McNenly, “250 Pakistanis in Metro protest Star story on racism,” *Toronto Star*, May 20, 1975.

² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 8 October 1971, 8545.

The Economy and Professional/Skilled Immigrants

As Canada embarked on a post-industrial era the economy shifted from manufacturing to services. This was very much reflected in Toronto and across Ontario.³ A shortage of manpower directed Canada's immigration policies toward professionals who would work in the country's expanding service sectors. Though unemployment rates were consistently high throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Canada continued to bring in large numbers of immigrants, the rationale being that unemployment was a "mismatch" of supply and demand. Canadian academics Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English stipulated that the government used immigration to supply the country with professionals who would "raise the level of education and skill," so that "everyone would find a job."⁴

Canada's call for professionals from abroad resulted in the arrival of nearly two hundred seventy five thousand skilled and professional immigrants from 1967 to 1979. Two thousand of these were Pakistanis (see Appendix 14). According to an annual breakdown of Statistics Canada the most popular professions held by Pakistanis destined for the labour force during these years were: teachers, engineers, science technicians, managers, physical scientists, accountants, health scientists, actuaries, and economists (see Appendix 15). Professionals accounted for around thirteen percent of all Pakistanis who came to Canada during these years (or over thirty percent of all Pakistanis destined for the labour force, see Appendix 16). In 1976, the Pakistani Embassy of Ottawa

³ TA Series 10, Item 930, Box 115620-9, "An Economic Strategy for Metropolitan Toronto," Metropolitan Toronto Economic Development Steering Committee, 1980.

⁴ Robert Bothwell et. al., *Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 289.

estimated that between seven thousand and eight thousand Pakistanis lived in Toronto.⁵ A fair estimate for the total number of Pakistani professionals in Toronto would then be one thousand, assuming that thirteen percent were professionals. In order to appreciate fully the Pakistani place in Toronto's workforce, it is important to see how immigrants in general fared on the labour front.

Canadian Studies and Reports on the Employment of Immigrants

Most immigrants regardless of race, ethnicity, national origin, or creed experienced some difficulty integrating into Canada's socio-economic structure. In 1967 sociologist Anthony Richmond conducted an important study on Post-War immigrants. He surveyed close to five hundred immigrants including those of English, French, German, Scandinavian, Mediterranean, and Asian backgrounds, and discovered that most of these newcomers reported a sense of downward mobility in Canada. In sum, most immigrants, professionals in particular, admitted to a lower standard of living in Canada and felt as though their "position" in the greater community had diminished.⁶

The economic and social adaptation of immigrants was also the subject of a longitudinal survey prepared by the Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1974. The study, "Three years in Canada," followed a sample of five thousand immigrants in the labour force from major source countries and regions including Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Greece, the Philippines, the Caribbean, China, and India, from

⁵Bob Pennington, "Prejudice is not a joke for Metro's Pakistanis," *Toronto Star*, May 24, 1976.

⁶Anthony Richmond, *Post War Immigration to Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 258. This was especially true for immigrants who had settled in Toronto.

1970 to 1972.⁷ The report drew attention to inequalities with regard to earnings among newcomers. Immigrants from Britain, France, Germany, Australia and the United States, for instance, earned incomes significantly higher than those coming from Greece, Italy, and Yugoslavia, due in large part, as the report indicated, to their higher levels of skill and education.⁸ Education and skill were thus key factors when measuring the successful integration of immigrants.

While the study did not overtly connect “race” to newcomers’ difficulties in joining the Canadian workforce and receiving equitable pay, some of its findings suggested this possibility. For instance, the report observed that Britons, Australians, and Americans earned higher salaries than “other” Europeans due to higher levels of professional training and skill. It failed, however, to explain why they earned superior incomes to people from the Caribbean, China, and India, even when comparable qualifications were considered. According to this study, in 1970 immigrants from Britain earned an average income of almost nine thousand dollars. By 1971, these incomes rose to just under eleven thousand dollars and increased to over twelve thousand dollars by 1972. Australian and American immigrants followed a similar trend. In 1970 Australians earned an average income of slightly more than ten thousand dollars, around twelve thousand dollars in 1971, and by 1972 they were earning well over thirteen thousand dollars. American immigrant incomes were more than eleven thousand dollars and thirteen thousand dollars in 1970 and 1971. By 1972 salaries increased to just shy of

⁷ Canada, Manpower and Immigration, *Three Years in Canada: First report of the longitudinal survey on the economic and social adaptation of immigrants*, (Ottawa, 1974). Other aspects of the study examined how well immigrants adapted in certain metropolitan areas, their geographic mobility, the adjustment of immigrant professionals, the role of knowledge of the official languages, and the educational and cultural factors in adjustment.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 55 and table 5.5.

fourteen thousand dollars. Caribbean, Chinese, and Indian immigrants, however, earned incomes well below these figures. In 1970 the average income for an Indian immigrant was more than five thousand dollars. By 1971 it had increased to just over seven thousand five hundred dollars, and by 1972, to more than nine thousand dollars.

Caribbean immigrants in 1970 had an average income of under five thousand dollars, this rose to over six thousand five hundred dollars in 1971, then to approximately seven thousand five hundred dollars in 1972. Chinese newcomers earned incomes below even their Indian and Caribbean counterparts, during this three year span they received an average of over four thousand dollars in 1970, six thousand dollars in 1971, and under seven thousand dollars in 1972. These gaps suggested that racial implications may have placed immigrants of colour in more disadvantageous positions (the average incomes of all the groups examined in this study have been reproduced in Appendix 17).

Approximately one decade after this survey, the federal government commissioned another study and appointed Judge Rosalie Abella, to investigate Canadian employment practices and the occupational positions of immigrants, particularly those from the developing world defined as ‘visible minorities.’ Abella’s study indicated that racial and cultural barriers placed visible minorities in notably disadvantageous positions.⁹ She reported that these minorities had limited access to “Canadian life” and that their cultural and linguistic backgrounds excluded them from job opportunities or being hired. Moreover, while many of these newcomers were people with recognized qualifications and proven job skills they were not promoted or given the same

⁹ Abella’s report was the basis of important legislation produced by the government to ensure job equity in the mid 1980s.

opportunities as Whites with similar credentials. This was especially true of Indo-Pakistani men and women who demonstrated above average levels of education.¹⁰

Sociologist Bolaria Singh expanded on this point and demonstrated that when immigrants of colour were fortunate enough to secure jobs more or less in their fields, they were positioned at the lowest levels of their professional hierarchies or placed where White Canadian trained professionals were unwilling to work. According to Singh immigrants of colour were in:

disadvantageous positions vis-à-vis their indigenously produced counterparts. Place of origin, racial background, cultural differences, or other characteristics considered to be 'undesirable attribute' in addition to entry status which may result in differential labour market opportunities which channel these professionals into the least sought-after positions.¹¹

Ontario and Toronto Studies

Other studies and reports similarly showed that immigrants from the developing world also faced difficulties when trying to join the Ontario and Toronto workforces. Annual Reports of the Ontario Human Rights Commission indicated that according to the complaints it received, race, ethnicity, or creed were among the main factors hindering people from finding appropriate jobs. Discrimination in employment due to these factors

¹⁰ Rosalie Abella, *Equality in Employment: A Royal Commission Report* (Canada: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984), 84.

¹¹ Singh Bolaria, "From Immigrant Settler to Migrant Transients: Foreign Professionals in Canada," *Deconstructing a Nation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and Racism in 90s Canada* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1992), 216. Sonia Shah posited a similar observation for South Asian professionals living in the United States. Shah stated that South Asian professionals were "discouraged from the most lucrative private sector jobs, steering them into the government-run jobs in the inner-city and rural areas where native professionals were unwilling to go. According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Asian immigrants encountered a glass ceiling that prevented them from moving up the ladder as fast as their white counterparts." See Sonia Shah, "Three Hot Meals and a Full Work Day: South Asia Women's Labor in the United States," in *Patchwork Shawl: Chronicles of South Asian Women in America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 212.

totaled thirty six percent of complaints in 1974-1975, and continued to rise throughout the rest of the 1970s.¹² In 1978-1979 of the five hundred sixty eight grievances filed three hundred eighty seven were based on racial, ethnic, or religious reasons, and these reasons also accounted for fifty six percent of the complaints in 1979-1980 (see Appendix 18).¹³

Upward mobility and socio-economic integration were other impending issues for immigrants of colour in Ontario.¹⁴ These hardships could be linked to the fact the province did not hire these immigrants for jobs as readily as their White contemporaries. A study of the 1971 census, prepared by the Economic Council of Canada, estimated unemployment rates for immigrants from the developing world in Ontario to be two times higher than the average of other immigrant groups.¹⁵ Another study found that immigrants from the developing world had lower incomes than other immigrants in similar occupations. When ethnic and immigrant groups were matched regarding occupational status, age, and years of education, Asians and Blacks earned less money

¹² Annual Reports of the Ontario Human Rights Commission started being published officially in 1978. The 1977 Report appeared as an extract in the Report for the Ministry of Labour. The information for the mid 1970s was found in *Ontario Human Rights Report*, (Annual Report, 1980/1981), 53.

¹³ Racism in the workforce continued to be cited as the main type of discrimination in employment practices during the early 1980s, and accounted for forty three percent of all cases from 1980-1984 (see Appendix, 18).

¹⁴ A study by Gurcharn Basran and Zong Li showed this to be the case for Asian professionals and studied the numerous barriers encountered by Indian and Chinese professional immigrants when seeking appropriate employment. Their study surveyed 404 foreign trained professional. Close to ninety percent of the sample had worked as professionals in their native countries. But when immigrating to Canada under nineteen percent of the people surveyed were working in Canada as professionals. Fifty-five percent held lower status jobs as non- professionals, seventeen percent were self employed while ten percent did not find work in Canada. According to the researchers, seventy three of the people surveyed experienced downward mobility, twenty two percent held the same type of job after immigration, and only five percent experienced any sort of upward mobility, see Gurcharn Basran and Zong Li, "Devaluation of Foreign Credentials as Perceived by Visible Minority Professional Immigrants," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/ Études Ethniques du Canada* 30, no.3 (1998): 7-23.

¹⁵ Leon Muszynski and Jeffrey Reitz, *Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment* (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan, 1982), 18.

than other ethnic groups, discrepancies that Sociologists John Goldlust and Anthony Richmond attributed to prejudice in Toronto's workforce.¹⁶

Similarly, in 1985, Francis Henry and Effie Ginzberg produced a study that measured racial discrimination in employment practices in Toronto and focused on immigrants of colour, including South Asians.¹⁷ They demonstrated that substantial amounts of racial discrimination in the city denied certain ethnic groups equal access to employment opportunities. Those from the Caribbean and Indo-Pakistanis, for instance, were rejected from job openings at a significantly higher rate than were White Canadians of Anglophone descents or White immigrants. It was also noted that White applicants were treated more courteously and with greater levels of respect than those from the Caribbean and South Asians, who were more often handled rudely, dismissively, and pejoratively.¹⁸

The cumulative effect of these studies suggested that racial discrimination was rampant in Canada, Ontario, and Toronto and denied immigrants of colour access to equal employment opportunities and fair hiring procedures.

¹⁶ John Godlust and Anthony Richmond, "A Multivariate Analysis of the Economic Adaptation of Immigrants in Toronto" found in *Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment*, (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan, 1982). Other ethnic groups in the study were British, Jewish, Slavs, West Europeans, Greeks, Portuguese, and other origins.

¹⁷ Frances Henry and Effie Ginzberg, *Who Gets The Work: A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment* (Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations & The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1985). Two types of testing techniques were devised to detect racial discrimination in hiring practices. For test one, people were matched with respect to age, sex, education, and experience. The only major difference in the applicants was race. They were then sent to answer advertisements for jobs. The second test, measured how profoundly employers discriminated against people with ethnic- sounding names or "foreign" accents.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

Professional Orders and the College of Physicians and Surgeons

When exploring fair employment practices and hardships faced by immigrants of colour (or any immigrant for that matter) the role played by overly zealous Canadian professional guilds and associations cannot be ignored. Professional associations, including the Engineering Institute, the Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario, the Canadian Medical Association, and the Ontario College of Physicians and Surgeons used the pretexts of lower standards and a lack of Canadian “know-how” to bar foreign professionals from working in their domains.¹⁹

Fuelled by chauvinism and jealousy professional orders were unrelenting in their desire to keep immigrants from penetrating their ranks. This was especially true of Canadian doctors, particularly those in Ontario. There, professionals vociferously opposed immigrant doctors due to the perception that they created competition in the field, and hence, threatened the century old monopolies held by White Canadian doctors.²⁰ While foreigners, in general, were viewed with suspicion, the greatest

¹⁹ Canadian professional associations and orders have usually taken a strong stance against accepting immigrants into their ranks, and in the past were able to sway government immigration policy. See Zlata Godler, “Doctors and the New Immigrants,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada* 9, no.1 (1977): 6-17.

²⁰ David Corbett, “Immigration and Canadian Politics,” *International Journal* 6, no.3 (1951): 213. Anthony Richmond, “The Green Paper-Reflections on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada* 7, no.1 (1975): 12. According to social scientist Charles Battershill, the peak of anti-immigrant sentiment against foreign medically trained professional occurred in 1983. That year, 34 foreign medical graduates received internships, while 34 students from Ontario did not. This was controversial. Larry Grossman, Minister of Health, publically denounced this action and angrily stated that, “foreigners had displaced Canadian born and trained students.” Moreover, representatives of the University Of Toronto Faculty Of Medicine argued for a limit on the number of foreign medical graduates allowed into the province. The justifications given by the faculty for this request was that the “quality of foreign medical graduates was uncertain at best and poor at worst,” and that their English-language ability was substandard. These sorts of criticisms resulted in severely reducing the numbers of foreign doctors permitted to be licensed from 323 in 1985 to 24 per year after 1989; see Charles Battershill, “Migrant Doctors in a Multicultural Society: Policies, Barriers, and Equality,” *Deconstructing a Nation ...* 246-247. It is also important to note that graduates of foreign medical schools were usually given the most undesirable jobs. According to Bolaria Singh; “In Canada a disproportionate number of immigrant physicians end[ed] up working in isolated and underserved areas in the North and rural areas

hostilities and fears seemed to be directed toward physicians and medical students coming from the developing world.²¹

Though physicians from the developing world were regarded as inferior by certain professional orders, many of the medical institutions in these regions (i.e. Africa and Asia) were actually modeled after those of developed nations. Sociologist Singh Bolaria demonstrated that “predominant paradigms of medical curricula and medical education used in advanced countries” were, in fact, “uncritically adopted” in many developing regions, therefore creating a unified educational system which fostered easily transferable skills.²²

Despite these facts, Canadian doctors continued to look down upon these and other foreign physicians. The Ontario College of Physicians and Surgeons was particularly guilty of accusing immigrant doctors of substandard levels of education and argued that foreign medical students (who did not train in either parts Europe or the United States), did not demonstrate the same degree of medical competence as their Canadian, European, and American counterparts.²³ These views were reflected in a paper

... Foreign medical graduates were represented at the lowest levels of the medical hierarchy. Many overseas doctors ended up in low-grade posts and unpopular specialties. Immigrant physicians were positioned in less desirable medical jobs and in less desirable locations where native medical graduates prefer not to practise.” See Singh Bolaria, “From Immigrant Settler ... 224.

²¹ Anthony Richmond, “The Green Paper...12.

²² Singh Bolaria, “Immigrant Settler...213.

²³ A report written for the Canadian Director General of Foreign Affairs in 1971 shed further light on this issue and produced a seemingly biased account of Pakistani doctors while praising those of European descent. The report described six Pakistani medical centers along with the doctors in charge of performing examinations for potential immigrants wishing to come to Canada. The report stated that the chief medical practitioner in Karachi, a Pakistani Doctor named Khambatta, “had a very impressive office...” and that his qualifications and knowledge appeared to be satisfactory. However, it was “impossible” to professionally assess Khambatta since the liason was not a medical practitioner. These types of shortcomings did not inhibit a glowing assessment for the clinics and doctors in Lahore and Chittagong (this report was written before the separation of East Pakistan) who were both European. Dr. Selzer and his medical center in Lahore were described as follows: “His work was what I consider to be (as a layman) one of the most impressive and his the most efficiently operated clinic that I have yet to visit... His clinic is spotless, well stocked with medications etc. which one would expect to find.” Coming in a close second was Dr. Taylor’s (a British missionary Doctor) office in Chittagong. “This is (sic) one man operation... and was perhaps next

by Dr. John Weir, featured in the 1960 Annual Report for the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario. Weir discussed medical standards overseas and concluded that foreign students were ill-versed in biology, chemistry, physics, and mathematics- all key subjects to the medical field.²⁴ Furthermore, large class sizes “preclude[d] any intimate interchange between professional staff and student,” and more importantly “any appreciable practical laboratory instruction.”²⁵ While Weir’s observations may have or may not have been true, the precise countries that suffered from these insufficient learning conditions were not readily apparent. The reader was, however, informed that the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, “other European countries,” and the United States were exempt from these criticisms.

The College’s tendency to view training received outside of certain regions in Europe or the United States as suspect translated into inflexible rules and policies that prevented many trained physicians, especially those from Africa, East Asia, and South Asia from practicing medicine in the province.²⁶ The College’s discriminatory actions were brought to the attention of the House of Commons in the mid 1960s. NDP member David Orlikow was an example of someone who questioned the College’s conduct and openly censured its practices against immigrant doctors, particularly Indians and

to Dr. Selzer the most impressive individual whom we encountered. He was well-versed and up to date in the medical science and was most helpful in enlightening me on economic, social and political situations in the area.” Again, Pakistani doctors which included Dr. Khambatta in Karachi, Dr. Islam in Dacca, along with Dr. Dossal, Dr. Cheems, Dr. Habih, and Dr. Abear in Islamabad and Rawalpindi did not receive the same degree of positivity in their assessments, though nothing seemingly unprofessional about them or their clinics could be detected. See NAC, RG 76 vol. 832 552-10-602, “Memorandum to Director General, Foreign Services: Medical Liason Trip,” 25 February 1971.

It should also be noted that not all European countries were considered to have equal standards of medical training. Some European countries including Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic were seen as having inferior medical training. For more information see Charles Battershill, “Migrant Doctors in a Multicultural Society: Policies, Barriers, and Equality,” *Deconstructing a Nation ...*

²⁴John Weir, “Obstacles to Medical Education at the International Level,” *College of Physicians and Surgeons Annual Report*, (April 1960): 25.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 570.

Pakistanis. Orlikow accused the college of treating South Asian doctors unfairly and conveyed this point by comparing the re-qualification scores of Pakistani and Indian doctors with those of other doctors from the developed world. He demonstrated persuasively, through records kept by the Medical Council of Canada that Indians and Pakistanis fared above average when their re-qualification scores were compared with European doctors. These records indicated that between 1919 and 1963 doctors who came to Canada from Austria and wrote the exam passed at a rate of around fifty-four percent while approximately fifty-seven percent of Belgians passed.²⁷ About seventy four percent of French doctors, thirty-eight percent of Greek doctors, and fifty percent of Hungarian doctors passed the exam.²⁸ South Asian doctors, however, passed the exams at a success rate of over seventy-six percent.²⁹ Even when taking these scores into account, Pakistanis and Indians were still prohibited from writing the Ontario licensing exams and therefore unable to work in the province.³⁰ Orlikow, thus convincingly surmised that the reason for this was the ‘discriminatory measures’ put forth by the College that were ‘based on racial prejudice.’³¹

Regardless of the College’s anti-immigrant stance, the reality was that during the 1960s and 1970s Canada depended heavily on foreign trained doctors to compensate for its general shortage in this field. A recent study by experts David Wright, Sasha Mullally, and Mary Cordukes indicated that in order to fill health care shortages the country relied on thousands of foreign-trained doctors, including those from Britain and other parts of

²⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 3 June 1966, 5965.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5966.

³⁰ Ontario’s refusal to allow doctors to write these exams seemed quite unique since doctor’s orders in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and the Maritimes did not have such a policy.

³¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 3 June 1966, 5965. It is important to note that to date Asians are still discriminated by the Ontario College of Physicians and Surgeons. See Basran and Zong, “Devaluation of foreign credentials ... 8.

Europe, America, and a smaller percentage from the developing world.³² Though the number of doctors coming from the developing world may have been small when compared to other totals from other countries and regions, in reality Canada actually extracted a disproportionately large number of these professionals from the developing world. The case of India and Pakistan illustrated this fact. From 1960 to 1966 Canada recruited approximately five percent of its surgeons and physicians from India and Pakistan. This average increased to over ten percent from 1967 to 1969. These numbers were impressive, especially when considering that Indo-Pakistanis comprised only one percent of the all immigrants admitted to Canada from 1960 to 1966, and accounted for slightly over four percent of immigrants coming to Canada from 1967 to 1969 (see Appendix 19).

An article in *Crescent* written by D.H. Hamdani used the example of Pakistani doctors to stress just how much Canada benefitted from these professionals, even to the detriment of their country of origin. Using Canadian and Pakistani statistics Hamdani made some important observations:

The loss to Pakistan in terms of mere cost of educating and training the professionals is seen in the context of the total professionals produced. The benefit that accrues to Canada, can, however, be conveyed through the following example. At the end of 1968, there was one doctor for every 740 Canadians, [one for] every 5 000 Pakistanis and [one for] every Pakistani immigrant [to Canada]. If the doctor-to-population ratio in Canada is taken as a norm, the Pakistani immigrant brought 15 surplus doctors in 1968 alone and 103 surplus doctors between 1962-1971. If doctors keep coming from Pakistan at this rate of surplus, the four

³²David Wright, et. al., "Worse than Being Married": The Exodus of British Doctors from the National Health Service to Canada, c. 1955-1975," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 65, no. 4 (2010):563-573.

Atlantic provinces can maintain the 1968 level of physicians without producing any of their own doctors.³³

Though these professionals were an obvious asset for the Canadian health care system, they were undervalued. Not all Pakistani doctors were discouraged by the existing prejudices and some even found ways to challenge the Ontario College of Physicians and Surgeon's restrictions against foreign qualifications. Sadiq Awan indicated that some Pakistani medical graduates re-qualified, according to North American terms. They did this by taking additional courses at Canadian and American universities and gaining practical experience at local hospitals and medical centers before obtaining professional licenses to practice.³⁴

Pako-Canadian Dr. Arshad Majeed, was an example of this. He found suitable employment as the director of Psychiatry at Burlington's Joseph Brant Hospital.³⁵ Majeed avoided the Ontario College's stringent 'international' restrictions by completing his post graduate medical studies in the United States. When Majeed immigrated to Canada his

³³ D.H. Hamdani, "A Profile of the Pakistani Immigrant in Canada," *Crescent*, October 1, 1973. An article written by editor, producer, and freelance writer Sonia Shah made a similar observation regarding Indian professionals in general. She recognized that Indian immigration to the United States was a transfer of intellectual wealth from an underdeveloped country to a developed one and in reference to this immigration she wrote; "While the U.S. economy may have benefitted, it was the Indian economy that bore the cost of the investment in these professionals. If one considers the colonial practice of siphoning resources from the colonized nation to be one reason for India's poverty relative to the West, the 1960s' flow of educated emigrants from India to the United States deepened the inequity. If the per-capita average education cost for these emigrants is estimated at \$20 000 than skilled emigration to the U.S. between 1962-1967 represented a loss of \$61 240 000 for India." See Sonia Shah, "Three Hot Meals and a Full Work Day: South Asia Women's Labor in the United States," in *Patchwork Shawl*: ... 210-211. A personal testimonial left by Pako-Canadian Ayat Arif, a professional, brings to life the crisis of conscious suffered by some of these newcomers, aware of certain disparities. He stated; "I have experienced a much greater turmoil of spirit by accepting a life of comfort in Canada. Life is so different here from what I have seen in my childhood. Nobody sleeps on the sidewalks. Dirty beggars with broken limbs do not pester you when you go for a walk. Half-naked children with extended tummies running sores are not a common sight. Illiteracy does not haunt the land. Should I have come here instead of serving where there was so much need, and so few resources to meet that need?" Arif Ayat, *Stories of an Immigrant*, Unpublished Autobiography, (December, 1996), 9.

³⁴ Sadiq Awan, *The People of Pakistani Origin in Canada: The First Quarter Century* (Ottawa: Cabada-Pakistan Association, 1976), 3.

³⁵ Bon Pennington, "Prejudice is not a Joke for Metro's Pakistanis," *Toronto Star*, May 24, 1976.

qualifications as a psychiatrist were accepted at par. His incorporation, as a medical doctor in Ontario was an extraordinary feat and one that many of his Pakistani colleagues could not share.

Pakistani Realities in Toronto

Hundreds of Pakistani professionals came to Canada and Toronto with the vision of blending into the city's socio-economic fabric and were initially optimistic about their ability to readily join Toronto's workforce and, as Historian Milton Israel observed, many felt that Canada presented them with the prospect that "hard work [would] produce economic benefits."³⁶ But for some professionals these hopes would soon be shattered.

On March 21 1977 Dale Brazao, a journalist for the *Toronto Star*, wrote a special report on Rafiq Ahmed and his family. The purpose of this article was to expose the public to what it was like to be Pakistani in the Metro region. What Ahmed had to say about his experiences with fair employment was bleak. The Ahmed's immigrated to Toronto in 1974 to secure a future for themselves and their children. While Ahmed admitted to being "a great admirer of the British system..." he did not move to Britain because of the "racial problems."³⁷ Both Rafiq and Amtulbasit Ahmed agreed that Canada offered great opportunities including the prospect of joining a dynamic and expanding workforce. Ahmed, who held a Masters degree in History, had previously worked for a successful encyclopedia company.³⁸ He was named top salesman for a New York publishing firm and earned an annual income of thirty thousand dollars, but in

³⁶ Milton Israel, "Pakistanis," ... 1031.

³⁷ Dale Brazao, "Racism costs top salesman his livelihood," *Toronto Star*, March 21, 1977.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Ahmed did not immigrate to Germany because it did not have the same family re-unification policies as Canada.

Canada Ahmed felt that due to the spread of what he labeled a “Paki infection” he faced a harsher and less open climate regarding job prospects.³⁹

Though Ahmed felt that his knowledge, experience, and background would be a welcomed addition in the Canadian professional sector, he could only find temporary jobs that did not use his talents as a university graduate. He worked as a short order cook, a dishwasher, a stock taker, and a clerk, all minimum wage positions. After living in the Metro region for four years, Ahmed was demoralized, depressed, and disillusioned. He stated that in Canada, and in Toronto specifically, “People took one look at [his] brown skin colour and closed the door on [him] and [his] livelihood.”⁴⁰ He believed that it was ignorance and negative attitudes on the part of some Canadians that stood between newcomers and their economic goals:

If a foreigner gets a job even a minimum wage job which nobody, not even teenagers, want, he is still seen by people as taking a job away from a white person and he is resented for it. This kind of immature attitude together with blind prejudice, is the reason why a lot of talent is being misused. Talent that could be utilized to help develop the economy of this country.⁴¹

Other educated members of Ahmed’s family had similar experiences in Canada. His wife Amtulbasit Ahmed held a Bachelors degree in education and had five years of teaching experience, but she could only find work in a small factory.⁴² Similarly, her brother, a qualified construction engineer worked as a short order cook.⁴³

One of the reasons Ahmed and his family and others like them experienced difficulties finding apposite employment in Toronto may be due to common prejudices

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

held by potential employers. Employers, during the 1960s and 1970s, notoriously created excuses to deny immigrants employment opportunities. Non-recognition of qualification and education, a lack of Canadian experience, and non-citizenship status were among the justifications used to avoid hiring newcomers. While these rationales applied to all immigrants, some evidence suggested that South Asians were special victims and, therefore, encountered the most difficulty with economic integration in Toronto.⁴⁴

A 1973 report on Anti-Asian discrimination in Canada identified Indians, Bangladeshis, and Pakistanis as particular targets of prejudice in the workforce. They were among the most likely to be denied employment opportunities, the report concluded, and were singled out by employers as being “unfit” or “unsuitable” workers, factors that led these newcomers to feel as though they were being unfairly treated because of racial prejudice.⁴⁵ The report cited a long list of ignorant and discriminatory attitudes expressed by employers regarding South Asians. Examples included:

- They are lazy and do not take their jobs seriously.
- They are very shy and do not mix with other workers. They are interested only in making money...
- Some of the employees complain about smell. It may be what they eat that makes them smell. It is a very delicate matter.
- Some immigrants from India come for jobs with turbans and beards too. They do not want to change their ways. Many of our employees object to their appearance.
- I heard some complaints against East Indians. They do not eat meat. They eat only vegetables. They are very slow in their work because they have no strength.

⁴⁴ Anthony Richmond, *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict* ... 113-114.

⁴⁵ Kananur Chandra, “Racial Discrimination in Canada: Asian Minorities” (San Francisco: R and R Research Associates, 1973), 11-15.

- The immigrants from India and Pakistan are dishonest. I read in the newspapers about the immigration racket they run in Canada. This makes it difficult to consider them for important position.⁴⁶

In addition to these prejudices, some other employers stated that these newcomers had very little practical know-how and further criticized them claiming that they had a “know-it-all attitude,” and lacked originality and initiative.⁴⁷

Indians and Pakistanis were also subjected to prejudice regarding their credentials and some questioned their standard of schooling. In 1973 after visiting departmental offices in Asia and Australia, Liberal Member of Parliament Mark MacGuigan, for one, had especially scathing remarks about the Pakistani and Indian educational system:

There is an urgent need to equalize educational qualifications around the world. University degrees in India and Pakistan, for example, do not mean the same as comparable degrees elsewhere. ...I understand that graduates of Indian universities (and presumably Pakistani ones) with first-class degrees in honors courses are admitted into only first year at the University of Toronto ... This fact accounts for the poor caliber of many of our immigrants from [there].⁴⁸

MacGuigan did not question how Canadian universities ranked the academic credentials of newcomers, a process that may not have been fair. Instead, he was quick to assume that the University of Toronto’s rating of South Asians affirmed a lower quality of immigrant, even though the Department of Manpower and Immigration actually

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴⁷ Other “problems” that were mentioned with reference to South Asians included: a superiority complex, inflexibility and a lack of confidence, “some brought their own caste or status beliefs to the job and alienated other workers.” South Asians were also reported as being very slow, lacking the required physical stamina for labour requirements, having difficulties relating to superiors due to different cultural backgrounds, insisting that their qualifications were higher than their performance justified. They were also accused of encountering difficulty assimilating, they were perceived as being too sensitive, too theoretical, and lacked knowledge of Canadian laws and business practices. See Syed Hameed, “Third World Immigrants in the Canadian Labour Market,” in the *Proceedings of the First National Multicultural Symposium (Canada-Pakistan Association) Held in Ottawa, Ontario 30-31 July 1976*, ed. S.N. Awan (Ottawa: Canada, 1976), 16.

⁴⁸ NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, “Memorandum to Robert Andras from Mark Macguigan, Visit to departmental offices in Asian and Australia,” October 18, 1973.

recognized an Indian first-class degree as equivalent to a degree from Harvard.⁴⁹

Furthermore, he concluded that Indian and Pakistani professionals were also suspect due to supposed problems with verifications concerning their documents. Though corruption and false documentation was a much larger problem involving those from European countries as well,⁵⁰ MacGuigan chose to single out Pakistan and India for these offences and stated; “One cannot rely on the bona fides of educational documents in India and Pakistan.”⁵¹ He continued to say that this was because corruption in these countries was “so pervasive that even apparently official records cannot truly be relied upon.”⁵²

These ways of thinking generally translated into the underemployment of qualified South Asians, a fact that was demonstrated in the 1976 census of Metro Toronto. A special tabulation of unemployment rates discovered that members of the Indo-Pakistani community had the highest rates of unemployment compared to other ethnic groups. Their rate of unemployment was in fact two times higher than the average.⁵³

Frustrations with unemployment/underemployment, negative stereotypes and unsubstantiated excuses were summed up well by a qualified South Asian Torontonians:

When I first applied for a government job they said no, because I was not a citizen. I looked for another job, they said no, because I had no Canadian experience. I got the

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Freda Hawkins drew attention to this fact. Throughout Europe, for instance, immigration officers could be offered bribes for visas. She stated; “Europe ... offered exceptional opportunities to the criminally minded and especially to those protected by military rank (referring to immigration officers). Some refugees would offer anything for a visa –daughters, jewellery, money. There were innumerable opportunities for lucrative deals and rackets. Visas could be sold, medical records switched, a dubious past overlooked.” Here, Hawkins is discussing cheating, corruption and false documents with the participation and consent of Canadian immigration officers. Hawkins did, however, mention that the officers who conducted these types of barter or “breaches of the law” were few. See Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration* ... 247.

⁵¹ NAC, RG 76 vol. 1036 5003-1-487, “Memorandum to Robert Andras ...

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Leon Muszynski and Jeffrey Reitz, *Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment*... 22.

experience, [and] then I became a Canadian citizen. So they then asked where were you born [or] where did you get your education...same thing I didn't get any job.⁵⁴

Even Pakistanis who had upgraded their education in Canada (or at recognized European institutions) were not always hired at a level commensurate with their qualifications. Muratis Ali was an example of this. Ali immigrated to Canada in 1973 with a degree in physics from Hyderabad University and a diploma in systems analysis and design from the Twickenham College of technology in England. When applying for jobs, Ali received similar responses; "The answer was always the same- I lacked Canadian experience."⁵⁵ In order to make ends meet and provide his family with basic necessities, Ali found work as a labourer in factories. He also worked as a security guard before finding a job, in inventory control, at an industrial plastics company.⁵⁶ None of these jobs used Ali's professional background and he was resigned to what he felt were mediocre and substandard positions.

Yousuf Chaudary had a similarly disappointing experience in job hunting. Chaudary came to Canada with a Bachelor of Science Degree and a major in Chemistry. Since his degree was not recognized in Canada, Chaudary attended the University of Manitoba where he received a degree in electrical engineering. Even with his Canadian credentials he too could not find a job in his selected field. After applying for numerous positions, Chaudary had only gained ten interviews and dejectedly stated; "The only work I could get was as a draughtsman and I have been with the same company for three years. They are good people to be with, yet I think I have the ability to do much more."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Arnold Bruner, "Racism: Problems of Indo-Pakistanis," *Globe and Mail*, August 1, 1975.

⁵⁵ *Toronto Star*, "Lack of Canadian experience problem for skilled immigrants," May 24, 1976.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

The inability to find suitable employment could have profound effects on the psychological well-being of immigrants and in the case of Muhammad Asghar, his dissatisfaction and disappointment with his inability to find work may have contributed to his death. Asghar immigrated to Canada in 1970 with a Master of Science Degree from the University of Punjab. According to a newspaper article, when he discovered that in Canada his Pakistani education was compared with that of a grade 13 Ontario student, he committed suicide by jumping into the path of subway train.⁵⁸

Some Pakistanis did find jobs in their fields.⁵⁹ Waheed Ud Din is an example of a qualified accountant who reported no difficulty finding an appropriate job. Din who was in Canada by the early 1960s proudly reported, in his published memoirs, that as a new immigrant he was unemployed for all of one day.⁶⁰ He readily took a job as an accountant in a large firm and received sixty dollars a week.⁶¹ A short while after, he bought a car and remembered this part of his life with immense pleasure; “This (his situation) felt great. I was in North America, had a good job, living on my own and had a brand new car to take me around.”⁶² Nearly three months later Din was offered, and accepted a job with greater responsibility at Steinberg working in the accounts department. His new employers not only paid him eighty dollars a week, a substantial increase from his

⁵⁸ *Montreal Star*, “Education Rating Leads to Death,” March 20, 1971. His sister Jamilla Naeem told the press that upon sorting through Asghar’s effects she discovered around one hundred rejection letters responding to job applications. See also *Toronto Star*, “Immigrant’s suicide blamed on job policy,” March 20, 1971.

⁵⁹ A quote by a South Asian Canadian is fitting here. Krishna Raman remarked with reference to South Asians and finding jobs, “If you get a job it’s because you are lucky enough to run into a guy who doesn’t care about anything except your qualifications.” Arnold Bruner, “Racism: Problems of Indo-Pakistanis....”

⁶⁰ Waheed Ud Din, *The Marching Bells: A Journey of a Life Time* (Indianapolis: AuthorHouse, 2011), 93.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁶² *Ibid.*

previous salary, but also included benefits such as buying company stock at subsidized rates.⁶³

While Din met with fortunate circumstances regarding his job and pay, others were not equally satisfied with their situation, and for some proper pay and respect became impending issues. Mohammed Alam represented these grievances. With a Bachelor of Commerce Degree, from the University of Karachi, he came to Canada, in 1967, to work as an accountant. While Alam admitted that in Canada ‘getting a job was easy,’ finding proper remuneration was difficult. He stated; “Pakistani boys were hardworking and probably the cheapest commodity available in Toronto. I was a full time auditor in Toronto. I got just two hundred dollars a month Canadian people could never manage on this.”⁶⁴ In addition to perhaps being paid lower wages than others, Alam also experienced prejudice when asking for more money. “When I asked for a raise, you could see the racism. They told me we can get lots of other Pakis to do the same work. If I was not happy I should leave.”⁶⁵ Alam did leave this job in search of a position that offered him a more just salary. Searching for new work with better pay proved trying. “When people saw that I was ‘Paki’ they were hesitant to hire me.” Alam admitted that when filling out job applications he would not use his given name, Mohammed, and instead would write an anglicized alternative to dissuade prejudice. He recalled; “I used to really have to prove myself, I used to say yes I’m a Paki, but I do an excellent job and know my stuff.”⁶⁶

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁶⁴ Mohammed Alam, [pseudo.], interview by author, Bramelae, Ont., June 22 2005.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Achieving upward mobility was another struggle faced by some Pakistanis regarding their work and pursuit of integration.⁶⁷ Pakistani newcomer Arif Ayat's story represented some of these hardships. Sometime in the early 1960s, Ayat received employment working for the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, in Toronto, as an economist. While Ayat seemed to remember the Corporation being pleased with his efforts and offering him a number of "alleged" promotions, he soon discovered that despite all his hard work his progress in the Corporation was modest in comparison to his non-Pakistani contemporaries:

I was naïve enough to think that just by working hard I could also reach senior management level. I had not realized that being a member of a 'visible minority' put limits on how far I could go. I did receive a promotion, but could not help but feel that others with similar qualifications and much less to show for their effort were far ahead of me in the hierarchy. There was little I could do except try to convince the bosses that even though I looked different and had a strange name and spoke with an accent I was capable of handling more responsibility than was allotted to me.⁶⁸

He then moved from Toronto hoping to establish a better career at the federal level in the nation's capital. In 1967 he was appointed Chief of the National Labour Market Analysis Division in the newly formed Department of Manpower and Immigration. Even at the federal level Ayat felt as though his talents were

⁶⁷While not specific to the Metro Region and a bit of an aside, the case of Dr. Akram Rajput, is interesting to note as it received media coverage in Toronto newspapers and demonstrated racial prejudice and double standards. Rajput was overlooked for a position at Algoma University in Sault Ste. Marie in favour of a White U.S. citizen with lesser qualifications. Rajput held a one year contract in the Sociology Department with the proviso that should a vacancy appear he would be eligible to compete for the position. Instead principle Donald Watkins refused to employ Rajput because of his place of origin and the existence of other Pakistani professors in the department. In other words Watkins objected to hiring Rajput because "there were already two Pakistanis in the department," and that he and other 'community' members wanted to "get a better mixture in the department," see *Globe and Mail*, "Four Rights Cases to be Probed," January 21, 1976; *Globe and Mail*, "Pakistani says college showed bias in hiring," February 25, 1976; *Globe and Mail*, "College told to pay Pakistani in rights case," May 29, 1975; Martin O'Malley, "Changing Face of Discrimination," *Globe and Mail*, October 20, 1976.

⁶⁸ Arif Ayat, *Stories of an Immigrant* ... 37.

underappreciated. He continually witnessed ‘less qualified civil servants’ rise above his position.⁶⁹

Not all Pakistanis accepted circumstances that they saw as unfair, unjust, and the result of racially driven prejudices. Some Pakistani Canadians who were disappointed with inequities on the job front, like Ayat, actually challenged the system by taking their cases of job discrimination to grievance boards. In the late 1960s Ayat was laid off from his job at the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Though he was unsure of the circumstances surrounding this decision, he connected it to an earlier situation when he was given permission, by his branch director, to take a short-term international assignment with the United Nations. He was assured, in writing, that when he returned he would be able to resume his position as a section head in the newly formed Economic Conditions Division (within the Department of Manpower and Immigration). However, upon returning to the Department, he was not assigned to his previous post and instead employed in “menial ways as an odd man.”⁷⁰ By the end of that fiscal year he was laid-off. Ayat was stunned by the dismissal:

Why was my job security being challenged? Was it because I had a different sounding name, looked different and had an accent? Even though I was like everyone else in all other aspects. My name, colour and accent could have prevented people from identifying with me.⁷¹

He concluded that his situation was the result of racism and hence filed a complaint. According to him, his release from the Department violated the Public Service Employment Act and Regulation. Following a hearing, the Ontario Public Grievance Board agreed and ordered that Ayat be reinstated. Though he was hired back,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

he was only given ‘unconnected miscellaneous and bureaucratic chores.’ This time Ayat dared not launch another complaint; “I could not protest too much because I was in a very vulnerable position [and] in fact was afraid.”⁷²

Mubarka Alam, on the other hand, was not afraid of consistently standing up for her rights and indeed took her employers at the Ministry of Community and Social Services to the Ontario Public Service Grievance Board several times. In 1970 Alam, who held a Masters Degree in Sociology from the University of Toronto, was hired as a statistician for the Ministry of Colleges and Universities.⁷³ She was then transferred in 1974, to the Ministry of Community and Social Services as a program analyst. Shortly after taking a maternity leave, in 1975, Alam received a letter from the Ministry firing her due to incompetency. She believed her termination to be unfair and racially instigated, made an appeal to the Public Service Grievance Board, and received a hearing. While the Board was reluctant to agree that racism was the reason Alam was dismissed, it found the notice of suspension to be ‘singularly unrelenting.’⁷⁴ The Board ruled the grievor be offered a position within the Ministry that was in keeping with “her talents and her obvious intelligence.”⁷⁵ The Ministry re-hired Alam but did not employ her full potential:

They had to reinstate me, however, they continued, to harass me and deceive me by saying there were no job vacancies. They would not give me a position that met my standards. They deliberately gave me low positions and under employed me. I was more competent than people they were hiring. People with only a grade ten education were getting these positions.⁷⁶

⁷² *Ibid.*, 45.

⁷³ Before arriving in Canada, Alam had a Masters degree from a Pakistani university.

⁷⁴ Ontario, *Public Service Grievance Board*, no. 877/77, Nov. 2 1977-Feb. 8 1978.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Mubarka Alam, interview by author, North York, Ont., September 18 2006.

In September 1983 Alam applied for a new position within the Ministry. Alam was concerned that she might be discriminated against in the interview process and took some precautions. She requested that a union observer be present, or that she be permitted to tape record the questions and her answers. Her requests were denied. Realizing that she was not going to receive the committee's co-operation, Alam decided to note down the questions and her responses in writing. After her interview, the selection committee panel claimed to be 'astonished' by Alam's unconventional style and penalized her for the format of her answers.⁷⁷ Alam maintained that for protecting her interests she had been unfairly disadvantaged and lodged an official complaint. The Grievance Board sympathized with her, and stated that the competition "fell below the required standard of fairness and went a long way toward establishing the grievor's apprehensions."⁷⁸ The Ministry was ordered to keep Alam in her current position or offer her a new one with a comparable salary.⁷⁹

Although Alam sought legal recourse, her job situation did not seem to make any dramatic improvements:

After court they watched me closely hoping I would have a nervous breakdown. Their treatment of me did not change. People with less experience and education were getting jobs that they were turning me down for. So I took them to court a third time."⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Ontario, "In the Matter of an Arbitration under the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act OPSEU (M. Alam) and the Crown in Right of Ontario (Ministry of Community and Social Service), *Grievance Settlement Board*, July 1985-April 1987.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Ontario, "In the Matter of an Arbitration under the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act OPSEU (M. Alam) and the Crown in Right of Ontario (Ministry of Community and Social Service), *Grievance Settlement Board*, June 17 1988.

⁸⁰ Mubarka Alam, interview by author, North York, Ont., September 18 2006.

After a third hearing, Alam admitted to a slightly better work environment.⁸¹

Despite these changes, however, she continued to feel victimized and undervalued. She was still over-qualified for the jobs she was given and insisted ardently that she was targeted because she was a Pakistani woman, whom, she believed, her employer expected would be meek and timid.⁸²

Pakistani Female Experiences on the Job Front

Alam's experience as a woman provides insight into larger issues involving Pakistani women in the Toronto work force. A number of studies produced by social scientists indicated that immigrant women, especially those of colour, endured the highest degree of hardship and discrimination in the job market.⁸³ Canadian sociologist Monica

⁸¹ In the third instance, Alam was rejected as a statistic clerk, a new job posting. The woman who was hired, Ms. Sokoloski, had enjoyed certain advantages in the interviewing process. The selection panel had awarded Sokoloski the position without reading the other candidates resumes, performance appraisals, or written evaluations by supervisors. The Board ruled a re-run stating that the competition was defective and flawed. Ontario, "In the Matter of an Arbitration under the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act the Grievance Settlement Board OPSEU (M. Alam) and the Crown in Right of Ontario (Ministry of Community and Social Service), *Grievance Settlement Board*, August 1986-May 1987.

⁸² Mubarka Alam, interview by author, North York, Ont., September 18 2006.

⁸³ For a sample of these studies see; Monica Boyd and Jessica Yiu, "Immigrant Women and Earnings Inequality in Canada," *Racialized Migrant Women in Canada: Essays on Health, Violence, and Equity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Monica Boyd, "Gender, Visible Minority, and Immigrant Earning Inequality: Reassessing an Employment Equity Premise" *Deconstructing a Nation* ...279-322; Tania Das Gupta, *Racism and Paid Work* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996) and "Political Economy of Gender, Race, and Class: Looking at South Asian Immigrant Women in Canada" *Canadian Ethnic Studies/ Études Ethniques du Canada* 26, no 1, (1994): 59-73; Abigail B. Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis (ed.), *Not one of the Family: Foreign Domestic Workers in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Daiva K. Stasiulis and Abigail B Bakan, *Negotiating Citizenship: Migrant Workers in Canada and the Global System* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Vijay Agnew, "Feminism and South Asian Immigrant Women in Canada" *Ethnicity, Identity, Migration: The South Asian Context*. Toronto: Center for South Asian Studies, 1993 and "Women's Work with Women: The South Asian Context" *Polyphony* 12, (1991): 64-71; Sedef Arot-Koc, "Gender and Race in "Non-discriminatory" Immigration Policies in Canada: 1960s to the Present" *Scratching the Surface: Canadian anti-racist feminist thought*, Toronto: Women's Press, 1999; Helen Ralston, *The Lived Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada: The Interconnections of Race, Class and Gender* (United Kingdom: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 1996); Vanaja Dhruvarajan, "Women of Colour in Canada." *Gender, Race, and Nation: A Global Perspective*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 99-122; and Parvin Ghorayashi, "Working Canadian Women: Continuity despite Change," *Gender, Race, and Nation: A Global Perspective*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 123-146.

Boyd has produced extensive studies on immigrant women in the labour force. While it is true that women on average fare worse than men in the workforce regarding earnings and occupational status, Boyd in one of her early works indicated that immigrant women were at an even greater disadvantage vis à vis non-immigrant women.⁸⁴ Immigrant women were also less likely to be represented in higher status or more economically rewarding occupations than immigrant men regardless of their levels of skill or professional training. Boyd linked this circumstance to the nature of the Canadian immigration system and the classification of these women as dependants. Regarding female immigrants she stated:

They are frequently classified as dependants at the border ... and when they work, they are likely to find themselves in predominantly female and less rewarded occupations compared to those of their male and native born counterparts, respectively.⁸⁵

A more recent study by Monica Boyd and Jessica Yiu looked specifically at immigrant women of colour. They demonstrated that women who were foreign members of visible minorities were at a great disadvantage in the work force, despite demonstrating high levels of education.⁸⁶ Unlike their men folk, then, women faced discrimination based not only on race, but also due to sex and gender biases. And if men had difficulty finding employment that reflected their level of skill, experience, and education, women had difficulty finding any work at all.

A number of the interviews conducted for this study demonstrated the problems that Pakistani women faced in the work force. The stories of Sitara Mirza and Fatima

⁸⁴ Monica Boyd, "The Status of Immigrant Women in Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 12, no.4 (1975):414.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 415.

⁸⁶ Monica Boyd and Jessica Yiu, "Immigrant Women and Earnings Inequality in Canada Also see Monica Boyd, "Gender, Visible Minority, and Immigrant Earning Inequality...295.

Baig are good examples. Mirza and her husband were both qualified scientists and had earned Master degrees in Bio-Chemistry. After a long job search her husband found employment as a teacher, while she found part time work as a lab assistant.⁸⁷ Baig also struggled to find a “decent” job, though her husband succeeded. Both she and her husband were accountants. Her husband worked in an accounting firm, while she could not find any suitable work.⁸⁸

Samina Anwar’s situation also represented great disappointment. With a Masters degree in history, Anwar had experience teaching at schools in Karachi and Lahore. When looking for appropriate work in Toronto during the 1970s, however, Anwar recounted:

There was discrimination here in getting jobs. I could not find a good job. I could may be find small jobs here and there, but even though I did my masters I could not get a decent job. When I volunteered in the schools they (potential employers) were happy, but when I would ask for a job they would always say that there was no opening. I applied to many places and nobody ever responded.⁸⁹

Razia Rizvi, a qualified teacher who had a Masters degree in education from a Pakistani university, also faced hurdles in her incorporation into the labour force. Rizvi, aware of certain prejudices prepared herself by attending the University of Pennsylvania education program.⁹⁰ This she thought would allow her to avoid being accused of inadequate academic standards. Despite these measures, in Canada she could not find suitable employment and was actually told by the Ministry of Education that there were no teaching positions available. She demanded that they give her a letter of standing,

⁸⁷ Sitara Mirza, [pseudo.], interview by author, Whitby, Ont., June 14 2005.

⁸⁸ Fatima Baig, [pseudo.], interview by author, East York, Ont., May 9 2005.

⁸⁹ Samina Anwar, [pseudo.], interview by author, Pickering Ont., November 30 2004.

⁹⁰ Razia Rizvi, interview by Sadiq Awan on May 5, 1977.

which would enable her to apply for positions regardless of their claims. The Ministry reluctantly agreed only if Rizvi took what amounted to three years of redundant course work.⁹¹ She found the request unacceptable and after several weeks of pleading her point a compromise was reached. The Ministry agreed to write the letter if she took a summer course at a Canadian institution for teacher's training. Rizvi consented to these terms and although after completing this training she was then considered qualified to teach psychology, sociology, and chemistry, she could only find substitute work teaching home-economics.⁹² Farida Chaudary was similarly disheartened in her search for a teaching position. With a Masters degree in economics, she was unable to find any employment after having applied for jobs ranging from clerical work to assisting in a daycare center.⁹³

Baig, Mirza, Anwar, Rizvi, and Chaudary had more in common than their inability to find employment that recognized their post graduate degrees and work experience: all of these women came from affluent backgrounds and spoke English effortlessly. Women from working class backgrounds were often less fortunate and did not always have access to education or other resources that could help ease their path into the Canadian labour force.

The situation, for these women, was made more difficult by the fact that the Canadian government did little to address the needs of immigrant women.⁹⁴ Though the

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.* It should be mentioned that this type of devaluation may have applied to most qualified women regardless of race, ethnicity, or nationality because of prevailing sex and gender stereotypes.

⁹³ *Toronto Star*, "Lack of Canadian experience problem..."

⁹⁴ The exclusion of women from these programs was in fact brought to the attention of The House of Commons, in the 1980s, by N.D.P. member Margaret Mitchell, who represented Vancouver East. She campaigned for equal access to these programs regardless of race or sex:

There must be equal opportunities for people to immigrate to Canada from all parts of this crowded world with fairer access to people from

Government did invest in programs to ease an immigrant's transition and develop competitive skills for the labour force, gendered eligibility criteria made it virtually impossible for women to access these resources.⁹⁵ Feminist scholar Sedef Arat-Koc showed that only the 'head of the household,' could access these programs, a classification that was, for many years, synonymous with men. Moreover, these resources were only available for those enumerated as 'destined for the labour force' and for those whom English or French were necessary as a means to find suitable work.⁹⁶ Again these categorizations were overwhelmingly associated with men. A lack of essential resources, such as language instruction, put some women in the distressing situation of not being able to articulate effectively their needs and concerns in the workforce, as one interview with Pako-Canadian Sabene Sheikh demonstrated.

Sabene Sheik's testimony revealed how the language barrier and lack of language instruction made it much more likely for women to be treated unfairly in the workforce. In search of work to help support her six children and supplement her husband's income, Sheik recounted, "I did not speak English so I was rejected from a lots (sic) of jobs and you could not explain. There was an ad in newspaper, 'Help Wanted No Experience

Third World countries. Immigrants must have adequate language training to settle, seniors, must not be forgotten, and women must be protected from double discrimination. Visible minorities must have equal access to jobs and we must remove systematic discrimination in the workplace with mandatory, not voluntary employment equity.

Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 2 June, 1989, 2508. Though this quotation was taken from late in the 1980s, Mitchell had been voicing similar opinions from the onset of the 1980s. See also Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 23 April, 1980, 342; and Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 5 February, 1982, 14737.

⁹⁵ See Sedef Arat-Koc, "Gender and Race in "Non-discriminatory" Immigration Policies in Canada: 1960s to the Present" in *Scratching the Surface: Canadian anti-racist feminist thought*, Toronto: Women's Press, 1999. On an aside, it is important to note that numerous immigrants who were registered in these "schools" were not always happy with the curricula. Rosalie Abella's report, found that the services provided by these facilities were inadequate for newcomers. For instance, immigrants rarely received language training in their own skill or profession which resulted in locking immigrants into "whatever" job they could obtain. Rosalie Abella, *Report on the Commission on Equality in Employment...* 48-50.

⁹⁶ Sedef Arat-Koc, "Gender and Race in "Non-discriminatory" Immigration Policies in Canada...

Necessary.’ My husband read and phoned.”⁹⁷ The job in question was working as a sewing machine operator in a clothing factory. The anxiety that Sheik experienced when she began working there was exacerbated by her inability to comprehend written English:

In the factory you work with what they give you. You just have to work the machine. At first I had no experience, at home it [sewing machines] was hand powered. I knew a little bit of sewing from back home. I needed to go to training to handle that machine. At first, I could not understand [presumably due to English instruction]. I had lots of stress and lots of trouble [but] when you come to a new country to have to find something to go on.⁹⁸

Sheik also felt anxiety when negotiating a raise. After working for several years, not only was she quite dexterous at handling the machines, but she would also teach others on how to operate them. Her skills, however, did not translate into an increase in her pay:

In work, even if I am teaching a Canadian how to do the job, they are getting paid more than me. I did go to my boss. I spoke very little English at that time, but understood. I said ‘How come she is getting paid more, she just came? I have been here four years and I teach her’. The boss made some excuse and said he would think about it. He never did.⁹⁹

Sheik did not push the issue any further; “I could not complain too much, because I needed job and my English was not so good.”¹⁰⁰ Limited English skills enhanced Sheik’s dependence on her current job, as she feared being unable to secure further

⁹⁷ Sabene Sheik, [pseudo.], interview by author, Scarborough Ont., June 24 2004.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

employment. Sensing her insecurity and vulnerability, her employer appeared to have exploited the situation by keeping her wages below those of her peers.¹⁰¹

Other Pakistani women from working-class background felt equally vulnerable, though not always due to a lack of English. Razia Khan did not refer to language barriers per se, but remembered feeling exploited at her job, as an embroiderer, because of what she considered racial prejudice on the part of her employer. Khan stated:

That lady [her supervisor] was really prejudice. For the other ladies she used to give 10-12 pieces at once because you used to have to change the thread colour. She was going one, one, one colour. To me she was giving one, one, one piece every colour, so every time I was changing the thread. And the thread was very hard to change on those machines. So I asked her if she could please give me 5-10 pieces in one colour so I can work with one colour so she felt bad telling me how could I tell her how to do my job. I said no I am not telling you I am asking you. She then said if I did not want to work to leave and not come back. I don't know why she was that way with me, the Canadian girls were working with one colour.¹⁰²

Not only could work prove isolating due to uncomfortable relations with employers, but colleagues could be equally unpleasant to deal with. Some Pakistani women cited a lack of cultural awareness, jealousy, financial ineptitude, and a substandard work ethic on the part of 'Canadians' as the main reasons for why some did not form bonds with their 'White' colleagues. When speaking of her experiences, Yasmeen Hyder, another Pakistani from the Canadian working class, summed up these sentiments:

It was a nightmare. I had a very very hard time here, I have come a long way. You need to blend into this culture the

¹⁰¹ For more on the subject of language barriers and exploitation, see Monica Boyd, "At a Disadvantage: The Occupational Attainments of Foreign Born Women in Canada," *International Migration Review* 18, no. 4 (winter, 1984):1092.

¹⁰² Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author, Brampton Ont., November 1 2004.

sooner the better. My co-workers was (sic) really jealous. Asking me where I get the money to do all these things. I didn't think they paid you that much. They say how do we have all this jewelry. They say go back. They are very jealous. They don't know how hard we worked. They always say they are broke. No shame, no embarrassment. They are modern beggars. We had values. We would not tell anybody that we are waiting on our pay check. We would not say come on give me bus ticket. We planned. We made sure that we always had a back up. Over here they think only today and never mind tomorrow. We used to work overtime. All the immigrants work overtime. White people would say why you always say yes, ... Why don't [you] go back to [your] country. You guys are so greedy for money. They never wanted to work. ... My response was start working.¹⁰³

¹⁰³Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author, Toronto, Ont., April 19 2005. I would just like to reiterate that in Pakistan Hyder was part of the upper middle class, her economic status changed in Canada. This quotation also brings up the implications of jewellery for Pakistanis and South Asians alike. Many South Asian women carry large quantities of 22-24 karat gold on their person in the form of adornments, not to simply "show off," but jewellery is a commodity that can readily be exchanged for cash. In times of emergency or for investment purposes (i.e. buying a house), it is not uncommon for women to trade in their jewellery for money. Wearing jewellery is a way of protecting this valuable commodity. In the Canadian context such lavish examples of jewellery could be misinterpreted. A letter to the editor which appeared in the *Toronto Star* reflected this point. Neville Baichoo, a woman of South Asian ancestry, wore a gold wristband, a gold ring, and four gold necklaces, when she arrived at the Malton Airport. She was quickly detained and interrogated by customs personnel who seized her jewellery. Customs thought that she was a "smuggler" because of the quantity and quality of jewellery she wore; see Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, April 20, 1975. Of note Malton was widely considered to be one of the worst airports with regards to racist immigration officers. See *Crescent*, "Racism Worst at Malton Study Finds," October 12, 1979. In an interview conducted by Vijay Agnew a South Asian recounted her experiences with racism and isolation in the workforce:

I used to work in a factory in the 1970s (1972-1973) and experienced so much racism there that it affected my whole life. I was really hurt by what they did to me. I was the only South Asian woman there, and there was another Black women; all the rest were white. The supervisors were white. I had to deal with racism on a daily basis.... Fearing the loss of my job, I would never take a day off, never come in late and always do my work. They wanted to fire me but I didn't want to give them any reason to do that. I had to help my husband support my family and I didn't mind working but I often thought about leaving my children home alone all day and coming to work every morning with these people.... No one talked to me, no one helped me when I needed it, I was alone. (This) left emotional scars, I was hurt and for so many years after I remembered what they did to me. After that job, I looked for jobs where there were more Indians, Chinese and Black people working. In my present job all Indian and Chinese people work on the night shift and all white people on the day and afternoon shift, they also pay them more.

See Vijay Agnew, "Feminism and South Asian Immigrant Women in Canada... 146.

Hyder's testimony revealed mutual suspicion and hostility that could be held by both Pakistani newcomers and other Canadians. While some "Canadians" may have regarded Pakistanis as ostentatious and greedy, some Pakistani women, on the other hand, felt that they were more fiscally responsible, had more integrity than their non-*Desi* counterparts, and maintained a superior work ethic. This supposedly superior work ethic, according to Khadija Haffagee -particularly concerning Pakistani Muslims- was attributed to the teachings of Islam. She stated that; "The work ethic was stronger among Muslims than others. We take pride in our work because Islam enjoins people to work for what they earn. It discourages welfare which is considered insulting back home."¹⁰⁴

Not all Pakistani women sought to join or stay in the public workforce. For some Pakistani women the thought of working outside the home did not coincide with their interpretations of proper female roles. For these women entering the labour force would take away from their duties as mothers and wives. Contributing to the family economy financially meant that these women needed to be creative and amass money in ways that did not upset conventional gender boundaries.¹⁰⁵ Amina Rashid, found a way to make money that did not take away from her child rearing duties. She babysat at her own home for the children of several families. Working at home meant that she could also keep an

¹⁰⁴ Ghulam A. Nanji, "Keeping the Faith Despite Society," *Crescent* July 1, 1975.

¹⁰⁵ Women also came up with clever ways of accessing lump sums of money without taking out loans from banks or other lending institutions. In the 1960s and 1970s the idea of lending circles proliferated among Pakistani Canadian women. Ten to fifteen women would form a group or "*commettee*," each would contribute a set amount of money each month. Between ten and fifty dollars was the usual range, at the end of each month the total sum was available to one of the participants through a *qura undazzi* (ballot draw). Besides giving these women the opportunity to share stories and socialize, this interest free loan satisfied religious concerns with regard to usury. This money was usually put toward the purchase of necessary household appliances or furniture.

eye on her own three children and serve as their primary care giver while earning money.¹⁰⁶

After her uncomfortable experiences in the workforce Razia Khan also decided to work at home. She converted her garage into a crafts center where she used her talents to create goods that she would sell at bazaars and *melas*.¹⁰⁷ She also worked with fresh cut flowers creating floral arrangements, boutonnieres, and corsages for various occasions. According to Khan, working in her home allowed her to take care of her five children and ensure that regular household chores could be done at her convenience.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps another major benefit to this situation was that working at home sheltered Khan from further subjection to humiliation and injustice in the Toronto workforce.

Multiculturalism and the Workforce

Many Pakistanis especially professionals interpreted discrimination and injustice in the workforce as Canada's failure to implement multiculturalism. To address this important issue Pako-Canadians devised ways to make their points known. At a public forum on multiculturalism held in Toronto in 1975, for instance, Shamin Sheikh, representing the Pakistani Canadian Action Committee against Racism, voiced her concern when speaking of the tribulations of some members of the Pakistani community:

It is very difficult to find a job in one's own field. The employers are prejudiced against non-Whites. ... Our people are underemployed. There are many examples of our professionals working as cab drivers, security guards, insurance agents and other odd jobs. And once you get into

¹⁰⁶ Amina Rashid, [pseudo.], interview by author, Toronto, Ont., April 17 2005.

¹⁰⁷ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author, Brampton Ont., November 1 2004.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

an organization, than our background which includes both colour and culture becomes a hindrance in our promotion.¹⁰⁹

She then linked these circumstances to an immature government policy. For Sheikh the solution was in seriously educating the masses and urging the various levels of society to work together to promote tolerance and understanding, thus encouraging a more strongly enforced policy of multiculturalism.¹¹⁰

Organized protest was another way for Pakistani to make public their concerns about government policy and discrimination in the workforce. On November 6, 1977 Pakistanis with the participation of other South Asians organized a march, at City Hall, against racism and inaction (also mentioned in previous chapter). More than two thousand of these Torontonians lobbied in the streets demanding change concerning Toronto's racial climate and the "indifference to the plight of Canadians of South Asian origin."¹¹¹ Among the other issues that were being protested was the dismal situation regarding jobs and Toronto's visible minority groups. Members of the rally sought to send a strong message to the federal government asking that it "create jobs and not racism."¹¹²

Holding meetings with government officials in charge of multiculturalism and its application was yet another strategy used by some Pakistanis to bring about change and more just economic circumstances. The purposes of such occasions were to address the appalling situation regarding job opportunities, discrimination in the workplace, and the

¹⁰⁹ Shamin Sheikh, "A Positive Approach to the Racial Problem," *Crescent* December 1, 1975. In an article for the *Toronto Star*, the chairman of the Association of Pakistani Canadians of Metro Toronto, Mahmood Khan, made a similar observation; "Most immigrants from Pakistan are well educated, but that is not to say they have all found a job that tests the true ability of their talents, there have even been cases of professors having to find employment as security guards and lawyers working as cleaners simply to pay rent," see Bob Pennington, "Prejudice is not a joke for Metro's Pakistanis," *Toronto Star*, May 24, 1976.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Crescent*, "2 000 Attend City Hall Rally," November 15, 1977.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

government's policy of multiculturalism. Regarding the latter, minority groups expressed a real concern about the future of this policy.

In 1978, a meeting was held with members of Toronto's Pakistani community, along with other Asian minority groups and the then Minister of Multiculturalism, Norman Cafik. These groups, and Pakistanis in particular, used this meeting to deliver the point that in Toronto their lives were subjected to fear, insecurity, and discrimination on all levels including the workplace.¹¹³ Participants expressed great worry that a failed policy would exacerbate current difficulties and further impede their "social mobility and acceptance within the fabric of Canadian society."¹¹⁴ In order to prevent this unfortunate circumstance, Pakistani and other South Asian delegates urged the federal government to take action. One way to help this situation was to create an educational program that would inform potential employers of the valuable skills and talents that many immigrants possessed. Habibur Rahman, according to the *Toronto Star*, insisted that the government simply "tell people the truth about our backgrounds. The truth is [we] are highly-trained" and are "the ones who could afford to go to university," and come to Canada.¹¹⁵ Moreover, other immigrants such as Aslam Khan, advised the government to establish effective ways of eradicating the harmful stereotypes associated with immigrants.¹¹⁶

Pakistani community representatives also stipulated that in order for multiculturalism to be put into practice, proper jobs for deserving immigrants would have

¹¹³Joe Serge, "Metro Minorities demand jobs with clout," *Toronto Star*, January 28, 1978

¹¹⁴Joe Serge, "Metro Minorities demand jobs..."; and G.S. Paul, "Multiculturalism at Crossroads," *Canadian India Times*, February 19, 1976 p.6.

¹¹⁵Joe Serge, "Metro Minorities demand jobs with clout..."

¹¹⁶*Ibid.* Khan especially pointed to examples of these stereotypes, negative imagery, and hurtful statements apparent in the media.

to be found. In other words they wanted “jobs with clout.”¹¹⁷ Rather than empathizing with their troubles, some Torontonians complained about those whom they described as ungrateful. A woman from Stouffville informed the *Toronto Star* that; “Rather than “whining,” other immigrant groups worked for their successes. “Why should immigrants have “jobs with clout” unless they work for them, are qualified and Canadian citizens.”¹¹⁸ She continued to say that she and her husband who had immigrated to Canada from Holland in 1954 were hard working and did not expect or receive any handouts.¹¹⁹

An equally opinionated female reader suggested that perhaps South Asians, particularly Pakistanis and Indians were to blame for their own plight. The reader queried, “Why are people singling out East Indian immigrants? Why the so called “Paki” jokes while there are hardly any jokes about blacks, Chinese or Japanese?”¹²⁰ She offered answers:

...there were stories about East Indians waving Ph. D's and given jobs didn't possess any more knowledge than a Canadian high school graduate. The origin of their degrees and claimed experiences was often impossible to verify and the actual capabilities proved wanting in many instances. Thus every East Indian became suspect.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ This was the terminology used to head *The Star's* coverage of this event. The title “Metro Minorities demand jobs with clout” actually infuriated some members of the Pakistani community, who claimed that *The Star* by using such a sensationalistic header was simply trying to incite a negative image of visible minorities by implying that they were requesting jobs without any regard to their qualifications or suitability. See *Crescent*, “Racism in Canada: Back to Gutter Politics,” February 15, 1978.

¹¹⁸ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 10, 1978.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Letters to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, February 20, 1978.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER Five

THEIR STORIES: PAKISTANI WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN TORONTO, 1967-1980

Between 1967 and 1979, Pakistani female immigrants averaged forty seven percent of all Pakistanis admitted to Canada (see Appendix 20). Toronto was home to the largest number of Pakistani women. According to the 1971-1976 Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto, over two thousand six hundred Indo-Pakistani women were settled in Toronto in 1971.¹ By 1976 this number had increased to just over seven thousand and over eleven thousand by 1981.² While the atlas demonstrated a general trend it did not differentiate between Pakistanis and Indians. The Pakistanis Embassy, however, estimated that by 1976 there were between seven thousand and eight thousand Pakistanis residing in the Metro Region. Assuming that forty seven percent of all Pakistani immigrants are women, this would mean that there were approximately three thousand five hundred Pakistani women living in the GTA. Women obviously represented a significant percentage of Pakistani immigration to Canada and Toronto, it is, therefore, important to appreciate and place their experiences with in the broader wave of Pakistani immigrants during the 1960s and 1970s.

While the previous chapters have looked predominantly at the experiences of Pakistanis in public spaces and have included the voices of Pakistani women, this chapter examines the “domestic sphere,” a domain that was also crucial in shaping the lived experiences of Pakistanis and their families. Since the domestic sphere is important to the

¹ Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto*, volume 1, (1971 and 1976).

² *Ibid.*; Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto*, volume 2, 1981.

broader discussion of female Pakistani Canadians it useful to outline early discussions of this concept and position these women within the larger framework of gender, ethnic, and immigration history as well as other studies specific to Pakistani women.

Women, Gender, Immigration, and Ethnic Studies in Canada

Prior to the 1970s and 1980s women and gender did not factor significantly into mainstream histories, leaving intact a “mythic” conception rooted in male definitions of the past, as well as an emphasis on war, diplomacy, elitist institutions, male heroes, and male nation builders.³ The lives of Canadian women, for the most part, were omitted from these writings. The rare instances that did consider women only mentioned them in superficial and stereotypical ways, which reinforced the distinctions of private/public spheres, spheres that were supposedly based on biologically determined factors. In other words, women were “innately” emotional, delicate, and caring and thus suited for the private world or home life, while men were naturally rational, strong, and independent, characteristics that relegated them to more public arenas in society.

The rise of social history coincided with the presence of vibrant women’s movements and influenced a growing number of professional female historians to re-write history. Feminist historians demonstrated convincingly that concepts of biological determinism, found in mainstream historical accounts, were not appropriate when considering the lives and experiences of women. Instead this ‘new women’s history’

³ Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women’s History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), xiii.

discovered that “hierarchical, social, economic, and political contexts, rather than biology, [and] history rather than nature created women.”⁴

By the mid 1980s, there was a shift among some feminist historians to move away from “women” as a lone historical category to that of gender which was viewed (with some controversy) as a more encompassing analytical tool. According to American historian Joan Scott, gender was a crucial category of historical examination and “introduce[d] a relational notion [to the] analytical vocabulary.” With this view, “women and men were defined in terms of one another, and no understanding of either could be achieved by entirely separate study.”⁵ Gender helped to explain the social positions occupied by men and women, revealing that they “were multidimensional and that femininity and masculinity [were] not cultural universals but vary with other forms of power and markers of difference.”⁶ Canadian feminist historians, by the late 1980s and 1990, embraced the investigative importance of gender in historical study and started producing works that explored the dynamism, multiplicity, and complexity of this concept as it entwined with sex, class, religion, ethnicity, and race to inform the lived experiences of Canadian men and women.⁷

⁴Joy Parr, “Gender History and Historical Practice,” in *Gender and History in Canada* (Mississauga: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996), 13-14.

⁵ Joan Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December, 1986): 1054.

⁶ Joy Parr, “Gender History and Historical Practice... 14.

⁷ For a few examples of these works see Joy Parr *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (eds.), *Gender Conflicts...*; Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993); Suzanne Morton, “Separate Sphere in a Separate World: African-Nova Scotian Women in the late-19th-Century Halifax County,” *Acadiensis* XXII, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 61-83; Shirley J. Yee, “Gender Ideology and Black Women as Community-Builders in Ontario, 1850-70,” *The Canadian Historical Review* LXXV, no. 1 (March 1994): 53-73; Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, *Gender and History in Canada...*; Joy Parr (ed.), *A Diversity of Women: Ontario 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); and Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

The growing importance of gender has been slow to penetrate dominant immigration and ethnic histories. Franca Iacovetta argued that a male dominated focus and over-representations of male experiences in these works ignored women and phenomena important to their lived experiences and thus the broader immigrant experience. Gender in child bearing and rearing, housework, and other forms of reproductive work specific to women were omitted in these mainstream histories which could lead, as Iacovetta stated, to “erroneous assumptions that female behaviour [had] little direct impact on immigrant community life.”⁸ Historians including Franca Iacovetta, Ruth Frager, Francis Sywripa, and Marlene Epp therefore offered a much needed addition to the field by exploring diligently how gender, work, class, and ethnicity merged to shape immigrant experiences.⁹

Not only does ethnic and immigration history require a more ‘rigorously gendered’ approach, but incorporating the experiences of women of colour merits further attention. Currently, South Asian and particularly Pakistani women are among those who remain voiceless in historical scholarship. Gerald Friesen and Royden Loewen’s recent work on ethnic diversity in Prairie cities is an exception to this rule. The authors examined immigrant women from the developing world, their families, the importance of child rearing, dietary and dating practices, sexual codes of conduct, and religion.

The study also explored the changing nature of familial structures and gender roles upon migration. Canada, as a new homeland, provided the possibility of more egalitarian gender relations. According to Friesen and Loewen the reasons for these shifts were evident; “... migration from a deeply patriarchal society and integration into a

⁸ Franca Iacovetta, *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History* ...

⁹ Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeeper...*; Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People...*; Ruth Frager, *Sweatshop Strife...*; Francis Sywripa, *Wedded to the Cause...*; and Marlene Epp, *Women without Men...*

modern welfare state provided women with greater influence over husbands and greater latitude in the public arena.”¹⁰ This could be seen among some Pakistani couples. The authors showed some evidence of Pakistani men and women enjoying more “symbiotic unions” where they both participated in various activities and sought “mutual solutions to patterns of adjustment.”¹¹ Canada, thus, offered an alternative to dominant practices in Pakistan where women and men were more segregated, and men were seen as dominating all decision making processes. Though Friesen and Loewen contribute to our understanding of Pakistani and South Asian women their study did not make these women its prime subject.¹²

Sadiq Awan’s study of Pakistanis in Canada dealt only very briefly with Pakistani women, giving hints that the immigration process changed gender relations, but also underscoring the continued power of traditional roles. “The ideal [Pakistani] woman,” he wrote, “is gentle, devoted, and obedient in tradition.”¹³ Also:

The Pakistani-Canadian woman reflects a traditional and contemporary role in life. She is traditional with regard to motherhood, but modern with respect to education. She is more traditional regarding children issues, and less contemporary on education-career issues.¹⁴

¹⁰ Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 130.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² There is an impressive body of work by social scientists who specifically study South Asian women. For a sample of the works see, Vijay Agnew, *Resisting Discrimination: Women from Asian, Africa, The Caribbean and the Women’s Movement in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Sherene Razack, *Look White People in the Eye: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Josephine Naidoo, “South Asian Women in Canada: Self Perceptions, Socialization, Achievement Aspirations,” *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic*, (Montreal: Khala Bharti, 1984), chapter 8; Ratna Ghosh, “South Asian Women in Canada: Adaptation,” *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic*... chapter 9; Tania Das Gupta, “Political Economy of Gender, Race, and Class: Looking at South Asian Immigrant Women in Canada,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada* 26, no. 1, 1994; Enakshi Dua, “The Hindu Woman’s Question”: Canadian Nation Building and the Social Construction of Gender for South Asian-Canadian Women,” in *Anti-Racist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2000), 55-71.

¹³ Sadiq Awan, *The People of the Indus Valley*... 171.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.

To date Awan's simplistic depiction remains one of the only Canadian studies to mention Pakistani women, reinforcing the fact that further investigation of Pakistani women in Canada is needed.

Some insight into the lives of Pakistani women in Canada can be gained by looking to studies of Muslim women by British and American scholars. Pakistani Muslim women have long been associated with the private sphere and according to American writer Naheed Hasnat, relegating these women to this sphere or "the home" was based on certain patriarchal tenets found in Islamic scripture. Hasnat observed that:

Islam advises men to act as protectors and providers of their families, South Asian cultural practices absorbed these ideas and created a system where men became guardians of women. In addition, the idea that the only way to provide care for women was to confine and segregate them pervaded those societies. Thus the roles defined for men and women in Islam were transformed into a rigid, unwieldy positions created by culture. Women spheres of influence became the home and children, and men's sphere of influence encompassed the outside world.¹⁵

Writing on the British context in the late 1970s, historian Hugh Tinker similarly posited that Islamic orthodoxy effectively prevented Pakistani women from "straying" into a "man's world." He noted that; "If Muslim women in Britain d[id] not observe *purdah* in the strictest sense of donning the all-enveloping *burka* when they [went] out, they [were] in *purdah* to the extent that their horizons [were] restricted..."¹⁶ *Purdah* and the sexual division of these private and public spheres meant to keep women segregated or separate from all unrelated men.¹⁷ According to Tinker and British social scientist Robina Mohammad, who wrote on the subject of Pakistani British Muslim women some

¹⁵ Naheed Hasnat, "Being 'Amreekan': Fried Chicken Versus Chicken Tikka," in *Patchwork Shawl* ... 42.

¹⁶ Hugh Tinker, *The Banyan Tree* ... 184.

¹⁷ For an excellent account of Pakistani women and *Purdah* see Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1987).

twenty-five years after him, controlling women in this way inevitably constrained their mobility within society to the confines of the home.¹⁸

Being in charge of the home bestowed on women the added pressure of transmitting and instilling their various family members with proper religious and cultural values. Essentially Pakistani women were responsible for upholding the family's honour and dignity. A point that British ethnic and racial specialist Deborah Phillips summed up well:

The home is viewed by many Muslims as a key space for the transmission of religio-cultural values and social practices to the next generation, a process in which women are expected to play a central role. Women are viewed as the 'transmitters of cultural values and identities' and the standard bearers of the groups' private and public dignity.¹⁹

This chapter tests some of the above mentioned views and stereotypes regarding Pakistani women and explores, predominantly, the private lives of Pakistani Muslim women in Canada. Specifically, it looks at the manner in which women living in Toronto negotiated a balance between the powerful hold of religious and cultural traditions and the strong forces that caused them to adapt to new circumstances and attempt to find a place within the mainstream of Canadian society. Moreover, it brings to the forefront experiences with marriage, childrearing, household duties, clothing practices, alimentary needs, loneliness, and physical abuse.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; and Robina Mohammad, "Negotiating Spaces of the Home, the Education System and the Labour Market: The Case of Young, Working-Class, British Pakistani Muslim Women," in *Geographies of Muslim Women: Gender, Religion, and Space* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2005), 183.

¹⁹ Deborah Phillips, "Creating Home Spaces: Young British Muslim Women's Identity and Conceptualization of Home" in *Muslims in Britain: Race, Place and Identities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009) 24.

Interviews

Since there are so few written sources on Pakistani women in Canada, oral testimonies became indispensable tools. In order to provide a more focused discussion of Pakistani women, this chapter, thus, relies on an array of interviews, the majority of which were conducted personally by the author with women who immigrated to Canada from 1966-1980. Several others oral testimonies from existing collections were also used. A total of seventeen interviews were conducted. All of the women interviewed were Muslim, thirteen were Sunnis, two Shi'ias, and two did not specify a sect. Most of the women interviewed tended to come from urban, middle and upper-class backgrounds, a characteristic that reflected the generally high degree of education and professional training among Pakistani immigrants of the late 1960s and early 1970s. At the same time, the women interviewed tended to enjoy a relatively high degree of affluence and certainly did not reflect the full range of economic experiences of Pakistani women in general or even the Pako-Canadian community as a whole for that matter.

The interviews were semi-structured. A guide was used to generate but not restrict conversation. Women were, thus, encouraged to speak freely on the topics, issues, and concerns that were important to them and their experiences as female immigrants, wives, mothers, sisters, and members of the Pako-Canadian community. These interviews help us to understand Pakistani women and their unique, multifaceted, and complex experiences in Canada. These Pakistani women demonstrated specifically that phenomena including, marriage, childrearing, domestic chores, religio-cultural values, alimentary needs, clothing styles, loneliness, physical abuse, and child rearing were key variables in shaping their lives in Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s.

Marriage and Migration

The role that arranged marriages played in the lives of Pakistani women was crucial to comprehending fully the reasons why some of these women came to Canada. Arranged marriage is a well-protected institution in Pakistan, deeply rooted in the Islamic belief that fathers are required to protect their children and particularly their daughters.²⁰ Parental obligations to their sons and daughters thus naturally extended to ensuring appropriate unions, as it was a parent's duty to find suitable spouses for their children. This view was coupled with the belief that parental 'wisdom,' knowledge, and experience would counteract a child's naivety and ignorance, making parents the important negotiators of a momentous life decision.²¹

Finding an appropriate mate for children was an involved process and taken extremely seriously. Successful marriages were based on marital compatibility; therefore a number of variables had to be considered.²² Family background, education, professional status, income, commitment to religion, and physical stature all factored significantly in the decision making process.²³

²⁰http://anthro.palomar.edu/marriage/marriage_1.htm. Accessed 31/08/2006.

²¹*Ibid.* A similar point is also mentioned by Iftikhar Malik. See Iftikhar Malik, *Pakistanis in Michigan* ...30-31. For an interesting account of the cultural traditions behind such marriages refer to Tahira Naqvi's, "Love in an Election Year," ed. Nurjehan Aziz, *Her Mother's Ashes: and Other Stories by South Asian Women in Canada and the United States* (Toronto: Cardiff, 1994), 104-120; and also Catherine Porter, "The Courtship begins: Four weeks before the wedding, Asim hadn't met his bride Now, magically, they're falling in love" *Toronto Star*, September 14, 2003.

²² Raymond Brady Williams, "Asian Indian and Pakistani Religions..."

²³ Sajida Alvi alludes to this in her testimony as a witness before the Canadian Human Rights Commission. See Ontario, "In the Matter of the Complaint filed under Section 5 of the Canadian Humans Rights Acts between Hameed and Massarat Naqvi (complainants) and Canada Employment and Immigration Commission and Department of External Affairs (respondents)," *Canadian Human Rights Commission*, June 22-26, 1992.

There are various types of arranged marriages. The majority of women whom I interviewed had what is termed 'modern arranged marriages'.²⁴ In such marriages it was customary for parents to choose prospective mates for their daughters and sons. Children were shown several photos and given brief biographies of the women or men selected by their parents, and asked to consider them for marriage. Despite the illusion of being given a choice, women (more often than men) were pressured to select the man chosen by her parents. Rejecting a particular proposal could result in an uncomfortable family environment.²⁵ Furthermore, women who would not obey their parents' wishes could be branded pejoratively and seen as bringing potential shame and dishonour to their families.²⁶

²⁴Various types of arranged marriages include *forced marriage*, *traditional arranged marriage*, *modern arranged marriage*, *modern arranged marriage with courtship*, and *introduction only arranged marriages*. In a *forced marriage* parents choose the child's future spouse with no input from the child, if the child refuses the choice, she may be disowned or punished. In *traditional arranged marriages*, the parents chose a prospective mate with little or no input from their child. In such cases if a daughter refuses to marry a chosen prospect, the parents respect the child's wishes, and searched for a new option. A *modern arranged marriage* involves the child; parents choose several mates for the children. Children indicate which photos/biographies he or she like best. A *modern arranged marriage with courtship* is similar to a modern arranged marriage, except that the children have a chance to get to know each other over a longer period of time via e-mail, phone, or multiple in-person meetings before making a decision. *Introduction only arranged marriages* consist of parents only introducing their child to a potential spouse. From that point on it is up to the children to manage the relationship and make a choice. For a more detailed discussion of arranged marriages consult. An overview of arranged marriages and partner selection can be found at <http://anthro.palomar.edu/marriage/marriage-1.htm>. Accessed 31/08/2006. For more on arranged marriages see also, Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, *International Arranged marriages*, (Ottawa: Indo-Canadian Women's Association, 2005), 35.

²⁵ Karen Leonard touched on this point. See Karen Leonard, *The South Asian Americans* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group Inc., 1997), 164.

²⁶ Women would often stay in unhappy marriages for fear of disappointing their parents. Yasmeen Hyder's case reflected this point. Hyder and her family had been misled into thinking that her husband was a 'successful' businessman in Canada. When she discovered this to be false, I asked her why she remained in the union. Her answer was as follows:

I did not want to hurt my parent's feelings... I did everything for my parents and it was an arranged marriage. So if I tell my family that I am going to leave my husband for them it was like... I did not want to let them down. It is a different culture, values, beliefs. I could not have said one, two, three, when my dad was so upset I told my mom. Then my mom would have said 'This is your fate, God wanted it this way and dadadada.' So you would leave your husband because he does not have a white collar job." This is the only problem we used to have with our husband's.

Pakistani women's reasons for immigrating to Canada were indeed linked to marital status and many women immigrated to Canada for the sole purpose of being united with the men to whom they had been arranged to wed. On July 31, 1976, Kathija Haffajee, addressed an audience comprising men and women at the National Multiculturalism Symposium, hosted by the Canada Pakistan Association. With respect to women and Pakistani immigration Haffajee revealed that, "...For the most part, many of us have not come to Canada because we wanted to, it was a matter of following a husband or fiancée."²⁷ In her view, many women did not intend to leave Pakistan and instead "were driven out" due to marriage arrangements:

Very often, a match takes place, a boy and a girl get married and one fine morning, the husband wants to leave Pakistan. What does his woman do? She is an appendage. She comes here knowing nothing about this society and knowing not nearly enough about her own man. Here she is, so here she stays.²⁸

Not all Pakistani women felt helpless in the decision to come to Canada. Certain women whom I interviewed remembered wanting to come to Canada for various reasons (which will be discussed later in this chapter), but Haffajee's observation does draw necessary attention to the relationship between arranged marriage and immigration as experienced by the majority of Pakistani women.

Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author, Toronto, Ont., April 19, 2005.

The importance of obeying one's parents also came through in Aruna Papp's, *The Seven of Us Survived: Wife Abuse in the South Asian Community* (Scarborough: Multicultural Community Development and Training, 1995), in the section entitled "Women of South Asia"; see also Douglas Todd, "Muslim women tormented by marriage rules: Muslim women face conflict with their families and Canada's multicultural ethos: not marrying is against the teachings of their religion; marrying a non-Muslim is a sin," *The Gazette*, October 5, 1997.

²⁷ Kathija Haffajee, "The Changing Role of Pakistani Women in the Canadian Society," in the *Proceedings of the First National Multicultural Symposium (Canada-Pakistan Association) Held in Ottawa, Ontario 30-31 July 1976*, ed. S.N. Awan (Ottawa: Canada, 1976), 29-30.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

In 1972, Amina Rashid stepped off the plane to meet for the very first time the husband to whom she had been married for a year. Iqbal Rashid, a chemical engineer, had been chosen for her by her parents as a suitable match. Amina had been told that Iqbal had been in Canada for several years, was a qualified professional, and had a secure job with the potential of forward advancement. His perceived successes teamed with his height and good looks, made him an obvious marriage candidate. After viewing a photo Rashid agreed to “consider” the proposal. Following one phone conversation Amina consented to marry Iqbal and a few weeks later an over the phone *Nikah* (a Muslim marriage ceremony) was arranged. Rashid recounted; “It was a proper Muslim marriage, he was a good boy, I liked him and I agreed.” While on the one hand Rashid was happy to be married in a ‘proper’ Muslim fashion, she was simultaneously confronted with a number of conflicting emotions:

I remember being very afraid. I had never been away from my family. I had never taken a plane before. I worried about how that was all going to happen. My grandfather was going to be with me until England, then I would have to fly to Canada, a whole new country, all by myself. I was excited to meet my husband, but I was really sad to leave my family. I was crying a lot, but what could you do. I wanted to stay in Pakistan, but when you get married you have to go to where your husband is. So I had to come to Canada. I had no choice.²⁹

Samina Anwar, had a similar experience when in 1975 she came to Canada to join the man whom she had married over the phone:

I was not really wanting to get married per se. I had an interesting life in Pakistan. I was teaching and traveled a lot between Karachi and Lahore. I knew that my parents were worrying about me because I was getting older and still not married. They found a boy for me and arranged a marriage.

²⁹ Amina Rashid [pseudo.], interview by author, Toronto, Ont., April 17, 2005.

I got married over the phone. He sponsored me and I came to Canada to meet him. I had never seen him before.³⁰

While Yasmeen Hyder had an arranged marriage that took place in Pakistan and not over the phone, she also had mixed emotions upon coming to Canada to join her husband. Hyder, like a number of women, married because they were expected to do so. “I just got married and that is the culture, when you get married you have to move where your husband is.” Hyder’s expressed the depth of her sadness when she stated:

I was concerned with leaving my family and stuff like that. It was very sad and it was very scary. My heart was coming out. I would cry all the time. I would wake up and cry and at night I would cry. It was a total culture shock.³¹

Despite the emotionally trying process of leaving Pakistan, their families, friends, and familiar lifestyles behind, many women came to Canada feeling that as ‘good daughters’ it was their duty to respect their parent’s choices and once married a ‘good wife’ was obliged to reside with her husband.³² While a significant number of women found themselves in these hapless situations, not all women saw arranged marriages as confining, stifling, and uprooting. Several of the women whom I interviewed actually saw a certain degree of freedom associated with marrying someone abroad. Due to strictly regulated female behaviour, women in Pakistan, during the 1960s and 1970s, did not enjoy the same liberties as women did in Canada. Women were not permitted to

³⁰ Samina Anwar [pseudo.], interview by author, Pickering, Ont., November 30, 2004.

³¹ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

³² It should be noted that not all women were sponsored by their husbands. There were rare occasions where women actually sponsored their husbands. Nasreen Ali, for one, came to Canada in 1974 at the age of 14. She was sponsored by her older brother. Five years later, her father, in Pakistan, had arranged a marriage for her to a Pakistani doctor, whom she then sponsored. Nasreen Ali, [pseudo.], interview by author, Scarborough, Ont., November 3, 2004. Imtiaz and Halda Ghulam, two sisters, had similar experiences. In the late 1960s they were both sponsored at a young age by their older brother. When reaching a marriageable age, their parents who remained in Pakistan, found suitable husbands for them. They returned to Pakistan, partook in opulent wedding ceremonies and, in turn, brought their new husbands to Canada. Imtiaz Abrar, [pseudo.], interview by author, Markham, Ont., April 17 2005. After marriage Imtiaz Ghulam assumes her husband’s name Abrar.

venture out of the house without the presence of an older family member such as a father, mother, or an older brother. Similarly, it was deemed inappropriate for single young women to travel, especially as tourists.³³

Marrying someone in Canada provided some women with a socially acceptable and non confrontational reason for leaving Pakistan. Razia Khan was a good example of an individual who saw immigrating to Canada as an exciting adventure:

When I was little I used to read geography maps. I used to say “Oh my God I want to go on a world tour”. So I always thought of going around the world. My father’s sister moved to Canada. My aunty asked me if I would like to come, she had no daughters’ just one son. I said sure I would love to. I did not know I would get married to him (her cousin), after one or two years.³⁴

One of the informal stipulations of Khan’s sponsorship was that she agree to marry her cousin, a proposal that was initially well-received by her. Khan recalled certain concerns she had when coming to Canada, such as traveling alone and having little knowledge of English. Her fears were outweighed by her curiosity and enthusiasm. “I came alone” she stated, “I did not even know how to speak English very good. I was a little scared, but I was so curious and excited to see the world and my husband.”³⁵

Parveen Abdul also saw certain advantages in immigrating to Canada. The circumstances surrounding her marriage were less typical. Abdul had been arranged to a man living in Canada who returned to Pakistan simply to marry her. Before consummating the marriage, Abdul discovered that her new husband was already married to a woman residing in Canada. Neither the Canadian nor Pakistani government was

³³ See Ontario, “In the Matter of the Complaint filed under Section 5 of the Canadian Humans Rights Acts between Hameed and Massarat Naqvi (complainants) ... Sajida Alvi’s testimony.

³⁴ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author, Brampton, Ont., November 1 2004.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

aware of his bigamy. She decided that instead of instantly dissolving the marriage to exploit the situation and come to Canada as his sponsored wife. Once in Canada, Abdul immediately filed for divorce. Being a divorcée in Canada, according to Abdul, did not carry the negative connotations that it did in Pakistan:

In Pakistan people will not accept a woman who has had a divorce very easily. My life there would be very difficult. It would be very hard to explain this to families there. Men don't like to marry women who were married before. Even though I was still pure, my chances of living a normal life there would be hard. I could not find a husband there so easily.³⁶

In spite of fraudulent marriage circumstances, Abdul had fond memories of her travels to Canada:

Though I came alone, I had family here. I wanted to join my sister in the U.S., but had to come to Canada first, I was okay with that. It was good. I had a few uncles here. I had read a little about Canada and thought it was a beautiful country.”³⁷

Hennah Durani, was similarly aware of certain benefits of coming to Canada. Like many of her female counterparts, Durani had some anxiety about her marriage and move to Canada; “It was my first time ever traveling. I think what I was most anxious about is that I had an arranged marriage. I remember thinking I don't even know his favourite colour.”³⁸ In spite of certain worries, Durani was, nevertheless, ready to leave her homeland. In fact, she was so desperate to leave Pakistan that she agreed to marry a man significantly older than she. After breaking a previous marriage engagement, she decided that in order to get away from the constant ‘talking,’ jeering, and shame associated with such an action, she would need to leave the country:

³⁶ Abdul, Parveen, [pseudo.], interview by author, Mississauga, Ont., March 8 2004.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Henna Durani, [pseudo.], interview by author, North York, Ont., November 5 2004.

I was engaged before and broke off the engagement. I was the first person to break an engagement in the family. It was very traditional there and a broken engagement meant that people would start talking. After that I had five proposals (proposals that had been screened and accepted by her father). I chose him (her husband) because he was in Canada and I wanted to get out of Pakistan.³⁹

Durani thought that marrying someone in Canada would also allow her to escape the traditional gender expectations prevalent in Pakistan. She felt that because her husband was educated and living in Canada, he would be familiar with “western” ideals and supportive of a more egalitarian union:

I wanted to get married to someone modern and educated, I was exposed to western culture in school and agreed with a lot of the principles with regards to women. I felt that because my husband was educated and living in Canada, he and I would have common views.⁴⁰

While many women did indeed come to Canada to meet their husbands for the very first time, some women, in already established marriages, came to be reunited with their husbands. While immigration was generally seen as a male choice, Pakistani women did share in this decision. As Sabene Sheik’s testimony demonstrated:

I came to Canada to join my husband. We talked about this. Pakistan was in a recession and he did not have a job. Our first choice was the U.K., but immigration to the U.K. was closed. Canada was a good choice because there was a system in which you could call your family.⁴¹

So Sheik’s husband applied for Canadian immigration from Germany, in the mid 1960s, a request that, she recalled, was granted in approximately two weeks. Family reunification was not the only aspect rendering Canada appealing, but Sheik also felt that

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Sabene Sheik, [pseudo.], interview by author, Scarborough, Ont., June 24 2004.

in Canada their future would be more secure. Economic possibilities were vast, thus Sheik and her husband could ensure a brighter future for their six children;

Coming to Canada you have to think about your children. There were no jobs in Pakistan. It is hard to raise a family like that. Who is going to be responsible for them. The need for a job is bigger than leaving my and his family. We came to Canada to have a future for our kids. We don't look back.⁴²

Aguila Shaheen similarly recalled that the decision to immigrate to Canada was one that she and her husband made jointly. In fact in parts of her testimony Shaheen seemed to imply that coming to Canada was more of her idea. Also, Shaheen was an example of a married couple who immigrated to Canada together. Like Sheikh, Shaheen felt that Canada provided her and her family with the opportunity of not only bettering their lives but ensuring a more stable and unified family life as well:

We (she and her husband) decided very quick very quick to come to Canada. First of all we have seen Lahore, we have seen life in Karachi. I have seen life in the villages. I knew that if I sit down in any one corner and work and work and work for God' sake and for my nation only and my kids will have no future here. I will ruin my family life... Since we were married we could not live really family life. Sometimes my daughter was in Lahore, my husband was in Karachi and I was in somewhere else teaching. So how long can you continue this way? So I thought this was in a state of disrupting the whole family. At that time I thought it was great treasure to me for persons to be together.⁴³

For Shaheen Canada held the promise that her and her family would no longer have to live apart. Moreover, when discussing early impressions of Canada, Shaheen remembered fondly:

... the first thing I saw was a small sunflower by the side of the road and I felt so pleased. I said oh sunflower the same

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ MHSO sample, interview with Aguila Shaheen.

sunflower here (as in Pakistan). I felt the country extremely beautiful. ...Maybe due to the climate and due to the cleanliness. I had never seen that much beauty, I had never seen in my life. I was kind of drunk by the beauty.⁴⁴

Other women similarly shared Sheik's and Shaheens's optimism and saw Canada as a means for bettering their economic and familial situations, thus leading to more fruitful lives for themselves and their families. For some female Pakistani immigrants Canada was a land of opportunity, a country in which they could sustain higher standards of living (or at least maintain their already wealthy status). Women such as Yasmeen Hyder, and Tahseen Anwar, who came to Canada to simply honour their arranged marriage, took solace in fact that at least when in Canada, their lives would be filled with wealth and prosperity. Since their parents had found them educated men who had found "successful" Canadian businesses they felt assured of a high standard of living, one equal if not greater than their lifestyles in Pakistan. Both women were to discover, however, that they were married under false pretenses and that the biographies of their new husbands did not correspond to the realities waiting for them in Canada.

False Pretences and Canadian Realities

In 2005 social scientists Salaha Khan and Jeanine Watson interviewed Pakistani immigrant women and asked them to speak of their experiences in Toronto.⁴⁵ They discovered that Pakistani women came to Canada with specific dreams, aspirations, and expectations. Their goals included increased prosperity, Canadian citizenship, a better

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Psychologists Salaha Khan and Jeanne Watson interviewed seven Pakistani women who immigrated to Canada in 2005. See Salaha Khan and Jeanine Watson, "The Canadian immigration experiences of Pakistani women: Dreams confront reality," *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (December 2005): 307-317.

future for their children, and a desire to benefit from the Canadian social system.⁴⁶

According to Khan and Watson these hopes were quashed after these women confronted the reality of life in Toronto. The promise of “an improved quality of life” did not always materialize. In some cases women who enjoyed a particularly lavish lifestyle were demoted to a more impecunious existence in Toronto.⁴⁷ While Khan and Watson were studying relatively recent conditions, many of their findings paralleled the experiences of the women interviewed here, who arrived in Canada between the late 1960s and early 1980s.

Yasmeen Hyder, who came to Canada in 1974, was particularly horrified when she discovered that she and her husband would be living in a small scantily furnished one bed room apartment in the downtown core of Toronto: “When I came to Canada we lived in a small apartment I was not used to it and did not like it. I did not even have a phone.”⁴⁸ Tahseen Anwar’s experience with her first living abode was equally shocking: “I couldn’t believe my eyes, my house was so small. We couldn’t even afford furniture. My husband’s brother gave us some furniture to help us.”⁴⁹ Furthermore, both women soon discovered that the “successful” businessmen, whom they supposedly married, were in fact struggling blue-collar workers. Hyder’s husband worked as a gas station attendant, while Anwar’s husband drove a taxi cab. Hyder’s devastation with her husband’s real job was clear:

For one year I did not even ask my husband where he was working. I was so scared to even ask him because I thought... I thought what kind of a job does he have.

⁴⁶ Salaha Khan and Jeanine Watson, “The Canadian immigration...” 309.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 309-310.

⁴⁸ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author... It should be mentioned that having a phone in Pakistan, as Hyder did, was most definitely a sign of wealth and class.

⁴⁹ Tahseen Anwar, [pseudo.], interview by author, Toronto, Ont., April 19 2005.

When I knew he worked at a gas station I was horrified. To work at a gas station, back home this is what servants working for you do. Working at a gas station is very, very, very low.⁵⁰

Not only were these women worried about their financial standing, but jobs such as working at a gas station and driving a taxi seemed to threaten the wives' social status as well. In Pakistan, social standing was of utmost importance, and a woman's self-worth was measured in terms of how successful her husband was or how well he could provide for the family. Marrying someone of low standing meant that these women risked becoming socially outcast. Hyder recounted:

Status was very important. I remember people when they found out that my husband was working at the gas station. They wanted nothing to do with you. No one wanted to mingle with you. They treated you like outcasts. They would turn away because they wanted somebody who had a business, or a doctor or a lawyer. Or a professional or an engineer.⁵¹

The "people" Hyder was referring to were actually members of the Pakistani community in Canada. Anwar was similarly ostracized for being married to a taxi driver:

Though my husband was a university graduate, he drove a taxi. I remember people sticking their noses up at me. Nobody wanted to talk to you. I was on a committee, some Pakistani organization, when the ladies found out what my husband did they would not talk to me anymore. I had to leave.⁵²

The dream of Canada as the land of hope was tested for a number of other women as well. Sabene Sheik, who came to Canada with the intention of alleviating hardships, discovered that there were great challenges apparent in Toronto, especially in finding a decent home for her family.

⁵⁰ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Tahseen Anwar, [pseudo.], interview by author...

At first we rented a place downtown Toronto. He (referring to her husband) rented a portion of a big house with furniture, kitchen table and stuff. We didn't last long there because of the kids. Somebody lived downstairs and the kids were running around. I think only 2 months and we moved. It was hard to find a place that would allow so many kids. We got another place. The owners lived in the bottom floor. The lady there was no good. She sometimes didn't even let us use the water. She said we were using too much water, and would come up while I was doing the dishes to yell at me. We moved to a place in Lakeshore. We lived there for two years. We wanted one more room, but couldn't afford it. We had a three room apartment with six kids. My eldest son would sleep in the living room so two or three kids in one small room. So there were problems. Then we rented someone's house. This house was going to break. They wanted to build a factory. So we could rent it until they broke it. I said "Oh my God this is so hard to move from place to place..."⁵³

Aguila Shaheen was similarly disappointed to discover that Canada rather than creating a better life for her and her family, was rife with struggle. Shaheen originally thought that her husband who had just completed his MBA would readily find work in Canada; "[we] had in fact high hopes that he will get a good job."⁵⁴ Instead, Shaheen's husband experienced what so many other Pakistanis in such positions did: his degree was not recognized at par in Canada. Soon after their arrival Shaheen's husband lost their life savings on failed business ventures. Facing financial ruin, Shaheen recalled, "We have burnt our boats. We had no money."⁵⁵ Luckily Shaheen had some of her own resources. With her *Meher* (money given to a bride at the *Nikah* by the groom) she put a down payment on a house. Buying a house was of utmost importance to her:

I never lived in a rented house. I was so afraid that we will be on the streets what will happen. Whatever house a dirty house a depleted house but buy a house. I saw a house very

⁵³ Sabene Sheik, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁵⁴ MHSO sample, interview with Aguila Shaheen.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

bad area but not a bad house \$ 3 000 down payment. I said buy it at once. It was a four storey house and basement and three storey so upper two portions my inlaws took and the lower two I took. I said it is OK for me. At least it was my own.⁵⁶

Taking Care of the Home: Childrearing, Household Duties, and Food

Canada did not only prove disappointing in terms of finding appropriate housing, but some of these women would soon be introduced to a whole new way of living, leaving in their charge chores and tasks that were unimaginable and foreign to them. In Pakistan many of these women were accustomed to hired help. Middle and upper class families had several servants at their disposal, including people who would take care of young children, cook, clean, and chauffeur all members of the extended family.⁵⁷

In Canada, Pakistani women assumed most of these tasks, including primary control over childrearing. For some women being the main caretaker of their children required great adjustments. Pakistani newcomer Joy Biswas, who immigrated to Toronto in 1966, for one, found herself in such a situation:

One phase of my education occurred when my son was born, for it was the first time I handled the physical care of a baby myself. In Pakistan a servant would be dispatched to remove, then soothe a crying child. In Toronto it was my problem. At times my experiences were trying, but to my surprise I soon came to enjoy his infancy period more than that of his older sisters.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Illustrations of this can be seen throughout Helen Ralston, *The Lived Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women In Atlantic Canada: The Interconnections of Race, Class and Gender...* especially in chapter 5.

⁵⁸ *Toronto Star*, "I have been accepted as an equal and an individual... One woman indicated that she found raising a child in Canada quite trying. Her words were; "It was hard to raise children. I was told (presumably by immigration officers) not to speak Urdu with my son. I found it hard I could not comfort him. I would speak English and my English was not as good at that time. I remember crying a lot feeling helpless." Ayesha Farooq, [pseudo.], interview by author...

Some women were placed in the precarious position of balancing cultural and religious practices, with a more liberal and less restrictive Canadian society. According to Helen Ralston, South Asians, especially women, adopted a “dualistic attitude” to family rearing in relation to the larger Canadian context. While they could be “traditional” with regard to “family, religion, and marriage,” they also had contemporary views on “education and development outside the home.”⁵⁹ Social scientists Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra posited similar views:

South Asian women seem to want the best of both worlds ... [they] are frequently caught in a dilemma. They have high expectations and acknowledge that if their children are to succeed they must do so on Canadian terms. They are therefore keen to provide their children with appropriate education and vocational skills and hope that these will be translated into economic security, marriage, and grandchildren. However, they have not abandoned the wish that their children maintain certain key elements of the South Asian heritage, particularly in areas of family authority and marriage.⁶⁰

Several studies have also indicated that one of the main difficulties South Asians, particularly women, endured when coming to Canada concerned the raising of their teenage daughters and sons.⁶¹ While this scholarship tended to focus on Indian women, Pakistani women were confronted with similar struggles. Their perceptions were not only influenced by their cultural experiences and heritages, but religion also shaped how children were to be raised in a western environment. Courting practices, for instance, were strictly regulated. The Qur'an (like most holy books) forbids women and men to

⁵⁹ Helen Ralston, *The Lived Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women...* 74.

⁶⁰ Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra, *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada...* 157.

⁶¹ Josephine Naidoo, “Between East and West: Reflections on Asian Indian Women in Canada,” ed. Ratna Ghosh and Rabindra Kanungo, *South Asian Canadians: Current Issues in the Politics of Culture* (India: Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, 1992), 81-91; Ratna Ghosh, “South Asian Women in Canada: Adaptation,” ed. Rabindra Kanungo, *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic* (Montreal: The Kala Bharati Foundation, 1984), 145-157; This theme also appears throughout Sadiq Awan’s, *People of the Indus Valley...*

have any type of conjugal relationship prior to marriage. As such, in Pakistan unchaperoned dating is prohibited by law. Moreover, since the majority of Pakistani women in Canada had arranged marriages, dating was a concept with which they were unfamiliar and uncomfortable. Certain liberal Canadian practices did not impress many Pakistani women and they tried desperately to dissuade their children from adopting these western practices. Yasmeen Hyder explained her concerns:

There are difficulties with raising children here. The fact of life is that there are difficulties. The problem was that children were getting mixed messages. We would tell them one thing and they would do something else. [For instance] Going out was big problem. In Canada girls and boys go out together all the time. That is how it is if you are brought up here. It is different for us. I don't like my children to go out on dates it's not right.⁶²

While none of the women whom I interviewed actually said they wanted arranged marriages for their children, their children were still expected to select Muslims (preferably Pakistanis) as future spouses. Salma Ahmed was very sure of her position on this issue:

I would never want an arranged marriage for my girls. No because I do not want them to live with a choice I have made, like if things do not work out. I want my kids to have a good Muslim marriage and be happy. I want my daughters to know her husband.⁶³

Sabene Sheik also wanted her children to marry Muslim partners:

Religion is important when bringing up children. We (her and her husband) wanted our children to marry Pakistani

⁶² Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁶³ Salma Ahmed, interview by author... Ahmed also added that she felt it was important for her daughters to be educated. She felt that education would instill her children with a sense of independence. She stated: "I stress education, because for me education is freedom, if my kids get a proper education than they can go anywhere in the world."

Muslims, but being in Canada they are going to meet all kinds of people.⁶⁴

Pakistani women found that in Canada finding Muslim partners for their children was a challenge. Children in school settings and other public venues would inevitably be introduced to non-Pakistani, non-Muslim people. While having their children befriend people of different cultures and religions was acceptable, Pakistani women, for the most part, were against the idea of mixed relationships or unions. Yasmeen Hyder clearly said; I always tell them our beliefs and our culture. We do our best I want them (her children) to marry someone from my culture, it's hard when two people of different beliefs and different cultures marry."⁶⁵ Nasreen Ali added; "I don't like mixed marriages, my children have to marry proper Muslims, preferably Pakistanis."⁶⁶

To encourage meeting people of 'their own kind' women, like Amina Rashid, organized supervised parties where a number of Pakistani Muslim boys and girls could "mingle":

We would try to introduce our kids to other Pakistani Muslims. We think our girls and boys should meet their own friends, but they do not meet Muslims. So they don't understand each other. So we have parties so they can meet Muslims, not separately (meaning not unchaperoned) but at parties. They have to choose their own partners so we have parties so they can meet suitable people.⁶⁷

Even though many women rejected the idea of arranged marriages and openly discouraged unsupervised dating, the realities of the Canadian context forced some women to relent and allow their children a certain degree of freedom when forming relationships with members of the opposite sex. Salma Ahmed, for one, permitted her

⁶⁴ Sabene Sheik, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁶⁵ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author ...

⁶⁶ Nasreen Ali, [pseudo.], interview by author ...

⁶⁷ Amina Rashid, [pseudo.], interview by author...

eldest daughter to participate in mixed sex group activities like dances, galas, and other school activities.⁶⁸ Yasmeen Hyder also found herself negotiating curfews with her children and often agreed to let them participate in outings, such as going to the movies “even when girls and boys would be mixed.”⁶⁹ Razia Khan also tolerated her daughters going on coffee dates in public settings so long as they were not out too late.⁷⁰ Once again, with respect to courtship practices, marriage, and socializing, Pakistani women adapted some of their more engrained views to accommodate Canadian realities.

Women also sought to monitor how their children dressed and behaved. While Pakistani women accepted western styles they did not always approve of the latest or less modest fashion trends preferred by the younger generation. Razia Khan struggled with her daughters over issues like ‘Canadian’ fashions:

I was very hard to raise them especially girls. I was strict but not that strict. I let them do certain things, but not everything. I said they can’t dress up like that. They have all sorts of friends Canadian, Chinese... I always like to keep my traditions. My kids think like that they are Canadianized. They think differently. They dress like Canadians, T-shirts and short skirts, stuff like that. Sleeveless shirts. They want to go to clubs and go dancing and stuff like that. They don’t practice certain things in religion. My daughters are feminists, certain things in Islam you can do but not everything. They say that girls are the same as boys. I struggle a lot with trying to teach them properly, they don’t listen too much.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Salma Ahmed, interview by author...

⁶⁹ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁷⁰ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁷¹ *Ibid.* At this point it is useful to inform the reader of the fact that Khan was not against wearing Canadian fashions per se and indeed owned numerous western styled outfits. She disapproved of more revealing styles of clothing. Khan’s statement also broaches on a very interesting and understudied subject: the relationship between mothers and daughters in the Canadian setting. Though this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis it merits further attention. In fact, various American social scientists and free lance writers have made these complex relationships the focus of their works. For excellent examples of these refer to, Salma Kamal, “I am Muslim First,” in *Living Our Religions: Hindu and Muslim South Asian American Women Narrate Their Experiences* (Virginia: Kumarian Press, 2009) 115-128; Lubna Chaudry, “We Are Graceful Swans Who Can Also Be Crows:” Hybrid Identities of Pakistan Muslim Women,” in *Patchwork*

The latter part of Khan's testimony also introduces other concerns with monitoring behaviours that were seen as inappropriate for young Muslims girls and boys. To counter some of the *haram* social practices and behaviours in Canada, like going to clubs, bars, and discotheques, some women brought their children to Pakistan for long trips. Nasreen Ali accorded:

I bring my kids to Pakistan. I want them to learn more about religion and culture. If they do not practice now then later they will not. It is easier for religion to be practiced in Pakistan, you can hear Azan and everybody is doing it, in Canada religion is not so important I don't want for my kids to fall in that trap.⁷²

Both Khan and Ali tended to be slightly more rigid in their views of religion, than the other women who were interviewed, a factor that may have been linked to levels of education. Khan and Ali had only a few years of formal schooling, and were perhaps more tied to traditional values as a result.

While Pakistani women struggled to balance traditional values with the challenges of raising children in a Canadian setting, they also struggled with another deeply personal issue: household chores. For many Pakistani women, this was a new and unwelcomed part of their lives in Canada. Dirty and time-consuming chores such as cleaning bathrooms, sweeping floors, and doing laundry, were seldom done by middle and upper class women in Pakistan. Upon coming to Canada many of these women were faced with the challenging task of doing this labour for the first time. In an interview with the *Toronto Star*, Joy Biswas confessed that one of the most difficult adjustments she faced in Canada was 'doing things for herself: "In Pakistan our servants handled all the normal

Shawl... 46- 61; Surina Khan, "Sexual Exiles," in *Patchwork Shawl* ... 62-71; and Naheed Hasnat, "Being "Amreekan... in *Patchwork Shawl* ... 33-45.

⁷²Nasreen Ali, [pseudo.], interview by author...

chores which go with owning a house -our [referring to Pakistanis of affluence] knowledge in these areas was virtually nil.”⁷³

A number of the women whom I spoke with abhorred the idea of performing chores that they felt beneath were them. Yasmeen Hyder recalled; “Cleaning was a no, no, no for me. I used to wait for the sweepers to come to do my floors and the washrooms. I knew someone who did clean for herself, and she was pregnant too. I could not do anything like this.”⁷⁴ Hyder used her influence over her husband to avoid such chores. She convinced her husband that since he had mislead her and could not provide her with the standard of living that she was used to, he should assume all household duties; “My husband did all the work and cleaning. It wasn’t until about five years later that I started to do a little here and there.”⁷⁵ Tasheen Anwar also recalled her horror when expected to clean, particularly the washroom; “I cried and cried when I knew that no one would come and clean the washroom. It was such dirty work. I was disgusted with the idea. I used to just tell my husband I am sick and not feeling well, do it yourself.”⁷⁶

While domestic chores were uncommon for some women, performing such household duties was even more unconventional for most Pakistani men, especially once married. The false pretences under which Hyder and Anwar were married gave them leverage to disrupt standard gendered divisions of labour insisting their husbands do much of the housework. Being in a more liberal country-i.e. Canada- may have also impacted Hyder and Anwar’s ability to have their husbands’ partake in household duties.

⁷³ *Toronto Star*, “I have been accepted as an equal and an individual,” April 8, 1972.

⁷⁴ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Tahseen Anwar, [pseudo.], interview by author...

Sociologist Chaudry Siddique has offered a look into the sexual division of labour among Pakistani and Indian families in Canada. He discovered that traditional Pakistani familial structures were adapted to suit a more liberal and “equal” Canadian society. He suggested that in Canada divisions of labour between men and women were more egalitarian. Men were in charge of specific duties such as washing the family car, small appliance repairs, mowing the lawn, and cleaning the snow.⁷⁷ In some instances men could also be found helping with chores such as making tea, cooking, and doing the dishes.⁷⁸ While men may have helped women perform some of the duties typically labeled as ‘wifely obligations,’ to suggest that there was an equal division of labour in households among men and women is an overstatement and even Chaudry admitted that women performed the bulk of all household duties.⁷⁹

Personal interviews, academic studies, and newspaper articles revealed that unfortunately the majority of female Pakistani immigrants could not get their husband’s to participate in domestic chores and were themselves solely responsible for keeping households intact. According to Razia Khan:

Everything was my duty. It was too much. I had to cook, clean, look after the children, sew clothes, do the laundry, prepare chai for my husband and so on. If he invited his friends I had to make a big dish like Paya or Nihari and do roti or naan. It was never ending and I had no help, no help at all.”⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Chaudry Siddique, “Structural Separation and Family Change: An Exploratory Study of the Immigrants Indian and Pakistani Community of Saskatoon, Canada,” *International Review of Modern Sociology* 7, no. 1 (1977): 23.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 25

⁸⁰ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author ...; Khan further added; “he was not doing anything in the house he was not helping me at all, he was just sitting eating and not helping at all. I asked him to bring the children from school. He would not he said it was my duty.” An interview with a South Asian women in Helen Ralston’s study had a similar commentary:

I do absolutely everything. He just does his own job. Nothing else. If I had been trained in his profession, I would probably do that too It is

As Khan's statement implied, cooking could also be quite laborious. Some Pakistani women had been taught how to cook in their homeland, by their mothers, grandmothers, aunts, elder sisters, or could even acquire recipes by watching servants. Not all women, however, came to Canada equipped with the rudiments of cooking. For instance, Salma Ahmed was only acquainted with cooking and household chores when in Canada:

I had never cooked. I remember my husband handed me a cookbook and said "why don't you try this?" I would always set out nice dishes. It took me a month to figure out why the heck I am I doing this why don't I just serve it in the pot. I never touched raw meat before. So I would take these bags from the freezer and defrost the meat by holding the corner of the bag and boiling the meat before I cooked it because I did not want to touch raw meat. My husband said that you can't boil the meat like that because it loses all its flavour. Learning how to manage the home, cooking, cleaning, etc...and how to do everything took the most time for me to get used to.⁸¹

Joy Biswas similarly learned some of these skills; "I gradually acquired in Canada a talent for cooking, shopping, laundering, and other household chores."⁸²

Not only was learning how to cook and other chores a challenge for some women, but many Pakistani women had difficulty accessing familiar spices, ingredients, and cookware in Canada during the 1960s and 1970s. Nasreen Ali, for example, commented on just how limited the selection of certain traditional Pakistani foods were:

lots of work to run the house. Suppose the pipe bursts and is going to leak, I'm the one who is going to call people to fix it. Something goes wrong with the car. I take it to the garage, get it fixed up Everything has to be in order. And not only that. I take the kids to expose them to the maximum number of things they would do- basketball, volleyball, swimming, tennis, you name it.

Helen Ralston, *The Lived Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women*... 71.

⁸¹Salma Ahmed, interview by author, North York, Ont., November 5 2004.

⁸²*Toronto Star*, "I have been accepted as an equal..."

When I came to Toronto back in the 1970s there was only a couple of stores where you could buy dahls and spices, but they had only a few types of lentils. In Pakistani there was so much choice and much better taste and good quality. Here you had to make do with lower standards and not so good taste.⁸³

Sabene Shiek also commented on the lack of similar lentils and grains:

There were no Indian stores. They had some mixed dahls, but we didn't find flour to make roti and they didn't have Basmati rice. We [had] to use long grain rice instead, it changed the taste a bit.⁸⁴

To acquire familiar vegetables also posed a problem for many women. Hyder who lived in the downtown core of Toronto remembered that there was only one store, quite far away from where she lived in which she could find "decent international vegetables."⁸⁵ Moreover, Hyder found certain Canadian dietary customs unusual. She was particularly disgusted with the idea of consuming cold milk. Back home, Hyder, recalled always boiling milk before drinking it, and confessed that "even the idea of cold cereal was weird."⁸⁶ Razia Khan also had a hard time getting acquainted with some Canadian produce and tastes:

I had hard time in the beginning, the taste was different. The butter was different, cucumber and tomato taste was different. Apple taste different. Cheese was okay, but milk taste was different. I didn't like these tastes too much at the beginning.⁸⁷

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Khan could only remember one store on Pape and Danforth Avenue where she could find familiar tasting fruits and vegetables.

Pakistani women also complained about the lack of appropriate spices in Canada.

⁸³ Nareen Ali, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁸⁴ Sabene Sheik, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁸⁵ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author...

Yasmeen Hyder voiced her aggravation with the lack of variety in Canadian grocery markets; “all you could find in the stores was black pepper and salt there was nothing else that you could season food with. It was so bland. The food in Canada is so bland.”⁸⁸

Still, some Pakistani women were warned that Canadian markets were not stocked with the foods, spices, and cooking instruments they were accustomed to and thus came prepared. Sabene Sheik brought cooking equipment and large supplies of spices essential for Pakistani cooking; “When I came I brought with me so much of spices. I brought lots of *garam masala*. I also brought one *tava* so I could make *roti*.”⁸⁹

Although women may have initially experienced difficulty accessing familiar foods, spices, and kitchenware by the mid-1970s the Toronto landscape had changed. During these years the city saw burgeoning numbers of Indo-Pakistan commerce, especially in the form of grocery stores and restaurants. In fact, advertisements from popular Pako-Canadian newspapers as well as lists found in South Asian directories indicated that between 1972 and 1980 well over one hundred enterprises supplied South Asian with staples for cooking and consuming *Desi* cuisine.

A variety of businesses meant that Pakistanis in Toronto, along with other South Asians, were able to choose from a vast array of spices, *masalas*, chutneys, *dahls*, rice, flours, and sweets to satisfy their dietary wants. Restaurants similarly catered to multitudinous tastes and commonly advertised popular items including chicken *tikka*, *tandori* chicken, *karahi gosht*, goat or mutton curries, *korma*, *nahari*, *kebabs*, *biryani*, and *pillau* along with non meat dishes like *samosas*, *dosas*, *chaat*, *pani puri*, *chaolai*, *aloo*, *subzies*, *parathas*, *naans*, and *rotis*. Speciality stores prepared different South Asian

⁸⁸ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

⁸⁹ Sabene Sheik, [pseudo.], interview by author...; *Garam Masala* is a blend of various spices commonly used in Pakistani recipes and a *Tava* is a cooking instrument that resembles an inverted cast iron wok.

sweets, desserts, and beverages such as *halwas*, *barfis*, *ladoos*, *jalebis*, *cham cham*, *kheer*, *raas malai*, *gulab jammin*, *sevigyan*, *laasis*, and kashmiri *chai*. Surprisingly, few of the women who were interviewed actually mentioned frequenting or using these various South Asian shops or restaurants.⁹⁰

In Canada, some Pakistanis did indeed adopt non *Desi* foods into their diets. Taqi Ahsan, for one recalled wanting to broaden his dependence on traditional Pakistani (or what he described as Asiatic or Muslim) food; “I am thinking of giving up Asiatic food because I think they are not really wholesome, they are not nutritious. ... Muslims do not know how to cook vegetables.”⁹¹

Some Pakistani women, who had immigrated to Canada from Pakistan in the early 1960s, also appreciated Canadian culinary styles and added “Canadian” foods into their regular diets. Adopting Canadian cuisine, according to some scholars, was a sign of a woman’s willingness to integrate into the larger Canadian culture. Historians Franca Iacovetta and Valerie Korinek suggested that immigrant women were actually encouraged by the federal government to learn Canadian ways of cooking and eating as part of the greater national plan to “Canadianize” newcomers. Pakistani women may have been influenced by these campaigns and some adopted Canadian styles of food in their general menus. Nazneed Sadiq, for one, created a family meal plan that varied

⁹⁰ For a sample of what some of these stores and restaurants had to offer see Advertisements appearing in *Crescent*, from 1972-1980; *Viewpoint*, 1978; *Gulrang* 1978; *Messenger* 1978-1980; Sushila Mehta and Veena Goel, *East Indian Community Information Directory*, August 1975; and *Indian Community Info Directory*, 1978.

⁹¹ MHSO sample, interview with Taqi Ahsan.

between eating ‘Indian’ cuisine two to three times a week and on alternate days ‘North American’ food.⁹²

Another important factor to consider when examining Pakistani women and their experiences with food relates to the concept of *halal*.⁹³ Food consumption particularly that of meat, provoked some debate among Pakistanis living abroad. Iftikhar Malik’s study on Pakistanis in Michigan, for one, shed light on certain anxieties concerning food in the United States:

... Because of religious taboos many Pakistanis in the start, [did] not try American dishes like steaks, beef stew, or ethnic varieties like pizza or spaghetti as they [did] not contain koshered meat. The more religious respondents [were] very particular about such foods, and most of them end[ed] up eating only French fries and fish sandwiches.⁹⁴

Ahmad Yousif described food consumption and ideas surrounding *Halal* in the Canadian context:

Many Muslims living in non-Islamic societies where God’s name is not permitted at the time of the slaughter or where

⁹² Franca Iacovetta and Valerie Korinek, “Jell-O Salads, One-Stop Shopping, and Maria the Homemaker: The Gender Politics of Food,” in *Sisters of Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 213.

⁹³ According to the Holy Qu’ran, the passage dealing with *Halal* reads:

O ye who believe!
Eat of the good things wherewith
We have provided you, and
Render thanks to Allah if it is
(indeed) He whom ye worship.
He hath forbidden you
only carrion, and blood, and
swineflesh; and that which hath
been immolated to (the name
of) any other than Allah, But
he who is driven by necessity.
Neither craving nor transgressing,
It is nos in for him. Lo!
Allah is Forgiving, Merciful

The Holy Qu’ran, with English translation by Marmaduke Pickthall & Urdu translation by Maulana F.M. Jallendhri (Karachi: Taj Company Ltd.), section 172 and 173, 37.

⁹⁴ Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Pakistanis in Michigan* ... 78. Here, the word Kosher serves a synonym for *Halal*. Fish is a *Halal* meat.

animals are slaughtered in a different manner consider commercial meat to be unlawful to Muslims. These Muslims either have access to 'kosher' meat service, slaughter their own animals from time to time, or do without meat. Another opinion holds that since the Qu'ran is quite explicit in stating that the food of Christians and Jews is lawful for Muslims. Muslims who live in *predominantly* Christian countries such as Canada may eat commercial meat (other than pork), pronouncing God's name on it at the time of eating.⁹⁵

Even though Malik studied Pakistanis' in the United States and Ahmad's work concerned Muslims living in Canada during the 1990s and 2000s their observations were befitting of some Pako-Canadians during the 1960s and 1970s. There was no standard interpretation surrounding *halal*.

The majority of Pakistani immigrants during these years felt safe in purchasing poultry, beef, and lamb from local grocers and butchers, maintaining that Canadian abattoirs followed the basic principles of *halal* (which meant that animals were killed in a humane, hygienic, and non-sacrificial manner).⁹⁶ As an extra precaution, as Ahmad suggested, some families would say an Arabic prayer over their food to ensure its purity.⁹⁷ Sultana Begum recalled; "there was no problem buying meat from the store, as Muslims we just say *Bismillah* and it's okay."⁹⁸ Salma Ahmed also had no compunction with eating the meat readily available in Canada and chagrined Pakistanis who were too rigid in their interpretations of dietary restrictions and were thus "pushing [an uninformed and ignorant] version of religion everywhere."⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Ahmad F. Yousif, *Muslims in Canada*...48.

⁹⁶ An article in *Crescent* provided an informative discussion of slaughter according to Islamic tenets; see *Crescent*, "Scientific Method of Slaughter: The Islamic Method," December 15, 1976.

⁹⁷ The prayer translates as "in the name of God."

⁹⁸ Sultana Begum, [pseudo.], interview by author, Markham Ont., June 3 2005.

⁹⁹ Salma Ahmed, interview by author ...

Other Pako-Muslims, however, were reluctant to trust the food available in Canadian grocery stores and wanted to be absolutely certain that the meat they consumed was killed in a very specific manner. Observing *halal* tended to be more specific to women. Taqi Ahsan's testimony supported this claim. When discussing his dietary habits in Canada, Ahsan remembered being quite liberal and admitted to consuming both pork and alcohol at times. When bringing up the topic of his wife, however, he stated; "My wife is a very orthodox Muslim ... She will not even have non-kosher meat in the house."¹⁰⁰ Presumably Ahsan used kosher as a synonym for *halal*. Ahsan was able to avoid his wife's strict interpretations of *halal* throughout most of the week since he and she resided in different houses and only spent week-ends together.¹⁰¹ On the week-ends, though, or as Ahsan stated: "When two days she is here we have only the kosher meat."

Ayesha Farooq was another example of someone who adhered to a stricter definition of *halal* than her husband. Farooq recalled: "my husband was always buying meat from many grocery store, I was uncomfortable with this."¹⁰² She pleaded with her husband to buy *halal* meat. Her husband often dismissed her request and told her that he could not find such meat and 'nevertheless' the meat in Canada was fine. Unconvinced by her husband's words, Farooq planned an elaborate dinner party and invited several friends. She presented an impressive array of traditional Pakistani dishes, including many curries. To make a point to her husband, she refused to eat any of the meat dishes. Her

¹⁰⁰MHSO sample, interview with Taqi Ahsan.

¹⁰¹ His wife divided her time living with her daughter during the week in order to help take care of her three grandchildren and went to her sons' (where Ahsan lived) on the week-ends. MHSO sample, interview with Taqi Ahsan.

¹⁰² Ayesha Farooq, [pseudo.], interview by author, East York, Ont., April 22 2005.

husband was so embarrassed by her action that he, according to Farooq, vowed “to buy only *halal* meats” henceforth.¹⁰³

For the Farooqs and others, one way of tackling this problem was to buy kosher meat. Some Pakistani women felt reassured eating kosher foods, since the Jewish faith had similar customs regarding animal slaughter. Another alternative was to purchase meat directly from farms surrounding the GTA. Some Pakistanis would plan a trip to a farm and witness the slaughter of a chicken, goat, or cow to be sure that the animal was killed in an a way that did not go against Islamic beliefs.

Valtoudis Meat Packers, located in Pickering, was an option for Pakistani families wishing to supervise the procurement of their meat. Valtoudis farms had onsite inspectors who not only ensured the health of animals ready for slaughter, but also monitored the facilities according to Canadian health and safety regulations. Here, people could select their choice of animal and make sure it was killed according to Islamic tenet. As an added convenience on staff butchers prepared and fashioned meat to the satisfaction of customers.¹⁰⁴ Buying meat from farms usually produced large amounts of food (i.e. an entire animal would be killed) and one way to deal with quantity issues, according to Nasreen Ali, was to only make purchases once a month or so and freeze the surplus for future use.¹⁰⁵ In other cases beef, veal, and mutton, was divided and shared among several families. Amina Rashid reflected this: “In Canada it was hard to get *halal* meat so sometimes all of us [referring to her and some friends] would get the cow, chicken and goat and split it up [divvy the meat among themselves].”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ A page long advertisement appearing in *The Messenger*, November 7, 1979.

¹⁰⁵ Nasreen Ali, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹⁰⁶ Amina Rashid, [pseudo.], interview by author...

Obtaining food this way was not always convenient, so some Pakistani families, committed to observing their version of *halal*, took matters into their own hands. In some cases chickens were butchered inside personal homes and yards.¹⁰⁷ Some even reported that around *Eid* a “friend” or “relative” would keep a goat or lamb in the backyard and slaughter it for the holiday.¹⁰⁸ There was even an alleged case, brought to the attention of the *Toronto Star*, of a Pakistani family who slaughtered a small calf in their apartment complex.¹⁰⁹ Killing animals for food in domestic dwellings was not a new phenomenon in Canada, other immigrants groups did this usually in an effort to defray costs,¹¹⁰ but Pakistanis carried out these actions primarily in the name of religion.

Access to *halal* meat did become easier by the mid 1970s. During these years Toronto saw a proliferation of *halal* grocery stores and restaurants and between 1972 and 1979 there were over thirty stores and restaurants that publicized or offered *halal* choices (see Appendix 21).

Although obtaining meat was problematic for only some Pakistani families, most had difficulties when selecting general grocery orders. Women, who were generally in charge of shopping, were careful to not buy any foods containing pork or pig by-products. This meant all foods containing lard or gelatin were not acceptable. During the 1960s and 1970s this was a particularly trying task since lard was an ingredient in many common food products, such as breads, cakes, cookies, and pastries. According to Tasheen Anwar, “It was hard to get some foods, even bread you could not buy because of

¹⁰⁷ Personal interviews *passim*. None of the women admitted that this was something they did, instead they referred to a friend or a distant relative they knew who would sometimes kill animals this way.

¹⁰⁸ Personal interviews *passim*.

¹⁰⁹ Frank Jones, “How to rate yourself on racial bias,” *Toronto Star*, May 10, 1975.

¹¹⁰ Bettina Bradbury, “Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91,” *Labour/Le Travail*, 14 (Fall 1984): 9-46.

lard. Only one kind of bread you could get I think Pom Bread didn't have lard."¹¹¹

Pakistani women also avoided foods containing gelatin, found in some confectionaries and desserts like trifles, cakes, candies, marshmallows, and jams.

Some Pakistani women also exercised caution when eating out at restaurants. For Tahseen Anwar "outside" food was stressful. "My husband and my kids would eat the food, but I always ordered fish or vegetable dishes to be safe."¹¹² She experienced similar difficulties accessing foods that satisfied her religious requirements at the hospital when getting ready to give birth to her first son:

You could never be sure of the food sometimes they served pork, even bread you could not eat because maybe it had lard so you couldn't have toast or [the] sandwiches they bring. Jam was not good. I would sometimes get fish and I ate eggs most of the time."¹¹³

Yasmeen Hyder was also displeased when recounting her early experiences with hospital food and the potential health risks that came with ignorance:

When I went to the hospital to have my son, the doctors were so incompetent. They knew I had diet restrictions, but they would not give me proper vitamins and nutrients. I couldn't eat so much of the food like bread and meat. They would even bring Jello for dessert. They did not know anything about Islam.¹¹⁴

Clothing

Not only did women struggle with household responsibilities and finding familiar foods that would satisfy certain tastes and respect Islamic restrictions, but finding stores that carried traditional Pakistanis clothing was also a difficult task. The customary

¹¹¹ Tahseen Anwar, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.* Jell-O, which is gelatin based, may contain pig products.

¹¹⁴ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

Pakistani dress, the *shalwar kameeze*, epitomized Pakistani perceptions of modesty regarding clothing.¹¹⁵ Circumstances in Canada, however, made it hard for these women to keep up with this mode of dress. The lack of stores selling these outfits meant that Pakistani women had to devise other ways of getting these clothes. Familiar with the art of sewing, some of these women made their own *shalwar kameezes*. Sabene Sheik recalled, “There weren’t any stores so I made all my own clothes, I bought the material.”¹¹⁶ For Razia Khan, sewing was a time consuming but necessary chore that involved picking the proper fabrics and appropriate dyes:

It was quite different back then. It was a chore there were no stores where you could buy *shalwar kameeze*. I used to sew all my *shalwar kameeze*. I used to buy my own material at Fabricland. I know that they have dyes here. Clothes dyes. So I used to dye my own *dupattas* and *shalwars* to have matching colours. I was very shy to wear pants. I used to look for materials to make my own clothes.¹¹⁷

For more elaborate suits, like the one’s worn at *Eid* celebrations, weddings, and other special occasions women would generally ask Pakistani family members to send some to Canada via mail or personal courier. As Nasreen Ali mentioned; “While I made all my regular *shalwar kameezes* for special occasions I received my clothes from Pakistan. Someone you know is always going to Pakistan and bringing or sending back clothes.”¹¹⁸

The few stores that supplied South Asian fashions, in Toronto, by the mid-1970s and 1980s, like Kala Kendra, India Cottage, Saree Emporium, and UMA Sarees, catered

¹¹⁵ Ghazala Shaheen and Cecilia Gonzales, “Clothing Practices of Pakistani Women Residing in Canada,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada* 13, no.3, (1981): 120.

¹¹⁶ Sabene Sheik, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹¹⁷ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹¹⁸ Nasreen Ali, [pseudo.], interview by author...

to Indian styles. For some women, these differences were crucial and rather than buying Indian fashions they continued to receive their outfits from Pakistan. This was evident in Salma Ahmed testimony:

There is a distinct difference between the clothes that come from India and the ones that come from Pakistan. Most of the clothes that were (and are) available here come from India. Pakistani *Shalwars* are cut in a slightly different way and almost like a pyjama. I like to stick to the traditional clothes.¹¹⁹

“Sticking” to her own clothes meant that every time she visited Pakistan her return luggage would be filled with the most recent Pakistani fashions, or she would send for *shalwar kameezes* with relatives and friends who travelled back and forth.¹²⁰

Pakistanis and women in particular, made a distinction between public and private spaces. On the one hand, when in the comforts of their own homes, informal community gatherings, and religious holidays women preferred wearing their native dresses. When going grocery shopping, going to work, or in other public settings, however, it was common for Pakistanis to wear western clothing. Mehboob Sayed stated that he, his wife, and his daughter all preferred to dress in western styles: “If we have a social outing in our own ethnic community than we wear our national clothing. Not otherwise, not on the streets.”¹²¹

The transition between traditional Pakistani attire and more western styled clothing was not very difficult for most Pakistanis in Canada. Similar types of fashions, such as pants and long tunics were already commonplace in the fashion forward

¹¹⁹ Salma Ahmed, interview by author...

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ MHSO sample, interview with Mehboob Sayed.

metropolises of Karachi and Lahore,¹²² the cities from which the majority of women whom I interviewed had previously resided. In fact, when Salma Ahmed made her original voyage to Canada she only packed one *shalwar kameeze*. Her suitcases were loaded with the latest western fashions that she had acquired in Pakistan, a decision that she soon regretted:

I asked my husband what should I bring, he said he did not know, you know how men are, totally clueless. I was very westernized so I had a lot of these clothes. In Canada I realized that sometimes for special functions it is nice to have *shalwar kameeze*, many Canadians love these clothes and always say how beautiful they are. So now I have a lot of *shalwar kameeze* and I get them all from Pakistan.¹²³

In Canada, some Pakistani women connected clothing to host society's perceptions of adaptability.¹²⁴ Pakistani women were well aware of conventional stereotypes surrounding them. Sadiq Awan alluded to some of these depictions:

Pakistani Canadian women were viewed as unaware of the Canadian custom and unwilling to change their lifestyle. ...Mainstream Canadians liked the Pakistani woman's polite manner but disliked her reservedness. They liked the Pakistani woman's commitment to her family, but disliked her submission to her husband.¹²⁵

Many Pakistani women showed concern regarding these popular Canadian assumptions and were conscious of the stereotypes that painted their homeland as

¹²² Ghazala Shaheen and Cecilia Gonzales, "Clothing Practices..." 123. Iftikhar Malik made a similar point for Pakistani women in the American context. See Iftikhar Malik, *Pakistanis in Michigan: A Study of Third Culture and Acculturation* ... 111.

¹²³ Salma Ahmed, interview by author...

¹²⁴ At this time various members of the Pakistani community were interested in integrating into Canadian society. They interpreted assimilation as not standing out. Adopting certain Canadian customs was a way to blend in. Evidence of this can be seen by examining statements, lectures, and essays presented by the Canada-Pakistani Association in 1976 at the National Multicultural Symposium, and by the National Federation of Pakistani Canadians in 1983 entitled *Perspectives of a New Homeland in Canada*.

¹²⁵ Sadiq Awan in *People of the Indus Valley*... 179. Awan also wrote that Pakistani women faced "Canadian perceptions...[that] ranged from statements that were clearly favourable to unfavourable, characteristics pertained to the woman's beauty and intelligence." Moreover, "on occasion Canadians [were] of the opinion that Pakistani-Canadians should speak English..." Sadiq Awan, *People of the Indus Valley*... 172-173.

backward and traditional. Some thought that by accepting and sporting western modes of dress, they would actually be testing some of these portrayals. Keeping a modest dress code was crucial for early Pakistani immigrants, the majority of these women believed that they could adopt a more ‘modern’ way of dressing (i.e. western clothing) while still retaining this value. In fact, the western styles of clothing preferred by Pakistani Canadian women were the ones that gave their bodies’ similar coverage to *shalwar kameezes*, such as blouses and pant suits.¹²⁶

Adopting the “Canadian” way of dressing was an adjustment they were proud of and signaled their modernity and adaptability. As Amina Rashid iterated “I did not wear *shalwar kameeze* when I went out. I was ‘mod’ so I wore western clothes.”¹²⁷ “Mod” was Amina’s way of saying that she was modern and could adapt to western norms.

Salma Ahmed felt similarly:

When I (first) came to Canada, I did not wear *shalwar kameeze*, I was very western in my philosophy so I dressed modernly. I had no problem wearing pants, dresses, and long skirts. I always looked presentable and dressed modestly.¹²⁸

When in public, Razia Khan, also chose to wear “Canadian” clothing most of the time: “I did not draw attention to myself when I went out to work or shopping I wore pants and long skirts and shirts that were not revealing.”¹²⁹

Mubarka Alam, originally, served as one exception to this trend. Alam who worked for the Ministry of Education, wore traditional Pakistani clothing to work, since her employer frowned upon wearing pants to work, and insisted females wear skirts.

¹²⁶ Ghazala Shaheen and Cecilia Gonzales, “Clothing Practices ...125.

¹²⁷ Amina Rashid, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹²⁸ Salma Ahmed, interview by author...

¹²⁹ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author...

Alam who did not feel comfortable with this particular dress code opted to wear *shalwar kameezes* and *saris*. “I was not willing to wear skirts, but they could not by law or according to the policy of multiculturalism object to National dress.”¹³⁰ Eventually, Alam did adopt western fashions saying, “it was just easier to adjust.”¹³¹

Pakistani women faced a number of hurdles when adapting their lives to the Canadian context, but perhaps the most dismal aspect of relocation was coping with a great sense of loneliness, isolation, and home sickness.

Loneliness

Scholars Salaha Khan and Jeanine Watson revealed that deep feelings of loneliness contributed to a Pakistani woman’s sense of despair and depression. According to the researchers it was the Canadian environment that perpetuated these emotions. Being uprooted from a culture that emphasized the importance of large familial and friendship networks to one that was more insular was emotionally dislocating for women.¹³² “Coping with loneliness was the most difficult adjustment,” according to Joy Biswas. “While our social life in Lahore had been active,” she said:

in Canada there were no grandparents for our children to see
and few friends or relatives available for weekend visits.
Our family felt very alone in Toronto.¹³³

In Pakistan, seldom did days go by without some company, and even when people did not visit, households were usually comprised of large extended families. People “would always come and go,” Razia Khan said.¹³⁴ Salma Ahmed also recalled; “back

¹³⁰ Mubarka Alam, interview by author, North York, Ont., September 12 2006.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Salaha Khan and Jeanine Watson, “The Canadian immigration... 312 and 314.

¹³³ *Toronto Star*, “I have been accepted as an equal and an individual...”

¹³⁴ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author...

home there is your family and you don't spend that much time alone like you do here, there are big crowds all the time and you go out all the time."¹³⁵ Sabene Sheik also found herself constantly longing for "the warmth of the people back home."¹³⁶ Moreover in Canada, during the late 1960s and early 1970s the Pakistani Canadian "community" was in its infancy and instead of concentrating in specific areas the majority of Pakistani newcomers "were scattered" throughout Toronto, it was therefore difficult for early Pakistani immigrants to create a strong support network among themselves.

In Canada some women faced days and sometimes weeks without any social interaction. Sabene Sheik, who immigrated in 1967, teared up when she revealed some of her more heartbreaking memories:

Sometimes I would feel so lonely, in Pakistan people walk in all the time. Not here people don't talk. Here you go outside people talk 'good weather, bad weather, that's it'. There were hardly any Pakistanis back then (referring to the Canadian context). Sometimes I call my brother-in-law, but nobody ever just drops in on you. Being here the hardest thing is you cry alone. My mom died, my dad died, three of my sisters died. It is really hurtful to not be able to go. I miss the cultural closeness the most. I have nobody here. No brother or no sister. Where ever I rented a house or bought a house, I've been alone. My neighbours have always been Canadians or other races, not Pakistanis.¹³⁷

Salma Ahmed was equally shocked by her great sense of isolation in Canada; "[Coming to Canada] was not really a culture shock because...I knew a lot of things. What was a shock, the biggest shock, was how lonely it was. I remember keeping the TV on just to have voices."¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Salma Ahmed, interview by author...

¹³⁶ Sabena Sheik, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Salma Ahmed, interview by author...

Physical Abuse

For the majority of women isolation and loneliness was psychologically debilitating, but for some, physical abuse was another added reality. For these women even their homes could be like prisons.¹³⁹ While women's shelters and other social services for battered women existed in Toronto, many of these facilities did not take the needs of immigrant women into consideration. Mainstream social service agencies controlled by White members of the middle-class reflected monocultural models, ideals, and values which influenced the way immigrant women were defined and handled.¹⁴⁰ A culturally insensitive environment coupled with racist stereotypes undermined the creation of a safe environment for abused women of colour. Social scientist Shaheen Azmi's research on mainstream shelters and definitions of abuse dealt specifically with Muslim women. She indicated that many in the Muslim community, which included Pakistanis, were suspect of such institutions and stated prejudice against Muslims, racism, sexism, and cultural ignorance, as among their reasons.¹⁴¹

Mubarka Alam, who volunteered for the *Immigrant Service Center* gave specific examples of how ignorance in women's shelters could have disastrous effects on

¹³⁹ This was poignantly demonstrated in Aruna Papp, *The Seven of Us Survived...* in the section entitled "The Women of South Asia."

¹⁴⁰ Vijay Agnew, *In Search of a Safe Place: Abused Women and Culturally Sensitive Services* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 9. There are interesting differences in the literature. While the Report produced by the Status of women discussed how many immigrant victims of violence saw shelters as a safe haven, staffed with empathetic and sympathetic workers other sources state the contrary. The following sources show that shelters and other services provided for battered women could be hostile and isolating for immigrant women including: Vijay Agnew, *In Search of a Safe Place ...*; Shaheen Azmi, "Wife Abuse and Ideological Competition in the Muslim Community of Toronto" in *Ethnicity, Politics, and Public Policy: Case Studies in Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 164-190; Franca Iacovetta, "Making 'New Canadians': Social Workers, Women, and Reshaping of Immigrant Families," in *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840-1960s* ed. Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 482-513; and Vanaja Dhruvarajan, "Women of Colour in Canada," *Gender, Race ...* 102.

¹⁴¹ Shaheen Azmi, "Wife Abuse and Ideological..." 178-179.

Pakistani women seeking refuge. Some Pakistani-Muslim cultural practices could be misunderstood or misinterpreted by White service providers. Alam recounted a story where a Pakistani woman, staying in a shelter, was delivered some *halal* food. Organizers and workers frowned upon this action and did not comprehend the religious reasons for preferring such foods. Instead of attempting to cater to dietary needs, certain staff members argued that ‘these women’ were thankless and ungrateful.¹⁴² Moreover, the Muslim ritual of prayer also created some commotion:

Praying really stood out. They (those working in shelters) did not know anything that was going on. Praying women (Muslim Pakistani women offering prayers) were seen suspiciously. They were accused of performing magic and some were sent for mental evaluations due to prayers.¹⁴³

It was no wonder that many Pakistani or Muslim women were reluctant to use these services. Victims of abuse, including Pakistani women, could feel completely alienated and many thought that there were no resources, no places to escape, or no one in whom they could confide. Razia Khan’s great sense of fear, anguish, and isolation were clear.

I did not have a very good life with my husband. He used to beat me. He would be angry. I had a very tough time. We lived 12 years together. In all that time I remember two good years. I had a very unhappy life. I was so scared in the house anything he don’t like he would hit me and the children would watch me getting beat. One time I ate pills so I could make suicide. I could not tell my parents. He was beating one day too much he broke my bones, my two fingers. One time he punched me so hard he broke my nose. My jaw came out. He broke my arm. I was in a cast for six weeks. He kicked me out of the house a couple of times. I came back for my kids.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Mubarka Alam, interview by author ...

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Razia Khan, [pseudo.], interview by author...

His violence toward her escalated during their marriage, until one day as he was beating her, the neighbours called the police. Without any real support network Khan felt helpless and would not bring up charges against her husband:

The cops told me to sign papers and they would arrest him. I could not charge him I didn't have anyone here. I was totally alone [and] in our culture we don't charge our husbands. This is happening in the family. I can't charge him and couldn't tell anybody. I told them [the police] to tell him to not hit me. After that he felt bad and left.¹⁴⁵

In 1987 after 20 years of abuse, Khan divorced her husband.

Coping Strategies: Networking

As the Pakistani community grew throughout the 1970s, women developed strategies to cope with estrangement and isolation. To buffet the monotony or boredom

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; Khan would eventually seek help. According to her interview she met a Pakistani woman who introduced her to an all woman's help group. She attended group session by-monthly and finally had a forum in which she could discuss her abuse in a non-judgmental and safe setting. Moreover, she was acquainted with Dr. Quereshi Abatha, who diagnosed her as clinically depressed and placed her on medication. She saw Dr. Abatha for one and a half years. Khan's story also revealed certain cultural norms that may have prevented certain women from seeking help. For instance many women felt an obligation to stay in such marriages, which were generally arranged, as to not lose face in front of the community or potentially disgrace their families. Cognizant of the racist perceptions surrounding South Asians, women did not want to air out their "dirty laundry in public," for fear of exacerbating existing pejorative images. See Arura Papp, *The Seven of Us...* 19. The following quotation, taken from Vijay Agnew's, *In Search of a Safe...* not only reflects these statements, but also provides an understanding for why some South Asian women were hesitant to report their abuse to the police:

The women are afraid to report abuse to the police, who are usually white men. Some of them feel that their men will be [ill-treated] by police because they happen to be of a different colour, and they do not want to put their men through it. They have also heard stories about mistreatment by the police from people who have been [in Canada] a long time. The other thing is that if a man has abused his wife, he will plead with her not to report, and will tell her all kinds of stories about the police. [The woman is afraid] that when the man gets out of prison, she is going to get beaten again for having put that shame on him. Also, if a woman reports [her abuse ...], she may be chastised by the community. So it is very, very difficult for a woman to report.

Vijay Agnew's, *In Search of a Safe...* 19. Shaheen Azmi also offered cultural explanations for why some Muslim women may have hesitated making their cases of spousal abuse police matters, preferring a solution that appreciated cultural and religious idiosyncrasies. See Shaheen Azmi, "Wife Abuse and Ideological...

of domesticity and the “traumatic break from customary familial relations,” some South Asian women sought paid and/or unpaid work.¹⁴⁶ Yasmeen Hyder’s stated:

I never thought that this [a job] would be something I would be doing. My husband never forced me. Eventually I was bored and I got a job. I was alone and bored. My husband would work late hours seven days a week and I did not know anybody. So I said “What to do, where to go...” Okay so after two years I started to a little bit a little bit...¹⁴⁷

Some women also coped with isolation by volunteering in schools, welfare centers, and daycare centers. Samina Anwar, for instance, volunteered at a welfare center in Scarborough, while Salma Ahmed offered her services as an out-door monitor for a school near her house in North York.

Another way in which Pakistanis built community networks and befriended one another was through happenstance. Tahseen Anwar revealed; “There were not so many Pakistanis at that time, so when you saw someone that looked like they were from the community you stopped and asked them.”¹⁴⁸ Yasmeen Hyder remembered seeking out “anyone who looked like they could be one of us, in those days it didn’t matter if they were Hindu or Sikh as long as they could understand the culture it was okay.”¹⁴⁹ Phone numbers and addresses were exchanged and such encounters usually ended with an invitation to one’s house for dinner or *chai*.

Salma Ahmed met “her first close friend” at the Pakistani embassy in Ottawa, they immediately “hit it off” and found out that their Toronto homes were actually in close proximity.¹⁵⁰ While Amina Rashid did not deny feeling lonely upon her arrival to

¹⁴⁶ Helen Ralston, *The Lived Experience* ... 82

¹⁴⁷ Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Tahseen Anwar, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹⁵⁰ Salma Ahmed, interview by author...

Canada, these feelings subsided. “I wasn’t completely alone. My husband already had family and friends they had wives.”¹⁵¹ Nasreen Ali also remembered bonding with a Pakistani lady, who was married to her brother’s friend. “There was only one Pakistani lady. My brother was friends with her husband. When my brother went to work I just spent the days with her we got along good.”¹⁵² Aguila Shaheen also remembered befriended a woman on Oakdean Crescent close to where she lived; “She (her new friend) could speak Urdu and she was so nice and she suggested a doctor for me and my daughter, a female doctor... And then she took me to the library and made me a member and lots of things... Every fifteen days she will (sic) call me. She was a great woman.”¹⁵³

During the beginning of the 1970s Pakistani organizations like the National Canada Pakistan Association, the Association of Pakistani Canadians of Toronto, Pakistan People’s Association, along with others (see Chapter One) increased their presence throughout Toronto, subsequently more Pakistani Canadians became involved in communal activities. Planned picnics, potlucks, bizaars, *mosheiras*, and religious festivities provided a forum in which women could meet contacts and expand their social networks.

Eid celebrations also gave women the opportunity to socialize and forge new relationships. *Eid-Ul-Fitr* and *Eid-Ul-Adha* are the two largest and most important Muslim festivals and, thus, getting ready for these holidays were an all out affair. Amina Rashid stated; “*Eid* was big in Canada, like Pakistan a little. We would go to families’

¹⁵¹ Amina Rashid, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹⁵² Nasreen Ali, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹⁵³ MHSO sample, interview with Aguila Shaheen .

house and have a nice time. We would prepare and have a big celebration.”¹⁵⁴ Salma Ahmed admitted, in a *Toronto Star* article, to enjoying *Eid* in Canada even more than she had in Pakistan; in Canada “the difference [was] that women also go to the mosque or prayer hall and take part along side men.”¹⁵⁵ In Pakistan only males offer early morning prayers and the “festivities only begin when they return home.”¹⁵⁶

Women would often host *Eid* parties which entailed cooking elaborate main courses, appetizers, and home-made sweets. They would sometimes ask female relatives or friends to come the night before and help with the preparations. *Mendhi* parties were also commonly held before *Eid* and other festive occasions. At these parties a large group of women would gather and celebrate the special event by decorating each other’s hands and/or feet with intricate henna patterns.¹⁵⁷ ‘All female’ spaces like these parties enabled women to ‘catch up on old times’ and spread the newest gossip. Topics that

¹⁵⁴ Amina Rashid, [pseudo.], interview by author... Rafia Zakaria provided a glimpse of what a traditional *Eid* celebration looked like, particularly during *Ramzan*, or the days leading up to *Eid*; “*Ramzan* evenings continue to be the most festive time in Karachi. Every day, a few hours before sundown, the streets fill up with vendors selling every form of treats and delicacies that one can imagine. Many of these, like piping hot *jalebis*, spicy *dehi baras*, sweet *ras malai*, and delicious kebabs are available only during *Ramzan*. In addition to the food sold in the streets, we and many of our neighbors would cook delicacies and exchange them during *Ramzan*. ... After *Iftar*, the gorging begins and often people don’t stop eating again until *sehri* (dawn) when the next fast begins.” See Rafia Zakaria, “Muslim Women between Dual Realities,” in *Living Our Religions: Hindu and Muslim South Asian American Women Narrate Their Experiences* (Virginia: Kumarian Press, 2009) 254-255. Salma Kamal provided a brief description of what her *Eid* celebrations were like in New Jersey (USA); “On *Eid*, we would drive to a local park or mosque, where the entire Muslim community would be clad in their newest clothes and pray together. Afterwards, hours would be spent while each person hugged, and gleeful shouts of “*Eid Mubarak!*” (Happy *Eid*) would be heard all day. See Salma Kamal, “I Am Muslim First,” in *Living Our Religions* ... 118.

¹⁵⁵ Asfareen Athan, “In Toronto a Muslim Celebration Changes,” *Toronto Star*, March 2, 1995.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* In anticipation of *Eid*, Athan wrote that women took great care in choosing appropriate outfits for themselves and their families. Some women would start sewing ornate *shalwar kameezes* for their families, while others had outfits sent to them from Pakistan. Men wore suits or longer *shalwar kameezes* with simple caps, while “women wore all kinds of rich, colourful garb [like] saris, *shalwar kameezes* or long dresses.” See Asfareen Athan, “In Toronto a Muslim...”

¹⁵⁷ Raheel Raza, “Hand-painted: Decorating their hands with henna stain is a highlight of *Eid* celebrations for Muslim women,” *Toronto Star*, February 7, 1997. This article gave a good description of these parties. Moreover she defined henna and explained it in the following way; “a perennial tropical shrub called *lawsonia inermis* that grows about 3 meters tall with gray-green leaves. When dried, ground, and made into a paste, the shoots leave a dark red stain that lasts for up to four weeks.”

were frequently talked about among many of these women included, clothing, jewelry, cooking recipes, work, children, and sometimes even sex. Yasmeen Hyder said:

We would just talk about general things like the latest fashion, work, and kids. Sometimes some woman would open up and mention sex, not too graphic, but just light talk. Some of us would talk about same problems when it comes to children, others would sit bragging about their children, when we don't really know what our children [were] doing.”¹⁵⁸

Early in the 1980s Sajida Haider, an active member of the Pakistani community, discussed the process of integration at a national symposium. Haider spoke of the delicate equilibrium between cultural retention and blending into their new Canadian homes. She argued that it was crucial for Pakistanis to adjust to the Canadian climate and search for the necessary balance “between their past heritage and the ongoing demands of the new culture.”¹⁵⁹ In finding this balance Pakistani women in Toronto encountered a myriad of complex and varied experiences. Issues pertaining to marriage, childrearing, household duties, clothing practices, alimentary needs, loneliness, and sometimes physical abuse shaped their life experiences as well as their adaptability in their new homeland.

¹⁵⁸Yasmeen Hyder, [pseudo.], interview by author...

¹⁵⁹ Haider, Sajida, “Problems of Adjustment faced by Second Generation Immigrants,” in the *Perspectives of a New Homeland Pakistanis in Canada: Proceedings of the First National Symposium (National Federation of Pakistani Canadians) held in Montreal, Québec September 1983*, ed. I.A. Mirza (Montreal: Canada, 1983), 29.

CONCLUSION

Canada is a very fortunate country. Our people have come and will continue to come from many different lands, bringing their customs with them. In this way we have a very rich and colourful cultural identity. We are proud of the vast contribution that Canadians of Pakistani origin made to our way of life and encourage [them] to explain [their] cultural heritage here in Canada.¹

These optimistic words by former Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, in a letter commemorating Pakistani immigration to Canada, encapsulated the mosaic ideal and revealed a basic rationale for certain government policies during the 1960s and 1970s. These were decades of major social, political, cultural, and economic changes. Reflecting a more tolerant spirit, the Canadian government re-worked its national policies to include more progressive, humanitarianism, egalitarian, and democratic principles. These values were reflected in new more liberal immigration regulations introduced in 1962 and fine tuned in 1967.

In 1971, after the new immigration policies had been established, the Canadian government pioneered an official policy of multiculturalism. This policy encouraged immigrants and ethnic minorities to preserve their unique ethno-cultural and religious identities while promoting a “mosaic-type” of Canadian culture based on the voluntary integration of these diverse elements. Government policies continued to support these ideals and by 1976 the country had an entirely new Immigration Act which set out basic national goals regarding immigration: non-discrimination, economic development, humanitarianism, and family reunification.

¹ Pierre Elliot Trudeau, in the *Proceedings of the First National Multicultural Symposium (Canada-Pakistan Association) Held in Ottawa, Ontario 30-31 July 1976*, ed. S.N. Awan (Ottawa: Canada, 1976), ii.

In keeping with the general spirit of the 1960s and 1970s Trudeau's message to Pakistanis publically acknowledged them and mentioned how their distinctive contributions had been proudly incorporated into the broader Canadian culture. But were Trudeau's words overly optimistic? Did his statement reflect how other Parliamentarians, politicians, and members of the general public view Pako-Canadians? Ironically even in the wake of more liberal immigration regulations and an official policy of multiculturalism various politicians, journalists, employers, and other members of society continued to view newcomers, including Pakistanis, with prejudice.

Pakistanis made up one of the significant waves of immigrants to Canada following more liberal immigration policies. Many Pakistani immigrants arrived with high hopes for economic opportunity, racial equality, and social justice. Many also came believing their high levels of education, job skills and professional training, as well as their knowledge of English and western culture, would allow them to be absorbed into their new, progressive homeland with relative ease. These high hopes for rapid integration into Canada middle-class culture, however, were often met with disappointment.

The first hurdle they encountered was the federal government's questionable dedication to liberal immigration regulations and its policy of multiculturalism. Despite policy changes, Canadian immigration remained tightly controlled and immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and elsewhere continued to be given a less than enthusiastic welcome into Canada. During these decades, Canadian immigration practices were still largely rooted in racial, ethnic, and cultural prejudice, thus creating barriers to the so-called open-door immigration policy and the promise of multiculturalism.

Host society responses to newcomers offered additional challenges for Pakistanis and their integration. Using the case of Toronto it was clear that Pakistanis and other South Asians were not readily welcomed into the city. By the mid 1970s Toronto experienced a period of heightened nativism, anti-immigrant passions, and even violence. Pakistanis were prime targets. Furthermore, Pakistanis also felt that racism in the Toronto labour market hindered their sense of proper economic integration as they struggled to find employment and salaries that reflected their levels of education, experience, and skill.

Pakistani women experienced a unique set of challenges in their desire to adjust to a new environment. These women faced the precarious task of finding the appropriate balance in religio-cultural retention and adopting western norms. In addition, Pakistani women had to deal with other realities brought by immigration which meant, for some, being introduced to new domestic responsibilities, a loss of status, lower standards of living, loneliness, and crippling isolation when faced with physical abuse.

Since 1980 the Pakistani presence in Canada has continued to grow. Between 1980 and 2002 more than one hundred thousand new Pakistani immigrants arrived in Canada (see Appendix 22). By 1996, Pakistan was, and continues to be, one of the top ten source countries, and figures from the 2006 Canadian Census indicated that there were more than one hundred twenty thousand Pakistani Canadians.² Ontario, and Toronto

²Statistics Canada, Canada Census 2006. <http://www.statcan/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/tbt/Rp-eng.cfm?>

specifically, remain the preferred destination for Pakistani newcomers. According to the 2006 Census over eighty percent of all Pakistani newcomers or about one hundred thousand lived in Ontario, all but ten thousand in Toronto and its surrounding suburbs.³ Unlike the 1960s and 1970s where ethnic enclaves were not apparent, Toronto now sees burgeoning concentrations of Pakistanis settling in areas such as Rexdale, East York, North York, Etobicoke, Markham, Scarborough, Brampton, and Mississauga.⁴ By the 1970s, Gerrard Street started to take shape as a dynamic and vibrant South Asian focal point. Today, the east part of Gerrard has become renowned and celebrated as one of North America's largest South Asian commercial centers with over 100 restaurants, boutiques, and service centers.⁵

Although Pakistani immigrants of the 1960s and 1970s were never homogeneous, Canadian immigration with its focus on family reunification, has resulted in an even more diverse and heterogeneous mixture. In addition, the attitudes and perceptions of these newcomers have become more varied due to global events such as the Iranian Revolution, Arab-Israeli conflicts, Gulf Wars and oil crises, invasions of Afghanistan, and the September 11 attacks on the United States, as well as the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and Pan-Islamism.

Multiculturalism has also evolved throughout the decades. Since the policy of multiculturalism was adopted in 1971, its principles and tenets have been enshrined into Canadian law. First, in 1982, The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms legally

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³ Overview: The Pakistani Community in Ontario.

http://www.ontarioimmigration.ca/stdprodconsumer/.../oi-ethcult_pakistani.pdf. Accessed 2/29/2010.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ <http://www.gerrardindianbazaar.com/aboutus.php?secid=1&catid=2>. Accessed 19/03/2007.

guaranteed multiculturalism under section 27. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988 further cemented multiculturalism into law and provided a statutory framework for the existing policy.

Canadians and newcomers, especially those who did not subscribe to the dominant culture, learned that multiculturalism could provide them with a necessary platform when advocating their rights to cultural and religious preservation. Social scientist Rima Berns McGown has demonstrated how new waves of Muslim immigrants, Somalis in particular, have succeeded in using legal aspects of Canadian multiculturalism to their advantage. McGown suggested that prior to the 1980s, the Muslim community, comprised largely of Pakistanis, “tended to be reticent about religious demands.”⁶ Since the late 1980s with newer waves of Muslim immigrants Toronto started to see change with regard to Islam and its practice.

The rising numbers of diverse immigrants, including Pakistanis, have brought a plethora of issues and debates to the forefront. Phenomena such as wearing *hijabs/niqabs*, stricter interpretations of *halal*, and *sharia* law, have become increasingly important when considering the Pakistani (and more generally the Muslim) experience in Canada. These practices, customs, and requests have come with high levels of controversy. Politicians, journalists, and academics alike have questioned the limits of multiculturalism in relation to these various cultural habitudes and demands. Pakistani Canadian journalist Tarek Fatah, for one, is cautionary and suggests that some “Muslims”

⁶ Rima Berns McGown, *Muslims in the Diaspora: The Somali Communities of London and Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 25. A similar point is also raised in Jasmin Zine, *Canadian Islamic Schools: Unravelling the Politics of Faith, Gender, Knowledge, and Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 14. I do not particularly agree with McGown’s statement that early Pakistanis were more reticent about religious demands. I think the issue is more complex than this. Chapter One has touched upon the subject of Pakistanis and Islam. Early Pakistani religious practices were perhaps shaped by more flexible views and interpretations. What McGown sees as reticence may simply have been a different perception of Islam.

are actually perverting multiculturalism in a fool-hearted attempt to claim rights to practices and customs that run counter to Canadian values and standards.⁷

Though multiculturalism was never intended to be a relativistic free-for-all, Daniel Stoffman and Jack Granatstein are also among those who are wary of the cultural freedoms implied in such a policy. Stoffman uses examples such as unfamiliar dietary customs, female excision, and Muslim polygamists to argue against Canadian multiculturalism.⁸ While the Canadian Government forbids these particular practices, according to Stoffman immigrant and ethnic groups are still given too much freedom to express their unique nationalities at the expense of an overarching “Canadian identity.”⁹ Granatstein makes a similar observation and counsels against telling immigrants such as East Indians, Somalians, Jamaicans, Chinese, and Chileans, that they can hang on to their “old world baggage” and succeed in Canada.¹⁰ Instead Granatstein advises Canada to assume a more assimilationist and monocultural approach to its immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Other scholars, such as Will Kymlicka and Charles Taylor, have a more positive assessment of multiculturalism and see it as an extension of Canadian tolerance and social justice. Kymlicka, cautions against those who provoke hysteria and ignorance around practices such as clitoridectomy, compulsory arranged marriages, *talaq* divorces, and *sharia* law. Kymlicka points out that there are logical limitations to the policy, and that core Canadian values and practices are not at all threatened by new waves of

⁷ Tarek Fatah, *Chasing a Mirage...*240; In Fatah’s account he refers to these sorts of people as Islamists rather than Muslims.

⁸For an equally scathing and biased account against Multiculturalism and Muslims, but for the British context see Melanie Phillips, *Londonistan* (New York: Encounter Books, 2006).

⁹ Daniel Stoffman, *Who Gets In: What Wrong With Canada’s Immigration Program- and how to fix it* (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 2002), 147.

¹⁰ J.L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd., 1998),87.

immigrants. Instead, most newcomers are eager to be part of Canada and cites an increase in naturalization, participation in broad Canadian institutions, learning an official language, inter-ethnic friendships, and mixed marriages as proof of integration and evidence that the policy is working.¹¹

Pollster Michael Adams, like Kymlicka, presents Canadian multiculturalism “as a success story” and argues that newcomers, including Muslims, come to Canada yearning to become part of the mainstream. In fact, in a survey of the attitudes of Muslims in Canada (which included Pakistanis), Adams discovered that contrary to public opinion, the majority of Muslim newcomers were interested in adopting the “Canadian way of life.”¹² In addition, the study found that the majority of Muslims were proud to be “Canadians” and revered the country’s devotion to freedom, democracy, and multiculturalism.¹³

Measuring the efficacy of the current policy of multiculturalism is well beyond the scope of this project. It is clear from this study, however, that the first wave of Pakistani immigrants to Canada enthusiastically embraced multiculturalism and benefited from it in many ways, believing Canada to be a nation that strongly promoted the ideals of equality, social justice, and democracy. At the same time, however, Pakistani immigrants, especially the first wave that arrived in the late 1960s and 1970s also faced significant challenges when it came to finding acceptance within the mainstream of Canadian society. The transition from life in Pakistan to life in Canada was complicated

¹¹ Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Toronto; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹² Michael Adams, *Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Multiculturalism* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2007), 159; Sentiments expressed by Pakistani computer programmer, Nadeem Ahmed, supported this statement. Ahmed, for one, did not come to Canada to “recreate the life of Pakistan in a sealed-off tile of the Canadian mosaic,” but instead sought to integrate into the existing societal structure and in fact become a proud Canadian. See Daniel Stoffman, *Who Gets In...* 150.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 161.

and made more difficult by the continuing power of prejudice that existed side by side with Canada's progressive immigration reforms and multicultural policies, and within Canadian society itself. Pakistanis making their way to Canada discovered that the government continued to regard them with suspicion and treat them as less desirable than immigrants from European nations. As Pako-Canadians attempted to build new homes, make a living, practice their faith, adapt to new cultural and economic circumstances, or simply move about their new cities, they commonly faced suspicion, ignorance, nativism, hostility, bigotry, and at times violence. Ultimately, their experiences made it clear that the cherished Canadian mosaic ideal may have worked on some levels; on others it was fundamentally flawed.

This story ends with the words of the scholar Muhammad Hifzul Kabir Quereshi who came to Canada as part of the first significant wave of Pakistani immigrants:

With optimism and enthusiasm, these people [Pakistanis] made their way to Canada. With settlement came the realization ... [that] promises of equal opportunity, justice, and human dignity often turned out to be empty words...¹⁴

¹⁴ M.H.K. Qureshi, "Urdu in Canada," *Polyphony: Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario: South Asians in Ontario* 12, (1990): 35.

APPENDIX 1

Comparison of Immigration by Calendar Year Between 1945-1961 and 1962-1971

Year	Immigrant	Year	Immigrants
1944	12801	1962	74586
1945	22722	1963	93151
1946	71719	1964	112606
1947	64127	1965	146758
1948	125414	1966	194743
1949	95217	1967	222876
1950	73912	1968	183974
1951	194391	1969	161531
1952	164498	1970	147713
1953	168868	1971	121900
1954	154227	1972	122006
1955	109946	1973	184200
1956	164857	1974	218465
1957	282164	1975	187881
1958	124851	1976	149429
1959	106928	1977	114914
1960	104111	1978	86313
1961	71689	1979	112096
Avg.	117358	Avg.	146397

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration Statistics Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1979, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981).

APPENDIX 2

Number of Immigrants to Canada by Region of Last Permanent Residence

Year	Europe	Africa	Asia and the Middle East	West Indies	Total
1967	159491 (72%)	4606 (2%)	21273 (10%)	8403 (4%)	222876
1968	120702 (66%)	5025 (3%)	19584 (11%)	7563 (4%)	183974
1969	84077 (52%)	3295 (2%)	23334 (14%)	13093 (8%)	161531
1970	75287 (51%)	2720 (2%)	22879 (16%)	12456 (8%)	147713
1971	50173 (41%)	2991 (3%)	22631 (19%)	10843 (9%)	121900
1972	51293 (42%)	8308 (7%)	25436 (21%)	8233 (7%)	122006
1973	71883 (39%)	8307 (5%)	43193 (23%)	19261 (11%)	184200
1974	88694 (40%)	10450 (5%)	50586 (23%)	23885 (11%)	218465
1975	77666 (41%)	9867 (5%)	47382 (25%)	17973 (10%)	187881
1976	49908 (33%)	7752 (5%)	44328 (30%)	14842 (10%)	149429
1977	40748 (36%)	6372 (6%)	31368 (27%)	11911 (10%)	114914
1978	30075 (35%)	4261 (5%)	24007 (28%)	8328 (10%)	86313
1979	32858 (29%)	3958 (4%)	50540 (45%)	6366 (6%)	112096

*Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number

*Countries that comprise Asia and the Middle-East include: Afghanistan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brunei, Burma, China, Cyprus, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Kampuchea, Korea, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Macao, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, Vietnam, Yemen

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration (Employment and Immigration from 1977-1979) Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1979, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1968-1981).

Pakistani and Indian Immigrants to Canada by Country of Last Permanent Residence

	Pakistan		India		Pakistan and India		All Countries
Year	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
1967	648	0.3	3966	1.8	4614	2.1	222876
1968	627	0.3	3229	1.8	3856	2.1	183974
1969	1005	0.6	5398	3.3	6403	4.0	161531
1970	1010	0.7	5670	3.8	6680	4.5	147713
1971	968	0.8	5313	4.4	6271	5.1	121900
1972	1190	1.0	5049	4.1	6239	5.1	122006
1973	2285	1.2	9203	5.0	11488	6.2	184200
1974	2315	1.1	12868	5.9	15183	6.9	218465
1975	2165	1.2	10144	5.4	12309	6.6	187881
1976	2173	1.5	6733	4.5	8906	6.0	149429
1977	1575	1.4	6371	5.5	7946	6.9	114914
1978	1159	1.3	4740	5.5	5899	6.8	86313
1979	1117	1.0	4517	4.0	5634	5.0	112096

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration (Employment and Immigration from 1977-1979)
 Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1979, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1968-1981).

APPENDIX 3

Pakistani Immigrants to Canada and Provincial/Territorial Distribution

Year	ONT	QC	ALB	BC	SASK	MAN	NS	NB	PEI	NFLD	NWT/YK	TOTAL
1967	337	189	40	24	19	23	12	3	0	1	0	648
1968	314	171	29	31	24	29	10	2	5	11	0	626
1969	595	228	57	36	27	37	17	2	4	2	1	1006
1970	621	212	65	49	9	29	17	7	1	0	0	1010
1971	633	156	70	38	19	32	14	5	1	0	0	968
1972	761	214	60	79	22	22	20	7	2	3	0	1190
1973	1511	389	138	133	23	60	6	13	5	5	2	2285
1974	1592	295	123	144	21	80	29	17	1	13	0	2315
1975	1500	261	149	124	41	54	24	8	1	3	0	2165
1976	1435	351	170	122	16	49	16	10	0	4	0	2173
1977	1018	252	128	93	4	65	4	8	3	0	0	1575
1978	713	201	116	61	14	43	9	2	0	0	0	1159
1979	693	174	122	75	18	15	9	6	1	4	0	1117
Total	11673	3093	1267	1009	257	538	187	90	24	46	3	18187

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration (Employment and Immigration from 1977-1979) Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1979, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1968-1981).

APPENDIX 4

Ethical Clearance



Research Ethics Board Office
McGill University
845 Sherbrooke Street West
James Administration Bldg., rm 429
Montreal, QC H3A 2T5

Tel: (514) 398-6831
Fax: (514) 398-4853
Ethics website: www.mcgill.ca/rgo/ethics/human

Research Ethics Board I
Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

Project Title: Pakistanis in Central Canada, 1967-2001

Applicant's Name: Tanya Sabena Khan **Department:** History

Status: Ph.D. student

Supervisor's Name (if applicable): Prof. J. Zucchi

Granting Agency and Title (if applicable): N/A

This project was reviewed on Sept. 22, 2004 by

Expedited Review ✓
Full Review

John Galaty 22 Sept., 2004
Signature/Date

John Galaty, Ph.D.
Chair, REB I

Approval Period: Oct. 18, 2004 to Oct. 17, 2005

REB File #: 32-0904

cc: History Dept.
Prof. J. Zucchi

Consent Form

(To be read by the respondent before beginning the interview. One copy of this will be left with the respondent and one copy will be signed by the respondent and kept by the researcher.)

The Researcher:

My name is Tanya Khan and I am a Ph. D candidate in History at McGill University working under the supervision of Dr. John Zucchi. I can be contacted at tanyaskhan@hotmail.com.

The Project:

The proposed dissertation is a study of Pakistanis in central Canada, (with a strong emphasis on Pakistani women) between the years 1967-1980.

I would like to conduct interviews with women in both Toronto and Montreal. I am interested in exploring how the experiences of Pakistanis in Quebec may have differed from those in Ontario.

Topics that I am interested in exploring include, discrimination, marriage, child rearing, adaptation to a new environment, and religion. I will be asking questions about your childhood in Pakistan, your experiences with the immigration process, and your thoughts of life in Canada.

Participation in this research project is voluntary and you have the right to refuse to answer any questions or participate in the study. You have the right to withdraw at any time, and have the tape(s), transcript or notes withdrawn from consideration by the researcher in this study.

Do you agree with being audio taped during the interview? Yes No

Would you like your testimony to remain confidential? Yes No

Would you like to be identified in this research project? Yes No

Please note that if you choose to remain confidential, only I will have access to all data.

Signature:

Interview Guide

Date and Location of Interview:

Name of Respondent:

Date of Birth:

Biography:

Where were your parents born? Where were you born? How many siblings did you have? What do you remember of your childhood? How many children do you have? Where were they born?

Reasons for immigrating to Canada:

When did you come to Canada and why? How did you come to Canada? How did you obtain information about Canadian immigration? Did you experience any difficulty with the immigration process or immigration officers?

Perceptions of Canada:

What are some of your perceptions of Canada? How did you adjust to this new environment? What differences do you note between Pakistan and Canada with relation to government, medical care, education, food, fashion, and religion. What do you miss about Pakistan? What do you like about Canada? Did you ever experience any degree of Racism? If so explain. Do you think of Canada as a multicultural nation? Subsequently have you had any difficulty finding jobs or houses? How do you think the majority of Canadians perceive you? Are there any difficulties experienced with raising children in Canada? If so explain.

Community:

Do Pakistani women socialize together? What kinds of social activities do they enjoy together? How often do they attend such gatherings? Do these activities foster a sense of community? How does religion influence your lifestyle?

APPENDIX 5

Population Growth by Cities in Pakistan

City/Village	1941	1951	1961	1972	1981
Karachi	436 000	1 068 000	1 913 000	3 515 000	5 103 000
Hyderabad	135 000	242 000	435 000	629 000	795 000
Lahore	672 000	849 000	1 296 000	2 170 000	2 92 000
Multan	143 000	190 000	358 000	539 000	730 000
Gujranwala	85 000	121 000	196 000	360 000	597 000
Rahim Yar Khan	6 000	15 000	44 000	74 000	119 000
Rawalpindi	185 000	237 000	340 000	615 000	806 000
Okara	8 000	35 000	68 000	101 000	154 000
Lyallpur (Faisalabad)	70 000	179 000	425 000	823 000	1 092 000
Sargodha	36 000	78 000	129 000	200 000	294 000
Sialkot	139 000	168 000	164 000	204 000	296 000

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics Pakistan, *Pakistan Statistical Yearbook*, 1981, (Karachi: Manager of Publication, 1982).

APPENDIX 6

Pakistani Immigration by Year to Canada

Year	Total Pakistani Immigrant Population
1967	648
1968	627
1969	1005
1970	1010
1971	968
1972	1090
1973	2285
1974	2315
1975	2165
1976	1058
1977	1575
1978	1059
1979	1117
Total	16922

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration (Employment and Immigration from 1967-1979) Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1979, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1968-1981).

APPENDIX 7

Pakistani Immigration by Year to the United States

Year	Pakistan
1967	646
1968	673
1969	851
1970	1528
1971	2125
1972	2480
1973	2525
1974	2570
1975	2620
1976	2888
1977	3183
1978	3876
1979	3967
1980	4265

SOURCE: U.S Department of Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, 1961-1980, (Washington: Office of Immigration Statistics, 1961-1980).

APPENDIX 8

Country of Former Residence and Mode of Transportation/Arrival to Canada of Immigrants from Pakistan

Year	Directly from Ship	Directly from Aircraft	Total number coming directly from Pakistan	Total number of Pakistani immigrants
1966	8	474	482	566
1967	13	541	554	648
1968	5	564	569	627
1969	6	876	882	1005
1970	0	898	898	1010
1971	0	862	862	968
1972	0	933	933	1190
1973	3	1886	1889	2285
1974	3	1853	1856	2315
1975	0	1712	1712	2165

*The differences in the numbers for total coming directly from Pakistan and total number of Pakistani immigrants has to do with the fact that some Pakistanis immigrated to Canada from elsewhere.

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration Statistics Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1966-1975, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1967-1976).

APPENDIX 9

INDO-PAKISTANI BUSINESSES (and others that cater to the South Asian Community) FROM 1972-1980

AUGUSTA AVENUE

House of Spice - 190 Augusta Ave Toronto

AVENUE ROAD

The Hare Krishna Restaurant - 131 Avenue Road

Kay's Management- 326 Avenue Road

BATHURST STREET

Afzal Bokkeeping Co. (Downsview) - 4140 Bathurst Street Suite 220

Annand -3022 Bathurst Street

BIRCHMOUNT ROAD

FFFF Snack Bar -1197 A Birchmount Rd (Scarborough)

Leader Food & Nut Importer -407 Birchmount Road

Pirri's Dixieland Market - 1052 Birchmount Road

BLOOR

Aalice International - 3240 Bloor St. Suite no. 5a

Aroma Impex -1165A Bloor Street West

A.R.G. Khan Real Estate and Business Brokers- 1165A Bloor Street West

Amkay Jewellers- 1183 Bloor St. West

Asian Food Center -1272 Bloor Street West

Asia Gifts & Foods- 1433 Bloor Street, West

Bombay Bazaar -1160 Bloor Street West

Carpet Emporium - 1290 Bloor Street West

The Elephant Crossing - 2 Bloor Street West

Family Fruits & Vegetables - 1015 Bloor Street West

Famous Store- 1005 Bloor Street West

The House of Pakistan-2924 Bloor Street West

Indian Music House - 1006 Bloor Street West

India Crafts -131 Bloor Street West

Indo Africa Grocers- 1088 Bloor Street

Indo-Canada General Foods - 624 Bloor Street West

Moghul Restaurant - 555 Bloor Street West

Ram's Roti Shop & Restaurant -615 Bloor Street West

Rajput Restaurant 1 - 376 Bloor Street West

Rajput Restaurant II - 1303 Bloor Street West (not sure about this number)

Rokko Sarees & Fabrics - 635 Bloor Street West

Sadruco Marketing Ltd. -1185 Bloor Street West

Sadruco Marketing LTD. -1208 Bloor Street West

Sapra Camera Store LTD. - 9 Bloor Street West

BOON AVENUE

Dar Autos - 295 Boon Ave.

BOUSTEAD AVENUE

International Food Center - 9 Boustead Avenue

BRIMLEY ROAD

Grain Process Enterprises Ltd. -1570 Brimley Road (Scarborough)

BROADVIEW STREET

Nashmy East and West Indian Grocers - 793 Broadview Avenue (steps away from

Capitol Travel IATA - 744 Broadview Avenue

Main Auto Garage- 741 Broadview Avenue

COLLEGE STREET

Anar Kali Genral Store – 864 College Street

Hi-Lo International Foods - 342 College Street (Kensington Market Area)

Pearl's Roti Shop - 868 College Street

DANFORTH

East-West Food Mart - 932 Danforth Ave.

House of Halal Meat- 303 Danforth Avenue

Kalpana - 1763 Danforth Ave

Oriental Indian Restaurant- 2783 Danforth Ave.

Salomi-Indian-Bangla-Desh Restaurant - 1106 Danforth Ave.

Shan Supermarket -2054 Danforth Ave

Sher-E-Punjab -341 Danforth Ave

National Auto Body - 614 Danforth Road (at Kennedy)

DAVENPORT ROAD

Koh-i-Noor – 99 Davenport Road

DIXIE ROAD

Incense & Imports Store (Mississauga)-5200 Dixie Road Unit 36

DONLANDS

Chandni Chowk Chat & Dilli Special Foods- 401 Donlands Avenue

Rachna Indian Restaurant -427 Donalds Ave,

Tara Foods & Restaurant -429 Donlands Ave.

DONMILLS

S.S. Raina Catering Service Indian & Continental Cuisine - 10 Sunny Glenway, Don Mills

Brothers Accounting and Bookkeeping -7 Rosnoke Rd. (Donmills Suite 410)

DONPARK ROAD

Saneme Food Products -340 Donpark Road

DOVERCOURT ROAD

Punjabi Dhaba -998 ½ Dovercourt Road

Lucky Star Bakery & Grocery -78 Dovercourt Road

DUNDAS STREET

Alflah Grocer- 2774 Dundas St. West

Asian Grocers- 2774 Dundas St. West

Golden Bengal Restaurant -1454 Dundas St. W: 536-0003

India Food & Spices- 2204 Dundas Street West

India Trading Company -113 Dundas Street West

International Groceries -1125 Dundas Street, West

Samina's Tiffin Room - 326 Dundas Street West

Sharma Grocery Store - 2800 Dundas St. West

Soloiya Restaurant - 2243 Dundas Street West

Spice Kitchen - 1125 Dundas Street West

Spice Town & Halal Meat- 2210 Dundas Street (near Jami Mosque)

Star Supermarket- 3261 Dundas St. West

DUPONT

Candlelight Rajput Cafe -222 Dupont Street

H.W. Super Market- 272 Dupont Street

India Food House - 408 Dupont Street

India Trading Co. - 113 Dupont Street

Indian Rice Factory -490 Dupont Street

EGLINGTON AVENUE

Finger Printers - 2602a Eglington Ave. (East Scarborough)

Shop 'n' Bag- 2432

Golden Mile Motors Limited -1897 Eglington Ave. East (Scarborough)

ELM STREET

Maharajah Restaurant -33 Elm Street

GERRARD STREET

A.B.C. Company -1404 Gerrard St. East (new location)

Ameer's Grocery- 1446 Gerrard St. East

The Bar-be-Que Hut- 1455 Gerrard St. East

Brar's Restaurant- 1450 Gerrard St. East
The Chaat Hut- 1430 Gerrard St. East
Delhi Restaurant- 1423 Gerrard Street East
Garanda Interntaional -1414 Gerrard St. East
Gerrard Smoke Shop- 1437 Gerrard Street East
Indian Rcord Shop- 1430 Gerrard Street East
Japan Saree Emporium-1413 Gerrard Street East
Kala Kendra -1440 Gerrard Street East
Kashmiri Bazaar- 954 Gerrard Street East
Krishna Electronics- 1026 Gerrard Street East
Kwality Restaurant- 1423 Gerrard St. East
Lodson Jewellers- 1448 Gerrard Street East
Milans - 1443 Gerrard Street East
Moti-Mahal Restaurant- 1422 Gerrard St. East
Nataraj Food Mart- 1449 Gerrard Street East
Naaz Theatre -1430 Gerrard St. East
Oberoi's Tiki-Tika- 1414 Gerrard St. East
Oberois's Tandoor- 1418 Gerrard St. East
Oberoi's Sweets & Snacks- 1418 Gerrard St. East
Opal Cash and Carry- 1321 Gerrard Street East
Opal Frozen Foods – 1421 Gerrard St. East
Padma's Food City- 815 Gerrard St. East
Papaji's Grocery and Spice Shop- 1428 Gerrard Street
Peacock Printing and Typesetting- 1400 Gerrard St. East
Pearl Jewellers - 1416 Gerrard St. East
Prince Sweet Shop- 1424 Gerrard Street East
Punjab Food Store- 1404 Gerrard Street, East
Saneme Food Products- 949 Gerrard Street East

Sarangi Food Store- 954 Gerrard Street East

Saree Emporium- 1435 Gerrard Street East

Shalimar Sweets and Snacks- 1431 Gerrard East

Taj Mahal Sweets Centre- 1426 Gerrard ST. East

GODSTONE ROAD

Dough Delight - 30 Godstone Road

GOREWAY

Dalats Smoke & Gift (Westwood Mall) - 7205 Goreway Drive

GREYDON HALL DRIVE

The F.B. International - 185 Greydon Hall Drive (Don Mills)

ISLINGTON AVENUE

India Bazaar -2653 Islington Ave.

JOHN STREET

Patel's Grocery (Brampton)-83 John Street

KING STREET EAST

Asian Food Market- 414 King Street East (Hamilton)

LANSING SQUARE

B. Bhasin Store- 4 Lansing Square Unit 225

LAWRENCE EAST

Husain Autos Ltd.- 2145 Lawrence Ave. East

Indian Curry Center -1979 Lawrence Ave. East

Indian Groceries and Spices (Pinewood Plaza: Scarborough)1975 Lawrence Avenue East

Jamal Marketing Company -1971 Lawrence Ave, East (Scarborough)

Kitchen I Samosa Biryani -1801 Lawrence Ave. West

Melsouza & Co. (Dixieland Shopping Center) -1801 Lawrence Avenue East

LEXINGTON AVENUE

Shaheen Sweets- 99 Lexington Avenue

MACDONELL

Dindial's Roti Shop of Trinidad - 8 Macdonell Ave.

MANVILLE ROAD

Collision Center -122 Manville RD. (Scarborough)

MAINGATE DRIVE

Jay Shah Foods Ltd. -5040 Maingate Drive

MACK AVENUE

Uganda Grocers - 86 Mack Avenue

MILLWOOD ROAD

UMA Sarees -895 Millwood

OAKDALE ROAD

Dough Delight LTD. - 415 Oakdale Road

PAPE

Afro Asian: Halal Meat & Dals- 918 Pape Avenue

Indo-Pak Trading Company - 936 Pape Avenue

Indus Food- 922 Pape Avenue

Khyber Sweets and Records- 916 Pape Avenue

Stan Variety & Groceries - 263 Pape Avenue

Surati Bazaar -761 Pape Avenue

PARLIAMENT STREET

Indian Record Shop- 305 Parliament Street

PEARS AVENUE

Annapurna -138 Pears Avenue

PHARMACY AVENUE

Pirri's Dixieland Market -1108 Pharmacy Ave.

QUEEN STREET

India Grocery Center -1006 Queen Street East

India Sari Centre - 645 Queen Street East

Eastern Traders -1390 Queen Street West

Greenwood Marketeria- 1606 Queen Street East

Husain Variety Store- 1394 Queen Street West

India Food & Crafts -632 Queen Street West: 366-2311

India Products and Gifts -1454 Queen Street West

Oriental Indian Restaurant - 1014 Queen Street East

Pakistani Records- 781 Queen Street West

Smuggler's Den - 247 Queen Street West

THE QUEENSWAY

Shah Groceries -1176 The Queensway (Btw. Kipling & Islington).

Victoria Snack Bar & Variety -1170 The Queensway

REXDALE

Bombay Bazaar - 4 Rexdale Blvd.

RICHMOND STREET WEST

Ashis Boutique- 101 Richmond Street West

RYDING STREET

India Trading Co. -346 Ryding

SARAUREN AVENUE

India Canada Grocery Stores -190 Sarauren Ave.

SCARLET ROAD

Jasavala & Sons -964 Scarlet Road

SHEPPARD AVENUE EAST

Meena International Inc. -4500 Sheppard Ave East

SPADINA STREET

Arvinder Bros -124 Spadina Ave

Spadina Food Mart -637 Spadina Avenue

YONGE STREET

Calcutta Traders -370 Yonge Street

Gina International - 576 Yonge Street

The Handicraft House - 576 Yonge Street

India Cottage -686 Yonge Street

India Emporium - 656 Yonge Street

India Enterprises - 511 Yonge Street

India House -594 Yonge Street

Indian Rice Factory - 564 Yonge Street

Kalpana -8236 Yonge Street

Kashmir Restaurant - 582 Yonge Street

Kashmir Valley Restaurant -830 Yonge Street

Nari Emporium- 137 Yonge Street

Oriental Dishes -1234 ½ Yonge Street

Pakistan Crafts- 628 Yonge Street

The Rajputs Akhbar's Court- 384 Yonge Street at Gerrard.

Royal Boutique- 616 Yonge Street

Stop & Shop - 654 Yonge Street

Swingers Gift'N' Fashions - 674 Yonge Street

Tabriz-Bokhara Rugs INC. - 1650 Yonge Street

Tajmahal Restaurant & Tavern - 1158 Yonge Street

WASBASH

Hi-Lo International Foods Warehouse- 350 Wabash Ave.

WESTON ROAD

Lonton Foods -3457 Weston Road

WILSON AVENUE

B & C Jug Milk- 334 Wilson Avenue

Indian Groceries & Spices (I.G.S.) - 724 Wilson Avenue, Downsview: 416-630-4335

WILLOWDALE

Muzaffar -2 Mosgrove Trail (Willowdale)

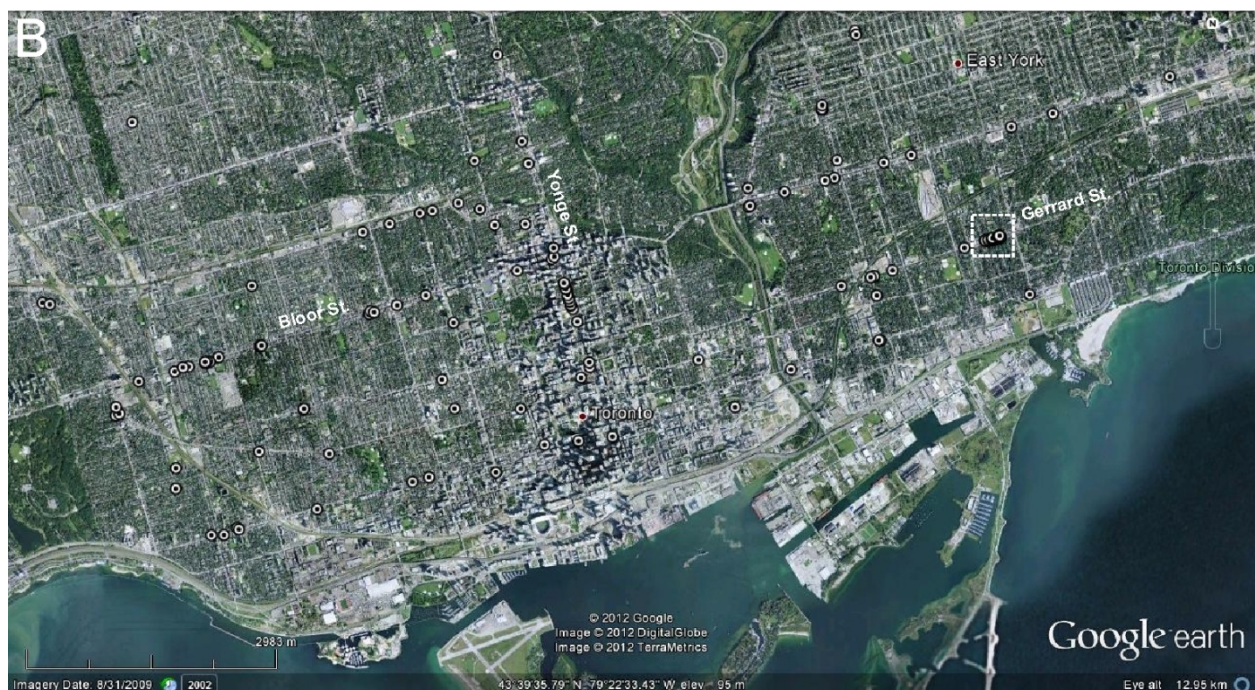
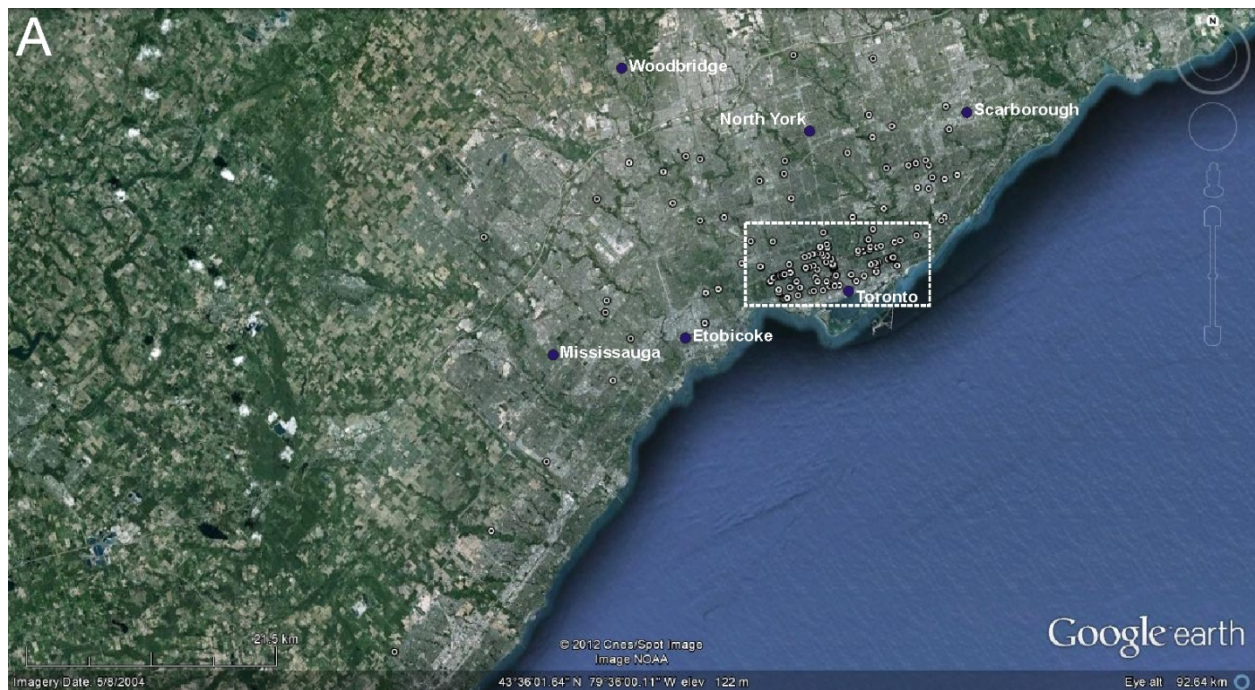
OTHERS

International Marriage Service REGD -P.O. Box 951 Station A, Scarborough (Head Office)

Sheridan Mall –Mississauga

SOURCES: Advertisements appearing in *Voice of Pakistan* 1972; Advertisements appearing in *Crescent* from 1973-1980; Advertisements appearing in *Viewpoint Fortnightly* October 15, 1978; Advertisements appearing in *Akhbar-I-Gulrang Fortnightly* August 15, 1978; Advertisements appearing in *Messenger* 1978-1980; Sushila Mehta and Veena Goel, *East Indian Community Information Directory*, August 1975. *Indian Community Info Directory*, 1978.

APPENDIX 10

DISTRIBUTION MAP OF INDO-PAKISTANI BUSINESSES (and others that cater to the South Asian Community) FROM 1972-1980



Each dot represents one Indo-Pakistani business that catered to the South Asian community from 1972 – 1980. A) Distribution of Indo-Pakistani businesses in Toronto and surrounding areas from 1972-1980. Dotted rectangle is area highlighted in (B). B) Distribution of Indo-Pakistani businesses in Toronto from 1972-1980. Note increased concentration of businesses along Yonge St, Bloor St., and especially Gerrard St. Dotted rectangle is area highlighted in (C). C) Highly concentrated area of Indo-Pakistani businesses located along Gerrard Street East.

APPENDIX 11

Country of Former Residence and those Immigrating as Professionals compared with those Destined for the Labour Force, 1967-1969

Country	1967			1968			1969		
	Prof.	Total Workers	% of Prof.	Prof.	Labour force	% of Prof.	Prof.	Labour force	% of Prof.
Pakistan	233	340	(68.51)	150	309	(48.54)	236	548	(43.01)
India	1213	1802	(67.31)	812	1318	(61.61)	1383	2631	(52.57)
Ceylon/Sri Lanka	35	62	(56.45)	17	29	(58.62)	37	94	(39.36)
China	1376	2106	(65.34)	1394	2746	(50.76)	1178	3759	(31.34)
Japan	248	583	(45.54)	175	437	(40.05)	159	443	(35.89)
West Indies	1153	5801	(19.88)	1041	4826	(21.57)	1425	4007	(35.56)
Great Britain	9677	32850	(29.46)	7517	20801	(36.13)	6755	17311	(39.02)
Germany	1280	7254	(17.65)	1040	5142	(20.23)	668	3250	(20.55)
France	1182	5927	(19.94)	1067	4503	(23.70)	1018	3132	(32.50)
Italy	662	14579	(4.54)	430	9465	(4.54)	341	4996	(6.83)
Greece	177	6749	(2.62)	177	4515	(3.92)	173	1448	(11.95)
Portugal	104	3433	(3.03)	48	1701	(2.82)	41	2242	(1.83)

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1969, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1968-1970).

**Country of Former Residence and those Immigrating as Professionals compared
with those Destined for the Labour Force,
1970-1973**

Country	1970			1971			1972			1973		
	Prof.	Labour Force	% of Prof.	Prof.	Labour force	% of Prof.	Prof.	Labour force	% of Prof.	Prof.	Labour Force	% of Prof.
Pakistan	180	468	(38.46)	164	440	(37.27)	195	505	(38.61)	264	983	(26.86)
India	1049	2565	(40.9)	867	2841	(30.52)	863	2215	(38.96)	1391	4966	(28.01)
Ceylon/Sri Lanka	20	75	(26.67)	31	115	(26.96)	36	115	(31.30)	43	192	(22.40)
China*	736	2172	(33.89)	781	2292	(34.08)	844	2780	(30.36)	1176	4942	(23.80)
Japan	173	529	(32.70)	157	550	(28.55)	116	421	(27.55)	162	652	(24.85)
West Indies	1142	7612	(15.00)	785	6572	(11.94)	623	4692	(13.28)	884	12350	(7.16)
Great Britain	4841	14583	(33.20)	2506	8101	(30.93)	2537	9297	(27.29)	3488	13689	(25.48)
Germany	438	2450	(17.88)	273	1207	(22.62)	235	2421	(9.71)	260	1287	(20.20)
France	934	2516	(37.12)	608	1751	(34.72)	609	1633	(37.29)	665	2157	(30.83)
Italy	352	3938	(8.94)	191	2841	(6.72)	132	2144	(6.16)	133	2505	(5.31)
Greece	195	3181	(6.13)	180	2955	(6.09)	131	2421	(5.41)	233	3609	(6.46)
Portugal	43	3002	(1.43)	39	3270	(1.19)	36	3335	(1.08)	56	6185	(0.91)

*Hong Kong is included in China totals starting from 1971

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1970-1973, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1971-1974).

APPENDIX 12

**Country of Citizenship and Country of Last Permanent Residence: Pakistan To
Canada**

Country	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1971-1980
Australia	3		5	3	2		1			1	15
Austria				2	7	1	1				11
Belgium		3		19	9	1	1	2	1		36
Bermuda				1							1
Brazil								3			3
Britain	102	82	143	184	167	48	21	16	28	43	834
Chili							1				1
Czechoslovakia											0
Denmark	1	2	6	12	45	9	3				78
Egypt											0
Finland		1			1		1				3
France	1	3	1	16	13	11	4	2	1	4	56
Germany	7	26	23	32	42	12	11	5	1	3	162
Greece			5	2	4						11
Haiti							1				1
Hong Kong	2	5	3	1	2	2	1			4	20
India	7	2	5	8	1	5		1	1	2	32
Ireland				1							1
Israel		1		1					1		3
Italy		1	2		4	2					9
Japan		11	1	2	1		2	3			20
Lebanon	4			1	1	2			1	6	15
Luxemburg				1		4					5
Malta					2						2
Mexico										1	1
Netherlands	6	5	13	3	1	2	2	1			33
New Zealand				1							1
Norway			1		3	1					5
Pakistan	942	1148	2149	2129	2014	1991	1464	1095	1073	829	14834
Portugal	7		2			1				1	11
South Africa							1				1
Spain				1	1	2		1	1	1	7
Sri Lanka			1			1	5				7
Sweden		2		5					1		8
Switzerland			5	3	4	6	1			3	22
Syria					2						2
Taiwan						1					1
Trinidad				1							1
Turkey		1	5		2		3				11
United States	5	6	10	28	40	14	5	4	2	8	122
West Indies		1									1
Yugoslavia		1									1
Other	35	46	45	170	152	86	66	70	40	72	782
Europe and USA	129	132	216	309	345	114	53	31	35	63	1427
All countries other than Pakistan	180	199	276	498	506	211	131	108	78	149	2336
Total	1122	1347	2425	2627	2520	2202	1595	1203	1151	978	17170

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration Statistics Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1971-1980, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1972-1981).

APPENDIX 13

Victims, Perpetrators, and Sentences

Victim	Perpetrator	Sentence
Kanji	Grimsdale Ingram Rogers	Guilty (assault causing bodily injury) Guilty (assault causing bodily injury) Not charged
Singh Singh		
Popat Dhanani Mandani		
Unidentified man		
Narine	Creighton Reynolds	Guilty (assault causing bodily injury) Not Guilty
Simoes	Curtain Baoine	Guilty (assault causing bodily injury) Guilty (assault causing bodily injury)
Prakash	Vaughan	Guilty (criminal negligence)
Naz Rabbeni	Givens	Guilty (Charged with possession of dangerous weapon and assault causing bodily injury)
Dar	Samuels	Guilty (Assault)
Chattergee		Guilty
Karim Ladha		Guilty (three years of probation)
Nazeer Sadari		

APPENDIX 14

Total Professional Immigration to Canada by Calendar Year and Professional Pakistani Immigration and Total Pakistani Immigration

Year	Total Immigrant Population	Total Professional Immigrant Population	% of Professional Immigrant Population	Total Pakistani Population	Total Professional Pakistani Population	% Professional Pakistani Immigrant Population
1967	222876	30853	13.8	648	233	36.0
1968	183974	29250	15.9	627	150	23.9
1969	161531	26883	16.6	1005	238	23.7
1970	147713	22412	15.2	1010	180	17.8
1971	121900	16307	13.4	968	164	16.9
1972	122006	15262	12.5	1190	195	16.4
1973	184200	19112	10.4	2285	264	11.6
1974	218465	27540	12.6	2315	222	9.6
1975	187881	25664	13.7	2165	231	10.7
1976	149429	19557	13.1	2173	161	7.4
1977	114914	19341	16.8	1575	100	6.3
1978	86313	10536	12.2	1159	83	7.2
1979	112096	11888	10.6	1117	93	8.3
Total	2013298	274605	13.6	18237	2314	12.7

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1979, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1967-1979).

APPENDIX 15

Top Ten Professions Held by Pakistani Immigrants Coming to Canada, 1967-1973

Teachers	264 (19%)
Engineers	227 (16%)
Scientist/Technician	177 (13%)
Accountants	137 (10%)
Managers	136 (10 %)
Physical Scientists	132 (9%)
Physicians and Surgeons	84 (6%)
Health Scientists	61 (4%)
Actuaries	31 (2%)
Economists	28 (2%)
Other	144 (9%)
Total Professionals	1421(100%)

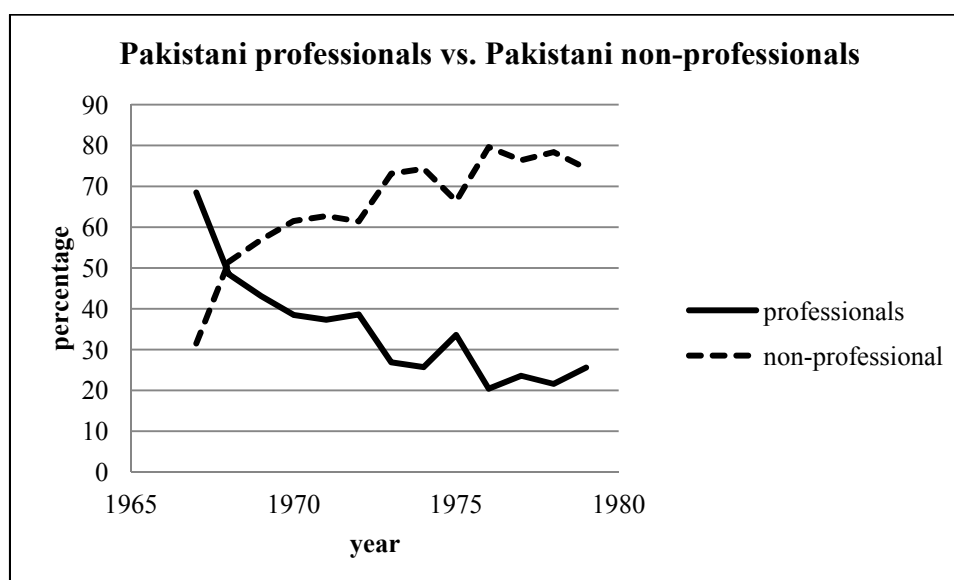
This information was based on the professional breakdown of Pakistanis based on Statistics Canada, Immigration for each year from 1967-1973.

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1973, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1967-1973).

APPENDIX 16

Pakistani Professionals, Non-Professional, and Total Pakistani Immigrants destined for the Labour Force, 1967-1979

Year	Pakistani Professionals	Pakistani Destined for the Workforce	Percentage of Professionals Destined for the Workforce	Percentage of non-professionals Destined for the Workforce
1967	233	340	68.5	31.5
1968	150	309	48.5	51.5
1969	236	548	43.1	56.9
1970	180	468	38.5	61.5
1971	164	440	37.3	62.7
1972	195	505	38.6	61.4
1973	264	983	26.9	73.1
1974	222	865	25.7	74.3
1975	231	688	33.6	66.4
1976	161	791	20.4	79.6
1977	100	424	23.6	76.4
1978	83	384	21.6	78.4
1979	93	363	25.6	74.4
Total	2312	7108	32.5	67.5



SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1979, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1967-1979).

APPENDIX 17

**Total Family Income and Increases 1970-1972 for Immigrants From Selected
Countries of Last Permanent Residence**

Country	First Year (1970)	Second Year (1971)	Increase 1970-1971 %	Third Year (1972)	Increase 1971-1972 %
Britain	\$ 8, 944	\$ 10, 975	23	\$ 12, 237	12
France	7, 048	8, 894	26	10, 254	15
Germany, Fed. Rep.	6, 446	9, 229	43	9, 396	2
Greece	3, 761	5, 767	53	6, 628	15
Italy	3, 923	5, 316	36	6, 457	21
Portugal	5, 394	7, 287	35	8, 125	12
Yugoslavia	3, 853	6, 600	71	8, 597	30
Hong Kong and Taiwan	4, 346	6, 243	44	6, 758	8
India	5, 372	7, 603	42	9, 056	19
Philippines	4, 746	6, 390	35	7, 564	18
Australia	10, 031	12, 038	20	13, 849	15
U.S.A.	11, 172	13, 228	18	13, 992	6
West Indies	4, 924	6, 742	37	7, 510	11
Other	5, 701	7, 994	40	9, 454	18
All	\$ 6, 897	\$ 9, 101	32	\$10, 111	11

SOURCE: This is a reproduction of a table 5.5 from, Canada, Manpower and Immigration, *Three Years in Canada: First report of the longitudinal survey on the economic and social adaptation of immigrants*, (Ottawa, 1974).

APPENDIX 18

Discrimination in Employment based on Race, Ethnic Origin, Ancestry, Citizenship, Place of Origin, Nationality, and Creed

Years	Complaints based on race, creed, ethnic origin, etc...concerning employment	Total complaints concerning employment	% of complaints based on race, creed, ethnic origin etc...	Total Human Rights complaints	Total cases based on race, creed, ethnic origin etc... concerning employment
1978/1979	387	568	68.13	659	58.73
1979/1980	242	435	55.63	529	45.75
1980/1981	394	747	52.74	893	44.12
1981/1982	421	826	50.97	1000	42.10
1982/1983	259	676	38.31	831	31.17
1983/1984	284	940	30.21	1237	22.96

SOURCE: This information was extracted from the Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Annual Reports*, 1978/1979-1983/1984.

APPENDIX 19

Physicians and Surgeons admitted to Canada by Ethnic Origin (Pakistan/India), 1960-1969

Year	Pakistani Physicians and Surgeons	Indian Physicians and Surgeons	Total Immigrants who are Physicians and Surgeons	% of Pakistani and Indian Physicians and Surgeons
1960	/	20	441	4.5
1961	/	21	445	4.7
1962	3	23	530	4.9
1963	8	26	687	4.9
1964	5	21	668	3.9
1965	9	37	792	5.8
1966	12	57	995	6.9
1967	18	97	1213	9.5
1968	16	93	1277	8.5
1969	19	148	1347	12.4
Total	90	543	8395	7.5

SOURCE: Employment and Immigration Canada/ Manpower and Immigration Canada,
Immigration Statistics, 1960-1969 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1963-1970).

APPENDIX 20

Pakistani Immigrants and Pakistani Immigrant Women to Canada by Country of Last Permanent Residence

Year	Pakistani Immigrant Women	Total Pakistani Immigrant Population	% of Pakistani Immigrant Women against the total Pakistani Immigrant Population
1967	268	648	41.4
1968	243	627	38.8
1969	377	1005	37.5
1970	429	1010	42.5
1971	374	968	38.6
1972	505	1090	46.3
1973	995	2285	43.5
1974	1096	2315	47.3
1975	1111	2165	51.3
1976	1058	1058	67.2
1977	846	1575	53.7
1978	532	1059	50.2
1979	574	1117	51.4
Total	8408	16922	(46.9)

SOURCE: Manpower and Immigration (Employment and Immigration from 1967-1979) Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, 1967-1979, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1968-1981).

APPENDIX 21

Halal Restaurants and Grocery Stores

Afro Asian: Halal Meat & Dals

918 Pape Avenue

Alflah Grocer

2774 Dundas Street West

Ameer's Grocery

1446 Gerrard St. East

Annapurna

138 Pears Avenue

Anar Kali General Store

864 College Street

Asian Food Market

414 King Street East at Victoria Ave. Hamilton

Asian Grocers

2774 Dundas St. W

The Bar-be-Que Hut- (Cres. 1978

1455 Gerrard St. East

The Chaat Hut

1430 Gerrard St. East

Golden Bengal Restaurant

1454 Dundas St. W

Greenwood Marketeria

1606 Queen Street East

House of Halal Meat

303 Danforth Avenue

House of Spice

190 Augusta Ave Toronto

Indo Africa Grocers

1088 Bloor Street

Indian Rice Factory

490 Dupont Street

Indian Rice Factory

564 Yonge Street

Indus Food

922 Pape Ave. Toronto

International Food Center

9 Boustead Avenue

Kashmir Restaurant

582 Yonge Street

Kashmir Valley Restaurant

830 Yonge Street

Kashmiri Bazaar

954 Gerrard Street East

Koh-i-Noor

99 Davenport Road

Kwality Restaurant

1423 Gerrard St. East

Prince Sweet Shop

1424 Gerrard Street East

Rajput Restaurant 1

376 Bloor Street West

The Rajputs Akhbar's Court

84 Yonge Street at Gerrard.

Samina's Tiffin Room

326 Dundas Street West

Shalimar Sweets and Snacks

1431 Gerrard East (opposite to Naaz theatre)

Shop 'n' Bag

2432 Eglinton Street East

Spice Town & Halal Meat

2210 Dundas Street (near Jami Mosque)

Surati Bazaar

761 Pape Avenue

Taj Mahal Sweets Centre

1426 Gerrard ST. East

Tara Foods & Restaurant

429 Donlands Ave.

SOURCES: Advertisements appearing in *Voice of Pakistan* 1972; Advertisements appearing in *Crescent* from 1973-1980; Advertisements appearing in *Viewpoint Fortnightly* October 15, 1978; Advertisements appearing in *Akhbar-I-Gulrang Fortnightly* August 15, 1978; Advertisements appearing in *Messenger* 1978-1980; Sushila Mehta and Veena Goel, *East Indian Community Information Directory*, August 1975. *Indian Community Info Directory*, 1978.

APPENDIX 22

Pakistani to Canada by Country of Last Permanent Residence/Source Country, 1980-2002

Year	Pakistanis by Last permanent residence/source country
1980	900
1981	821
1982	861
1983	735
1984	682
1985	473
1986	627
1987	974
1988	1 245
1989	2 039
1990	2 138
1991	2 759
1992	3 731
1993	4 480
1994	4 390
1995	4 654
1996	8 547
1997	11 233
1998	8 081
1999	9 285
2000	14 184
2001	15 341
2002	14 164

In this table totals from 1980-1996 are based on last permanent residence and from 1997-2002 are based on source country.

SOURCE: Employment and Immigration from 1980-1996 Canada, *Immigration Statistics/* Citizenship and Immigration from 1997-2002, *Facts and Figures* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1968-1981).

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