

Book Reviews

S. Chandrasekhar (ed.). *From India to Canada. A Brief History of Immigration; Problems of Discrimination; Admission and Assimilation.* La Jolla, California: A Population Review Book, 1986. 217 pp. US \$ 25.00 Cloth, US \$ 10.00 Paperback.

Hubert Charbonneau, Bertrand Desjardins, Andre Guillemette, Yves Landry, Jacques Legare and Francois Nault. *Naissance d'une Population. Les Francais etablis au Canada au XVIIe siecle.* Paris, France: Institut Nationala d'Etudes Demographiques, Presses Universitaires de France. Montreal: Presses de l'Universite de Montreal, 1987. viii + 232 pp + 3 folded graphs and maps. Fr francs 60.00 Paperback.

Art Hansen and Anthony Oliver-Smith (eds.). *Involuntary Migration and Resettlement. The Problem and Responses of Dislocated People.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982. xi + 333 pp. US \$ 25.00 Cloth.

Hania Zlotnik and Silvano M. Tomasi (eds.). *International Migration Review: Measuring International Migration: Theory and Practice.* Special Issue in cooperation with International Union for the Scientific Study of Population. Vol. 21, No.4. Winter 1987. xii + 689 (925-1613) pp.

In the summer of 1987 this journal (26, 2:215-221) presented a review article on four books dealing with the Canadian society, demography and economy. The four books reviewed here all deal with migration.

It will be apparent to a reader of these books that the realm of migration is very wide and varied. It includes anthropological concerns with adjustments of migrants arriving in a culture very different from their own (the book by Chandrasekhar); eventual outcomes of a historical migration that peopled a continent (almost) due to overwhelming fertility (higher than in Pakistan), but the initial spurt was that of migration, however tiny at the time (Charbonneau *et al.*); the involuntary migration and problems of settlement of refugees of various kinds (Hansen and Oliver-Smith); issues in the measurement of international migration, essentially insoluable, not unlike the problems in foreign trade of inconsistency, such as exports from country A to B being different from imports in country B from A (Zlotnik and Tomasi); though that is not how the authors envisage their problems.

There is, furthermore, a host of other problems in migration not covered in these four books; e.g., issues in internal migration and inequality among regions within the same political territory; issues in short-term movements (for seasonal work, for periods longer than a season but not permanent, such as that of migrants from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to the Gulf areas), migration variables in econometric exercises aimed at reaching general equilibria of factors of production, and many others. Yet, the four books under review provide sufficient indication of the great variety of studies under the rubric of migration.

One gets born once. One dies once. One can migrate many times. These three statements are not completely fair, because the same mother can give birth to more than one child. Also, while most children come to the world as single births, every eightieth birth is a twin birth. French social scientists make a big deal of twins. In the development of fertility measurements they apply the concept of deliveries or confinements (for accouchement). The use of deliveries or confinements is more logical than that of births, when one is calculating, say, spacing. With twins born, say, 14 months after the previous birth, the arithmetical space becomes 7 months, a biological impossibility. Twins born between 9 and 14 months after marriage will be classified in Anglo-Saxon practice as premarital conceptions, an embarrassment which the French avoid. English-working demographers are less pedantic, think more in terms of large numbers, and overlook these individual confusions.

Be that as it may, births remain more manageable than migratory movements, though death is *the* solitary and singular event, easiest to handle: happens once and once only.

The complexity of migration is, on the other hand, unlimited. It can last from short durations to long periods to lifetime moves. It may involve return migration and repeat migration. Some study daily journeys-to-work in their relation to eventual migration. Some go beyond mere economic considerations to climatology, tourist attractions, cultural life and educational facilities as important explanations and motives in migration decisions. Migration can extend over short distances to neighbouring localities (even within the same locality, if the prevailing definitions would allow such an inclusion of movers) to long distances over continents, and presumably eventually to other planets.

It is, therefore, not surprising that demographic theories and research methods vary in their complexity and elegance among the three basic demographic phenomena. Most elegant is the lifetable and entropy models in mortality, because death is easiest to conceptualize. Fertility has many more models moving uncertainly between quantum and tempo concepts of measurement, the cohort and period equivalents. Migration is least elegant; in fact, probably did not move much beyond descriptive approximations to reality.

In contrast to this increasing demographic uncertainty and, frankly, clumsiness, is the relationship and dependence on economic theory: best with migration (e.g.,

growth poles theory, economic effectiveness of relative differences in local wage levels), medium with fertility (e.g., Easterlin theories, Schultz concerns with human capital and those of Machlup), and least certain with mortality (e.g., the higher the standard of living, the longer the life expectancy, but that does not tell us much, as we are all against death, are we not, whatever our standard of living), the high and reverse correlation between mortality and standard of living being really a case of multicollinearity. The valiant attempt by Kuznets, once stripped of the elegance expected of a Nobel Laureate, is really no more than that type of conclusion ("how improvements in mortality make us feel to be masters of our own destiny") which has given a bad name to sociology ("taller men wear longer trousers").

The book by Chandrasekhar deals with several aspects of migration from India to Canada. It is apparently modelled on an earlier book (1982?) issued by the same publisher, titled *From India to America*, and with identical subtitles. The book consists of 13 chapters, three of them by the editor on the history of Canadian immigration legislation, on the history of Canadian immigration since 1534 (the arrival of Jacques Cartier, the French explorer, 42 years after Columbus crossed the Atlantic on behalf of the Spanish king), and the third one on the bibliography of Asian Indians in Canada. The editor prefers "Asian-Indians" to "East Indians", though this is probably not a final solution. Would Indians from Trinidad and Tobago be now called Caribbean-Indians and be confused with Red Indians?

These three chapters with some vetting and corrections would be useful teaching tools in junior undergraduate classes and senior high school grades. Some of this material is repeated all over again in other chapters, in a manner which appears haphazard and inconsistent. The repetitions are occasionally made with contradictory results; e.g., did the Sikh troops participating in Queen Victoria's jubilee whet their migratory appetites while passing through Vancouver or not?

The variety of immigrants from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent is not brought out and their history is not treated thoroughly. References cited in the book [Kurian and Srivastava (1984) and Buchignani *et al.* (1985)] do so more adequately.

Canadians who think of themselves as a semi-colonial economy (for it exports overwhelmingly raw materials and imports products finished elsewhere) will be surprised to learn that they are an "industrialized . . . economy" (p. 13). This argument is superfluous, because whatever the degree of industrialization the wage differential was always strong enough for the recorded 100 years to attract Asian-Indians as immigrants (pull factors). Famines, "largely the results of British Imperialistic exploitation" (p. 18), were a push factor, as were others, such as failures of monsoons, expenses of marriages and funerals essential while in India, exorbitant interest rates charged by village money-lenders, all presumably not induced by the imperialists.

Traditional trade union hostilities to immigrants, any immigrants, because of their downward pressures on wages, is also called "exploitation", this time by

“fellow white workers” (p. 19). Much is made out of the Canadian regulation applied at one time that the ship bringing immigrants must have had a continuous and uninterrupted journey; not unlike concern of the 1980’s that refugees remain refugees in the country of their first arrival, but lose that status when moving on to a third country (“pick and choose” removes the refugee status).

The topic of discrimination is taken up in more than one chapter. In one the result is shared with the reader that reported income by immigrants from India is higher than that of native-born Canadians and many other immigrant groups. This is so even when the data are standardized by age, occupation and education.

Double passports, if a truly general phenomenon (p. 73), could become a matter for state security, especially if involving regimes hostile to the Canadian state and Canadian way of life.

A probably contrived case study of adjustments brings us the fact that mobility within India is more constrained on grounds of linguistic barriers than anything encountered in Canada (p. 100). D’Costa brings out the fact that the proportion of Asian-Indian immigrants destined for the labour force declined with years more rapidly than is the case of other immigrants. Those not destined for the labour force, other than spouses and children, increased over ten years from 9 percent to 37 percent (pp. 115 and 117). No chapter author brings out the fact that Asian-Indians have practically no return migration, my millionaire acquaintance notwithstanding (an important characteristic of British immigrants, wherever they go). Asian-Indians, once arrived, get stuck and Canadianize their fertility habits, a feature brought out in the chapter on fertility (pp. 136–147, especially p. 145).

Sikhs play a prominent role in the description of the first waves of immigrants from India in the pre-WWI and pre-WWII days. In the post-WWII days the Sikhs gained themselves front-page news in Canada with their relentless campaign in favour of Khalistan. A non-Khalistan-related incident arose when a judge adjudicating over a temple between two religious groups was shot to death by the aggrieved, the losing party along with the lawyers of the winning party.

The two migration waves can be usefully labelled as labourers in the early days and professionals in more recent times. The statements about hardships repeated endlessly (e.g., p. 62), must be read against the reported fact that remittances home start soon after arrival. Level-headed contributors to the volume stress more than once the “barely educated Sikhs” (e.g., pp. 80 and 84) as an explanation of their remaining at the bottom of the earnings ladder.

Another writer in the volume talks about studies at Canadian universities being “very difficult” (p. 102) and the instructors being unapproachable, an observation with which almost any witness will disagree.

The Charbonneau volume is not exclusively concerned with migration. In fact, at first sight its main preoccupation seems to be fertility. It was after all fertility, extraordinarily high under any circumstances, that led to the firm establishment of

New France, "the birth of a population" of the title. Yet even non-migratory chapters are peppered throughout with references to the quality of information on immigrants, data on emigrants and returnees, seasonal movements, the marital experiences of newly arrived immigrants (fiscal discouragement of bachelorhood), the role of the military in migration, the migration of brides in arranged marriages, and the like.

The history of French emigration towards the New World is affected by the fact that France believed itself to be living under the threat of depopulation; physiocrats and mercantilists were parts of this ideological basket. As the authors show, the drain towards the new world was quite minuscule, and only a fraction of the simultaneous drain from the British isles. Nevertheless, the emigration policy of the royal government was somewhat restrained, which did not prevent His Majesty from expressing dissatisfaction with the census results in New France. Surely, the number should be greater, he kept sighing to his ministers. The Charbonneau volume is based on 3380 individuals after exclusion of categories that were of no interest to the investigation (e.g., bachelors dying without issue). It is, therefore, amazing that a society of several million in French Canada today was created out of the migration of such small numbers. To the six million of Quebecers of today must be added the two million or so lost to New England, especially, Maine, Louisiana and other parts of the continent.

If the Charbonneau book reads like an adventure story, so does the Hansen and Oliver-Smith book. There are some deadening phrases couched in sociologese, with which reviewers based in England will surely have much fun, but they do not take away from the basic interest of the book. It presents four stories of refugees from wars, three stories of refugees from natural disasters, and six stories of persons displaced by planned large-scale activities. All the stories concern exotic populations, and took place in the last four decades or so.

The refugees caused by wars are self-settled rural refugees from Angola in Zambia, Angola men and women in organized refugee centres in Zambia, Vietnamese on the island of Guam, and Vietnamese in Colorado. The refugees caused by natural disasters are the victims of the 1970 earthquake in Yungaya, Peru; the nomadic Somalis in Kenya of the drought that struck their country; and the preys of the 1961 hurricane Hattie in Belize, one of several experienced by the area between 1954 and 1978. The large-scale and planned resettlements which affected considerable numbers of people were: population displacements (briefly: tools of apartheid) within the general policy of separate development affecting all four of the major groups recognized by law in South Africa; the multi-stage, century-old, century-long, strenuously-resisted replacements of the Yavapai of Arizona; relocations of the Nambiquara in Western-central Brazil for the purposes of creating a consolidated reservation; population displacements among the Azande of the Equatoria province of Sudan for such varying purposes as controlling the sleeping sickness, maintaining roads, administer-

ing the population, stimulating the production of cotton as a cash crop of individual farmers (this one, best known in literature), preventing urbanization and its evils; the removal of the favela suburbs of Rio de Janeiro, resulting in the eradication of a lifestyle; relocations required by the construction of the Papaloapan dam in Mexico in the 1950s.

There is no end to curiosities spread over all the thirteen stories like raisins over a cake, though the reader has problems in deciding for himself how they fit the general theoretical framework. Welfare received in government-controlled locations by Angolan refugees in Zambia was incomparably higher than that received by self-settled refugees, yet, when able to choose, the refugees prefer the poverty of own huts. Most of the anti-colonial wars are over, yet Africa's refugee population continues to grow. Attractive refugee wives establish liaisons with settler men and male refugees remain poverty-stricken (p. 41). The incidence of polygyny among refugee men is only one-third as frequent as among settler men in the same society (p. 42). Zambian men taking Angolan women as wives would send a substitute for the first consummation as they did not find the Angolan bridal make-up (*maquillage*) particularly enticing (p. 47). The Vietnamese arrivals in Guam were highly stratified; some had saved from the Saigon panic their golf clubs (p. 53). A glacier of the immense mass of 25 million cubic meters was carried by an earthquake over 16 kms in four minutes (p. 89), and then it buried a town under its weight. Survivors for years afterwards would include the dead among members of the family during a census. Witchcraft increases with resettlement among Africans, presumably because of the desire for increased protection from the unknown. The separation of place of work near the old favelas in Rio from the new living quarters led to the creation of secondary families near the place of work and contributed to social disintegration (p. 234). Twenty-five years after the resettlement, because of the Papaloapan dam in Mexico, 60 percent of the relocatees were still waiting for their land titles, and so on.

The mass of anthropological information collected in the case studies is ill-suited to the construction of thorough sociological conclusions, even less to confident theory-construction. Only one multivariate analysis has been quoted among the myriad of studies used, whose number exceeds those reported in this book (p. 79). In a discipline where on the average a scientist spoke to, say, 70 respondents during a lifetime of professional work, it reads unconvincingly to learn that "own estimates" concerning tens of thousands differ from Government data (p. 24). Official data may leave much to be desired but anthropological guestimates must not be any better.

In the last chapter, an attempt is made to arrive at conclusions and it needs to be read in its entirety. But a few figments may be mentioned. The rich and the poor react differently to the same stress. The pre-disaster or pre-resettlement pecking order is unlikely to be preserved and recreated after the event; new leaders emerge, as do new power networks and new opportunities for corruption. Compulsory relocation fosters dependence and paternalism. Bridewealth based on cattle-exchange is

not only a commercial transaction, but also the mode of important ritual exchanges and alliance formation of social and political significance; all these networks dry up when the cattle perish because of drought.

There is a need for longitudinal studies and recording of experiences. Experiences gained after World War II were lost in the demobilization of the U.S. Army, even though it is admitted that it rose magnificently to the challenge of the arriving thousands in Guam, with a degree of sacrifice and devotion to duty by the GI's on the spot, which could not possibly be expected from private contractors.

Women are affected by forced resettlement differently from men. Especially at the lower socio-economic strata, they seem to be gaining relatively to men. The final chapter closes with two pages of policy implications. Examples: a wide range of options should be considered before any one specific solution is selected; the conservative and security-oriented relocatees should not be forced in the short-run to show rapid returns on investment in sponsored settlements.

The Zlotnik-Tumasi volume contains proceedings from a symposium sponsored by two committees of the IUSSP (International Union for the Scientific Study of Population) and conducted in Ottawa in November 1987, no doubt under the influential patronage of Statistics Canada though there is no indication in the volume to that effect. The volume consists of five parts. In the first part concepts, development and policy are discussed. The matter is not marginal: foreign-born among the 21 countries with the largest numbers of foreign-born vary from three-quarter million in Malaysia to 14 million in the USA, or from 1.1 percent in Bangladesh to 42.5 percent in Israel.

For some countries, these are matters of state security and actual survival of the manner in which they live, which they have known and experienced in the past. Refugees are the great lacunae among the subjects covered in this volume. Could it be that the several international officials among the organizers preferred not to open this topic for fear of offending centrally-planned societies?

Differences in policies affect the treatment of permanent, temporary and illegal migration. These differences lead in part two to a realization that even if the bureaucratic inertia could be overcome and definitions made similar across countries, differences in policies would prevent increases in comparability of data. Even in the same country, a change in policies tends to change statistical definitions and has a consequent impact on international comparability.

In part three, several national systems are reported on. Belgium is an example of a system almost complete, based on a national population register; but even there a third of emigrants are caught when it is too late to obtain all relevant items of data. One wonders why Belgium was chosen, if by all general accounts Sweden, Denmark and possibly the Netherlands have longer and more relevant experience as well as more adequate results. Canada has the great advantage of flexibility in its data treatment: you name the definition, they will provide the relevant computer print-out.

In part four, several methods of arriving at close estimates and presenting cross-tabulations, richer than the current practice, are presented and discussed. Hania Zaba's results will probably be pregnant in long-term consequences: residence of siblings appears to be markedly more robust — to deviations from the basic assumptions of an exercise — than the method based on residence of children, while apparently the latter finds just now more favour with practitioners in the field. Special treatment of the migration of the elderly is suggested in a chapter by Graeme Hugo, and advantages of an ethnosurvey are reported by Douglas Massey. Non-documentados earn themselves two chapters on illegal migration.

In the fifth part, 16 book reviews are offered. Among the more exotic titles are: *Nomads in the Sultanate of Oman*, *The Guernica Generation: Basque Refugee Children of the Spanish Civil War* and *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England*. Barry Broadfoot's *The Immigration Years: From Britain and Europe to Canada, 1945–1967* is reviewed, as is usual for his work, with unfavourable conclusions. Typically, historians as well as other academicians love to hate this successful writer, the work in question being his eighth (?) volume based on oral histories.

The 27 chapters by 38 authors, not counting book reviews, are a mine of information and a refreshing spring of new suggestions. The importance of the volume will stay with us for quite a while, seeing that attempts at reform in this field move at a glacial space, the first international effort having been started a century ago. There is no index; those who would like to use the volume for reference work must be warned.

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