ACCOMMODATION AND CULTURAL PERSISTENCE:
THE CASE OF THE SIKHS AND THE PORTUGUESE IN THE
OKANAGAN VALLEY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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ABSTRACT

There are two themes that are explored in this thesis. The first is an examination of the process of acculturation, defined here as the process of learning skills and strategies native to another group. The second is comparative and examines the causes for the relative success that the Portuguese had in learning to accommodate and be accepted in Canada. By the same token the sources of acculturative stress for the Sikhs will be identified.

The two groups are comparable along several dimensions such as age, education, skills, knowledge of English on arrival and so on. Learning to be effective in Canada means understanding and acting appropriately in given contexts. The spheres that I have identified as important are the workplace and the community in which they live. The other spheres that come under scrutiny as a result of the spillover of public activities and experiences are the family, and the sphere of religious beliefs and practices.

The workplace, I argue, is a central institution wherein acculturation is imperative. Secondly, the establishment of individuals in the community is a crucial factor. While the formation of an ethnic enclave might serve as a support system for newcomers, it also isolates and separates them from others.
The Sikh definition of identity is hierarchical, with religion providing an anchorage for all other spheres such as the family, caste, village, and occupation. In sort, individuals did not experience life activities as differentiated or unrelated. Given the contexts of ambivalence and hostility they perceived and/or experienced in Canada, the acquisition of new forms of thought were neither seen as a challenge nor a necessity; but as a threat to their identity.

The Portuguese model, on the other hand, recognizes the distinction between public and private lives. To them being "Portuguese" and/or "Catholic" are primarily private matters. Also, by and large they gave importance to individual achievement over corporate identity. To them, acculturation and ethnic identity were complementary modes for the definition of themselves within the Canadian context.
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Crossing national and cultural boundaries is often a difficult and painful process. The initial excitement and adventure often clouds the difficulties in coming to terms with the new context. However, such a transition would not have been easy without the support and guidance Professor Brenda Beck provided me from the very beginning. She was really concerned with my physical and emotional well being besides the obligatory academic and intellectual training. Mere words are not adequate to express my feelings towards her and Dave Elkins for all they have done.

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Special thanks are due to Mrs. Guay who I met by accident in Montreal and who had grown up in the Okanagan Valley. She typed the thesis and the seemingly endless modifications to it. I hope that this thesis meant more to her than just another assignment. She really stood by me through all the changes in the manuscript.

To the families and friends in the Okanagan Valley who must remain anonymous I can only say - without their cooperation there would have been no dissertation. Finally, to members of my own family who love me no more or less for my accomplishments, I wish to say - thank you for being there.
This thesis is a study of change – an attempt to understand the nature, the process and the consequences of change brought about by contact with other cultures. Earlier studies of inter-cultural contacts and modernization focussed primarily on the impact of political and economic domination in the lives of individuals and groups. However, migrants from less industrialized areas of the world to societies like Canada provide an equally important opportunity to study change.

Cultural encounters can generate many forms of responses at both the level of ideas and of actions. In this thesis attention will be paid to the evaluation, interpretation and acceptance of new modes of thought and its consequences for two groups – the Sikhs and the Portuguese. Members of both groups have lived in Canada since the turn of the century (Lal: 1976, Anderson and Higgs: 1976). The Sikhs have been a more noticeable group, not only in terms of their appearance, but also in terms of the press coverage they have received over the years and the history of discrimination against them (Mehta: 1973, Lal: 1976, Buchignani: 1977). In the Okanagan Valley they are more recent, having been attracted to jobs in the lumber
industry, while the Portuguese have been attracted to jobs in the orchards.

According to Anderson and Higgs (1976: 187) "Portuguese settlements in Canada have come of age." Now there is a second generation, born and brought up in Canada, who are seeking to establish themselves here not as foreigners or as the children of foreigners, but as citizens. Within this context, the documentation of the cultural history of the Portuguese is an integral part of the history of Canada. The same is applicable to the Sikhs as well. This thesis performs one step in this process.

Migration to a technologically advanced country where jobs were available was an attractive proposition to members of both groups. However, in the initial stages this was only a temporary measure for both the Sikh and the Portuguese pioneer. They thought of themselves as merely sojourners - migrant workers who hoped to return to their homeland within a few years (Buchignani: 1977, Lal: 1976, Anderson and Higgs: 1976). It was only later that they decided to stay. This idea of permanent settlement took various institutional forms such as family reunions, buying property, building a temple or a church and so on. In the course of time these institutions themselves underwent substantial alterations. They both deviated from, and
swerved towards, the cultural forms they had once known in varying permutations and combinations. In this sense then both the Sikhs and the Portuguese were and are caught up in the struggle of making sense of their past and giving direction to their future. It is how they make sense of these conflicting thoughts, their efforts at making and creating the categories which would provide a meaningful coherence to their settlement experience that I hope to document. More specifically, the major question that is pursued in this thesis deals with the comparative success of the Portuguese in accommodating and being accepted in Canada. Simultaneously, it also deals with sources of acculturative stress for the Sikhs.

Explanations of inter-ethnic relations have always used as a starting point the contact situation which very often is brought about by colonization, annexation, invasion, contractual labour and voluntary migration (Schermerhorn: 1970, Gordon: 1964). The terms that have had wide currency in discussing the nature of cultural encounters in sociological and anthropological literature are "assimilation" and "acculturation".

In this study, the term "assimilation" is of little value, as it assumes that individuals move along a bi-polar continuum from the unassimilated entry point to the assimi-
lated point. Thus loss of identity of newcomers is discussed as an inevitable outcome. Even the most systematic account given by Gordon (1964) is not sufficient in understanding the reactions and preferences of individuals and groups to the host culture. Besides, entering into primary groups and networks does not necessitate nor imply loss of cultural identity.

Acculturation

The concept of "acculturation", on the other hand, is more useful and comes closest to my own explanation of accommodation and cultural persistence. Anthropological literature is replete with discussions of the acculturative process. The definition that I find most applicable to my research is given by Kiefer (1974) in her study of Japanese Americans. According to Kiefer (1974: 86)

"acculturation is the process of learning by members of one cultural group of skills and values native to another group."

To which I would add the following:

"Such that the immigrant is effective in the new context."

Such a definition allows us to make distinctions between the adoption of new practices and the maintenance of cultural identity. That is, individuals can become culturally adept in their new context without a loss of "self".
But the inquiry does not stop here. As mentioned earlier, the fundamental question that is raised deals with the differential success of immigrant groups in adapting and being accepted in a new country. Thus, this study both explores the acculturative process and identifies the reasons for the comparative success of the Portuguese over the Sikhs. But before I enter into a discussion of the above, let us briefly examine the concept of "acculturation".

The first systematic explanation of the term acculturation was given by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1938: 10). According to them:

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."

Several criticisms of the definition are offered and Beals (1953) highlights the major problems in terms of the following questions:

1. What is meant by continuous first hand contact?
2. What is the relation of acculturation to the concept of culture change?
3. What is the relationship between acculturation and assimilation?
4. Is acculturation a process or a condition?
In his introduction to "Acculturation in the Americas" Herskovits (1967: 56) draws attention to some other interesting and useful facets of acculturation. He says,

"that acculturation rarely results in either complete acceptance of the cultural elements newly experienced nor does contact fail to leave its mark on a recipient culture even when there is marked hostility toward innovations whether imposed or freely accessible. In some cases of contact accelerated changes occur, and may result in unsuspected resistances that take the form of nativistic or nationalistic movements which appear decades after apathy and acquiescence has seemed an established fact. In situations where change is accepted, revisions are made within the old scheme, and where change is forced, values and beliefs may be kept secretly until such time when there is an opportunity to bring it to the open."

Such a description is rich in information relevant to our understanding of the consequences of the contact situation. For instance, even within the same group, at different points in its history, the process of acculturation may take different forms such as retention and re-interpretation. Further new symbols might be adopted to fit old themes, or old symbols might be infused with new meanings to mobilise individuals into action.

Similarly, the addition of new skills and values also raises the questions of dominance and directionality. According to Teske and Nelson (1974) there is ample evidence that suggests that the process is bi-directional. However,
in situations of colonization and missionary activity, the literature suggests that quite often stratification is related to ethnicity and thereby affects the nature and direction of acculturation. The term that has been applied to refer to this process in its extreme form is "forced acculturation" (Teske & Nelson: 1974).

The use of the term "forced acculturation" itself suggests a change in values of the incoming group toward that of the receiving group. However, as Linton (1940) points out, though the acceptance of cultural elements is accelerated, there need not be an accompanying change in values. Further, from the perspective of the incoming group, they might: one, choose defensive isolation; two, adopt new means without a corresponding adoption of the relevant goals; three, choose to adopt the new means in order to support existing goals sometimes for the specific purpose of resisting the compulsory adoption of the goals of the lending group; and finally, four, choose to dissociate themselves from the dominant cultural forms. What is more, learning new ways and skills need not affect all aspects of an individual's life.

More recent studies in ethnicity echo the same concerns in understanding the retention of cultural forms in the process of cultural contact and change. Cohen (1978)
speculates that in the anthropological literature this might be due to a shift among theorists from the concept of "tribe" to that of "ethnic group". Barth (1969) likewise suggests that a drastic reduction in the cultural differences between people does not in any simple way correlate with a breakdown in the organization and maintenance of ethnic identity. Berramen's (1975) study of castes in India deals with the same issue of the management of identity. In all of these studies, emphasis is placed on a non-linear model of interaction and acculturation. Whether it be a situation of inequality or otherwise, the outcome of the contact has not merely resulted in a displacement of the older values and norms that is crucial for one's well being, but a modification of the old and/or an addition of new techniques and strategies. Kiefer's study (1974) of three generations of Japanese Americans in San Francisco supports the same theme. The introduction of a new set of rules, she argues, does not displace the old. On the contrary, they are an addition to the existing repertoire. As and when a situation demands a specific action, the individuals involved draw upon their sources to act appropriately. This is not always an easy process, particularly if the situation is one of inequality and the individual experiences a great deal of stress.

I find this definition of acculturation useful to
this study because it does not assume linearity. It allows for human flexibility and adaptability to different situations. It also allows us to explore and to understand the number of cultural alternatives that are available to individuals. Instead of asking for or observing the evidence suggestive of cultural borrowing, it allows us to explore the evidence suggestive of cultural persistence as well. Further, as we saw earlier, while assimilation is uni-directional, and dependent on the out-group's acceptance of the individuals, acculturation does not always depend on these factors.

In this study, the emphasis likewise is placed on acculturation as a multi-dimensional, non-linear process. It involves not only knowledge about the host's cultural ways, but also the use of such knowledge in appropriate contexts. Further, the acquisition of knowledge or the attempt to become bi-cultural does not necessarily lead to loss of ethnic identity. One of the effective and time-tested ways by which this problem has been curtailed is by defining certain sectors of life as more important for cultural articulation than others (see Barth 1969). For instance, becoming a successful business executive does not preclude an individual from simultaneously being the head of an extended household or the leader of an ethnic organization. What it might include, however, is a re-interpreta-
tion of the traditional role such that it does not interfere with his or her work life. Of course, to the extent that this occurs there is evidence to suggest that an individual acculturates to acculturation; that is, he or she increasingly identifies with the new role. Further such adaptation is possible only when public and private lives are sufficiently compartmentalized and when there is a reduction of time spent in traditional family duties and activities. Singer (1968), for instance, argues that business managers in Madras city have resorted to such strategies. If such transformations are possible in the Indian context, why does it pose special problems in Canada? The same question can be applied to the Portuguese as well.

In answer to this question, apart from a fear of the new, learning may be retarded by

1) perceptions of cultural loss and identity; and

2) by real or perceived discrimination.

Let us examine these two factors more carefully. Perceptions of cultural loss or threat to ethnic identity may arise due to a variety of reasons. But more often than not one can identify the sources of stress as being located in the vast differences between the immigrant and host
cultural models (Breton, Reitz and Valentine: 1980). The shock that follows the encounters in some instances hastens the identification process as a means to fill the void that is experienced. Communities such as the Hutterites and Doukhobors in Canada actively seek to separate themselves from other Canadians, based on these differences.

Further, when such a situation is compounded by real or perceived discrimination, it is not unusual for members of the group to fall back on what is "known" and "familiar". In other words, the traditional modes of thought and behaviour are re-inforced under conditions of ambivalence and alienation. It is not surprising, then, that ethnic identity is emphasized as a pertinent mode for countering the forces of acculturation.

Although in the history of some ethnic groups, acculturation and the development and use of ethnic identity are seen as mutually exclusive, it is not always or necessarily so. They can and do become compatible modes of organization under certain conditions. Since the context within which the Sikhs and Portuguese have had to accommodate is Canada, the conditions wherein they have to act are those set by the Canadian cultural model.

While official government documents such as the constitution, the report on multi-culturalism, newspapers,
books and articles outline some general features of the controversial Canadian cultural model, it is dubious whether it is a monolithic, identifiable entity or unit. Elliot (1979) Isajuir (1978) among others have raised the issue of the problems associated with the term "Canadian culture". Is it one nation or two? Where do the other cultures fit in? As far as this study is concerned, the "Canadian cultural model" incorporates the immigrants perceptions of the cultural order in Canada. Needless to say it represents a small group of individuals studied and their interpretation. However, it is the yardstick they use to measure their success at acculturation. The most significant attributes of this model are,

1) the differentiation of public and private spheres of activity; and
2) the emphasis on individual achievement and status over corporate forms of a private nature such as family, religion and ethnicity. Further, domestic life, and religion are defined as primarily private aspects and are encouraged to remain as such.

To the extent that this model emphasizes the importance of the individual, in a society governed by rational purposive ideas and action and the separation of spheres of activity, it comes close to Berger's (1973) explanation of the consciousness associated with "modernity".
If native immigrant models do not recognize such compartmentalization, or if immigrants feel isolated and discriminated against, they will not resort to learning new ways or defining themselves appropriately in the new contexts. This is what has happened to the Sikhs. They saw acculturation primarily as a threat to their definitions of "self" and reacted to such pressures by resorting to ethnic identity. The Portuguese, on the other hand, maintained their definition of "self" by confining it to their private lives, and acting appropriately in the public sphere. Thus, to the Sikhs "acculturation" was replaced by a desire to maintain and intensify the process of ethnic identification; to the Portuguese way of life, it was feasible to pursue a dual identity, i.e., a private Portuguese identity and a public Canadian identity.

Basically, this is the argument I develop in each of the chapters in this thesis. I argue that the Sikh cultural model is hierarchical, with religion occupying a pivotal role and integrating all other spheres of an individual's life. The centrality of religious symbols in socio-political and economic organization is the core of their native model. Even the Indian constitution recognizes the right of individual Sikhs to carry a sword in public. Sikh identity thus spans both the spiritual and temporal, and combines the sacred and secular spheres such that a "true
Sikh" sees his or her entire life as a stage for cultural articulation and definition.

Further, the emphasis on the individual as the autonomous unit of action is not highly developed or articulated in India (see Dumont 1965 for a further discussion of this theme). It is beyond the scope of this study to establish its validity. All I wish to highlight is the importance placed on the contribution of individuals to the "common good" or corporate units such as the family, rather than on an individual's achievement or status (see also Izmirlian: 1979).

Thus Sikh identity emerges as a composite of the various aspects of an individual's life, such as caste, family, village and occupation. It also contrasts sharply with the concept of "segmented identity" which is the essence of the Canadian model. It is not surprising, then, that under conditions of ambivalence and hostility, the Sikhs found it difficult to understand and draw the distinctions between their public and private lives, and develop appropriate definitions of "self". In a general sense they can be described as exhibiting low cultural awareness but high ethnic loyalty.

The native Portuguese model, on the other hand, recognizes the distinction between these two spheres and, to
a lesser extent, the separation between religion and ethnicity. Only as foreigners, did the question of how to act publicly or what to use as criteria for defining themselves arise. Fernandez (1979) elaborates on the same theme in his study of the Portuguese in Montreal. According to him, the concept of the "community" (i.e., Portuguese community) mediates this distinction between their public and private lives. Indeed, he makes the point that the Portuguese take several measures to define appropriate behaviour both in the public and private spheres. In my own study, the separation between religion and ethnicity within a "public" context is emphasized as a dilemma for many participants.

The critical aspect of the Portuguese model is their assignment of work and neighbourhood activities (such as land and property ownership) as spheres wherein cultural articulation was minimal. Learning to be effective within these spheres as we shall see was not always easy or conflict free. Yet this posed no threat to their definition of "self". As time passed their experience of tolerance reduced their own perceptions of discrimination and thereby retarded the development of ethnic loyalty. In general, then, they identified certain areas of life wherein acculturation was necessary, and others where penetration was minimal. Acculturation and ethnic identity were pursued simultaneously.
The consequences for members of both groups, needless to say, varied considerably. In many instances it increased inter-ethnic conflict and reduced the possibilities of societal cohesion. By and large the Sikhs have been discriminated against (Buchignani: 1977) and ranked low in the opinions of Canadians residing in British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada. In response to this, the Sikhs have rejected attempts to increase cultural communication and contact and have chosen confrontation strategies.

The Portuguese, meanwhile, have found a larger measure of acceptance in the valley and elsewhere (Anderson & Higgs: 1976; Alphao & DaRosa: 1981:276); in turn, there is a certain amount of respect and appreciation of at least some of the institutions and values of Canadian life. At the same time, however, they also express the fear that eventually their descendants will merge within the mainstream of Canadian life.

The use of native models as a starting point becomes problematic if it is defined in terms of traditional cultural baggage based on earlier studies or seen as a static set of assumptions. Indeed, one of the lessons from the assimilation literature suggests that an idealized description of cultural features should not be used as a yardstick for measuring cultural retention or assimilation.
To avoid these pitfalls I rely primarily on the information given by respondents, although available ethnographic data on the Sikhs and the Portuguese was useful in drawing some conclusions. Elements of the model further became apparent in the interactive and conflicting situations. The formation of factions and the interpretations and evaluations of native and new models encountered is also suggestive of the extent of cultural awareness and the preference that individuals exhibit in the resolution of conflict. Likewise my discussion of the Canadian model is based on discussions, short interviews and historical accounts. Although it is sparse, given the scope of this thesis it provides some validation of the principles identified by the immigrants themselves.

To summarize, the major features of my framework for this study are as follows:

1) Acculturation is a non-linear process and does not necessarily lead to loss of ethnic identity. It is only under conditions of hostility that ethnicity becomes paramount.

2) Greater cultural differentiation between immigrant models and the host society produces greater problems in inter-ethnic contact and acculturation.
The rest of the thesis documents this process. Chapters 2 and 3 are attempts to provide a historical perspective on the concerns of Canadians at both the national and local level and to define "insiders" and "aliens". From these discussions the major dimensions of the national and regional cultural model will be delineated. This will set the stage for discussing the incongruence between host society and immigrant cultural models. In Chapter 4 the aspects and characteristics of immigrants that are relevant to this study are outlined. My purpose here is to establish the similarities and differences between the groups with respect to pre-migrant characteristics. In Chapter 5, the collisions and alterations of the various models in the work world is examined. Chapter 6 outlines the meanings attached to housing, land and property ownership by the immigrants, and the differences between these models and Canadian definitions. In Chapter 7 the family is examined as a forum within which new ideas are tested, adopted or rejected. The pluralization and separation of religious beliefs and practices from other activities is examined in Chapter 8.

If Chapters 2 and 3 are attempts to define a Canadian cultural model based on historical records, in Chapter 9 the opinions of a few Canadians are sought to test the validity of these dimensions. Questions pertaining to
community and good citizenship all go to show that identity in Canada is segmented.

Chapter 10 ties all these themes together and presents a summary of the major findings.
CHAPTER 2
DIMENSIONS OF THE REGIONAL MODEL

To understand the process of accommodation and cultural persistence among the Sikhs and the Portuguese in the Okanagan Valley, one has to have some understanding of the history and nature of inter-ethnic relations in the valley. That is, how did newcomers (in this case immigrants) negotiate group status within this regional setting? An understanding of this process of incorporation of individuals and groups within regional boundaries will allow us to examine the contexts within which the Sikhs and the Portuguese acted. Events of the past are then not just chronological incidents but are constantly reintroduced and reevaluated in the new contexts. In this sense history is not merely background but very often occupies the foreground.

This chapter is not by any means comprehensive in its coverage of incidents that relate to the history of the region as a whole. The questions that concern me are: Who were the early settlers? How did they establish themselves socially and economically? How did they treat newcomers? Particularly, what were their reactions to immigrants from Asia and southern Europe? What changes occurred over the years? It is hoped that answers to these questions will set
the stage for understanding ethnic relations in the valley at present. The purpose here is not only to identify the regional contexts for inter-cultural encounters, but also to specify the dimensions of the local cultural model.

There are difficulties in presenting such ideas. Several frameworks have to be overlaid one upon another, such as the temporal, the geographical, the economic, the communal and ethnic. While each of these factors are significant and relate to the others, in this chapter, I wish to convey the links between community and ethnicity within the socio-economic context of the Okanagan Valley. For these purposes, I will examine four times periods as follows: 1850-1900, 1900-1950, 1950-1962, 1962 to the present. My sources are historical reports of the valley, newspaper articles, novels and a few interviews with old timers. While each of these data bases produce problems for the social scientist, they are individual interpretations of what the community was like, what it is, and what they would like to see. They are, then, documents that pertain to the search for both individual and group identity.

General Introduction

The Okanagan region extends from the international
boundary north to the Shuswap lake. The region encompasses an area of some 185 miles from north to south and 135 miles from east to west. It covers 11,406 square miles of land area, or 3.2% of the province and in 1966 contained a population of 112,850, or 6% of the provincial total (Government of British Columbia: 1971: 19).

- See Map I -

The bulk of the population is concentrated along the valley of the Okanagan river, and northward into the valley of the Shuswap. However, smaller extensions outward as in the Coldstream and Similkameen area, also exist. This pattern of establishment dates back to the founding of the valley. The amount of cultivable land, the availability of water for irrigation, and the transportation networks by steamer and rail all set the foundations for the present spatial organization of the region.

Land and climate have always been the major attractions of the valley. The area is generally characterized by low to moderate precipitation, warm to hot summers and mild winters. This is further enhanced by the topography. The coastal mountains alter the air masses that flow from the Pacific so much that the moisture is reduced in the form of rain before it reaches the valley. In other words, the
valley is in the rain shadow region. The water likewise moderates the temperature and the surrounding air. Water vapour represents a latent source of heat energy which is released when clouds are formed. It also acts as a blanket to retard heat loss from the earth on clear cold nights (Williston: 1957).

It is little wonder, then, that the valley has attracted and continues to attract settlers from all parts of Canada. To these settlers, at least in the early years, the possibilities of agriculture and especially fruit farming was of considerable importance.¹

While agriculture and fruit farming are important sources of income to many of the settlers, other industries such as forestry, mining and tertiary industries are attracting more employment. We will come to this at a later point.

The Early Years From 1850-1900

The Okanagan Valley, like other parts of British Columbia, was settler country and therefore the fortunes of these new settlers were intimately tied to the fortunes of the group. The spirit of adventure that had attracted them to the valley was tempered by the rough conditions they
encountered and the necessities of group living. Under such trying circumstances what was expected of these settlers, and what was most required was their cooperation and an understanding of each other. In this context, to have more of one's own kind reduced the uncertainties of social behaviour and was indeed a minimum asset. This is in fact an important theme that runs through the memoirs of many pioneers in the valley.

In order to understand the fabric of social relationships in the valley one has to know the general social character of the country and the province as well. What were considered important issues in other parts of the province were also deemed significant in the valley. As we saw earlier, one excellent source of such information lies in the immigration policies of the Canadian government and its provincial variations. These legal structures grew out of the fears and desires of the dominant individuals and groups in the country. Since Canada was a British colony, the only way of restricting the flow of immigrants from other parts of the world and to preserve the country for these "preferred" settlers was through the imposition of legal policies. In turn, those immigrants who were deemed desirable or tolerable at the national and provincial levels were also desirable at the regional and settlement levels. Those who did not fit these criteria of selection were
likewise unsuitable and excluded from social interaction. They were thus classified as marginal to the economic, social and political activities of the country, the province, and the settlement. That this process of selection had significant implications for the province and the Okanagan in particular is what we shall turn to in the following pages.

Although the first white man to set foot in the valley was David Stuart on a Pacific Fur Company mission in 1811, it was not much before 1850 that other white settlers came into the valley. The impetus for this move came from the discovery of gold in the Cariboo region, which attracted many settlers, especially from south of the border. The Okanagan was a convenient place to rest, feed and water the horses. In fact the city of Vernon, in the north end of the valley, is reported to have had such modest beginnings (Holliday: 1948). Likewise in the south, Osoyoos, which was the point of entry for those from south of the border, boasted of a custom house in addition to a few homes.

The famous pioneers of the time were Judge Haynes who was appointed to Osoyoos; Theodore Kruger; Tom Ellis, who lived around Penticton and Keremeos; Cornelius O'Keefe; and Price Ellison, who lived in the Vernon district. All of them made large pre-emptions of land and owned many head of cattle\(^2\) (Ormsby: 1976).
Despite references to these early settlers, the credit of opening up the valley for large scale settlement is attributed to the Catholic fathers of the Oblate order who founded a mission in the interior which is now incorporated within the city limits of Kelowna. They were also recognized as pioneer orchardists whose apple trees planted in 1878 are still said to be flourishing in the area (Willston: 1957).

Lest it be thought that ranching and agriculture were the only attractions for settlers in the valley, let me add that there were also several mining operations. In the south, in particular, there was the little mining town of Fairview. There were also several other operations in the adjacent Similkameen Valley between Keremeos and Princeton.

Transportation in those early days was by pack and saddle or by boats and canoes. It was not until 1896 that a road was completed from Kelowna and Kamloops. Those who came in from the west from Princeton or Hope had to make new trails to enter the valley.

From records of the early settlers or pioneers it is not hard to see that many of them were from the British Isles. From the beginning, the tradition of having good citizens from England, Scotland, Ireland or Wales was
emphasized and made its mark on the various settlements that sprung up (Aiken et al: 1959).

Life in the valley was difficult and there were many hardships that the settlers had to overcome. A glimpse of such trials and troubles of everyday life is recorded in the memoirs of Susan Allison, the wife of a pioneer who spent several years of her life in the valley. She writes, (Ormsby: 1976: 43)

"We had moved into our new home (1874) in December on Christmas Eve. It was very warm and comfortable. The only drawback was water - the cooking and drinking water my husband packed from a distance. The washing water had to be melted snow and it was hard work to melt enough."

She goes on to say that the nearest neighbours on both sides were at least 45 miles away. However, despite the distance, the friendship and cooperation between them must have been tremendous because Mrs. Allison writes,

"That winter the lake froze over and we sent our teams over to the mission for oats and flour. It got so cold that winter, that the mercury froze in the thermometers. We fortunately had lots of shed and shelter for the cattle. That counted as much as extra feed but Eli (a neighbour) who had no shelter for his cattle on one or two excessively cold nights had men on horseback armed with whips driving them around and around in his corral. We only lost about 50 head of cattle that winter in spite of the cold but we were decidedly short of flour, rice, sugar, salt, and many other things." (Ormsby: 1976: 46).
If Mrs. Allison's description sheds light on the economic problems that they faced, the description of another pioneer, Mr. Hardy, as recorded by Mrs. Gellately poignantly expresses the loneliness, the struggles and the inner strength that was needed within the individual to create a meaningful existence. She writes (1958: 14)

"As he talked, one could vision it all, the exile lonely at this season (Christmas) though he would scorn to admit it at any other time. Then seeking the solitude of the cabin, with hands that tremble with excitement he opens letters and perhaps parcels from home. Tidings of loved ones far away - of joy, of sorrow. Then his hope of returning home when he strikes it rich (which he surely must do at some not so distant date) dies as he visions a hearth more desolate than his own. For death has entered and left a void that will nevermore be filled. Presently with a sigh he gathers up the scattered pages, folds them away and with them the dreams of home... But what of those who look longingly for mail that never comes? No mail! Nothing! Have they forgotten so soon? Has his place been filled so easily? Silently he turns away and seeks the solitude of the hills which never change. There he conquers the overwhelming loneliness, the bitterness that is worse than death - to return anon and take up once more the tangled threads of his existence."

Whether Mrs. Gellately's account in actuality represented the life of the individuals she records is not as important as the problems she identifies and the solutions to them. In particular, the solace the landscape provides, and the struggle for imparting meaning to existence is evocative of the trials and tribulations of pioneer life.
From these descriptions, based on the letters or diaries of these early settlers, one can picture the social and economic conditions for existence. The struggle to make a living, coupled with a desire to tame the land and make it their own, were both reflections of a particular ethos that guided and instructed the establishment of these settlements.

Having described briefly the trials and problems of pioneer life in the valley, I will briefly enter into a discussion of the growth of towns and settlements. Since it is not feasible or relevant to describe all the little towns and settlements, I have chosen to divide the valley into two basic districts - Northern/Central Okanagan and Southern Okanagan. In each of these districts I will only refer to the history of those settlements and towns that have attracted the Portuguese and the Sikhs, these as they are relevant to this study. It is to this discussion that we shall now turn.

Northern and Central Okanagan

Vernon

The town of Vernon was incorporated in 1892 and, as befits a growing settlement, stores, hotels and a new court house were built. There was even a fire brigade set up in 1893. Until then school had been held in a little school
house, but a new one was constructed. The school house also served as a venue for church services before churches were constructed. There was even a section of the town which was predicted to become "Chinatown" (Theresa: 1971).

The institutions that were established during the same period included a real estate and insurance firm that played an active role in the development of the city. Likewise there was a drug store, a jewelry store, a bank, a funeral home and even a sash and door factory. There was a spring brewery that came into operation in 1891. In short, Vernon was a self-sufficient town. For many years it was the center of industry and by far the largest settlement in the Okanagan Valley.

From available sources, such as the centennial publications, and the short history of Vernon as recalled by pioneers and others, it is fairly plausible to say that even as early as the 1860's, and subsequent years until 1890, the largest number of immigrants were from the British Isles. In any event, from 1892, with a fair amount of confidence, we can say that Vernon attracted settlers primarily from the British Isles. This was the year that Lord Aberdeen took over the Coldstream ranch from Vernon Forbes, and established the first commercial fruit farm. The land was subdivided into lots and was sold mostly to settlers from
Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales, especially from Scotland. Holliday (1948: 189-190) observes,

"Social life in Vernon up to this time has been very free and easy and unspoiled by any sense of class but as English people from the so called upper classes began to come in with their families, many of them seemed unable or unwilling to shed their prejudices: they formed a distinctive exclusive social set among themselves, people who for some obscure reason thought they were superior to the colonials... And it's a curious thing that other towns in the valley were almost free of this sort of thing... Many of these people bought land on the Coldstream ranch part of which had been subdivided into 20 acre lots for fruit growing and on these they built little bungalows, planted fruit trees and then proceeded to enjoy life with tennis, shooting and fishing, and all the social frivolities of Vernon mistakenly imagining they would carry on thus indefinitely and that the fruit trees would take care of themselves. Some of them had private incomes and managed alright. Others waded in and worked like good ones, and eventually most of them took hold and became real working fruit growers. And it was certainly a more healthy and satisfactory life than they would have probably had in the old country."

Although Holliday's account is journalistic as well as impressionistic, it still is written by an Englishman, who observed others who came in large numbers later than he did.

The Rutland District

In 1869, when the Oblate fathers came into the valley, they camped near Duck Lake, which is close to Rutland, before they established themselves further in the Okanagan Mission. In the following year, two French Canadians are described as having recorded 160 acres of land.
In 1871, the first grist mill for the entire district was set up by a German, Frederick Brent (Rutland Centennial Committee: 1971). In 1893, a group of new settlers arrived by covered wagons from Idaho. They preempted land along Mission Creek. Like Vernon, several stores, livery stables and a post office were established in the Rutland district. In addition there were school houses and churches. However, Rutland never expanded and attracted settlers as other cities in the valley did.

Among the settlers who are mentioned, it must be noted that Rutland had a fair share of immigrants from south of the border. There were also citizens of Swedish backgrounds that settled here. In addition there were several families from the British Isles. Rutland, therefore, had more of an ethnic melange than Vernon (Rutland Centennial Committee: 1971).

Southern Okanagan: Fairview

Not much is reported of the little mining town of Fairview that existed prior to the establishment of Oliver. It was essentially built around mining, and once these activities ceased, the town site was also abandoned. That it must have been a thriving little community in the last two decades of the 19th century can be seen from the exis-
tence of the stores, the school, the government house, the livery stables and even a grand hotel.

Like other towns in the valley, there were both Americans and settlers from the British Isles in large numbers (Oliver and District Centennial Committee: 1971: 7-8).

The Coming of the Chinese and Anti-Chinese Sentiment

In these early years of settlement little mention is made of the presence or contribution of the Chinese to the Okanagan Valley. That there must have been families of Chinese origin in the interior can be seen from the passing references to the presence of Chinese laundries, buildings in which they lived in particular sections of the town, or their involvement in mining activities. In Mrs. Allison's records there is mention of the type of mining the Chinese did after the white settlers had finished with it (Ormsby: 1976). Other accounts of pioneers or settlers also give us an idea of how the Chinese were regarded by them. Thus, for instance, Nicholson (Okanagan Historical Society Report: 1962: 108) who was a settler writes,

"With the departure from the Similkameen of white miners they were replaced by their faithful followers, John Chinaman who has mined on the south fork and on the Tulameen almost continuously to the present day."
Nicholson's account of the ways of the Chinese whom he refers to as "John Chinaman" is very deprecatory in style. But when one compares this to the references to the Chinese in other parts of British Columbia, particularly in Victoria, this comes as no surprise.

In a book recalling early days in the valley, author Holliday (1948: 179) discusses the following incident concerning the death of a Chinese resident. Whether it classifies as fiction or not, at least some insight can be gained. He writes,

"One thing that no one seemed to have thought about was a cemetery: we were suddenly faced with this lack when an unknown Chinaman dies on us. Nobody would be public spirited enough to allow the corpse to be buried on their premises and the government agent was in a quandry: he wrote to Victoria for instructions as to what should be done about it, but in the meantime the Chinaman did not improve by keeping. Nobody knew anything about embalming corpses and finally he just had to be buried, and the government agent stowed him away in his back garden."

The year was 1889.

In another account (Theresa 1971: 42) of the history of Vernon, the author notes,

"As early as 1892 it was predicted that the Chinese section of the town where buildings and business were being erected would become known as Chinatown. Many of these buildings have stood since the 1890's and take their place among the landmarks of Vernon."
Although the above statement does not throw light on how the Chinese were viewed, a subsequent remark taken from a Vernon newspaper and reported by Theresa (1971: 42) is somewhat revealing. She observes,

"An amusing note in an issue of the Vernon News of 1893 pointed out that a new Chinese laundry had just been opened and was run by Ah say! and Look there!"

Although statements such as the above are few and far between, in order to discuss the treatment of the Chinese in the valley at least until 1900, it can be said that they probably received the same treatment as other Chinese elsewhere in British Columbia. They were disenfranchised in 1875, and in 1878 they were barred from participating in public works. When the railway was completed, attempts were made not only to restrict entry, but to get rid of those who were already there (Ward: 1973).

As for the Japanese and Sikhs who were also included in the category of "Orientals", there were none in the valley until the turn of the century.

**Summary**

What emerges from this period is the distinction between those who belong to the community and those who do
not. It is indeed clear that the former included those who were "desirable" or preferred immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, while the latter included those particularly from Asia. These two groups co-existed, although a great deal of antipathy and hostility was meted out to the Asians.

Within the "core community" itself, there was a great deal of variation in customs and traditions. However, the rigours of establishing a "community" and of domesticating the land promoted a sense of "we-feeling" and cooperation. There was a great deal of overlapping networks, and "community" was not only defined in terms of "action" but in terms of feelings as well. Those who fell outside these parameters were the "outsiders", some of whom would obtain acceptance. They were known as aliens and were relegated to the outskirts of the settlements. The most important groups to remain as outsiders were the "Orientals". Thus early on in the development of community life in the valley, an emphasis was placed on local-residential identity over and above ethnic group loyalty. However, it was also clear that some groups were preferred over others. Colour and race were the measures by which cultures were stratified.

1900-1950

The turn of the century ushered in a new phase of
development in the valley, and a number of immigrants from all parts of the British Isles, Europe and Asia were trickling in. This was partly because of the better transportation networks, the completion of the railway, and the improvement of the roads in the valley. The prospects of fruit farming likewise brought in a number of real estate agents who saw the possibility of a land boom in the valley. We will, as in the earlier section, discuss the developments in the north, central and the south end of the valley.

Northern and Central Okanagan

Vernon

Since 1921, the Canadian census provides information on population figures categorized by ethnicity for Division 3 (includes the subdivision 3A, which is the Okanagan and Shuswap area, and subdivision 3B, which is the Similkameen area) and quite often for the larger cities like Kelowna, Penticton and Vernon. While they are incomplete, they still provide a framework for discussing the history of ethnic group settlements in the valley.

- see Tables I, II, III, IV -
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<th>SIMILKAMEEN TOTAL 7,457</th>
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Source: 1921 Canadian Census
TABLE II
*Ethnic Population in the City of Kelowna

KELOWNA - TOTAL 2,520

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<th>Female</th>
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<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scot</td>
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<td>288</td>
<td>274</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
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<td>Polish</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Information for only city of Kelowna was available.

Source: 1921 Canadian Census
TABLE III
Ethnic Population in the Okanagan Valley in 1931

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBDIVISION 3A (OKANAGAN &amp; UPPER SHUSWAP)</th>
<th>SUBDIVISION 3B (SIMILKAMEEN RIVER)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL 24,662</td>
<td>TOTAL 11,059</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BRITISH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>SUBDIVISION 3A</th>
<th>SUBDIVISION 3B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>9,589</td>
<td>4,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>2,471</td>
<td>1,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scot</td>
<td>4,015</td>
<td>2,253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EUROPEAN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>SUBDIVISION 3A</th>
<th>SUBDIVISION 3B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech/Slovak</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>1,834</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roumanian</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukranian</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ASIATIC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>SUBDIVISION 3A</th>
<th>SUBDIVISION 3B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese &amp; Japanese</td>
<td>1,696*</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian &amp; Eskimo</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Asiatic population (Chinese and Japanese) had more than doubled in subdivision 3A by 1931.

Source: 1931 Canadian Census
TABLE IV

Ethnic Population in the Okanagan Valley in 1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3A</th>
<th>3B</th>
<th>Kelowna</th>
<th>Vernon</th>
<th>Penticton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BRITISH</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>11,246</td>
<td>6,280</td>
<td>2,070</td>
<td>2,507</td>
<td>3,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>2,754</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scot</td>
<td>4,478</td>
<td>2,632</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **EUROPEAN**   |     |     |         |        |           |
| French         | 937  | 404  | 179    | 162    | 134       |
| Austrian       | 333  | 120  | 30     | 68     | 18        |
| Belgian        | 127  | 26   | 14     | 31     | 15        |
| Czech/slovak   | 143  | 180  | 13     | 18     | 3         |
| Finnish        | 31   | 33   | 5      | 2      | 2         |
| German         | 2,480 | 929  | 383    | 278    | 173       |
| Hungarian      | 347  | 186  | 119    | 40     | 38        |
| Italian        | 374  | 264  | 137    | 11     | 66        |
| Jewish         | 15   | -    | 1      | 12     | -         |
| Dutch          | 569  | 364  | 82     | 872    | 112       |
| Polish         | 716  | 136  | 58     | 208    | 30        |
| Roumanian      | 205  | 37   | 44     | 26     | 6         |
| Russian        | 902  | 276  | 156    | 132    | 85        |
| Scandinavian   | 914  | 794  | 146    | 135    | 202       |
| Ukranian       | 1,085 | 1,131 | 52    | 171    | 5         |
| Other          | 115  | 380  | 28     | 12     | 57        |

| **ASIATIC***   |     |     |         |        |           |
| Chinese        | 524  | 146  | 71     | 112    | 41        |
| Japanese       | 721  | 30   | 25     | 1      | 14        |
| Other          | 32   | 7    | 2      | 1      | -         |

| Indian & Eskimo| 604  | 388  | -      | 2      | 3         |
| Other & Not    |      |     |        |        |           |
| Stated         | 248  | 90   | 12     | 5      | 7         |

**TOTAL**       | **30,306** | **15,040** | **5,118** | **5,209** | **5,777** |

Note: Population breakdown by ethnic groups in the major cities were available in the 1941 census.

*No major alterations in size of Asiatic population.

Source: 1941 Canadian Census
At the turn of the century, there was greater activity in Vernon. In 1902 a high school was built in the city, one of two schools in the interior. The valley attracted many settlers from other parts of Europe, and even Asia. Thus there was a sizeable group of British, Scandinavians, Germans, Italians, in addition to Japanese and Chinese. The Sikhs are not identified as a category.

The first Japanese to come into the area did so in 1911 and worked in the sawmill. Later a few other families arrived (in 1915 and 1916) from the coast where they had been employed in fishing. They took to working on the farms and eventually were able to buy property. The first Japanese family to own land in Rutland did so in 1923. They were to later take an active part in the fruit and vegetable associations in the valley.

Like the Japanese in Vernon, there is reason to believe that they had hard times during the two wars. The first three decades of the century witnessed the establishment of the Japanese United Church and the Japanese Buddhist Church. Most of the families who came into the interior were Buddhists, many of whom converted to Christianity to escape censure.
It was also during this period that the first Sikhs settled in the valley. According to the historical report (1971) three Sikhs came to Rutland in 1909. In 1913 several others filtered in, but they formed only a small nucleus.

The early life of these Sikh settlers in the valley has not received any attention except a passing mention in the historical reports. Since I had the opportunity to interview at least some of the older families in the area, a descriptive account of life for the Sikhs in the first fifty years of the century was possible. According to one of them,

"Canadians did not want us as neighbours or to buy orchards. We were supposed to live away from the main residential areas. People looked at our turbans and the traditional outfits that our women wore, with disgust and suspicion. We kept mainly to ourselves."

It became clear that the lives of these settlers were not very different from the fate of their counterparts elsewhere in British Columbia.

In the years that followed, the number of Sikhs entering Canada was very small in comparison to other European immigrants. Thus, according to Mehta (1972), between 1921-22 there were 13, and in 1925-26 this number had only increased to 60. It was not until the fifties that this situation altered.
Acceptance in the community of Rutland was very difficult in the early years, despite the fact that there were only a handful of Sikhs here. Some of the English who had some contacts with Indians in the army were friendly and helped them get jobs. There were, however, a number of Italians and Germans in Rutland, and the fact that these two groups had to face tough times as well, made them more amicable towards the East Indians. There were in fact two residential centers in Rutland. One comprised of the preferred groups from northern and western Europe, and the second comprised of the Japanese, the Italians and East Indians. According to one of my informants, the Germans even raised the Nazi flag, much to the chagrin of all the other members of the community. This situation did not improve until the 1950's when the clause regarding the restriction of Germans and Italians was removed and they were allowed to come into the country (Hawkins: 1972).

Southern Okanagan - Oliver District

When the mine in Fairview was closed down, it seemed that the town also received its death knell. The only other nearby settlement was in Osoyoos, in the south. It was not until 1921 that the town of Oliver was established. After World War I the government of British Columbia, under the then Premier the Honourable John Oliver, was concerned about settling and rehabilitating its war
veterans. The area south of Penticton was found suitable for these purposes and the government purchased land from the South Okanagan Land Company. They called this the South Okanagan land project, and their plan was to lay out the irrigable area into 10 acre lots with proper water supply. The terms of the contract were that land could be purchased with a down payment of 10% and with 20 years remaining to pay the balance (Oliver and District Centennial Committee: 1971).

When they found that there were not enough men from British Columbia to purchase the land, they opened it to others. By 1921, like all other settlements in the valley, Oliver had its own store, grocers, butchers, plumbers, real estate agents, shoe repairers, garage mechanics and lumber workers. In the 1930's Oliver even had its own airport.

For the first 25 years Oliver remained an unorganized district. It was incorporated as a village in 1946, and by 1966, the Oliver rural area came under the jurisdiction of the Regional district of Okanagan-Similkameen.

Like other settlements, Oliver had its own schools and churches. Among the churches that were established in the early years were the United church, the Anglican church, the Pentacostal church, the Lutheran church and the Catholic church.
During the early years in Oliver the largest groups of settlers were from the British Isles and northern Europe. The German community was welcome until the war started. With the introduction of a special immigration clause limiting the numbers of Germans and Italians, things became difficult (Oliver and District Centennial Committee: 1971).

The other groups that have had difficult times are the Chinese and the Japanese. The fact that there were no East Indians in Oliver until the 1960's is quite revealing in itself. There were not many resident Japanese or Chinese in the south end of the valley, either. As early as 1906, a few Chinese were driven out of town. They had been brought into the valley to clear the land.

"A well attended meeting of the vigilante committee threatened to boycott merchants who would not sign a petition against the intrusion of the Chinese. Matters got out of hand, and a group of whites chased the Chinese out of town. Five residents were found guilty and fined $25 or 30 days in jail. One paid the fine, but the remaining four refused to do so. As they left the court house, they were cheered by a crowd of citizens and a collection of $55 was quickly gathered toward partial payment of the fines, but the four refused to accept it, preferring to martyr themselves in the village jail." (Morton: 1922: 199).

As late as 1941 there was another incident that was reported in the local newspaper. It was said that the Oliver Board of Trade formally re-affirmed its stand that no Orientals be allowed in this district.
Another report in the same newspaper noted, (Oliver Chronicle: 1941)

"Early settlers were not hesitant in running Orientals out of the area. Back in the 1930's angry growers in the district chased out a Chinese from town because they feared that he would undercut the wage structure in the area."

This situation began to alter in the 1960's when there were more Japanese and Chinese in the area. However, it is interesting to note that there are at present only a few families of Chinese, Japanese and East Indian origins.

In the Similkameen area, according to the 1921 census there were 203 Chinese and Japanese. There was only a very slight increase by 1931 (214) and by 1941 there was a decline in the population of Chinese and Japanese. In Penticton, there were only 55 individuals of Japanese and Chinese origin.

In all the three census' that were taken, those of British origin continued to be the largest group with a steady increase of those of German, Dutch and Scandinavian origin. Mention must also be made of the steady increase in the ethnic population mainly from Poland, Russia and the Ukraine.
A Brief History of the Fruit Industry

What we have discussed thus far is just a brief history of the growth of settlements in the valley. As we saw, most of these towns and villages centered around the fruit industry, which was the main attraction for most settlers to the valley.

The history of the fruit industry is then critical to our understanding of where the Portuguese fit in the larger picture. One of the central issues, as we shall see, was the question of cooperation. The greatest struggle was to get the farmers to agree to act as a group rather than as individuals. This problem was compounded when new settlers came in since they did not necessarily agree to the established norms and patterns. The Portuguese are a good example of one such group that had to learn the rules of cooperative marketing and selling. It is with this in mind, that we can talk about the changes in the structure and functioning of the industry from the early decades of the twentieth century.

As we saw earlier, the planting of apple trees in the Mission district by the Oblate Fathers was the very beginning of such an enterprise. It was not until 1908, however, that the valley became the center of the industry
in British Columbia. It was also in the same year that the Okanagan Fruit Union was founded.

The greatest problem that the industry faced during all these years was one of marketing. Despite efforts made by the directors, the concept of cooperation was not readily understood nor accepted. In 1913, however, the growers finally united to form the Okanagan United Growers. This new marketing organization was a cooperative, non-stock, non-profit, central selling and distributing agency supported in part by the government. As a result, at least until 1923, about 1,000 growers had signed up and had obtained almost total control over the Prairie market. But this success was short lived. Following the war the farmers had hoped for an expanding market in the west, but this was not to be.

Their first experiment in cooperation had failed owing to national and international market pressures. By 1927 it was quite clear that the only way to stabilize prices and to ensure a market for the fruit was to get the cooperation of all growers in the marketing of their fruit. The passing of the Natural Products Marketing Act (in 1934), at least with respect to the vegetable and fruit industry, strove to keep some control over the number of shippers of fruit by issuing licences and setting a minimum price. However the validity of this act was later challenged in
1941 on the grounds that the provincial legislature had taken over some of the duties of the federal field of jurisdiction. Thus it seems that the attempt made at cooperative selling had once again failed.

The depression years were terrible years for the growers. In response to this the federal and provincial governments established the "Natural Products Marketing Act". As soon as this was passed the British Columbia Fruit Board was organized. In 1936 they set up the British Columbia Tree Fruit Limited, which had legal authority to supervise product flow and price setting. It was only in 1940 that the Board was given complete control of the marketing of apples by the federal government through an order in council under the War Measures Act (Lee: 1976).

In 1946 the present Sun Rype Products Limited was formed. Its function was to use lower grades of fruit and culls to produce juice. The British Columbia Fruit Board drew its authority from the marketing Acts passed by the provincial as well as the federal government. Its main duties were to set prices after taking into account both internal and external market conditions, to designate a selling agency for the marketing of the fruit, to employ inspectors to check on prohibited movements of fruit, to provide licences for growers with one or more acres of tree
fruits and to regulate and control transportation of all fruits in the area (Lee: 1976).

The marketing agency for the Board was an industry owned company called the British Columbia Tree Fruit Limited. In 1946 the Sun Rype products was established that processed wastes, culls, and low grade fruit. In 1970 another subsidiary, the British Columbia Tree Fresh Storage Limited was established to augment storage facilities by providing some controlled atmosphere storage areas for the industry. This of course ensured the market of a regular supply of fruit after the harvest (Lee: 1976).

Summary

The war years proved to be a difficult period for settlers in the valley. Especially the farmers faced a great deal of uncertainty about their livelihood. While cooperation was essential and promoted, no guarantees were made regarding the income that they would receive. Many of them sought to diversify, and fought to remain independent, which in itself was not an unusual response. According to Hedley (1979) similar experiences were encountered by farmers in central Alberta. Since Canada is capitalist in its economic organization, it is through relationships with this capitalist organization that farmers dispose of their
goods and obtain goods in exchange. In central Alberta, as in the Okanagan, cooperation was seen as an alternative and as a means of controlling or affecting the outcome of exchange. However, with failures in the use of such methods, the cost-price pressures forced farmers to alter or change the organization of production. They rallied together as a group in the Okanagan and established the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association. Subsequently they established their own company, to market their products.

It was also during this period that large numbers of immigrants were entering the country and making their way to the valley. There were a number of immigrants from the eastern and southern parts of Europe. At first they were segregated, but gradually they obtained acceptance within the community boundaries. The Asians, however, did not receive much social acceptance, although it was during this period that they were allowed to own property and to vote as well. In all other ways they were marginal to the "core community". Within this latter group itself there were those who were most desirable and those who were not. During the first world war the Germans and Italians were disliked intensely. It was not until the 1950's that this began to alter. Those who were both economically and socially dominant were settlers from the British Isles or some parts of Northern Europe. The other Europeans,
although economically successful, were socially peripheral. The rest were both economically and socially peripheral.

In this period, as in earlier times, those who were at the core interacted intensely with each other. They defined community in terms of both feelings and action. This psychological satisfaction was not merely confined to them, but also to other peripheral groups who extended it only to those who were members. But they always remained marginal to the rest of the settlement.

As in earlier times, race and colour continued to be the basis on which cultures were stratified. Finally, commitment to the local-residential unit over and above cultural loyalty was central in coordinating community life.

1950-1962

After the wars, changes were made in the immigration policies of the Canadian government. What was essentially an exclusionist policy began to lose its specific character. For instance, the clause prohibiting the entry of Germans and Italians was lifted (Hawkins: 1972) and they were given a much better reception. Likewise, in the case of displaced persons from Hungary after the revolution in 1956, Canada was much more open in her reception and
settlement of these newcomers on the land. Yet the attitudes towards the Asians remained the same. Canada was committed to the goal of not making "any fundamental alterations" in the character of the country although immigration laws as a whole were relaxed (Hawkins: 1972: 117).

If one were to think of immigration laws as creating concentric rings with most preferred nationals at the core and undesirables at the peripheries, one can gain a better idea of the Canadian situation. Those at the core enjoyed the most privileges. They were admitted regardless of trade or skill levels into the country along with their relatives. Then came the countries that were preferred, and lastly, the Asians. The latter group members were allowed to sponsor their immediate families once they had taken Canadian citizenship. It was no wonder then that until the 1960's the number of immigrants coming in from the least preferred countries were limited. It was also during the fifties that the Portuguese immigrants began to enter Canada. The numbers increased substantially in the 1960's along with those of the Sikhs.

The census data for 1951 and 1961, provides us with information on ethnic groups for division 3 as a whole as well as for the major cities in the valley. Of special
importance to note is the continued increase in population of British origins with steady increase of those of German, Italian, Dutch, Polish, Russian, Scandinavian and Ukranian origins. Particularly in 1951, in Penticton city, clearly those of British origins were numerically the largest.

In 1961, no major changes in patterns emerged. Those of British origins continued to be numerically strong, along with the Germans, Ukranians and Scandinavians. But before we enter into a discussion of these two groups, let us take a look at the three sub-areas in the Okanagan Valley that were to provide them work and shelter.

- see Tables V, VI, VII, VIII -
TABLE V
Ethnic Population in the Okanagan Valley in 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>42,592</td>
<td>21,320</td>
<td>21,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2,473</td>
<td>1,236</td>
<td>1,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech/Slovak</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>9,074</td>
<td>4,587</td>
<td>4,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1,008</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>2,168</td>
<td>1,114</td>
<td>1,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>1,289</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>652</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>4,423</td>
<td>2,224</td>
<td>2,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>3,380</td>
<td>1,793</td>
<td>1,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>2,787</td>
<td>1,422</td>
<td>1,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1,124</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>2,188</td>
<td>1,178</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Indian &amp; Eskimo</td>
<td>1,031</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other &amp; Not Stated</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 77,686 39,521 38,165

* Information for only division 3 was available. (The population figures for subdivisions in A and B were not available.)

Source: 1951 Canadian Census
TABLE VI

Ethnic Population in Penticton in 1951

PENTICTON*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>7,605</td>
<td>3,691</td>
<td>3,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech/Slovak</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>55</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Indian &amp; Eskimo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other &amp; Not Stated</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>75</td>
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</table>

TOTAL 10,548 5,131 5,417

* Population breakdown by ethnicity was available only for Penticton.

Source: 1951 Canadian Census
TABLE VII

Ethnic Population in the Okanagan Valley in 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>3A</th>
<th>3B</th>
<th>Oliver*</th>
<th>Osoyoos</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>30,884</td>
<td>16,305</td>
<td>892</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>2,282</td>
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<td>Polish</td>
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<td>Russian</td>
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<td>2,054</td>
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<td>Other &amp; Not Stated</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<td><strong>27,843</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,774</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,022</strong></td>
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*Data was available for Oliver and Osoyoos as well.

Source: 1961 Canadian Census
TABLE VIII
Ethnic Population in the City of Kelowna, Penticton, and Vernon in 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Kelowna Male</th>
<th>Kelowna Female</th>
<th>Penticton Male</th>
<th>Penticton Female</th>
<th>Vernon Male</th>
<th>Vernon Female</th>
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<td>89</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>308</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>93</td>
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<td>Scandinavian</td>
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<td>276</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>835</td>
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<td>Native/Eskimo</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other &amp; Not Stated</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 13,188 6,384 6,004 13,859 6,796 7,063 10,250 4,984 5,266

Source: 1961 Canadian Census
Since 1941 the population in the northern end of the valley had gradually increased.

The growth in population was likewise matched by a growth in agriculture. It had diversified tremendously and included tree fruits, vegetable seed, grain, dairying, poultry and livestock.

Further, approximately 8,000 acres of land were irrigated by the Vernon Irrigation District, which expanded in 1920. Likewise, despite setbacks, tree fruit production had improved.

Lumber was also a major source of income in the district. According to an Economic Study (1973), extensive logging in the area did not begin until after World War II. In the late 1940's and early 1950's there was a boom which was followed by a period of consolidation, as the most accessible timber was exhausted.

The dairy industry was a challenge to both agriculture and logging. The dairy belt in the northern Okanagan was the largest in the interior of the province. The
tourist industry had also expanded and during this period was still doing so.

What is also important to note is that there was a steady increase in population owing to the attraction of Vernon as an ideal retirement centre. This had important implications for the rest of the community, and marked a growing trend in the region. The mild climate, coupled with the quality of life, made the Okanagan an attractive place for retirement. Plans for future expansion of the towns or the industries would have to take this feature into consideration.

Finally, the fifties and the early sixties witnessed the introduction of radio and television stations. Modern telephone facilities were also introduced in the fifties (Theresa: 1971).

During this period the Asians were given some concessions with respect to the number of entrants allowed. As was true in the rest of Canada, those who were Canadian citizens were allowed to sponsor their families. Since the nucleus of Sikh settlers was very small, the number of families that came to the valley was also very small.
Unlike Vernon, however, Rutland did not experience the rapid pace of growth. But this is not to say that there was no growth at all. Among other ventures, such as the establishment of the Board of Trade and the Rutland Fire Brigade, the Rutland Water Works District was also formed (Rutland Centennial Committee: 1971). This was to provide for domestic water only, since the number of subdivisions of land had substantially increased. The value of such a system to a growing town site can hardly be overlooked (Rutland Centennial Committee: 1971).

Among the groups that came to Rutland in this period were the Sikhs. As we noted earlier, the north end of the valley had always attracted them, especially because of the small nucleus of Sikhs located there since the turn of the century. This increase was largely due to the sponsorship programme of the government. It was also during this period that many of the older families began to buy land and property.

Southern Okanagan - Oliver District

In 1946, Oliver was made into a municipality. It had also diversified in terms of its industries, although
agriculture and particularly tree fruits constituted a major portion of its income. During the same period there were labour shortages. This dearth in the supply of reliable labour prompted the move taken by the government to encourage labourers from southern Europe. The Portuguese came to the valley in 1955.

The following report on Portuguese immigration in the fifties suggests that the movement from Portugal was not entirely due to push factors, such as economic disasters, and the like. Canada was actively recruiting unskilled labour from Portugal and Italy as well.

"For the 1954 programme at the request of the Portuguese government the Portuguese movement comprised 200 railway track workers for the R.F. Welsh Co., 700 agricultural workers for mixed farms, and up to 50 tradesmen with all selections to be conducted in the Azores. In 1955 the approved movement consisted of 900 farm labourers and 50 tradesmen to be selected from the Portuguese mainland. In 1956 a similar programme was approved but with selection from the Azores. For the 1957 immigration programme, in line with the general expansion of activities, the programme included 2,000 farm labourers (1,000 from the Azores and 1,000 from the mainland) as well as 50 tradesmen. Subsequently a 1,000 track workers from the Azores for the R.F. Welsh Co. was also authorized in 1957." (Hawkins: 1972: 50).

About the same time serious doubts were held as to the assimilation of the Portuguese in Canada (Hawkins: 1972). These unskilled workers were also contributing to the sponsored movement of more unskilled labour from these parts. In the Okanagan, the coming of the Portuguese was
viewed as a mixed blessing. While the farmers in the district were very glad for the reliable help, non-farmers were concerned about the numbers of unskilled labourers and their relatives moving into the small settlements. Most of them came to Penticton, Naramata, Oliver and Osoyoos. Later, others moved into the central and northern end of the valley.

It is also reported that on occasion, domestic helpers were treated with contempt, especially in the Naramata area. In Oliver itself, there were occasional outbursts of resentment from locals when the Portuguese formed little groups on the street corners and spoke in their mother tongue.

However, the records of the Rotary Club, especially in the 1950's, suggest that there was a concerted effort by the locals to enable the Portuguese and other newcomers in the area to settle. For these purposes the Club hosted the new Canadian night. What is pertinent to note is the use of the term "assimilation" with respect to the new Canadians. The celebration of the New Canadian Night lasted until 1960, although it was only in the 1957 report that the Portuguese were mentioned. It was clear that there were not many of them, and from what my infor-
mants have said, there were only 10-15 families in all of Oliver and Osoyoos.

Summary

There were two important factors during this period. Firstly, that the valley began to attract a new group of settlers, the aged. The climate and the lifestyle attracted people from all parts of Canada to spend their retirement years in the valley. Secondly, it was during this period that immigration laws came under revision, and Asians along with other groups were allowed to sponsor immediate relatives. The acute labour shortage in the valley was partially remedied by encouraging Portuguese workers to immigrate to Canada.

These new immigrants remained peripheral to the core community, which was quite diverse in composition. The communities had sizable numbers of farmers and non-agricultural workers alike. Moreover, there was a growing number of old age pensioners or those who wished to retire early. In this sense then, there were several cores.

Despite the lifting of the ban on immigration from Asia, race and colour continued as dominant factors in the life of the various communities. Finally, the emphasis on
local-residential identity continued to hold sway.

1962 Until the Present

During this period many more changes were introduced into the valley. In 1965, provincial legislation was introduced for the purposes of incorporating areas within the province to be known as Regional District. There were three in the valley, Northern, Central and Southern Okanagan Regional Districts. The prime purpose was to take joint action in providing services that could be better handled in a cooperative manner than by each of the municipalities, as well as to extend these services to the unincorporated areas. Rutland thus came under the Central Okanagan District, Vernon remained in the north and Oliver belonged to the Southern Okanagan Regional District (Rutland Centennial Committee: 1971). It was also during this period that immigration laws were redefined and which resulted in the unprecedented increase in the number of Sikhs and Portuguese as well as other groups in the Okanagan Valley. We will begin with the Northern and Central Okanagan Districts.

What is curious to note is that there is no mention of the Sikhs or the Portuguese even at this stage. The following table provides the breakdown and numbers of ethnic
populations in the Central Okanagan, the Northern Okanagan (previously Division 3A) and the Okanagan-Similkameen districts. The continued predominance of those of British, German, Dutch, Scandinavian and Ukranian origin is important to note.

- see Tables IX, X -
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Central Okanagan</th>
<th>North Okanagan</th>
<th>Okanagan-Similkameen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Population Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>17,800</td>
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<td>2,240</td>
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<td>420</td>
<td>215</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other &amp; Unknown</td>
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<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50,180</td>
<td>25,125</td>
<td>34,040</td>
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</table>

Source: 1971 Canadian Census
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Kelowna</th>
<th>Vernon</th>
<th>Penticton</th>
<th>Oliver*</th>
<th>Osoyoos*</th>
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<td>75</td>
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<td>65</td>
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<td>615</td>
<td>130</td>
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<td><strong>18,150</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,520</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,695</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Oliver and Osoyoos are included in Okanagan-Similkameen census division.

**Source:** 1971 Canadian Census
Northern and Central Okanagan

The Lumber Industry

Part of the attraction of the valley to the Sikhs was the opportunities for employment in the forest industry. In 1969, there were 40 stationary mills and 108 portable mills in the region (Okanagan Economic Study: 1971). Of these mills, since many of the smaller ones operated intermittently, 7% accounted for approximately 45% of the total capacity and more than half of the total production (Okanagan Economic Study: 1971). The current trend in British Columbia is away from the smaller bush mills, both portable and stationary, to large complexes located on rail (Okanagan Economic Study: 1971: 74). This is not to say that the smaller portable mills are to be phased out, but that with the limit placed on arable land that can be used for agriculture, and thereby a restriction on forest land, a reduction in the number of farmer-operated mills can be expected over time.

Crown Zellerbach Canada Limited first entered the Okanagan forest industries in 1965 with the purchase of S.M. Simpson Limited of Kelowna, which in turn owned Lumby Timber Company and the Trautman Garraway Limited at Peachland. In 1969 the company purchased Armstrong Sawmills Limited with mills at Armstrong, Enderby and Falkland, and in 1970 Pondosa
Pine Company at Monte Lake was also purchased. Shortly thereafter, large scale operations were planned for the future, and the smaller plants that have always been part of the Okanagan landscape were to be phased out.

In addition, in 1957, the first plywood factory was established in Kelowna by S.M. Simpson (now Crown Zellerbach). In 1969 another factory was built near Armstrong that employed approximately 100 people.

In addition to the pulp mill, other other organizations dealing with wood products all forecasted the prosperous future of the forest industry in the valley.

Tree-Fruit Industry

As we saw earlier, cooperative selling was an important feature of the Okanagan tree-fruit industry. According to the report (Hudson: 1973) the fruit industry provided the economic base for an annual contribution of over $50 million to the Okanagan region's economy. The economic health of the industry was of paramount importance in relation to the continued growth of the area.

Since 1960 there had been a steady increase in the values of land planted to orchard. Table XI provides us an estimate given by the Farm Credit Corporation. Part of the
differences in prices can be explained by the subdivision activity. Since 1972, however, a land freeze was introduced by which agricultural land could not be sold for housing subdivisions.

Since the introduction of the government operated assistance programme, fruit growing has had more appeal to the younger and new farmers. Those growers who were not obtaining economic yields and whose returns per pound were lower due to inferior quality were to receive technical and monetary assistance. Likewise the crop insurance and price stabilization schemes were very important programmes for maintaining the viability of the fruit industry in the valley.

According to the 1976-77 list of the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association there were a total 2,194 growers in the valley. The following table, although incomplete, breaks this down further.

- see Table XII -
### TABLE XI
Comparative Value of Land in the Okanagan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>VALUE OF LAND PLANTED TO ORCHARD (PER ACRE)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similkameen</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver-Osoyoos</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton-Naramata</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summerland-Westbank</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelowna</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winfield-Oyama</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XII
Comparative List of Canadian and Portuguese Growers
and the Land They Own (1976-1977)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locals</th>
<th>Number of Portuguese Growers</th>
<th>Number of Acres Owned by Portuguese</th>
<th>Total Number of Okanagan Growers</th>
<th>Total Acreage of All Okanagan Growers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kamloops</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salmon Arm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon-Coldstream</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyama</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winfield-Okanagan Centre</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>1,915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenmore</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>134.5</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South &amp; East</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelowna &amp; Mission</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>3,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westbank-Peachland</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>1,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutland-Ellison</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>2,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summerland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>2,104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>194.7</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>1,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naramata</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaledon-Okanagan Falls</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keremeos-Cawston</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>1,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>689.2</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>3,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osoyoos</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>903.3</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>2,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creston</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2,170.8</td>
<td>2,194</td>
<td>27,084</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This table was compiled from data given to me by the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association. I cross-checked this information with the lists provided by representatives from the different local chapters as well as the lists provided by the directors of the various cooperatives.
Between 1962 and 1976 the population in the northern and central Okanagan Valley increased as a result of the Federal Industrial Incentive Programme and the expansion of the tourist industry (Plan - Vernon: 1973: 9). Vernon alone, which had a population of 10,250 in 1961, increased to 11,423 in 1966 and to 13,285 in 1971 (Okanagan Economic Study: 1971: 151). During this same period, there had also been a steady growth in the number of people who retired here. Figures for the city of Vernon alone suggests that they are a force to be reckoned with in all the planned programmes. In 1971, for instance, they comprised 19.8% of the city's population (Plan - Vernon: 1973: 10). Kelowna, Penticton, and other towns have similarly attracted retired people.

Inter-ethnic Relations

In a report written by Smitheram (1976) of ethnic tensions of localities in the valley it was noted that in Kelowna, there was no evident discrimination against ethnic groups. According to Smitheram (1976:8),

"There is a distinction between undesirables and respectable people, but there is no definition of the same. The city council has both Chinese and Japanese serving as Alderman."

In the Vernon district, "there is a little evidence of discrimination although East Indians claim that their members have been beaten by white men for no apparent reason. They are afraid to take part in public events because
of bad experiences and some are reluctant to take part in recent folk festivals. Chinese and Japanese seem to be accepted well in the city, although this has not always been so. There is also some open conflict between two factions of Ukranian people."

In Penticton, there is no discrimination against any ethnic group.

These reports, although questionable in terms of indices of discrimination used, suggest that there are some tensions between the groups cited and the rest of the population. At present, at least, the media from time to time report on the positive aspects of multi-culturalism (Kelowna Courier 1977).

Southern Okanagan

In 1969, there were four packing houses and one cannery in the district. Industries of a manufacturing nature that were linked to the orchard industry also existed. There was one mining company that was involved in obtaining silica in the area (Oliver and District Centennial Committee: 1971).

Although agricultural industries are the most important, the forest industries have also been attracting employees in the district. Thus, for instance, the branch of the Northwood mills that was established at Okanagan Falls drew many people from Oliver. It provided 90 new jobs at this site, in addition to the jobs in the woods.
Likewise in Penticton, Yellow Lake Sawmills Limited erected a new sawmill in 1969 to replace a smaller one destroyed by fire. The company, which was a subsidiary of Greenwood Forest Products, had timber licences in the southern Okanagan (Okanagan Economic Study: 1971). Thus forest industries attracted labour from the southern end of the valley as well (Okanagan Economic Study: 1971).

In terms of the fruit industry itself, many important changes occurred. In the sixties, a need for amalgamation of the various packing houses was felt, and consequently two major packing house were established in the Oliver-Osoyoos district. Appropriately, one of them was named the Oliver-Osoyoos Cooperative Growers Association, and the other was called the Haynes cooperative. According to the figures provided by the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association there were a total of 521 growers who belonged to both cooperatives. Among these there were 117 (22.45%) Portuguese. They owned 1,592.5 acres of land under fruit cultivation. However, there are many orchardists who do not belong to the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association and who prefer to work privately.

Inter-ethnic Relations

As late as 1962, the Oliver Chronicle (September
27: 62) reported the case of a motel owner who refused to make reservations for a Japanese Canadian in the village of Oliver. The following week an article in the editorial column appeared, discussing the attitudes of the people of Oliver towards Orientals, especially around the turn of the century. According to the article, there was a fear of hiring a Chinese cook and selling Chinese food in the village. One other editorial that same year announced a solution to the Doukhabor problem in Canada. Between 1962 and 1965 there were not many instances related to inter-ethnic relations that appeared in the papers. But in 1966, there were articles about "new residents and new citizens".

It was in the same year an isolated incident was made of a "Portuguese" resident of the area who, along with others, was fined for intoxicated driving and for failing to have his headlights on his car (Oliver Chronicle: 1966). However, the matter was brought up in the interviews with other Canadians. Mention of this incident vis a vis the entire Portuguese community was also made.

From 1967 onwards, at least with respect to the Portuguese community, references were of a more positive nature. It was also in the same year that, for the first time, a Portuguese film was shown in Oliver. Among the
local concerts held annually, mention was made of the contribution of the Portuguese. From 1967 onwards the Portuguese in Oliver set up a tradition of celebrating the feast of Fatima. In 1968 a picture of the celebration was presented on the front page along with an account of the feast. Further, in 1970, when a description of the feast was given, a note was made of the use of the Portuguese and Canadian flag during the feast.

What is clear from these reports, is the positive mention made of the Portuguese in the valley. Nonetheless, cultural clashes between Canadians and other ethnic groups did not cease.

In 1973, the Inkameep Indian chief charged a motel in Oliver of discriminating against Indians. In the same year there was an article entitled "Archie Bunker lives right here". The story that was related was that of an East Indian couple of semi-professional status who expressed an interest in buying property in the district. The reactions they received were very negative. In the following year there was an excerpt from an account of the feelings towards East Indian and Chinese immigrants that was felt in British Columbia. The title of the article was "Assimilation is the Key to Avoiding Racial Prejudice". An excerpt from the article reported: (Oliver Chronicle: 1974).
"A conservative member of parliament has finally said what a lot of us have been reluctantly thinking for a long time, but have not had the courage to say. A heavy stream of Asian immigrants is imposing a great social burden on this country and their admittance to Canada cannot be in any way be expected to solve the population problems in the countries from where they come. Ron Huntington, MP for Capilano heatedly denied he is racist and called for tighter immigration laws. 'Chinese and East Indians who cannot be properly absorbed into the country and who cannot find jobs suitable to them are being admitted under the Immigration Act. These people are coming in so rapidly that they are not fitting in properly with the fabric of society. They are locating in ghettos, dozens to a house. They come in plane loads 300 at a time and there is just no way to assimilate them... Are we to be so stupid that we cannot learn from the problems caused in England by the unrestricted entry of several million coloured people and Asians from the commonwealth countries? Even the sanctimonious English so proud of their long history of acceptance of foreigners had to bury their pride and tighten immigration laws to avert racial catastrophe. The worst thing which ever happened in Northern Ireland was the immigration of Scots hundreds of years ago, and we all know the problem. They are all white. They happen when races for one reason or another cannot assimilate.'

The feelings toward the Sikhs and other Asians expressed in this report can be extended to cover the valley as well. From 1973 on there were articles featuring the number of new citizens to Canada, many of whom were Portuguese. In 1976, one of the oldest restaurants in Oliver was bought by a Chinese couple who were the first family to live in the town.

These later newspaper articles suggest a positive change in perceptions and attitudes of at least the people of Oliver toward the Portuguese. Although acts of discrimination and prejudice are not common, Asian groups, particularly the Chinese and East Indians, were not looked upon with favour.
Summary

There was no doubt that far reaching changes had occurred in the valley during this period. The increase in population alone was tremendous. While lumber was an important factor, construction, manufacturing, community and personal services were attracting the largest number of employees. As a result, the distinction between the agricultural and non-agricultural workers had increased.

The differentiations within the core community also continued. There were old timers and newcomers. There were farmers and non-agriculturists. There were established Canadians and new immigrants. While race and colour were not overtly used in these distinctions, the preference for people who looked similar continued.

Despite all these changes, it was quite clear that commitment to the local-residential unit or community was imperative. The extension of the same principle implied that an individual could identify himself/herself to the local unit, the regional unit, the provincial unit and then to the national unit. To use the image of concentric circles, the individual who was at the core was seen as contributing to society from the scale of a small locality to the nation.
Finally, in the regional, cultural model, as in the national model, community above cultural or sub-group loyalty and individual identity over cultural identity were recognized. In both instances, the distinction between public community activities and private ethnic or cultural activities was also maintained.
Indeed it is said of one of the early land developers, and founder of three settlements (Naramata, Peachland and Summerland) that:

"As he sat on the verandah of his Summerland home, he was often beguiled by a panorama spread along the opposite shore, across a stretch of some three miles of water. He gazed with longing eyes at the beautiful 'nine mile point' and he could visualize a lovely little town with perfect beaches and beautiful homes with a matchless view overlooking Lake Okanagan." (Aiken, C. et al: 1967).

For instance, consider the case of Thomas Ellis (1844-1918). He left Dublin for Southampton to sail to British Columbia. In 1866 he and a partner, one McFarland, opened a trading post and general store at Penticton. By 1865, he had acquired a great amount of land in the southern end of the Okanagan Lake, said to have increased over time. It is said, that his estate extended from 15 miles north of Penticton to Osoyoos.

In addition to owning land he is also described as owning many heads of cattle. As one of the partners of the British Columbia Cattle Company, founded in 1893, he was in the business of importing cattle and sheep in large numbers from Oregon, pasturing them near Princeton, and
driving them over the Hope trail to the coast. In 1905, the South Okanagan Land and Development Company purchased his land and cattle for the sum of $400,000. The syndicate laid out a townsite in Penticton, and by 1909 the district of Penticton was incorporated (Ormsby: 1976: 166)

T. C. Haynes (1831-1888), likewise, was born in Ireland, and as a young man moved to Canada. In 1862 he was appointed to Osoyoos as constable, clerk and revenue officer. In 1864 he was appointed justice of the peace in the Osoyoos and Kootenay district. His purchases of land in the area is reckoned at 22,000 acres. In 1895, after his death, his trustees conveyed to the British Columbia Land and Investment Company 20,776 acres of land at Osoyoos for $65,000 (Ormsby: 1976: 167).

However, as one of my informants pointed out, in the northern Okanagan, especially around Rutland, there was less antipathy towards the Japanese, unlike the southern end of the valley. He was happy to be allowed to play
on the various sports teams in the district, and he recalls an occasion when his team went to Oliver to play. During the game, much to his chagrin, some of the members of the audience shouted obscenities at him.

4) The struggles of the farmers in these years were never to be forgotten. All newcomers to the valley in the later periods were made aware of these initial problems. However, it was not always the case that they acted accordingly. Thus, for instance, the Portuguese in the early years of their settlement as owners were not willing to accept this process. They had always been independent farmers and they did see at first the advantages of cooperative farming. Only later were they able to accept this concept.

5) Until 1959 the Rotary Club in Oliver organized what was known as "New Canadian Night". However, this did not mean that this practice ended the same year. In the early sixties, for instance, the Parent-Teacher Association organized several programs such as, for example, an international smorgasboard.

6) Local Indian bands contribute to this regional model and set an important precedent for separate, ethnically distinct living areas. Various Indian bands hold large
amounts of agricultural, industrial, recreational, as well as residential land in the valley, some of this land has been leased and even the game farm in Penticton is on reserve land. More recently the Indians had begun to cultivate significant acreages of crops such as grapes. The trend in recent years has been toward more local band control in the use of reserve land.
CHAPTER 3
TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE CANADIAN CULTURAL MODEL

A Historical Perspective

My purpose here is two-fold. First, to provide a brief historical background of immigration policies in Canada and then to highlight the dominant national concerns that contribute to an understanding of the Canadian cultural model. Historical references at the national and regional level will be used as measures of the changing contexts of tolerance, encouragement and hostility to newcomers. We will begin with the origins of immigration control and then lead into a discussion of some of the more salient features of the Canadian cultural model.

The term "Canadian Cultural model" assumes that there is indeed a monolithic tradition that is identifiable. However, in Canada, it is not possible to speak of any such factor. According to Elliot (1979) there are at least three positions that are voiced.

1) Canada is a nation-state, a political entity that is officially bilingual at the federal level.
2) Secondly, that Canada is composed of two nations - i.e., the French and English. It stresses the partnership between these two groups wherever there are communities composed of these two groups.

3) Generally associated with the Parti-Québécois, this view considers Québec as a French nation in Canada.

As if these divisions were not enough, to complicate the discussion of the Canadian cultural model, we have to contend with the industrial and technological in addition to other components of this model.

According to Isajiw (1978:31) there are at least seven layers in contemporary Canadian culture.

1) the technological culture, i.e., a culture which is common to all modern industrial societies, and which puts a premium on standardization and homogeniety.

2) the Anglo-Celtic culture, which is rooted in Protestantism and the British historical experience and which has imprinted itself on Canadian national institutions.

3) the Québec French culture.

4) other ethnic sub-cultures.

5) regional sub-cultures which represent modifications of the Anglo-Celtic culture.

6) popular sub-culture, i.e., the current in-patterns of relatively short duration which are characterized by successive change.
7) and counter-culture, i.e., patterns developing as a result of rebellion against all other layers of culture, and centering around the use of socially forbidden drugs, radically political and social ideals, religions ideals taken from other radically different cultures and the like.

The emphasis he places is on technological culture that most immigrants readily accept.

In this chapter, the emphasis is on "immigrant perceptions of the Canadian cultural model". They use this concept in order to interpret and act appropriately in the given contexts. Most important of all, the recognition of the salient features depend on provincial and regional contexts and the immigrants experiences therein.

Immigration Policies

The restrictions on immigration, brought into operation in the early years of the twentieth century, have had a number of antecedents. Prior to the Immigration Act of 1910, the Canadian government had taken measures to regulate the flow of immigrants, particularly in the West. There were several attempts not only to bar people of different racial origins (such as the Chinese, the Japanese and the East Indians), but there were also attempts to deny admission to other non-preferred people of European origins. Indeed, what was remarkable about the Immigration Act of 1910 was its
exclusionary nature (Green: 1976; 14). Accordingly, Canada reserved the rights to restrict or regulate entry to

"those deemed undesirable because of climatic, industrial, social educational, labour, or other requirements, or those deemed undesirable because of their customs, habits, modes of life, and methods of holding property and their probable ability to become assimilated." (Mehta: 1973, Hawkins: 1972).

The stipulations of this Act suggested that the model that was preferred by both the people and the government, at least in the initial phases, was one of anglo-conformity. As Ward (1973) pointed out, there was a tremendous concern to keep Canada "British".

One major obstacle to the process of keeping out "aliens" was the demands for labour in a settler society. Much of the work of clearing the land had to be done, and not many were willing to do this demeaning job. People were also needed to settle the land. Thus it can be seen that the economic needs of this new society matched neither the social policies of the government nor the wishes of its dominant group. One of the ways this discrepancy was resolved was through the stipulation of "preferred" and "non-preferred" categories of immigrants.

Preferred and Non-Preferred Groups

One outcome of the above resolution resulted in the
definition of those areas from which immigrants were preferred. These areas included the British Isles, the United States, Northern and Western Europe, all of which were not too different from Canada in terms of language and customs. Following this group were those from Eastern and Central Europe, and finally those from Southern Europe. All other immigrants were clearly not preferred. Moreover, those from these latter areas were forced to carry a passport and visa that were issued abroad, while those from the "preferred" areas were exempt.

For South Asians in general and Sikhs in particular it was a major problem. They were not only identified as part of the Oriental menace, but many of them also came in the midst of a severe depression (1907-8). It was not long before they found themselves in a subordinate position. Since it was not possible to relocate these unwanted foreigners in British Honduras, Canadians opted for the alternative - to isolate them from mainstream Canadian life (see Buchignani 1977 for more details). On the other hand, although the Portuguese have had a history of immigration to Brazil, France and other parts of Europe most of them did not come to Canada until the fifties.

This preferential treatment lasted almost till the fifties, with some minor modifications during the war
years. Even the appraisal of the existing policies made in the forties outlined in the speech made by Prime Minister McKenzie King, did not include any major revisions. Among other factors in the regulation of immigrants to Canada, he enunciated the need for ensuring the racial character of the Canadian population (Green: 1976; 14, Mehta: 1973).

As a result, the advantages which accrued to immigrants from the most preferred countries were many. They were admitted regardless of skills or occupational background. Even with the revisions incorporated in the Immigration Act of 1953, (Buchignani: 1977, Mehta: 1973) Asians were the least preferred group, and then only dependents and close relatives of those who were Canadian citizens were eligible for admission.

Institutionalized Racism

In keeping with the racial preferences of the dominant Anglo-Canadian group, laws were passed to regulate, and to restrict and segregate immigrants. Thus, for example, the Chinese were dealt with separately by the passing of the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885 (Ward: 1973). The imposition of a head tax of $50, which in 1903 was raised to $500 played an important role in effectively curtailing the flow of immigrants into the country. Although an act passed in
1923 (Mehta: 1973) was to remove the head tax, other measures were adopted to curb the growth in numbers. The order in council that came into effect in 1930 firmly excluded all Asiatics from entering Canada except immediate family members. And the disenfranchisement of those who were already here dealt the final blow. They were thus effectively barred from socio-economic and political participation in the society. In the case of the Japanese, many of the restrictions placed on the Chinese were also applicable to them.

East Indians were also to receive differential treatment at the hands of the dominant group from the time of their arrival. They were charged a head tax in addition to being barred from voting. The "continuous journey clause" (Buchignani: 1977) was also applied to them. There were even attempts to resettle them in the British Honduras (Buchignani: 1977). Finally the Order in Council of 1930 effectively put an end to the number of immigrants that were eligible to come into the country.

One striking outcome of these immigration policies was an increase in the number of immigrants from Europe. The British had managed to maintain their numerical dominance up to this point, yet the French had also succeeded in being the largest homogenous regional group.
The group of immigrants that were to remain without any substantial increase in their numbers were the Asians. Their proportion in the population remained relatively small compared to Northern and Western European groups (see Kalbach: 1978: 86-87). Needless to say, the numerical strength and distribution of immigrant groups is a major factor in the distribution and maintenance of power.

While the above steps were taken to ensure the character of the Canadian population, international problems in Europe were also going to have an impact on policy during the same period. In 1939 the orders in council that were issued refused admission primarily to nationals of German or Italian origins, although other nationals who were from countries under the Axis powers were also refused entry (Green: 1976; 14).

In effect, then, the Canadian government, through its use of stipulations of preferred and non-preferred categories, its policies dealing with international situations, and its institutionalized racism, had succeeded in maintaining the dominant features of White Anglo-Saxon society. The "aliens" who were already here, were segregated from participating in the main stream of Canadian life. They were by all definitions (Wirth: 1965) relegated to a minority group status. They were not only held in low esteem, but socially
isolated and in some instances physically segregated. They were also given unequal access to educational and occupational opportunities and advancement. Thus, one of the most important dimensions in the Canadian cultural model was the racial category. Non-whites were deemed to be incapable of participating and contributing to the welfare of Canada.

Changes in Post-War Immigration Policies

The implications of the changes in policies for immigrants, especially in the post-war period, have been numerous. As early as the fifties Asians who had become citizens were allowed to sponsor their close kin. Although, numerically speaking, there was no major advance over the previous decade, ties with the homeland were renewed and the quality of life of the various groups was improved.

At the same time policies towards refugees also came under some revisions. In 1956, soon after the Hungarian Revolution, more humanitarian gestures were made by Canada, and the absorption of these refugees took place with less misgivings (Hawkins: 1972). The Germans and the Italians who had been prevented from entering Canada in the thirties were now allowed entry. All in all, this was a first move towards the implementation of a less restrictive policy that was to come later.1
The regulations passed in 1962 were radical. They wiped out all clauses that were exclusionary in terms of either racial or cultural backgrounds. The criteria for entry into the country was based on a point system with education and skills receiving top priority. Three categories were introduced as follows: independents, sponsored groups and nominated groups.

One obvious outcome of this resolution was that Canada attracted large numbers of highly educated and skilled labour. Although the consequences of such migration were to later become an international issue (especially the "brain drain" Hawkins: 1972) it was generally felt that in keeping with the demands of a technological society, Canada preferred to have skilled and educated immigrants.

While this new policy was a tremendous improvement over the previous racist policies, it did little to encourage immigrants from outside of the "preferred areas". Britain, Northern and Western Europe continued to send immigrants with their higher education and occupational skills. Between 1967 and 1973, the rules were relaxed, and the privileges of visitors to Canada greatly altered. It was during this period, that they were allowed to change their status as visitors and apply for immigration. The increase in number of Asians, and Southern Europeans de-
serves special mention. In 1973, however, the privileges of visitors were curtailed, and in the following years more stringent measures relating to employment needs of Canada were introduced. From 1977 on, the nominated category of immigrants was no longer in use.

This period is of particular significance in that it witnessed an unprecedented growth in the number of racially different groups. What were essentially tightly controlled and numerically weak groups in Canada suddenly swelled in its ranks. It is perhaps needless to add that the profiles of these particular communities have altered considerably and have serious implications for the future directions of the respective groups.

Although post-war immigration policies do not recognize racial categories, the importance of colour cannot be denied. Both the 1973 and 1977 restrictions made it clear that rapid growth of those visible ethnic groups already here was not possible, at least through immigration. The best that the government felt it could do for these groups was to integrate them into the mainstream of Canadian life. Officially since 1971 Canada has been committed to a policy of multi-culturalism within a bilingual framework. Although the official languages are English and French, other cultural groups are encouraged to develop and maintain their ethnic identity.
Despite many protests lodged against the government for the definition and use of culture as "traditional baggage" to be displayed at certain times and places, it still remains that options are available to members of various ethnic groups to work with the government and other ethnic minorities to define and achieve some of the goals they have set for themselves. Thus the original model of anglo-conformity has given way to the concept of the Canadian mosaic.

Essentially, the intent of a multi-cultural policy is to make Canada not only attractive to immigrants but also to ease the lot of visible minority groups. In that sense it is quasi-pluralistic. The aim of the government is to assure members of various ethnic groups, that they would help them in the articulation and maintenance of symbols peculiar to their heritage while encouraging them to participate actively in the workforce, educational institutions and in the social life of the country (Burnet: 1973).

In such a model ethnicity is identified as an important component of national identity, although communal loyalty is to be subordinated to the concerns of all Canadians or the public at large. Thus ethnicity, although publically acknowledged, is primarily a private matter and is not expected to interfere in the course of public life.
This does not, however, mean that "ethnic" celebrations or activities are not to be displayed publically.

There are many problems associated with the conceptualization and implementation of this policy. For instance, what does the term "culture" mean and how is it defined from a practical point of view. Further, what do ethnic groups have to give up and what do they have to learn in order to be part of the Canadian mosaic. In addition, issues relating to prejudice and discrimination as well as economic and power differences have hardly been examined within this framework (Burnet: 1973). The major attempt made in the multi-cultural and the new immigration policies was to reduce the significance of colour and creed in the constitution of Canadian society.

Despite such problems, there seems to be however, a general push toward a hyphenated model of identity to replace the earlier notions of anglo-conformity or assimilation. Needless to add, the ways in which immigrants understand, evaluate, interpret and act upon this policy is crucial for its success. This thesis is a modest attempt in such a process.

Further, the importance of a hyphenated identity will be clear only in conjunction with the recognition of
the constitutional rights of individuals regardless of colour and creed (Canadian Human Rights Act: 1978). The freedom of speech and worship further testify to the differentiations made between the various spheres of activities within the Canadian cultural model. The dimensions that are significant to this study are as follows:

1. The distinction between public and private spheres.
2. The emphasis placed on individual achievement and work identity over and above ethnic group loyalty.
3. The distinction between national and or local residential identity and communal or ethnic loyalty.
4. The distinction between religious and ethnic identity. ²
5. And finally the confinement of religion and ethnicity to the private sphere.

For both Sikhs and Portuguese conceptualizing the Canadian model involves the use of opposed categories such as work and non-work (or leisure) public and private spheres, individual and group identity, religion and ethnicity and so on. These categories are largely separate at the level ideas and of action. The Portuguese model comes closer to the Canadian cultural model from a comparative perspective. The Sikh model on the other hand involves category blends or continuous hierarchies. Their work blends into other activities, and rational purposive
work is encompassed by spiritual or moral values. To be a
"good Sikh" is to emphasize the primordial nature of
identity in all spheres of life. Ethnicity or Sikh identity
is theoretically inseparable into public and private
identity.

To summarize, while the earlier policies of the
government reflected the endorsement of anglo-conformity,
there were clear indications of changes made with respect to
colour and creed. The use of the term "multi-culturalism"
itself is a reflection of such alterations. However, pre-
judice and discrimination toward coloured or different
groups is not outmoded. Indeed, it is real or perceived
discrimination that plays a significant role in the accul-
turation of newcomers.
1. During the depression years (in 1929) an order in council came into effect stipulating among other clauses the admittance of "agriculturist(s)" having sufficient means to farm in Canada (Green: 1976; 14). Another case in point would be the scheme proposed by the Canadian government to settle "Dutch farm workers" after the destruction of several farms in Holland during the war. According to Green (1976) Canada still saw immigration as a means of satisfying excess demands for labour in the basic industries, especially on farms. Since Holland had an excess of rural workers, a mutually favourable agreement to transfer them to Canada could be reached.

In the post-war period, although preference was given to people with technical skills and education, there was still a large number who were unskilled, of rural origins and poorly educated. Many were admitted early on, and it is their sponsored relatives that came in large numbers later. Hawkins (1972) notes the majority of the sponsored have been drawn from Southern Europe, primarily as a result of the influx of immigrants from under-developed, rural parts of this region in the early
post-war years, the strong family relationships in those areas, and the economic pressures to emigrate from there.

As a postscript to this section, the clause of racial background must also be added. It was made quite clear, that in the case of those of Asiatic origin, none of the normal procedures would apply (Green: 1976; 14, Lal: 1976).

2. This argument is cogently developed by Dusenbery (1979) in his paper "Canadian Ideology and Public Policy: The Impact on Vancouver "Sikh" and "Religions" adaptation."
CHAPTER 4

IN THE FIELD: A PROFILE OF SIKH AND PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

My interest in doing fieldwork in the Okanagan began in the summer of 1975, when I did an exploratory study of a small community in British Columbia. Naramata was my choice of location for several reasons. There was a school for leadership training in the village, which students from all over British Columbia attended, and I was assured of a place to stay. Secondly, it was not on the main highway connecting the south and north ends of the valley. Naramata was a good example of a settlement that was slowly becoming less self-sufficient. That is, it was becoming an adjunct of Penticton which was a larger city about 10 miles west of it. Further since my interest was in understanding orchard life and experiences, it was an ideal situation. It was, there that I received my full initiation into small community life. It was also there that I constantly heard about labour shortages for picking fruit and how some immigrants made more reliable orchard workers than others.

The little packing house on the edge of the lake provided seasonal jobs for several Doukhobors from the Kootenay region. They lived in little cabins for the period that they were hired. One evening in late summer, when the church was holding a little fete, I became aware of to the
feelings that many of the families in Naramata had towards them. Holding a high tea was part of this custom and little tables with attractive table cloths were set out along with candles, and silver cutlery. However, near the entrance of the hall was a long table, that had a paper tablecloth, with neither candles nor silverware. I was puzzled and asked the organiser of the tea, as to why this was so. I was told rather quickly and summarily that the table was reserved for the Doukhabor workers from the packing house.

On another occasion, I became familiar with the prevailing attitudes towards South Asians as well. In future pages I shall refer to these immigrants as East Indians or Sikhs because these were the local terms used to refer to them. There were only two families living in Naramata that summer. Since many friends from Penticton visited them, however, it always seemed that there was a great deal of activity. One of the oldest members of Naramata said to me early on:

"The East Indians in Naramata create problems. They go from house to house haggling for higher wages. Some orchardists dislike them so much that they chase them away. Some of them fall for the ruse and hire them. However they have not all been reliable or good workers. There is no guarantee that they would show up in your orchard to complete their work the next day. If they get higher wages, they go to that orchard instead without letting you know. They also evade taxes. The first $250 a worker gets is exempt from taxes. So when the time comes they ask to be paid $249 and then ask the rest to be paid to their wives or children."
That way their records are straight and they do not have to pay taxes like the rest of us. Several years ago the Doukhobors did the same thing. As for the Portuguese since there are not very many here, they do not congregate together. They are very honest and hardworking. In Oliver, however there have been some problems because of the large number of Portuguese living there. On the whole, however, they were more desirable than other immigrants."

In the fall of 1976, I was ready to do fieldwork in the valley. I had proposed to study the Sikhs (East Indians) and Portuguese in terms of their adjustment to Canadian life. I chose these two groups partly because of the verbal attitudes expressed toward them by other community members. Further the members of both groups had begun to arrive in the valley in the 1950's and 1960's. So in terms of their length of stay in Canada, the two were more or less comparable. The Portuguese settled mostly around Oliver, and Osoyoos, the fruit orchard end of the valley. The East Indians or Sikhs seemed to have preferred the northern Okanagan around Vernon and Rutland, mainly because of the sawmills. There were members of both groups scattered elsewhere, but one could detect a definite nucleus in the south and the north end of the valley respectively.

This was alright because I was keen on understanding the regional dimension of group adaptation. Also, because I had already spent some time in Naramata, a small town off the main highway, I was now ready to live in one of the larger settlements. Hence, I eventually spent close to
seven months in Oliver and Osoyoos, and a similar amount of time in Rutland and Vernon. Since Rutland technically comes under the jurisdiction of Kelowna city, I also spent time collecting data from various major business groups in Kelowna. Thus I have had some first hand experience of living in all of these various towns and villages and have experienced a flavour of the valley as a whole.

In Oliver, I was taken to be a Goanese Portuguese. As a result, several of the Portuguese families came to speak to me after the Portuguese mass. The priest himself was very cordial and cooperative. Since there were two priests, an English Catholic and a Portuguese, I was able to get answers from both of them on many of the same questions. The Portuguese priest had a list of all his parish members which he was willing to share with me. Others who normally attended English mass were listed in the English registry.

I also spent a few weeks meeting people and getting rough estimates on the number of Portuguese living in the south end of the valley. Eventually I compiled a list of all these families located in the Oliver/Osoyoos area. Based on this information I was able to sample a large number of families that I wished to interview. One of the concerns I had in choosing informants was the number of
years they had spent in Canada. I was fortunate enough to speak to some families who were oldtimers or pioneers. Likewise a list obtained from the orchardists and the Water Board was valuable in identifying families on small farms, medium sized farms and large farms. Most of my Portuguese informants were farmers, although I managed to talk to a few young Portuguese sawmill and construction workers whose fathers owned orchards. In total I was able to interview 39 Portuguese families. By this I mean I spent time with all the members of each such household. It took several hours and sometimes days to complete one interview. Most people invited me to stay for a meal which made it easier to get to know them. Usually I helped out with the preparation of the meal or took care of the children while the mother cooked.

Since I was trying to learn Portuguese from a perfectly bilingual friend, I became quite popular with both adults and children. I would say things that all of them found quite funny. In most cases I found that the men were less facile with English than the women and children. Since many of the women had worked with other Canadians in the cooperative, in the credit union, or in a bank they had learned the language well. The men, on the other hand, had spent most of their time alone in the orchard or with Portuguese friends. They did not come into contact with other Canadians on a regular basis unless it was for a meeting of
the cooperative or of packing house members. I also attended Portuguese mass on a regular basis.

In Rutland, as there was no Sikh temple, it was harder to get the necessary information about Sikh residents. However being an Asian myself, I got to know a few families. These people were gracious enough to help me compile a list and then helped me make the necessary contacts. Through them I also made similar contacts in Vernon. In all I interviewed 40 Sikh families.

Although there is some literature on the Portuguese in the valley, I have not come across anything written about the Sikhs. I can therefore make only approximations as to the number of families settled in this region. Altogether there are approximately 600 Sikh families in the valley. A few live in Penticton, Naramata, Summerland, Peachland and Westbank. All the others are located in Rutland, Kelowna and Vernon. The Portuguese population in the Okanagan Valley is a bit larger, 4,500 persons in all (Anderson & Higgs: 1976: 103). This would mean about 1,000 persons in and around Oliver alone.

I asked my informants about their perceptions of their history in Canada, about their attitudes to other groups, their ethnic affiliations, their work histories and
attitudes, their land and property ownership, their beliefs and rituals, and about changes in their own family traditions. I also obtained information on individual participation in clubs, voluntary organizations, churches, temples, friendship networks, visiting patterns, travel in the valley and outside of it, and so on. My primary concern was to understand the complex pattern of cultural change and cultural persistence which has become manifest in particular institutions in this area.

It is important to mention that I also interviewed a number of settlers of other ethnic backgrounds who were resident in these same communities. I was interested in knowing how other members of the Canadian population viewed these two groups of newcomers. Since I knew it would be unwieldy to draw a sample from the general population, I decided to choose key individuals instead. I spoke to teachers, businessmen, priests, club presidents, immigration officers, labour managers and so on. In this way it became possible for me to get a historical perspective on the valley as well as to gain some understanding of the general expectations and hopes concerning community life. In other words these interviews threw light on the nature of incorporation and participation of the Sikh and Portuguese subgroups in each of these communities, as viewed by
others. By the end of my stay I had interviewed 42 persons of other backgrounds.

Finally, in Oliver I was given free access to all community records and newspapers. In Rutland and Vernon, I was allowed partial access. I regret not having been able to parallel all my research techniques in these two areas. In all, however, my 15 month stay in the valley, plus my subsequent visits, were enough to give me sufficient information to complete this study. Table XIII provides a breakdown by ethnic groups on the number of people interviewed.

Some Methodological Considerations

As in all ethnographic accounts, problems exist as to the reliability and validity of data. Anthropologists have had to rely on "key informants" - people who they assess as being knowledgeable about the culture. This takes time as does establishing rapport with the members of the community. A minimum period of a year is thus usually considered essential to the acquisition of data and the writing of an ethnography (Rossi: 1980). The quality of the data, of course, will depend on, among other things, the researcher's ability to distinguish between presentational and operational data; understanding the meanings attributed
### TABLE XIII

Number of Sikhs, Portuguese and Canadians Who Were Interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sikh</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Canadian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oliver</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osoyoos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: interviews)
to both types of information and the internal consistency of the data that is presented. In addition, the researcher has to be sensitive and attentive toward the taken-for-granted assumptions, and other forms of socially desirable responses.

The sample that I interviewed were fairly representative of the two groups with respect to geographical location, time spent in Canada, age, education and occupation. Although the initial list was compiled from the names given by a few key individuals, I sought information from other secondary sources as well. This way, I avoided merely obtaining the names of the friends or acquaintances of the key individuals. Although the interviews themselves were extensive, I tried to go back to the family on other social as well as fact finding missions. Also, whenever possible, I asked them questions that were re-phrased so as to guard against mis-information (Appendix 1 will clarify the contexts for the interviews). I realize the problems of obtaining reliable data, especially when it involves recollecting facts of a quantitative and/or a private nature. To avoid such an embarrassing situation, I usually gave them a sheet of paper with questions pertaining to income, ownership of land by the individual or the family in the country of origin and other demographic data. Usually, after the interview was over one of the spouses answered these questions while the other took me around the orchard,
or showed me the home or garden. The accuracy of such information is, of course, questionable. However, it was useful at least to broadly categorize them along certain dimensions.

Establishing rapport is, and was, a time-consuming matter, especially with farmers who work from dawn until dusk. This routine is broken only in the winter. To short circuit this process, I accompanied them to the orchard and helped with whatever I could. This very often meant that I had to climb 14 foot ladders with a bag that could hold at least 10 pounds of fruit. Over the branches laden with fruit, I found that it was easy both to ask questions as well as to get the answers. At the same time, I learnt very quickly how to assess and pick fruit. In retrospect, I realize that this was the most practical way of understanding orchard life, which I could not have obtained either through questionnaires or interviews. Also, since the farmers were at ease and did not feel that they were wasting time, I felt that the quality of the information was better. With the initial reserve broken, I found that I was an acceptable, interested and trustworthy "outsider". Since word gets around, I was also more readily accepted by others as an observer at cooperative meetings or other community events.
In the Sikh situation, I had an advantage, as I was seen as one of them. This had disadvantages as well, although familiarity with the culture saved me a great deal of time. After they were satisfied that I was pursuing a doctoral degree in Anthropology, I was more readily accepted. However, it took a great deal of tact and understanding to be at ease and obtain the necessary information especially from the men. As in the Portuguese situation, I tried to reciprocate as much as possible by babysitting, helping with the household chores, translating, getting information about matters that they did not have the time to explore and so on. They were also proud to show me off as a doctoral student because it helped improve their general image in the community. In addition, introducing me to their co-workers, bosses and friends was a public display of their knowledge of the ways of the community. Consequently, it gave them a sense of achievement.

Entry into lumber mills was more difficult and more formal. It necessitated making appointments and wearing a hard hat. However, after the introductions were over I was taken into the centre of the mill. Although I could not stay and record signs, utterances or conversations, I was allowed into the coffee room during breaks. On such occasions, I was acutely aware of the advantages of knowing other Canadian workers (i.e., non-Sikhs). In the minds of
these workers, I was not merely representing one ethnic
group, and therefore I could ask questions that might not
have otherwise been possible.

I was also very active in community affairs, and
was present at many social, religious and political meetings
or events. I was also asked to speak about India and Indian
culture in classrooms, at the Rotary Club, Women's Groups
and so on. All in all, I tried to reciprocate as much as
possible.

Finally, the presentation of the data through the
use of case studies is not unusual in ethnographic writing.
Even though, generalizability is problematic, the "thick
description" that is provided offers insights not usually
captured through the use of questionnaires. I feel that
attitudes, emotions, values and meanings are essential in
understanding human nature. In the final analysis, I agree
with Berraman (1962: 368) that

"ethnographers, like all social scientists, are faced with
the dilemma of how to be objective about a subjective
research situation: how to be scientific and (not or)
humanistic."

Having discussed the problems of the research
situation, I now wish to provide a profile of the Sikh and
Portuguese immigrants. My purpose in this section is to
describe and compare the two groups along selected dimensions. In both cases, I make the distinctions between pioneers and newcomers. This contrast is particularly relevant to the discussion on the Sikhs, since there was a gap of at least 30 years between the early pioneers and the later immigrants who came in the fifties and sixties. The families of these pioneers, who had been insulated from Punjabi culture were to some extent more bi-cultural than those who came later. For the Portuguese in the valley there was only a difference of 5-8 years between the pioneers and the later immigrants. As a result, it is more appropriate to discuss Portuguese acculturation in terms of those who came with grown children and those who did not. It is important to note that despite similarities in age, knowledge of English, and education and skills, the two groups differed primarily on issues relating to the definition of the family, and individual achievement and status. We will discuss this in the following sections.

The Sikhs have been in Canada since the turn of the century, with a very small nucleus in the Okanagan Valley. In the sixties, however, the number grew rapidly and by 1969, there were 39,972 immigrants in Canada. Subsequently the numbers increased and at present it is estimated that there are about 200,000 in Canada (including those from Pakistan, Fiji, United Kingdom, Caribbean, South
East Asia and East and Central Africa) half of whom are located in Ontario. Of this about 60,000 live in British Columbia (Wood: 1979; Froese & Campbell: 1976). Statistics relating to the number of Sikh immigrants in the various communities of British Columbia other than Vancouver was not available although there are sizeable communities in Kamloops, Merrit, Prince George, Rutland, Vernon and Kelowna.

Likewise, the Portuguese have been attracted to British Columbia, although there are other large settlements in eastern and central Canada. In 1973, it was established that there were at least 25,500 Portuguese in British Columbia. In particular, there are about 4,500 located around Oliver, Osoyoos and Penticton (Anderson & Higgs: 1976). The earliest immigrants came in 1955 and worked on the farms.

With this as background information let us look at those who were part of this study.

Motives to Migrate - The Sikhs

The five pioneers in this study came to Canada in the hope of making a better living. They had heard of the advantages of working and living abroad. The other 35 came because of both the perceived advantages of
earning a living and the networks of friends and kin who resided here. Thus they had access to information about employment opportunities, and Canadian life in general. Among those who came in the 1960's, the majority had been encouraged by friends or relatives to immigrate to Canada. Many of my respondents also noted that they had observed the effects of money earned abroad, or "foreign money" as they called it, in the towns and villages where they came from. Very often, they would describe the type of houses built by individuals who had lived and earned abroad. There was, of course, a marked difference between the newly constructed cement and brick houses and the older thatched row houses (see also Singh: 1959). However, a cautionary note must also be introduced, because despite all the hardships in Canada, when immigrants return they tend to glorify their experiences here. Also, when dollars are converted into rupees, the amount of money earned in Canada appears to be much larger than what they and others have known in the villages.

Although to those interviewed it had become increasingly clear that working abroad would serve to alleviate the situation at home, their images of their lives in Canada had not yet taken shape. Those who had no relatives envisaged a work span of five years, in which time they hoped to make sufficient money and return. But for others
who had relatives, the prospect of returning was not so well defined.

The Portuguese

In the case of the Portuguese, migration was initiated by the interest shown in the Canadian government towards attracting agricultural labour (Anderson and Higgs: 1976). This was a distinction between the Portuguese immigrants and the Sikhs. However, just like the Sikhs, the Portuguese also felt that they could earn more than they ever did in the villages of Portugal. Many of them talked about returning with money to buy property in the villages they had left behind. The Canadian labour shortage of the fifties was a special situation that promoted this need. As we shall see, it had its effects on the satisfaction the Portuguese felt with life in the valley. The quantitative details on migration for the two groups can be seen in Table IV.

Having looked at some of the causes for migration, let us briefly consider some of the pre-migration factors that, in addition to the above, significantly affect the lives of individuals of the two ethnic groups in Canada. Among those discussed are the rural-urban background, language and education, occupation, and skills.
TABLE XIV
Factors Contributing to Sikh and Portuguese Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sikh</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Newcomers</td>
<td>N = 35</td>
<td>N = 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information from friends in Canada</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Information from customs officials and government aided programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information from relatives in Canada</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Information from relatives in Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Total =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pioneers</td>
<td>N = 5</td>
<td>N = 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heard about Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td>Information from friends in Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Total =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Interviews)
Pre-Migrant Characteristics

Rural-Urban Background: In Canada, at present, changing stipulations in immigration policies have had an effect on reducing the number of people from rural settings. Particularly, post-war immigration has been greatly tailored to suit the needs of a modern technological society. This is a pattern that has little semblance to what happened in the 19th and early 20th century. Most of those earlier immigrants were not only unskilled but predominantly from the rural areas. In fact, until the fifties there was a definite preference for agricultural workers or farmers (Hawkins: 1972).

The Sikhs

The majority of the Sikhs I interviewed were from villages. Of the 40 in my sample, there were 22 families from villages in the Jullunder district of the Punjab, nine from Hoshiarpur, four from Kapurthala and the rest were from Amritsar. Thus, on the whole, Jullunder and Hoshiarpur were the centres of emigration from the Punjab. However, those who had any university education had received it in the nearby towns or cities. So despite extensive rural experiences, many of them have had some urban exposure. Almost 75% of the Sikhs interviewed had spent at least three years in a city.
The Portuguese

The Portuguese were mostly from the mainland and the Azores. In particular, those from the mainland were from the north and central parts of Portugal. Among those from the Azores, many were from the islands of Fayal, San Miguel and Terceira. In the case of the Portuguese, however, only 13% had a minimum urban exposure of three years. The effect this variable had on the acculturation of these two groups suggests that urban exposure is not an important predictor of acculturation.

Family Background - The Sikhs

As noted earlier, the Sikhs were mostly from villages where their families owned land. The amount of land owned in the villages can be used as a rough measure of the importance and status of the family in the Punjab as is true in other parts of India. Likewise, the Punjab has been identified as a province wherein at least the middle peasantry have earned higher incomes (Mandelbaum: 1970) than the rest of India. Also, it must be noted that in many of the villages, land has been brought under tube well irrigation, and many farmers now own tractors. Further classification in terms of their family's landholdings reveals there were nine who were small farmers (less than
five acres); 14 families who owned between 5-20 acres of land; six others with family holdings of the order of 30 acres; and finally, six could be classified as capitalist farmers, with more than 30 acres, partially mechanized, who could afford to send their sons to urban centers for a good education. Farming was a family venture and despite the changes implemented since Indian independence, the family operated as a corporate unit. Information on familial land holdings of the Sikhs can be obtained from Table XV.

Their dependency on each other took several forms. Each sibling helped the others both to have a basic education, and to carry on the family occupation. Even when they took jobs outside the village, family remittances were sent to help the parents and siblings. The family, thus, had to work as a corporate unit. Performance of duties and a sense of obligation was foremost in their minds; it is not surprising, then, that the people I interviewed stressed this notion over and over again.

The Portuguese

As was true for the Sikhs, the Portuguese were interested in improving their financial situation at home.
TABLE XV
Familial Land Holdings of the Sikhs in the Punjab
(Recollections of Informants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Newcomers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 acres</td>
<td>= 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 6-20 acres</td>
<td>= 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 20-30 acres</td>
<td>= 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 30 acres</td>
<td>= 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>= 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Pioneers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 acres</td>
<td>= 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>= 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Interviews)
Most hoped that they would work for a short span of 3-4 years, make sufficient money and then return. Of the 39 interviewed, 29 were from farming backgrounds. Most were from households that would be classified as small farmers (i.e., with less than 5 acres of land). Additional income was made through farm work, or doing odd jobs in the towns, but relatively speaking, they were poor. Since Portugal had a long history of emigration, it was not as difficult for the men to leave. Their only misgiving was that they had very little knowledge of Canada and conditions here. They knew of migrant conditions in Brazil, California, Germany, and France, but not Canada. The men in the remaining 10 families had been construction workers, labourers, gas station attendants or worked in the police force. To them, of course, Canada was a land where money could be made. It is also important to note that they had come from basically nuclear families. At marriage, children left their parental homes to establish their own, and although there were strong ties with the family of origin, the emphasis was on the family of procreation. As we shall see, this feature was important in their acculturation.

Job Aspirations - The Sikhs

Once again, there was a great deal of ambiguity as to what specific jobs the Sikhs would do in Canada. Some
heard from their relatives that jobs in the lumber industry were lucrative and hoped to be employed there. Others had heard that since Sikhs had problems in sawmills, these jobs were not so easy to come by. Others, then, were willing to work in different occupations. There were yet others who were willing to do anything, as long as they were here in Canada. Since most did not see themselves as permanent residents, the type of job, and status attached to the job, was not an immediate concern.

What is most interesting is that, regardless of what the Sikhs saw as their future occupation, they were very explicit about how much they would earn and what they would do with their earnings. Instead of talking about working with complicated machinery or what it would be like to be in Canada, those who were interviewed talked about owning a car, driving to work, wearing good clothes, and owning televisions and radios. I argue that it is this theme of consumption, in conjunction with their familial obligations, that provided an anchor around which the Sikhs oriented themselves, and made the separation from home and country possible.

The Portuguese

In terms of the jobs they hoped to have, the Portu-
guese were quite sure of working as farm hands. This was particularly due to the fact that Canada had advertised for farm workers. Others hoped to work on the railroad. There was, therefore, less ambiguity in their minds as to what they would do once they arrived here. Besides, the security of working on the land until they had found their own way in this strange country was a very comforting thought to many of them. Finally, the prospect of earning a living that was far better than they could ever have hoped for in Portugal provided them with an anchor around which they oriented themselves, and prompted them to leave home and nation.

Age on Arrival - The Sikhs

The age of the immigrant has often been cited as an important variable in the adaptation process (Richmond: 1973). It would seem, therefore, that younger immigrants had the potential for making the necessary adjustments to life in Canada.

Kiefer's study (1974) also supports the notion that there are differences based on age that have an impact on the acculturation process. Thirty out of my 35 informants were between the ages of 25-35; the other five were over 35. Their respective wives were usually five years younger.
The Portuguese

In this study, 70% of those interviewed were between the ages of 30-40 with a few exceptions in either direction. Many of them were married and had families. Their wives were usually 2-3 years younger. There was not much difference in age between the two groups.

Knowledge of English on Arrival

Language has always been an important issue in the Canadian context of acculturation. This is especially so since the report in the late sixties of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, (1967: 137) which stipulates that

"when an immigrant arrives in Canada he has one of two fundamental choices to make. Whether a person chooses to live in French or English Canada he is forced to adapt to the environment in which he will live."

In Quebec, the passage of the controversial Bill 63 made it quite clear that knowledge of the French language on or before arrival is essential and that the children of these immigrants with exceptions would attend French medium schools (Hawkins: 1972). The recent Bill 101 has likewise sparked a great deal of concern among the non-English and non-French population in Quebec. With the point system in
operation, it is evident that knowledge of either English or French is a pre-condition to understand the norms and mores of Canadian society, and to be effective within such a system. Details on this can be seen from Table XVI.

The Sikhs

Despite their education, many of the Sikhs were not completely at ease with English. Although they could fill in application forms, and make themselves understood, they described that it was hard at least in the initial stages. There were only six Sikhs who could be classified as bilingual; seventeen others could be classified functionally effective. All others had to have help to make themselves understood and to get jobs.

Coupled together, an Indian education and a minimal working knowledge of English created limitations on their chances to obtain jobs. This is particularly significant because it made them realize that there were really only certain options available to them at least in the first generation, and that they were lucky if they could manage to get employment.
# Knowledge of English on Arrival Among the Skihs

## TABLE XVI

1. **Newcomers** \( N = 35 \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good reading, writing and speaking</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functionally effective</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ 35 \quad 35 \]

2. **Pioneers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ 40 \quad 40 \]

(Source: Interviews)
Apart from a small number of Portuguese who had a high school education, all the other Portuguese could hardly speak English on arrival. They had to learn to communicate, and as they did not go into industrial jobs, this handicap was not considered a problem. Each family worked on a farm, and learning farming skills did not require a basic knowledge of English. The first words they picked up were picking, pruning and fertilizing. Once the farmers were satisfied with the type of workers they had, they tried to teach them English. In some cases the farmer's wife taught English to the wives and children of those immigrants. Unfortunately no parallel situation exists for the Sikhs in this study. Details on knowledge of English among the Portuguese can be obtained from Table XVII.

Education and Skills - The Sikhs

In addition to the language requirement, in Canada higher education and technical skills are highly valued as entry criteria. In fact, since 1967 these are among the most important criteria for being accepted as an immigrant. One effect of such a system is that it has created a so-called "brain drain" from the lesser developed countries
TABLE XVII

Knowledge of English on Arrival Among the Portuguese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knew nothing</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functionally effective</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Interviews)
(Hawkins: 1972). It has also effectively curbed the rural, unskilled population from these same countries from migrating. This also has attracted a larger number of skilled personnel from Northern and Western Europe, the "preferred" areas of immigration to begin with. The introduction of educational criteria for immigration selection although different has perhaps at best further served to conceal racial biases (Burnet: 1975). More information on education can be obtained from Table XVIII.

In the case of the Sikhs, and perhaps other South Asians, it has effectively curbed the immigration process. Those who came, at least in the sixties and early seventies, did so because of their relatives who were settled here. In my sample almost 75% had over nine years of schooling.

The Portuguese

In terms of their educational background there was far greater homogeneity among the Portuguese than among the Sikhs. Out of the 39 there were five who had a high school education. All others had grade four (see also Anderson and Higgs: 1976). This is particularly significant in terms of comparison to the Sikhs, because the Portuguese saw themselves as primarily working on farms which did not
TABLE XVIII
Educational Background of the Sikhs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total = N = 40 (couples)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Newcomers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 9 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 9 years - 12 years</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate degree - university</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate degree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Pioneers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 9 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Interviews)
require knowledge or specialized skills. The first generation Portuguese, therefore, did not have high expectations regarding social acceptance and status in the community. For more details see Table XIX.

Finally, this profile would not be complete if there was no mention of job mobility. Although it has a limited impact on acculturation it is important to note that finding a job in the particular area or industry that they have hoped for is an important step in the right direction. As a result, immigrants feel a greater sense of achievement and commitment to both the location and industry.

First Jobs and Mobility - The Sikhs

In 1976, almost all the Sikhs I interviewed worked in sawmills. Of this group, four had worked on the railroad prior to becoming labourers in the lumber mills. One worked as a dairy farmer in the lower mainland before he took a job as a planer. Another had worked in his uncle's store before he took a job in the sawmill. Six others had worked on a farm before they obtained jobs in the sawmill. Twenty others who worked in sawmills in Kamloops, Golden and Vancouver moved into the valley because their relatives lived here. Only three obtained jobs in the mill right away.
### TABLE XIX

**Educational Background of the Portuguese**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than 4 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years of education</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Interviews)
The attraction of working in the sawmill is particularly significant, because as they saw it, it was a form of job training that would put them in good stead for the future. Working in an organization rather than on a farm would make it easier to find jobs if these Sikhs were to move. In particular, since British Columbia relied so heavily on its lumber, jobs could be found with certainty. Finally, of course, the hourly rate was very high, and they could work overtime. From this perspective it is not so hard to understand their preoccupation with sawmill jobs, although almost all were green chain workers and lumber pilers. The five pioneers found work on farms before they bought land or became small entrepreneurs. Their present jobs at least suggest that they are employed in those industries which they preferred.

In some ways, the Sikhs are satisfied with what they have made of themselves in Canada - and more so with what they have acquired through hard work, such as cars, homes and other consumption items. Yet they are not always respected by others or have status in the community. Their commitment to the community is also not visible because in the eyes of the others, they have not contributed to the social life of the community.
The Portuguese

There were only four whose first jobs in Canada were on the railroad. The other 35 worked as pickers on the orchards. They hoped eventually to own orchards themselves. At present, all 39 own orchards, although the size of their holdings varies. The fact that they are owners has a very special effect on their attitudes and views about their work. Since the Portuguese have a good lifestyle on the orchards and they are pleased with the climate in the southern end of the valley, they do not plan to move elsewhere (see also Anderson & Higgs: 1976). In addition, since they own land, they are respected in the community. Although as yet they do not participate actively in the social and political life of the community, they do participate in the fruit cooperative, vote during the elections and have a lifestyle that is comparable to other farmers in the area.

Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter I have attempted to provide a description of the problems and the various dimensions of the ethnographic situation. Like other anthropologists, I have had my share of inconveniences and problems in establishing myself in the various communities. Although I was accepted in the various circles, I was viewed as an interested and sympathetic outsider.
In the second half I have presented a profile of the members of the two groups that I interviewed. Among the pre-migrant characteristics the factors that were important to both the Sikhs and the Portuguese, were, motives to migrate, family background and perceived job opportunities and aspirations. These factors allow us to understand dimensions that are related to native immigrant models.

Both the Sikhs and the Portuguese had heard of and seen the effects of immigration in the towns and villages that they lived in. Although the Portuguese had not come in large numbers to Canada before the fifties, they had heard about the possibilities of working and living on farms and were aware of the preference that Canada showed toward farm workers. Initially the Portuguese, like the Sikhs, had only short term plans. They were sure of farm jobs and were confident of making money without much difficulty. Their expectations were then more easily matched with the conditions that they experienced. The Sikhs, however, had higher expectations and had to reorient themselves to the realities of Canadian life.

Apart from these differences in motives and job aspirations, there were also differences in family lifestyle and background. The obligations and ties of kinship that extended beyond the nuclear household and which did not
cease when the relatives came to Canada, made it easier for the Sikhs to slip into the ways of life that they had known in India. Efforts were not quickly or easily made to accommodate the rules of the new country.

The Portuguese, not unlike the Sikhs, also used kin and friendship networks to immigrate to Canada. The marked difference was that once the relatives were here, obligations to extended kin ceased. The emphasis for instance was no longer on the family of origin but on the family of procreation - an indication of the importance of individual achievement and status. Other factors such as age, education and knowledge of English on arrival which are normally viewed as helping or retarding the process have little use as predictor variables since both groups were comparable on these dimensions.

Having considered some of the important characteristics of both groups, we shall next consider some dimensions of the Canadian cultural model at the national and regional level.
There are several themes that I explore in this chapter. First, the workplace is an arena where cultural encounters occur and wherein newcomers learn effective means of surviving in the system. The onus is on newcomers to make the effort to understand and operate in the new context. Secondly, that "work" is separable from all other spheres of activity and consequently that "work identity" is distinct from all other definitions of "self". The corollary to this is that, at least in the workplace, the emphasis is on an individual's performance and identity in the technical and social aspects of his/her job, and not on any expressions of cultural or ethnic loyalty. This is not to argue that individualism is the only value that is emphasized in the workplace. The work group composed of different individuals, based on a contractual system is indeed extremely significant. But the essence of such a group ethos is not based on ethnic or kinship ties. In essence, then, public work identity is not to be confused with private ethnic or religious identity.

For new immigrants in particular, the dimensions of this cultural model are not so apparent. For those who
perceive or experience discrimination, switching identities is painful and confusing. The common response to this is to cleave to traditional or known forms of ethnic loyalty. It is to an examination of this process that we shall now turn.

The argument that is advanced here is that immigrant accommodation and acceptance is dependent on the degree of differentiation of the spheres of activities embedded in their native cultural models and the contexts (of hostility, tolerance, or acceptance) that they find themselves in.

The alternate argument that can be made to discuss the differential success of the Portuguese and the Sikhs is to draw the distinction between Portuguese as primary producers and Sikhs as wage labourers.

To a large extent, it is true that Portuguese immigrants took low paid jobs that no other Canadians wanted and that they worked their way up. The "rags to riches syndrome" reinforces the belief in the liberal ideology in Canada (see Marchak 1975). Also, if one were to argue that the Portuguese were mostly farmers before they immigrated to Canada and hence had little trouble in becoming commodity producers, it can be shown (later in the chapter) that they too had to learn cultural principles the hard way. The
future of the autonomous farmer as we shall see in Canada was bleak. Many Portuguese thus not only had to become members of the fruit cooperative but also had to stop being involved in the "peddling" of fruit.

In the case of the Sikhs, it can be argued that farmers, and small businessmen shared a better chance of being accepted in the community than longshore men or sawmill workers. Indeed in the lower Frazer Valley there are many Sikh farmers who have received the attention of Manpower and Immigration through hiring mal-practises. Likewise, those who own local stores or newstands do not receive any more acceptance than sawmill workers.

Thus the fact that the Portuguese were commodity producers and the Sikhs were wage labourers does not completely explain their respective settlement patterns in Canada. In order to understand the intricacies involved, one has to examine the cultural models.

Both the Sikhs and the Portuguese do not make a sharp distinction between work and non-work, but recognize the significance of kin networks in organizing economic and social activities. However, while the Sikhs (as we shall see) emphasize an undifferentiated identity defined primarily by religious principles, the Portuguese make the dis-
tinction between religious and ethnic identity and confine both to their private lives. These models are in turn evaluated and undergo alterations in the settlement process.

Although acculturation does not necessitate a positive identification with the host group, it does involve learning strategies and skills by which the newcomer becomes effective. By this I mean, as a minimum requirement an individual has to not only obtain but also keep his/her job. The process might be arduous and may depend on factors such as education, skills, prior experience and so on. In addition, individuals might encounter and experience hostility. Nevertheless an individual's success will depend on his or her ability at managing work identity within such a context. The use of the term "work identity" is itself suggestive of the separation of such an identity from other aspects of one's life. In industrial societies in general, the job that one performs plays an important role in the development of self concepts and images. Such segmentalization further requires that individuals move away from the all embracing notions of cultural or ethnic loyalty.

The Sikhs, who were thrust into such an industrial environment, had to learn very quickly that these separations were imperative. However, real or perceived hostility retarded the learning process. Indeed, many of them saw it
as a threat to their definitions of "self". The Portuguese, on the other hand, did not experience any major alterations in their mode of employment: they were farm workers, and later, they became farm owners themselves.

In Canada, as in any other part of the world, farm owners do not experience the sharp distinction between work and non-work. They are thus an interesting exception to the general structures of an industrial society.

Taking this argument one step further, it can also be argued that cultural values and cognitive styles of farmers differ from those of industrial workers. This is not to say of course that farm communities in general and farmers in particular lag behind other sectors of a society, or that they should be seen or studied as separate groups. As Hedley (1979) argues, the history of the family farm and the communities that have developed around them is the history of the conflict between competing modes of production, a conflict in which the reproduction of the domestic commodity mode of production has been continuously subordinated to the hegemony of capital. In the Okanagan Valley, the formation of agricultural cooperatives, and the mechanization of agriculture is a response to the constraints and problems faced by farmers who are drawn into the industrial context. Within this context of collectivization and
mechanization, learning to be effective was indeed stressful to the Portuguese. The initial experience of tolerance turned into one of mild hostility as the models they experimented with were incongruent with the models of the other farmers in the valley. However, their separation of ethnic identity from the public sphere worked to their advantage. They found a gradual acceptance in the community.

It is to a discussion of these events that we shall turn in the following pages. Case studies and descriptions that will be provided illustrate this main argument - that the degree of connectedness or separation of various spheres of activity that is located within cultural models that immigrants bring with them, and the contexts that they find themselves in, have a tremendous impact on the degree of acceptance or non-acceptance in the community, and their attempts to deal with acculturation.

The Pioneer Sikhs

Of the 40 Sikh families that I interviewed, there were five who were old timers or long term residents in the valley. In these five cases generational differences can be discerned with respect to attitudes and work practises. The other 35 were relatively newcomers. I would like to begin
with a three generational case study of a typical pioneer family in order to highlight their acquisition of new skills and strategies, despite the constraints placed on them.

Case Study 1: First Generation "Pioneers"

In 1910, Mr. Singh came to Canada as an immigrant. His first job was as a labourer in a railroad company in Vancouver. In 1914 he came to Kelowna. He had very little education, knew practically no English, and hoped to stay for a few years, make some money and then return to India. As his widow observed, he could not have chosen a more inopportune moment to arrive in Canada.

The hostility towards East Indians and Orientals in general was very high in the province. In the first generation, owing to the tremendous social pressures against Indians in British Columbia, they were excluded from virtually all aspects of social life. Further, their participation in the work world was curtailed. Cooperation within the family was the only means by which they adapted to the structure of production in the valley. They were virtually excluded from participating in the social and political life of the community. He was indeed lucky to find a job on a farm. Eventually, he sharecropped in the Rutland area. There were a few Chinese and Japanese who lived there, unlike other parts of the valley. Returning to India was also not feasible, considering the long distance, the lack of travel facilities and money. In 1922, however, he went home, was married and in the next year returned to Canada. It was not until 1929, that he could bring his wife and child over. Since the 1930's Indians were allowed to own property and his family worked together as a unit and were able to save money and acquire land. In the 1950's he was able to set up a trucking business. He had three daughters and five sons.

In the initial phases any attempt at learning new strategies and skills would not have succeeded because of
the hostilities expressed toward Sikhs. The native Sikh model of family unity and cooperation worked to their advantage and did not alter in the first generation. However, three factors that had the potential for future changes were set into motion. First, in the 1930's Sikhs were allowed to own property. Secondly, the children were educated in Canadian schools. Finally, there was also a move toward entrepreneurship.

Second Generation

All the sons received a high school education and all but one left home to find employment. At the father's death, the land was not divided and although the oldest (Mr. Atwal) was the manager all others received their shares from the profits on an annual basis. While the daughters were married to Indian men only two of the sons married Indian women. The oldest was one of the two.

The management of his father's farm and the trucking business was indeed a very time consuming proposition. Further, as the owner of a large orchard, he was actively involved in the community. He felt that his father had not made an attempt to break through the social barriers. Living and learning in a small community can be very trying, he observed, unless you are incorporated into the life and activities of the community. He was the president of the water board three times. He developed a public or work identity with which he was perfectly at ease. At home likewise he spoke Punjabi, ate Indian food and enjoyed Indian music. According to him, his marriage to an Indian woman allowed him to maintain and develop his "ethnic identity".

By being an entrepreneur, in a small community, the inter-cultural encounters were easier to manage. His father's exclusion from white society had motivated him to be in business. In his time, being a businessman in a small town brought him respect and power. In addition owning an
orchard brought him into contact with other orchardists in the valley. Thus the development of a bi-cultural identity was possible at least in the second generation. Coupled with the fact that there were not large numbers of East Indians in the valley, prior to the 1960's, it secured for them a respect from the rest of the community that is not so apparent today.

In the second generation, although property continued to be owned jointly, the children left home to find jobs elsewhere. Their knowledge of English opened new vistas for them, unlike their parents.

In particular, the oldest son, despite his many duties, found time to socialize and identify himself with the local farmers and businessmen. Further, the separation of public and private activities allowed him to develop a bi-cultural identity. Thus to him Sikh identity was separable from local-residential and work identity.

Third Generation

In general, Mr. Atwal's children are financially independent. Of his four children, one of the sons helps his father run the trucking business. He is married to an Indian while the other has married a Canadian. His two daughters likewise work in the credit union. One is married to a Canadian and the other to an Indian. To all of them "work" is separate and an important aspect of their identity in Canada.

On the whole, all four children are not as bi-cultural as their father. Those with Indian spouses have
a higher chance of developing an Indian or private identity at home, while at the same time having a public or work identity.

One other factor that is important to note, is that in the third generation, the importance of family cooperation in a strict economic sense was on the decline. Further, the family's corporate identity was matched by a growing recognition of individual achievement and autonomy. Also, the second and third generation Sikhs dress, talk and gesture like other Canadians. Finally, the de-emphasis on the family as a corporate unit encouraged the development of a "work" identity separate from ethnic group identity. This became clear when I interviewed the sons and daughters of Sikhs who were born in Canada. For instance, Mr. Atwal's children were twice removed from their Punjabi heritage. They were given more options and a better education by their parents who had a better understanding of how the Canadian system worked. For instance when Mr. Atwal's daughter said to me,

"I am not different from my friends at the Credit Union," she was making an effort to communicate the idea that there really were no differences between her and her friends in the way that she thought about her job or performed it. She
had gone to school with them, played with them and had acquired the knowledge necessary to get a job, retain it, or even leave it for another. In other words, she had understood the culture of work and non-work in Canada.

The Pioneer Portuguese

The first settlers came to the valley in the early 1950's. Thus, unlike the Sikhs, there was no nucleus prior to this period. Also, they were received more favourably due to the shortage of farm workers. Most of them had only a grade four education and knew little English. They were hired as fruit pickers. Like the Sikhs they wanted to make money, and then return home. This did not happen, however, and within a few years they were able to buy the orchards themselves.

Case Study 2

Mr. Cory came to Canada in the mid 1950's. He was one of the few who immigrated to the valley at that time. He got a job as a fruit picker. But he was isolated. There were no other Portuguese nearby to talk to. His wife joined him a year later. He then sponsored his brother, who worked for him for a while. The family worked together as a unit and saved enough money to buy their own orchard. He had two daughters who attended the local school. They helped in the orchard in the summer.

This family did not experience much prejudice or
discrimination against them. Jobs were not hard to come by on orchards and these jobs required little skill or knowledge of English. It was not long before the family could establish itself firmly in the community. Further, the new occupation did not require the sharp distinction between work and non-work. Thus there was no pressure to develop a "work identity" as distinct from any other forms of identification. The re-location of members (i.e., siblings) as soon as they were financially independent suggests that individual status and achievement was given more emphasis than corporate family identity. For instance although Mr. Cory sponsored his brother and gave him a home; the latter established himself separately as soon as it was possible. Like the Cory's, other Portuguese families did the same.

Second Generation

Mr. Cory's daughters are at university. While they are happy that their parents made it, in Oliver, they do not wish to live there. To them, work meant leaving home and living in the city.

In the second generation the move toward a segmented work identity was rapid. The case studies of the pioneer Portuguese and Sikh families show that the models both groups brought with them were altered in Canada. While it took three generations of Sikhs to develop a work identity...
that was distinct from any other identity, the second
generation Portuguese were moving in the same direction.
Still, the contexts and conditions varied. The Portuguese,
on the whole, were received with more tolerance, while the
Sikhs experienced hostility. Secondly, the choice of work-
ing on a farm and eventually owning it, meant that there was
less pressure on them to develop and maintain a "work iden-
tity". Finally, their isolation on the farms prevented them
from forming any ethnic organizations, and seeking refuge in
such a collectivity.

The Later Settlers (Sikhs)

Having examined some of the changes that have
occurred in the life-cycle and settlement of the pioneers
and their offspring in the valley, let us now take a look at
the newcomers. They constitute the majority in my sample.
They had come to Canada mainly in the 1960's. These men
were mostly manual and unskilled workers. In fact, there
were only six who had jobs either as foremen or held jobs
that involved some knowledge and skill; the rest were merely
green chain workers, lumber pilers and so on. The
industrial milieu, which is their everyday work world,
imposed constraints on them that are not of the same order
or magnitude as the Portuguese experience. It is to a
discussion of this that we shall now turn.
As discussed in an earlier chapter, one of the important changes that has taken place in the lumber industry is that smaller independent operations that existed until the fifties are all but gone. They have been bought out or replaced by large organizations with branch plants in the valley. Such a move represents a shift from a market economy to a planned or corporate economy (Galbraith 1968).

One can also argue that the change in the structures have brought about a corresponding change in the values. The strong emphasis on a distinction between the individual and society was no longer tenable within the "managed economy". The legitimacy of such a new system had to therefore come from more than a mere individual. It had to come from the group - in this instance, the technocracy (Galbraith 1968). The emphasis, thus, was on the group and the individual's relationship to the group was defined in terms of a professional commitment. The group consisting of these important individuals provided emotional and social satisfaction to its members. However, values outside of work such as equality, community and family were not necessarily propagated by the group.

This shift in emphasis from the autonomous individual to one who is part of a group does not
necessarily imply the importance of the collective. The requirements of a capitalist technology have only created a new market system and the individual continues to be subject to it. Thus, the value of being essentially "the proprietor of his/her person" is still maintained (Wright 1975).

While not all members of a society belong to the "technocracy" the general principle of the relationship of the individual to the group is shared by all (Wright 1975). The institutionalization of science and technology provides the basis for a planned market economy and the legitimacy of such an economy to members of the society. Economic growth and profits then continue to affect the corporation and the individual who works for it.

The Local Sawmill

The sawmill that I visited was highly mechanized. There were, broadly speaking two areas - the first which is the central area is where the head sawyer, the setter and other sawyers work together to cut and trim the logs into appropriate sizes. It is a noisy operation and necessitates an elaborate non-verbal communication system. The other area which is peripheral spatially and socially, is where the sorting, green chain work and feeding of logs onto the jack ladder takes place (see Meissner and Philpott 1975 for a detailed description of the sawmill setting).
Since most of the Sikhs were lumber pilers, sorters and green chain workers like other co-workers they can also be described as being peripheral to the central operations in the sawmill.

The Sikhs were acknowledged as good workers particularly by the management. They even obtained overtime work in most instances. Since many of them had Sikh friends both on and outside of the workplace, they continued to visit each other's homes, talk in Punjabi, and to socialize with each other on the job. Such activities were in the eyes of Canadians a violation of the principles of the work group. As a result, they disliked and ostracized them.

Inter-ethnic conflicts between Sikhs and Canadian's in British Columbia has had a long history (see Lal 1976, Buchignan 1977). In the Okanagan it is more recent, since larger numbers of Sikhs came in the last two or three decades. In general the conflict is expressed through the denigration of visible symbols, particularly the "turban" by Canadians, even though many of the Sikhs do not wear one (see also Meissner & Philpott 1975). It polarises workers into two groups - Sikhs and non-Sikhs. Sikhs are seen as competing for well-paid jobs with other Canadians. They are described as "currying favour" with management to get
overtime work. However, more recently when conflicts between Sikhs and Canadian workers erupted even their employers were wary of hiring other Sikhs.

To the Sikhs, such problems on the job were very stressful. They readily confided that they had removed their turbans and shaved their beards (their religion required that they maintain these external symbols of the faith). But they were referred to as "ragheads". Their ambivalence was further expressed in their questions about why their friendship with other Sikhs on the job was denigrated. Was not friendship a private matter? Besides why were they not treated like other workers who did their job well?

In other words, most of my informants were confused as to the nature and meaning of work in the sawmills. For most of them the social aspects of their work were largely irrelevant. They found it difficult to position themselves relative to others (non Sikhs) in the organization. Therefore, in most cases the relevant "others" were Sikhs. It was not surprising then, that they faced a tremendous measure of uncertainty. Thus, to them work identity was not distinct from ethnic and/or family identity. Most important of all, since religion was not separate from ethnic iden-
tity, it permeated all their life activities and generated a great deal of hostility and conflict.

Unlike the Sikhs, the Portuguese found it easier to discuss their work and non-work activities.

Since the majority were owners of medium-sized orchards by the late 1960's and 1970's, they were proud of their achievement and identified very closely with their work. Despite the use of kin networks in the initial stages, members were encouraged to be independent as soon as it was possible. Thus their native model recognized the distinction between individual achievement and family status and identity.

Further, owing to the nature of the job, like other Canadian farmers, they did not make a sharp distinction between work and non-work. Ownership, they soon realized, entailed many responsibilities and much effort. However, in the last few years they have been following the Canadian pattern of taking a couple of weeks off to travel to Reno, Hawaii or to visit Portugal. Although work was a central aspect of their identity, this did not mean that they did not celebrate feasts or enjoy carnivals etcetera. To most the separation of work from other spheres of life was
largely unknown. Finally, in terms of fulfillment on the job, most of them felt that they had found the vocation of their choice. It was not only work, but a way of life. They were their own masters.

Conflicting Situations for the Sikhs

As noted earlier most of the Sikhs experienced a sense of marginality and expressed a sense of ambivalence toward their work life in Canada. This took many forms. In particular I wish to briefly explore one particular issue (of removing the turban), which is sometimes presented as the issue of wearing hard hats.

Semantics of the Workplace

According to the religious beliefs of the Sikhs, wearing a turban (discussed in Chapter 8 in detail) is one of the important symbols of the faith. A true Sikh is enjoined to be distinct in physical appearance as an article of faith. Therefore, to ask a Sikh to remove his turban is being critical of his religion.

Despite this important religious injunction, most Sikhs in Canada have abandoned their turbans and, in keeping
with company laws, worn hard hats in the workplace. Yet this important concession or accommodation has not received recognition from other workers, who still refer to them as "ragheads". In this connection it is also important to note the reference made to them as "flashy" foreigners based on the colour of their turbans. Yellow coloured turbans in particular reflect the happy mood that is associated with the Baisaki Festival and spring in general (Singh: 1959).

Although in this context, the reference is to the colour of the turban that could vary from red, to mustard yellow, or white, there is much to be said about the colour of their clothing as well. As one perceptive immigrant pointed out there is an order to be learnt even in the clothes people wear. An examination of the underlying assumptions and messages conveyed through attire will clarify the significance of cultural differences in such a mundane matter. In many studies of ethnic groups, references are made to the differences in clothing between ethnic groups and the host society. Usually the occurrence is adjudged as a temporary feature and therefore does not receive much discussion. What is not usually highlighted is the meaning associated with wearing the right colours, and the right clothes at the right time for members of the host society.
The choice of colour, texture and material used for clothing is a very useful and unobtrusive measure of the occupations and status of individuals in a community. An example of this is provided by Newman (1975: 66) in his description of Bud McDougald as a man whose "grooming is impeccable; (whose) three piece suits are fashioned at 271 pounds each, by the firm of Huntsman's, one of Savile Row's most exclusive tailors; (and whose) English bench made shoes are carved from the skins of young alligators."

Although Bud McDougald is the President of a large corporation, those who work under him at the managerial levels also share some of these cultural norms. In this respect, Molloy's (1977) guide to dressing for men and women is particularly instructive. The language of colours, textures and styles have to be understood in order to be effective at one's occupation or even when an individual is not working. Although there is room for individuality, one can predict with a fair amount of accuracy the styles individuals choose.

 Clearly in a blue-collar situation such formality is not common. Blue jeans, lumber jackets and the casual approach to dressing is the rule. Sawmill workers do not make a sharp distinction between work and non-work in their clothing preferences as well. With exceptions such as going to church or attending formal community functions (primarily
on weekends) they generally dress casually. The description of wood cutters in the early settlement days, is reminiscent of the culture of the cowboy. The "rough and ready" look associated with blue jeans and lumber jackets are part of the myth of the opening up of the west (Wright 1975). Whether sawmill workers can be equated to cowboys is debatable. However, one can stretch the argument that the symbols (including clothing) associated with the westward expansion can be generally applied to other historical periods as well. Thus, the ethos associated with the clothes sawmill workers wear, is part of the general myth of the west - a myth that has little meaning for Sikhs. In the initial stages, anyway, these stipulations are not quite clear.

Although systematic information was not obtained, general remarks about clothing styles made by Sikhs are appropriate in this context. Proper attire is generally defined as the use of clean and pressed clothes. The advantage of synthetic material over cottons lies in the saving of time, and energy involved in its maintenance. Furthermore in India, the use of such material by the upper and middle classes makes it a status symbol. Thus the extensive use of such material for cultural, functional, and reasons of prestige is common in Canada. Many Sikhs wear brightly coloured polyester pants, shirts and turbans with little attention as to the match between materials used, textures, prints or plaids and colours.
In this context, it is important to reflect on the Sikh cultural model that involves category blends or continuous hierarchies. According to this model, the combination of categories is fluid and there is no clear recognition of right and wrong combinations. To take a concrete example, Canadians (North Americans in general) recognize the differences between blue collar, white collar and elite sub-cultures in the usage of cars, clothes and houses and perhaps work toward becoming upwardly mobile. The following quotation from "Moving Up In Style" (Naifeh & Smith: 1982; 23) helps to highlight what I mean.

"There's an old saying that true wealth speaks only in whispers because it knows everybody is listening. The same is true of style. When you buy a car, for example, avoid buying the most expensive car you can find because it's the most expensive car you can find. The same applies to clothing. There's no reason to buy a $500 suit when you can buy a perfectly good one for $300 or even $200. Spending money just to spend it is always wasteful and almost always unstylish.

The Sikhs, on the other hand, tend to err in the direction of excessive materialism in the clothes they wear and the cars they drive. Apart from being incongruous with the type of work they do, and not in keeping with their social status they violate the sense of cultural order associated with blue collar workers, white collar workers or the elites in this society.
Among the 35 respondents, there were only two who had removed their turbans in India. All others had removed them in Canada. With respect to removing the turban, at least most of them (75%) felt that it was an important area for compromise. This group we shall refer to as Group 1. Only a small number expressed intense antagonism and anger over this proposition. We will refer to them as Group 2. They felt that it was a tremendous imposition on their religious freedom, and they supported the efforts of the "Shiromani Akali Dal Association of Canada" (a strong traditionalist group) to fight for religious freedom and exemption from wearing a hard hat. Thus, the Sikhs were divided over this issue, with only a small proportion refusing to make the necessary cognitive and behavioural adjustment.

In terms of the responses I received, it was also not so difficult to classify the responses into two large categories - the social and the personal. The first category of responses referred to positive factors such as conformity to Canadian rules, enhancing one's job opportunities, being part of the workgroup, and so on. The second category of responses was negative in its content and indicated displeasure at being termed as filthy, unpredictable and crafty.
FIGURE 1:

Responses of Sikhs with Respect to the Issue of Removing the Turban

SEEK

Being part of the work group.

Adjusting to Canadian life.

Improving one's job opportunities.

Avoiding hazards to health.

AVOID

Being called "flashy raghead".

Alien, outsider

Unpredictable, untrustworthy, crafty

Dirty, filthy.

SOCIAL

PERSONAL
Group 1 - They recognized the contextual difference between Canada and India. Thus the importance of the turban as a mark of "Sikh identity" was altered, by re-defining Sikh identity at the level of ideas and not at the day-to-day behavioural level, particularly in the workplace.

They also felt that they worked under hazardous conditions. They knew that employers preferred to hire Sikhs who had removed their turbans. Besides, if they were to move from the valley, the possibilities of being hired elsewhere were greater. Finally, they deemed it important to avoid public devices of separation and social distance.

As far as the personal factors were involved, there was bitterness and resentment. The term "raghead" had implications of being socially filthy and dirty: that is, they were regarded as outcasts or aliens. There was also the connotation of being unpredictable, stupid and untrustworthy. Although the responses they gave were embedded in a historical context, they were concerned about the effect it would have on their life chances and opportunities in Canada. Thus it was necessary for them to compartmentalize their work identity from their cultural loyalty. In the process, they were affirming the importance of the individual over the group to which he belonged.
Group 2 - From the perspective of the small group who actively sought to obtain exemptions on religious grounds, the term "raghead" took on a completely different meaning. They did not make a distinction between the social and the personal. They felt that religious factors were important to their self identity, and should not be compromised. Although at present they have ceased to wear turbans, they envisage a future when they would revert to the same custom. In particular they mentioned the case of Great Britain, where Sikhs are allowed to wear their turbans, and they hope that it would be the same in Canada. What is perhaps most significant is the case they make for the religious rights of individuals in industrial nations.

Most of them felt that alterations in the faith was a sign of weakness and lack of faith. They argued that militancy has been a historical factor in the formation of the Sikh community (see McLeod: 1970). They all agree that in order to be a true Sikh, one had to maintain the traditional symbols of the faith.

What is interesting about this group of informants is their use of historical instances to solve a contemporary problem. By doing so they contribute to an increased or heightened sense of "in group" or "we feeling", and differentiate themselves from "outsiders". This increased sense
of ethnic identity is a mechanism with which they reduce cultural conflict, confusion and alienation that they feel in Canada. Finally, since this technique has worked in the past, it is their hope that it will work at present.

In summary, then, there was division within the community with respect to this particular issue. While some felt a normative reorganization of cultural ideas is not feasible (the extremist group), others felt that at least some behavioural alterations are indispensable to life in Canada.

The importance of the Sikh cultural model that emphasizes work principles that are informed by moral and social values can hardly be ignored. The importance of the collective or the group is also unlike the emphasis of the individual and group in a planned economy. The latter is primarily a work group committed to profits and the growth of markets. The former, on the other hand, insures a traditional social order that successfully limits the growth of subsystems of purposive-rational action (Habermas: 1970).

Conflicting Situations (Portuguese)

In the case of the Portuguese the move toward the capitalization of the fruit industry had rendered it necessary for farmers to think of themselves as part of a
cooperative, through the signing of contracts. The image of the autonomous rugged farmer could no longer be maintained, because the free market economy could not ensure their survival (for a discussion of the market conditions of the fruit industry read Ormsby, M. 1958).

Yet the mechanism of the cooperative (work group) had only minimally affected their images of themselves in their daily activities. Their representatives in the corporation that marketed the fruit were mainly farmers themselves. Also on the orchards, decision making was still largely individual. The checks and balances that affected such a belief came only with activities such as peddling that threatened the new economic order.

Although new concepts were not imposed on them with the same vigor as was the case with the Sikhs, nonetheless sources of stress were generated on the job. Ownership of orchards necessitated their entry into fruit cooperatives and involvement in central selling — an area where they had very little knowledge. Their decision to sell fruit both independently as well as through the cooperative provoked a strong reaction from other Canadians. This procedure was, of course, contrary to all notions of cooperation and fairness, and they were classified as "peddlers". Although there were non-Portuguese in the area who were also involved in this process, public attention and censure was directed
toward them. As a result, some of them were expelled from
the cooperative; others, whose guilt could not be establish­
ed, were warned.

This activity of peddling was not a new phenomenon
associated with the coming of the Portuguese. As the presi­
dent of the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association
observed,

"The story of this association has been part of the
story of western agriculture the story of men who had to
fight hard, for the right to run their own affairs while at
the same time wresting a living from a new land and estab­
lishing their homes... peddling activity is not alone in
trying to undermine our industry, deliberately planted
rumours that are unfounded are also to blame for some of our
problems. It is not enough to be organized in name only, we
must also be joined together in our objectives and efforts."

Peddling was therefore one of the many problems
that plagued the fruit industry, and in which the Portuguese
were implicated. Although there is no written reference to
this effect, discussions with non-Portuguese orchardists
demonstrated this. Several Canadians, in the course of
telling me the social history of the valley and particularly
the southern Okanagan, made references to the coming of the
Portuguese and the problems that ensued. They felt that the
Portuguese did not know of organized voluntary cooperation.
It was not surprising then, that they were treated in a
hostile fashion.
After the initial conflict and the removal of offenders from the cooperative list, there was a lull. Some of the original members, who had either left or had been thrown out, were now showing an interest in getting back. In the meantime, their orchards had grown in size, and the process of handling, packaging and finally selling their fruit was far too much of a strain on them. Some who had Canadian friends in the cooperative sought their help to re-gain entry. Once they were in, they also attended cooperative meetings and were aware of the new trends in fruit growing. Although they did not quite understand all the procedures involved, they were concerned about how their personal lives would be affected by such factors and changes. This was an opportunity for them to demonstrate their commitment to the local-residential unit, and they did.

Working Women (Sikhs)

Among the newcomers, most women worked on farms as fruit pickers. In some cases, they were hired as a group to work on a plant nursery, and worked all year around with other Sikh women. However, there were others who worked as maids or kitchen hands in the local restaurants. Despite the fact that they had children they went out to work. They thus contributed to the family income.
Since many of them worked together on a farm, or worked with other non-English speaking immigrant workers, their knowledge of English was limited. There were no complaints about their work, however, and since the farmers were dependent on seasonal labour, they did not find it difficult to obtain jobs.

In my discussions with these women about their working lives, it was clear that earning an income did not automatically contribute to egalitarianism in the household. Initially, when the women expressed satisfaction over their contributions to the family, and made demands, the husbands did not seem very pleased. Gradually the men became used to the idea of separate bank accounts, and in some instances, helping their wives with the household chores. Some even proudly proclaimed that they had "working wives".

In evaluating changing roles of working women, it is important to bear in mind that there is no linear relationship between contributing to economic activities and higher status for women (Sanday: 1976). Nor was there a move toward "self-actualization" on the job. Like the men, they did not make a sharp distinction between work and non-work.
To them, the job was a means of supplementing the family income. Further, it broke the monotomy of their daily chores and enabled them to meet other women and make friends.

As was true in the case of the Sikhs, the Portuguese women worked as well. In the initial years they worked as pickers along with their husbands. When they bought their own orchards (small farms at first) they had to continue helping their husbands. The only way they could save money to buy more land was not to use hired help. The family therefore worked as a unit. But with the increase in size of orchard and the returns on them, there was really no need for the women to work. The women, thus freed from orchard work, obtained jobs in the packing house.

There are several points to note in this transition from working on the family orchard to working outside the home. In the initial phases, it was imperative that both husband and wife work outside the home, as pickers. In that situation the wife worked with the husband, or if she obtained a job as a domestic, it was on the recommendation of the orchardist who sponsored or hired them. Thus the network that was established both among the Portuguese them-
selves and between their Canadian employers and themselves provided a security for working outside.

In the next phase when they were able to buy small orchards themselves, the women worked on the family orchard, whereas it was customary for the man to work on farms other than his own. Thus, although it was imperative for women to work, they worked on their own farm. When the farms grew bigger in size, the revenue or returns also improved. At this point it was not even necessary for women to work full time on their own orchards. They could have hired help. Now all they did were the household chores, tended to kitchen gardens or poultry. Thus freed from full time orchard labour, many women obtained jobs outside the home, usually in the packing house.

This act of moving out of the house by the women can be seen as an indicator of acculturation. Perhaps, to some extent there was greater identification with their jobs and with other Canadian women who worked outside the home. As one Portuguese woman observed,

"When I joined the packing house, there were not too many other Portuguese women here. Since I knew English, I could easily get along with the other Canadian women. I soon got a supervisory position, and in the seventies when more Portuguese women were hired, I was asked to help in recruiting them. Some of them were extremely self-conscious about using English. Others although fluent in English, still preferred to use Portuguese with their Portuguese friends. There is
yet another group who feel their chances of mobility are higher if they speak only in English at work. In 1977 there were some problems between a few of the Portuguese women and other Canadian workers. Authorities in the packing house then made it mandatory that all workers communicate only in English on the job."

On the whole, Portuguese women, like their husbands, did not experience much dislocation. Farm life gave them security and control. In any event, being a farm owner was what most aspired for. As one of them said,

"In Portugal we were poor. We could never own this much land. We would have been working for other farmers or on our own small piece of land with not much hope for a better life. Here we have everything we want."

In that sense, unlike the Sikh women, they had little cause for stress.

Vicarious Ritualization

Last but not least of all, the use of vicarious ritualization as a mechanism for coping with change by the Sikhs deserves mention.

Since most of my Sikh informants were working long hours, or had to drive long distances to get to their jobs, they found that they had very little time for performing their ritual activities. So they obtained tapes of the prayers which they played in the morning while getting ready, or on their way to work. Sometimes, since the noise level
was high in the sawmill, they would say the prayers to themselves. Or as one of them said to me, he meditates on the job. Such vicarious ways of performing the ritual duties suggest that the pressures of living in a new and industrial milieu are not totally disruptive of a traditional way of life, but contribute to the development of techniques that allow for the performance of both sets of roles and duties. However, it is also clear that they use these techniques to reduce anxiety as well. In particular music is an important therapeutic tool.

The Sikhs listened to and used traditional religious music as a stress-reducing mechanism. As one of them observed,

"If I can listen to a few Kirtans while shaving or driving to work, I almost always have a good day. When I come home, I like to listen to light Punjabi music, most of the time."

The use of these two distinct forms of music is worthy of attention. It almost seemed as if they were preparing themselves with the type of music critical to their sense of being in the morning and unwinding with music that required less concentration and attention within the sanctity of their homes at night. The two musical forms can also be looked upon as rituals of transition that separates the home from the workplace in the morning and allows an individual to return to it at the end of the day.
The Portuguese, likewise, use similar techniques especially in the summertime, when they have to work in the orchard. The men invariably stay back to work on a Sunday while the women and children attend mass. However, when mass is over they do not linger to meet their friends, but return to their homes and join their husbands at work.

Some of the women feel that there is no need to attend mass every Sunday or on other weekdays particularly when the workload is heavy. But they are forced to do so because of their fear of gossip as well as being chastized by the priest for their materialistic ways.

Conclusions

The rules of the workplace place immense demands on new immigrants. In industrial societies such as Canada, it exerts a powerful influence on the self concepts and images that people develop. To be a misfit in such a context can have a crippling effect on individuals and their performance. This was the experience of the Sikhs. While many alterations as recorded earlier were made, some fundamental issues of "self-hood" had to be examined. This was by no means an easy process, because
1) the Sikhs had to make the distinction between work identity and all other forms of identification.

2) Further, they had to subordinate cultural loyalty and family identity to individual work activity.

3) Finally, this not only involved the separation of religion from ethnicity, but also the confinement of both to the private sphere.

   It was not surprising that the Sikhs were divided on the above issues. While a few began to compartmentalize their activities, others struggled to come to terms with it. The latter felt threatened and viewed any acceptance of Canadian norms as a loss of cultural loyalty rather than as an addition to their existing knowledge. To them the development and maintenance of ethnic identity was the only feasible solution and this is the path they took.

   The Portuguese on the other hand did not face such pressures. Their choice of occupation made it easier for them to evaluate and accommodate to Canadian life. The emphasis they placed on individual achievement and the distinctions they made between religious/ethnic identity and work identity made their transition less problematic.
1) See Buchignani N. (1977) for details.

2) This is what Kiefer (1974) means when she talks about "acculturating to acculturation". That is, an individual learns to prefer the new role and its attendant principles and behaviour. In the case of these youngsters, it was very clear that at least two of them had very little inclination to carry on a tradition that they had been socialized in. These two were also married to Canadians, and this made it more difficult for them to retain habits and family customs. The other two had not spent much time in India, although their spouses were Punjabi. They were not fluent in the use of the language and were not current with the procedures and ritual performances that their parents took for granted.
CHAPTER 5

FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Responses of Sikhs with Respect to the Issue of Removing the Turban  

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CHAPTER 6

THE MEANING OF LAND AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

In this chapter the main concern is with land use patterns and types of property ownership among the Sikhs and the Portuguese in the Okanagan Valley. As we saw in the last chapter, one of the first steps that an immigrant has to take is to find a stable job and a regular source of income. If he succeeds in doing so and saves the money earned, the next step is to send for his/her family. Once the family arrives, (s)he takes other measures to establish roots in the community. Buying a home, or even renting one until such time when an individual can afford one, and entering into social interactions with "relevant others" is a beginning.

However, there are constraints placed on immigrants by the larger community they choose to live in. In some instances hospitality is minimal toward a newcomer. There is a fear that certain groups would lower the value of property. There is also the additional fear that they would introduce new elements that might threaten a tenuous communal stability that they envisage or perceive. These parameters provide guides for immigrant actions.

In keeping with our definition of acculturation as
the learning of skills and strategies native to another group, we shall explore this process in land ownership and settlement pattern of the Sikhs and the Portuguese in the valley. As in the work world, Sikhs were considered alien and generally undesirable in the community, whereas the Portuguese did not receive such hostile reactions. The hypothesis advanced here recognizes both the significance of the contexts which members of both groups encountered, as well as the disparities between their native cultural models and the new models.

Throughout my entire stay in the valley, I was constantly aware of the pre-occupation of Canadians with zoning, land use patterns and housing. From my discussions with a few citizens, and from journal articles and historical presentations, it is possible to delineate some of the core values associated with land. They present an order that can be broadly classified along two dimensions. The first is general and representative of land use classifications in the region as a whole; the other is more specific and pertains to the local-residential unit. They are as follows:

- see Table XX -
## TABLE XX

**Land Use Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGIONAL CATEGORIES</th>
<th>LOCAL CATEGORIES</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural/Industrial</td>
<td>Renter/Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban/Rural</td>
<td>Single Family/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake/Land</td>
<td>Multi-residential Units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley/Mountains</td>
<td>Low Density/High Density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suburb/City</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: General features of land use classification were obtained from Plan-Vernon 1973, Hudson's 1973 Report to the Ministry of Agriculture, and The Economic Study of the Okanagan-Shuswap Region 1971. However, interviews with real estate agents, old timers and a few newcomers helped to sharpen the above contrasts.)
To newcomers such an order is not immediately apparent yet they must learn that coming to terms with these classifications is imperative to adaptation. Why are the categories opposed to each other, and what are the differences between them they ask? In answer to that, we have to recapitulate the main features of the regional model.

As we saw earlier, until the Second World War agriculture was the most important industry in the valley. The advent of low cost rail transportation soon after the gold rush days had been a turning point in the history of agriculture. Although at first wheat and beef seemed to be the main products, commercial fruit production soon came into existence.

The idea that one could make a good living from an orchard was very persuasive both in Canada and abroad, and people began to pour into the valley. There was an expected land boom, and land development companies and community irrigation projects came into being. Settlements arose and expanded based on the orchard industry. All others were secondary and supported the existing core. Thus, for instance, almost every town had a sawmill that basically provided the local manufacturers with crates and shipping containers for the fruit (Okanagan Economic Study: 1971).
However, the history of the Okanagan is not entirely congruent with the history of the fruit industry. In fact, the latter has not entirely been a successful one; there were setbacks from the very beginning. Frost damage to the crop, lack of a central marketing organization, lack of a regular and assured market for the fruit: all had served to lessen its economic viability. The opening of the Hope-Princeton highway in the south end of the valley, and the Rogers Pass in the north, brought in an influx of tourists and led to a significant increase and expansion of this industry. There was also an expansion in the forest industries; what was once a small local establishment in each town became a centralized and capital intensive venture. There had also been a marked increase in the manufacturing and service industries. What has occurred over time, then, is a gradual decrease in the importance of agriculture and particularly the fruit industry. It is no longer the core industry; indeed at present, there is not one core, but several in the valley.

The impact of these changes in the valley has been tremendous. There has been an increase in the number of people who have very little to do with agriculture. Consequently, their relationship to the land is of an order that is distinct from that of the farmers. What was once agricultural land has now been apportioned into industrial and residential land. This has resulted in a conflict of
interests between farmers and others. Therefore, in terms of land use patterns, the opposing categories of land for industrial purposes and land for agricultural purposes are significant.

As a result of, and in conjunction with the above, there has been an increasing demarcation between urban and rural areas. While in an earlier phase, towns and outlying orchards were distinct, today the extensions and inroads of city dwellings and lifestyles into the surrounding countryside are tremendous. Further within these urban centers distinctions between commercial space, multi-family dwellings and single-family residential areas are more marked. For instance, in Vernon and Kelowna there are areas both within the city and on the outskirts (near the lakes) where the property value has risen astronomically in the last few years. These areas are primarily single-family residential zones, which house larger than average homes and well-manicured gardens.

In the newer areas of the city, on the other hand, there is more concern with effective use of space and cheaper housing. As a result there are more duplexes, triplexes, apartments, townhouses as well as single homes with smaller gardens.
In addition to the above there has been an interest on the part of both agriculturists and non-agriculturists in the preservation of the "wilderness". In the towns and cities this finds expression in forms such as parks and recreation grounds, and camping grounds and reserves outside these urban boundaries. Notably, since the lakes are a major attraction to the valley, certain sections of land around these lakes have been maintained as public land. Since the lake is an important asset to the valley, land around the lake has a higher value than inland. With the current shortage of land for residential purposes, lots that have been carved out of the mountainside, providing a good view of the valley, have also escalated in value. To understand land use patterns in the valley, the differences between agriculturals/industrial, urban/rural, lake/land, valley/mountains are major themes that have to be taken into consideration. These concepts that new immigrants are confronted with must be interpreted and incorporated into their actions. As if these differences between groups were not enough, differences in terms of ethnicity have also tended to complicate matters. In the early history of these settlements, undesirable immigrants were virtually excluded from the main stream of community life. Their social marginality found expression in spatial segregation as well. Thus, for example, there were Japanese and Chinese enclaves

As we saw earlier, acceptance into the community was generally defined in terms of the contributions made to the general well being of all its citizens. Reciprocity, participation in voluntary organizations, active contribution to the church and its related activities were all incorporated within such a definition. Being a good citizen was dependent on personal integrity as well as communal participation. A common code for conduct thus provided a framework for belonging to the community.

Sikh Perspectives

By and large, Sikh immigrants who came in the 1960's, unlike the pioneers, did not wish to own orchards or farm land. They were no longer legally helpless or discriminated against as the oldtimers had been. Thus, land ownership was not a strategy for coping with a new and hostile context.

They preferred to buy land in India instead. By sending money home on a regular basis, they could enhance their family status in the village or hometown. Their concepts of land ownership was thus tied to definitions of
family, communal and village status (Helweg: 1979).

In Canada, however, they bought houses as soon as they could afford it. These homes are primarily in the newer areas of the city which are also multi-residential. Most of the Sikhs bought duplexes and triplexes which brought in revenue. By choosing to buy homes rather than orchards, they identified with the other non-agriculturists in the local communities. Such an endorsement, in turn, necessitated the appreciation of the categories that are meaningful to non-agriculturists. Most of all, as we shall see later, they had to learn to identify with the local-residential unit instead of the ethnic group.

Portuguese Perspectives

The Portuguese, on the other hand, were fruit pickers on orchards when they first arrived. They were allocated cabins to live in by their employers. With the savings they made, they began to work on improving them. Since many of them knew what to do, they worked at it at their leisure. Such initiative did not pass unnoticed. They earned respect in the eyes of their employers. They were not seen as renters, because they were concerned with property value, living conditions and environment. Thus, by subscribing to behaviour that was valued by members of the
community, these activities were viewed as attempts to become part of that community.

From a Portuguese perspective, there was an improvement in their quality of life. The idea of converting a cabin into a home was a significant step. This attitude towards ownership as expressed by the Portuguese is not peculiar to those who live in the Okanagan, but is shared by Portuguese in other parts of Canada as well. In a study called "The Other Economy", the author Krohn (1977) discuss the way in which the Portuguese increased the value of property in a Montreal neighbourhood. Thus, their initial attempts to settle were viewed favourably by other Canadians. Eventually, they bought the orchards themselves.

Land and Property Ownership (Portuguese)

According to a report of the Ministry of Agriculture (1974), fruit orchards in the valley were classified as follows: Orchards from 1-5 acres were defined as "hobby farms"; those with 5-25 acres were called small farms. In the Okanagan, 58% of the farmers fall under this later category and own up to 57% of the land. Medium sized orchards ranged between 25-60 acres; about 8% belong in this category and own about 24% of the land. Any farm with over 60 acres was considered large and only 1% of the farmers belonged to
this category, although they owned up to 11% of the land. The hobby orchard owners constitute 22% of all growers and operate about 6% of the orchard land. Within these regional parameters there were local variations as well.

Although ownership of property and land in the valley was a means of achieving status, this was by no means conclusive. An individual's participation and leadership capabilities in the organization and production of fruit was a crucial factor. The local institutions in each community that looked after these affairs were the fruit cooperatives, to which most farmers belonged. Those Portuguese who became farmers were also judged by the same principles. Initially, we saw earlier, their indifference to fruit peddling laws confined them to a marginal role.

- see Table XXI -

Small Farmers

Contrary to the general classification, the Portuguese consider those who own between 2-5 acres of land as small farmers. In my sample of 39 families there were seven families that owned less than five acres of land. Among this group, many were proposing to buy a larger orchard as soon as they had saved money. From their perspective, this
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land and Property Ownership Among the Portuguese in the Valley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 acres     = 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10 acres         = 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20 acres        = 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 50 acres        = 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 50 acres        = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong>            = <strong>39</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Information was obtained through interviews and then cross-checked with the assessment list provided by the local water board.)
was just an initial phase in their settlement pattern. In most instances there was a minimum of five years before they could acquire even a small orchard. As was true in the earlier phase, the men remodelled their homes in their spare time and the family worked together on the farm. In short, self help and family cooperation made it possible for these farmers not only to buy land but also to make it economically feasible. Further, in a decade the value of the land had doubled (Hudson Report: 1973). Not only had land become more valuable, but also the improvements made, such as remodelled homes, cold storage rooms, garages and sheds had contributed to the escalation of orchard prices.

In this phase, then, there was a clear use of communal space. They were property owners and paid taxes. They had a stake in the property values of the neighbourhood. They were also involved in the economic organization of the community such as the cooperatives. Thus ownership of property cemented their ties to the local community.

Medium Sized Farms

According to the classification made by Portuguese families, those who owned between 5-20 acres of land were medium sized farmers. But within this category a further differentiation was made between those who owned up to 10
acres (Category A) and those with more (Category B).

Category A (5-10 Acres)

Among those I interviewed, 10 families fell under this category. On the average, they had about nine acres of land of which 8.5 acres was under fruit cultivation. On the rest of the land they had a little vineyard, a small kitchen garden and sometimes a little shed where they kept poultry or goats. Like others, they had made extensive renovations. The following example will clarify this point.

Respondent 1

The house was very small and run down when we bought this place and Joe had to spend a great deal of time and money on it. He built a utility room, enlarged the living room, added a dining room, and finished the basement.

Such improvements were not seen as distasteful or "new" by the Canadians. Almost all of them lived in houses they had bought many years ago, although improvements or additions were made when family size or incomes increased. The most significant characteristic of their land use patterns was that their surroundings did not change. The Portuguese were no different.
There were 16 families whom I interviewed who could be thus classified. The range of land owned varied from 11.5 acres to 20 acres. Some of them had lived in Oliver for at least 15 years. They had originally worked as pickers, then bought small orchards, and gradually expanded the size of their orchards. There was only one family that had not lived in Oliver for such a length of time. But apart from this family most others had bought their orchards in the mid sixties and had made good investments. The differences in prices of orchards, of course, varied with the type of house and farm equipment that came with it. In 1961 an eleven acre orchard cost $38,000. This included both a house as well as a picker's cabin on the lot. In 1965 an eleven acre orchard sold for $45,000, again with a picker's cabin and farm equipment. But by 1975, an eleven acre orchard cost $122,500. Land prices had indeed escalated.

It is very clear that in Oliver the price of one acre of land had more than doubled since 1960. Once an area that did not attract many farmers, Oliver had now become an economically viable district. The Portuguese in part benefited from this growth, although they were to a large extent responsible for increasing the value of the property. In
addition to rising property values, in 1972, the policy of the government to freeze agricultural land gave a tremendous boost to agriculture (Hudson: 1973). Although farmers objected to this policy, which prevented them from selling their own land at a greater profit, there was general agreement that this was a measure that would both help them and prevent the industry from dying out in the valley. Also, with the additional impetus from the crop insurance programme, farmers were receiving better profits. It was economically feasible to be in the fruit business, and also enjoy a good lifestyle. Since they had held on to the land, the Portuguese now were the large farmers in the district. They sought their identity through the land. As one of them observed,

"In Portugal we cannot afford to have land. Land was only for the rich. We worked on the land or held small plots. Even then it was too expensive and we never hoped to have the land we have here. In Canada the opportunities are better. We could save enough money and borrow the rest from the Farm Credit Office because we have good bank credit ratings. At first I bought five acres, then 10, and now I have almost 20 acres. Right now my property value is very high and I am a rich man. I could never have been so rich back home. I realized this when I visited Portugal. My friends were still in the position that I saw them in. Ownership of property was very restricted."

At this point it is also important to note that there are some qualitative differences between those who own up to 10 acres and those who own up to 20 acres. It was at this settlement stage some families decided to build new
homes on their orchards. As one of them told me, this is a way to get around the problem imposed by the land freeze. Since they could not subdivide the land and allow homes to be built, they could at least have the satisfaction of having a large modern house on their property. This, according to the zoning laws, was feasible if an individual owned over five acres of land, and proposed to house families who were in the agricultural business. Thus these individuals rented the older homes to pickers or other farm workers while they lived in their modern homes. This phase began in 1975, and several families are in the process of building new homes on their land, so much so that the saying goes that in Oliver "one had to keep up with the Pereieras and Ferreiras and not the Jones".

In summary, then, several points can be made. This phase can be described as one of consolidation. Those who could afford it, bought at least 15 acre orchards. They not only remodelled their old homes, they built new ones. There was a clear status distinction that they had initiated that was applicable not only among Portuguese themselves, but began to be applied to other citizens in Oliver as well. Most importantly, they followed in the footsteps of earlier settlers. The old order was maintained while the new groups established themselves step by step in the community.
Large Farmers

Anyone who owned more than 20 acres of land was, according to the Portuguese, a large farmer. There were only six farmers who fell under this category. Of these six, one farmer owned 105 acres of land, but the others had less than 40 acres. Those with larger farms tended to employ a larger number of hired workers, many of whom were not of Portuguese origin. But by and large there was a tendency to help each other out during the fruit season.

Having looked at the major differences between land for agricultural purposes and land for non-agricultural purposes, let us take a closer look at the implications of house and property ownership in the towns and cities.

Home Ownership in Cities and Towns

By choosing to live in an urban centre, individuals are forced to take into consideration certain criteria for establishing themselves. In general, ownership of property is viewed not only as an investment, but also gives the individual more power in the community.

Many individuals cherish the hope of owning, rather than renting, a home. To substantiate this proposition I
shall use Vernon as an example. In 1971, out of the 4,175 households in the city, 2,692 were owned (Canadian Census: 1971). This figure could be used as an indicator of the value attached to ownership as opposed to renting.

In addition to the above, there is a hierarchy in ownership as well. The owner of a single-family detached home is held in high esteem, as opposed to one who owns an apartment or a duplex. Townhouses are rated below single-detached homes, although sometimes people who live in single-detached homes move to townhouses. This is largely because their children have grown up and left. They do not see why they should not take advantage of living in a townhouse, where they do not have to look after the yard, or can go away on holidays without having to get somebody to look after the house.

The renter, on the other hand, is in an insecure position. What is more important is that he may never change his status. Although it is acceptable to be a renter, because most families start off that way, it is important to keep the categories distinct. People who live in areas that are assigned only for single-family homes would never agree to an apartment going up in their neighbourhood. There is a constraint on space and facilities, in addition to factors such as noise and pollution. This is
one of the reasons people flee from the inner city. Further, it is very difficult for people to keep the rules when they live in such close proximity.

Thus, there is a sanctity associated with home and hearth. There are also the implications for being a good citizen and contributing to the community.

Sikh Perspectives

From the point of view of the Sikh community, renting was a very convenient form of tenure, especially when the immigrants were single. It saved them the trouble which the maintenance of a house involved. Besides, it was not hard to rent and it did not involve much responsibility. Nor did it involve getting loans from the bank and paying them back. The usual mode was for three or four bachelors to rent a home. (Aurora: 1967 describes a similar pattern among the Sikhs in England).

On the other hand, they also felt that owning a house was very important, especially when their families joined them. This was particularly true if they had children. According to them, they did not have to depend on others to allow them to rent their house or suite. They had also discovered that it was possible to borrow money from
the bank at low interest rates, and that obtaining credit was a means of establishing oneself in the community. Thus buying a house was not hard at all. Besides, if a few friends wanted to live together in the same neighbourhood, they could do so. As one of them remarked, "ownership is an important thing, even if it is a house or a car. People respect you." What is important to note, however, is the extension of the principle of brotherhood, to that of an ethnic group living in a sector of the city, i.e., cooperation between kin members (affinal and consanguineal) in a local setting (Aurora: 1967).

What seemed to emerge from the interviews were similarities and contrasts in attitudes towards ownership between the Sikhs and the rest of the community. The latter identified several stages in the life-cycle corresponding to the type of house and the form of tenure. At all points, however, there was a great deal of concern to keep the categories distinct. The Sikhs seemed to indicate concern with the settlement cycle.

Single Family Homes/Multi-Residential Units

In Canada, this distinction is not only one of class but one of differences in the life cycle as well. Single-family detached homes are preferred by those who have children and who want to escape the horrors of the crowded
inner city. Social arrival in the community is usually witnessed by the ownership of single detached homes. Associated with this ownership is a certain amount of freedom and privacy which other forms of home ownership do not lend themselves to. That is, physical boundaries are manipulated to maintain social distance and privacy.

Among the Sikh families who lived in Vernon alone, 17 from my sample of 20 lived in one particular high density, residential neighbourhood. Further, 14 out of the 20 owned duplexes, while six had single detached homes. Of the latter, there were only three who lived in low density residential areas. As most of them observed, the major criteria for living here were low cost of housing and proximity to friends. The average cost of a duplex was $23,000 while a single detached home cost $38,000 or more. The other advantages they saw were the possibility of car pools and sharing leisure time activities. In summary, then, the formation of an enclave was a spontaneous reaction to the alienation felt in the new context.

- see Table XXII and Table XXIII -
TABLE XXII

Property Ownership Among the Sikhs in Vernon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed residential and lower income neighbourhood</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWNED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjacent duplexes</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplexes</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single family homes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[\frac{17}{17}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLDER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single family homes in residential neighbourhoods</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Information was obtained through interviews. Description of areas was provided by real estate agents.)
**TABLE XXIII**

Property Ownership of Sikhs in Rutland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single family homes in residential neighbourhood</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes on agriculturally zoned land</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplex owners in mixed residential neighbourhoods</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single family owners in mixed residential neighbourhoods</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Information was obtained through interviews. Description of areas was provided by real estate agents.)
Along with the concept of single family homes, individuals prefer low density areas as well. In a single-family zone there is a great deal of privacy and space. This would not be possible if they were to live in a high density area. High density areas are also associated with crime, delinquency, racial tensions, pollution and noise. High density areas also are likely to be mixed-residential areas. This is particularly distasteful to home owners because of the lowering of their property values and because they are transient neighbourhoods. To members of the community such transient milieus are a threat to the existing social order. What is out of place is also seen as dangerous. The flight to the suburbs is one of the many alternatives people choose.

The Sikh families in Vernon can be described as living in the suburbs. They preferred to live away from the core of the city because they did not want to be harassed or their property vandalized. Thus, the move to the suburb was a mechanism to avoid or minimize racial tensions and hostilities and was not motivated by a wish to identify with local-Canadian residential patterns. Besides, once they moved to the suburbs, their decision to make it an ethnic enclave demonstrated an on-going interest in preserving
cultural norms of visiting, exchange of gifts, leisure time activities and so on.

In summary, then, there were considerable differences between what they chose to do and what Canadians did. The distinction they made between the inner city and the suburbs, although superficially similar to Canadian motives, were primarily attempts to maintain cultural loyalty. The criteria they used were proximity to kin, friends, travel networks and low cost housing. They had, therefore, to learn to make the distinction between local-residential identity and cultural loyalty before they would be acceptable in the larger community.

Portuguese Perspectives

What is important to note is that by their decision to become farmers or orchard owners, they had chosen a lifestyle that involved low density dwellings and low density areas.

Further, they made a concerted effort to improve their houses. Although at first they did not own these cabins, they left their mark on the land. They improved these cabins with better plumbing and electricity, thus converting the cabin into a home. Likewise when they bought a small orchard, they worked on the house. Elaborate
changes were usually made to the living room and the kitchen. The women crocheted laces and tablecloths that adorned the rooms, and there was also extensive use of glass and crystal. The kitchens were also modernized with all the necessary appliances.

When these farms were sold or expanded to become medium sized farms, the houses were also enlarged. In some cases, a new house would be built on an adjacent lot that they owned. These new houses were completely modern and had at least three or four bedrooms, attached baths and a completed basement.

In essence, it can be seen that the Portuguese had a step like progression from the position of farm workers to medium sized farm owners. Each progressive stage was characterized by their special efforts to improve and enhance their lifestyles. Farming was a lucrative occupation for them because, unlike other farmers, they did not hire any outside labour: it was a family concern. Since they had bought land when it was not expensive, they had made a profitable investment. Each stage in this process of mobility was further highlighted by status markers.

Yet it cannot be said that the Portuguese have been totally accepted in the community. Rather they are constantly negotiating for social space. As farm workers
they found general acceptance in a community that lacked steady, reliable farm labour. Their efforts to improve their dwelling units, as it enhanced property values, found favour in the eyes of their employers. As workers, they generally had a good reputation. Within about five years of their settlement in Canada they were able to buy their own homes and orchards, increasing the market value. So contrary to the fears held by Canadians that with the coming of the Portuguese their property values would diminish, the property values were in fact enhanced. Further, most families lived in separate households. Thus, the family followed the pattern of separation in the course of its life cycle, and with each marriage, the son or the daughter moved out. In the case of old parents, they lived close by although separately. The fear of high density dwellings that is associated with foreigners was not experienced. The type of life style they chose resulted in no neighbourhoods that were exclusive to the Portuguese. They were scattered all around the town, and were not visible in the town center unless they were availing themselves of the services of the town. Discussions with Canadians in Oliver-Osoyoos suggested that although it is a stereotype, there is a general fear of over-crowding associated with foreigners; in this case the Portuguese.

Because there was no gross violation of the principles that were valued by the community, the Portuguese did
not suffer as much as other immigrants. Although they were newcomers, in many ways distinct in terms of their clothing, their food, their language, they were first considered as good and trustworthy workers, then small orchard owners, subsequently large orchard owners, and finally, good citizens. In the final analysis, their commitment to the local-residential unit was the fundamental reason why they were accepted in the community.

Conclusions

Canadian zoning patterns reflect, to some extent, the values of an industrial society. They do represent some sort of an outcome of the clash of interests between members of a society. Even in rural areas such concerns are not only visible but important. To a new immigrant the underlying order of an industrial society is not readily apparent.

To the Sikhs, first as single men, renting was a convenient form of tenure. There were no ties that bound them to the settlements that they lived in; nor were there any responsibilities. The image of the spatial setting fitted very well with the image of themselves as both newcomers and single adults. All this changed when they were married and/or when their families joined them. They were
no longer single nor newcomers. Settlement patterns, as a result, took a different form. Since they were employed at the sawmills, they began to purchase homes in the vicinity of the mills. Proximity to friends and kin, and low-cost housing were their primary criteria.

The choice of a neighbourhood and the purchase of a home are not, as many would have it, private actions. They are manifestations of an individual's values and preferences that will be evaluated positively or negatively by the community - gross violations of community norms rendered individuals marginal to the community and increased social distance.

By choosing a new, cheap, multi-residential high density zone (for reasons of friendship, kinship, and economy), the Sikhs found themselves outsiders. They were seen as "flashy" newcomers who did not understand the rules. The most important rule that they had to learn was the distinction between local-residential identity and ethnic or cultural loyalty, the Sikhs chose the latter.

The Portuguese, on the other hand, did not find disfavour. The importance of ownership in the definition of Portuguese identity made renting a short and ambivalent stage. Even if they lived in picker's cabins they made substantial alterations to the house. They re-fashioned the
dwelling, as it were, to suit their values and ideas. By working on and subsequently buying the land, they avoided the formation of ethnic neighbourhoods. Likewise, they did not live in high density or mixed residential areas and they eventually moved from the stage of small owners to medium sized or large farm owners. This step-like progression was crucial to being evaluated favourably by other Canadians. Most of all, they demonstrated commitment to the local unit rather than to their ethnic group. Being a member of the "community" meant the subordination of ethnic or cultural loyalty to the local-residential unit.
1) Thus, for instance, in the early 1960's one of the old timers had bought his orchard five years after he had arrived in Canada. He had worked as a picker and had managed to save $1,600. With an additional $5,000 he borrowed from a friend he was able to buy a house and a 4 acre orchard. Ownership of land meant a great deal of work and organization, and the whole family was involved in the enterprise. It was their combined efforts that made it profitable to run the orchard.

2) Although we do not have the figures for earlier decades, changes in tenure forms can be traced through from 1951 to 1971. According to the Canadian Census (1951), out of the 2,225 households in Vernon, 1,470 were owned and 755 were rented. In 1961, out of 3,005 households, 2,005 were owned and 1,000 were rented. In 1971, out of 4,175, 2,692 were owned and 1,483 were rented. Thus in 1971 alone there was a small setback in the number of homes that were owned. Although Vernon alone is cited as an example, these findings can be extended to the other settlements as well.

3) There have been homes built by the Portuguese that cost more than $150,000 including, five bedrooms with baths
attached. There was wall-to-wall carpet covering the entire living space excluding the basement. The kitchen had all the modern appliances. There is also a swimming pool in front of the house. Since access to the lake is not as easy as in other communities, swimming pools are status symbols.
In the previous chapters on land and work, references were made to the importance of the family and kin networks in the settlement process of the Sikhs and the Portuguese. In this chapter we are interested in knowing the extent of change and persistence in the structure of the family. In keeping with the definition of acculturation as the process of learning skills and strategies native to another group, we would like to document changes in behavioural patterns and see if there are any attendant alterations in the traditional meanings and symbols held by both groups. We will begin with a Sikh perspective.

In understanding Sikh kin ties in Canada, the basic unit that has to be examined is the household. It is important to know what constitutes the household in the Punjab in order to know the variations thereof in the Canadian setting. In the literature on the Indian family, much emphasis has been placed on the changes within the joint family (Desai: 1955, Gore: 1961, Morrison: 1959). Westernization, urbanization and industrialization have been usually identified as causal factors in the move from a joint household to that of a nuclear household. However, as much as change is recognized, there has also been a renewed interest in
reassessing the definition of "jointness" itself. According to Gould (1975), the introduction of the notion of "family cycle" alters our usual understanding of the custom of joint household living. Even in rural settings the traditional joint household does not remain unaltered over the years. Usually, it moves from a stage of "jointness" to one of a nuclear or subnuclear household living after the death of an older male, or because of persistent conflict between siblings.

Kolenda's study (1968) suggests that, at the very least, when we refer to a joint family there must be at least two married couples related either collaterally or lineally. Secondly, unmarried relatives, or those who are divorced or separated and who are not the children of either couple, may supplement the family. Further, when there is no married couple and these relatives are part of the same nuclear family, the group can be referred to as a subnuclear household. Finally, any definition of jointness is dependent on one of three criteria; common residence, commensality, or co-parcenary arrangements.

In Indian ethno-theory, the family can be defined both as a model and module of inter-caste relations (Mandelbaum: 1968). Thus families not only relate to other families within their own subcaste or caste, but also with
families of higher or lower castes. In any village or town, interaction between families of different castes, at least in an economic sense, is done by males. Males maintain the transactions of their own family with the "outside" world, whereas the females maintain the family's tradition and continuity on the "inside". The household and the caste can then be defined in terms of the complementary opposition of "inside and outside", the females remaining within, and the males interacting with the external world.

This separation or opposition was possible because of certain principles underlying sex roles in Indian society. The female is considered to be inferior to the male, according to Hershman (1974). The family there is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal. Given this male status, it is understandable that the men "protect" the women, first in their father's household and then in their own. Finally, given that Sikhs are traditionally farmers, land and ownership of property are used as a symbolic medium through which these transactions with the "outside" world are executed. Hence the amount of land, cows and buildings owned, in addition to the number of people working for one, together determine the power that an individual can exercise in the village.

With this background I can now talk about the
families that I interviewed. As observed earlier, 35 out of the 40 came to Canada in the late 1950's and 1960's. The other five that I spoke to traced their roots in the valley back to the early decades of this century. What I propose to do is to begin with a discussion of the three generational structure of the family of one pioneer, and then compare and contrast this family with more recently arrived households.

A Sikh Pioneer Family - Case Study 1

This is an extension of the case study in Chapter 5.

First Generation

At the time of the father's death in the mid-sixties the family owned about 400 acres of land, most of it given over to fruit growing. The property was not divided but held in the mother's name. All the sons had an equal share. The daughters received their portion of the patrimony in cash or gifts at the time of marriage. The mother and the unmarried daughter were provided for in the will, although the sons continued to be responsible for them. They lived together in the same household, whereas all other relatives had moved away. Thus, although the property continued to be held jointly, common residence and commensality were not encouraged.

The Second Generation

The oldest son chose to live in the valley and make his living off the land. He was also appointed as manager of the entire estate and received a portion of the annual income from the land as salary. In 1971, however, he had a massive heart attack and was advised to take complete rest. It was then that a family meeting was called, and it was
decided that at least some of the property would be disposed of. Thus only land committed to fruit farming was maintained, which amounted to 125 acres. The profits were then divided among the males, although contributions to the mother and sister continued. It was also decided that the land would continue to be held jointly and managed by the oldest son.

The Third Generation

None of the sons wished to inherit the land or make a living on it. One went into the trucking business with the father and the other received cash to establish himself on his own. Of the two daughters the one who has married a Canadian has preferred cash as her share of the patrimony. The other inherited the land. Her husband is now being trained to manage the entire property that includes not only his wife's, but also that of her uncles.

Discussion

From this brief overview of one family's history in the valley some salient features can be extracted. Let us recapitulate some of the issues raised earlier. In the first generation, the financial and social conditions in Canada promoted duty and obligation toward the members of the family in India. This was expressed through letters as well as in financial assistance. Links with distant relatives were also activated at the time of the marriage of the daughters. Further, the family in Canada was the unit of both production and consumption. The land owned by the family was the only means by which relations with the outside world was maintained, and the responsibility lay on the shoulders of the males.
Over the years the situation changed. The children did not experience the same difficulties as their father. They were all educated in Canada, and there were equal opportunities for each of them to pursue their own interests. As there was no need for them to hold on to the land, they left to seek employment in other parts of British Columbia. Only the oldest son remained and took over the role of successor. Although the brothers had shares in the property, which was owned jointly, the oldest son acted as manager. Thus the traditional symbols of the household continued to be observed. Since inheritance was co-terminus with maintaining relations with the outside world, he continued to act as the liaison between the family and the community. In the case of the daughters, only two of them were married and they moved to other parts of British Columbia. The sons who married Canadian women were treated like the others, although their actions were met with disapproval. When the old father died, the widow and the unmarried daughter continued to live together, creating a sub-nuclear household. In the second generation, then, there was not a marked difference in either attitudes or behaviour in the household. It was no longer a production and consumption unit, but was increasingly becoming a more specialized unit of love and emotion. Still, the complementary opposition of inside/outside roles continued to be maintained by females and males, respectively. The turning point in the family's
history came in the second generation at the onset of an illness affecting the oldest son. The family had to make a decision to sell the land. Since none of the other siblings were really dependent on the land, it was decided that only land under fruit cultivation would be maintained. The rest was disposed of and the proceedings were shared between the males, the mother, and an unmarried sister. Further, the management of the latter's shares came under the jurisdiction of the oldest son; the married sisters only received gifts. In 1971, the family owned only 125 acres of prime orchard area. In a symbolic sense, land had decreased in importance in their presentation of self to the outside world.

In the third generation other changes were made. The oldest son married a Canadian woman and wished to opt out of his role as successor. The other son was not interested in inheriting the land, or managing the estate. Although they did not leave the valley, both depended on other forms of employment: one worked with his father in the trucking business, and the other was employed in a local mill. Of the daughters, one married a Canadian and wished to have her share of the patrimony in cash; the other agreed to settle on the land. Her husband was chosen for her by activating a distant kin network and the marriage was performed in India. Thus, in the third generation,
inheritance took the form of land and of shares in the trucking business. There were really two successors, at least in name. Although the daughter inherited the land, it was her husband who was trained to manage it. The son took over the leadership of the family and represented the members in many transactions with the outside world. The male role of successor continued, although in a modified form. The daughter, meanwhile, had inheritance rights, although she did not have much autonomy in making decisions. She continued to provide emotional support to her family, and especially was responsible for taking care of her parents.

Thus the third generation presented both a reduction in filial relationships and an increased recognition of bilateral kinship due to improved economic conditions in Canada (see also Ames & Inglis: 1973). In all instances, however, women still continued to represent the family on the inside, while the men continued to represent the family on the outside.

This discussion would not be complete without taking into consideration the two siblings who married Canadians. While emotional ties were very strong, the parents still felt that they had lost their children to another set of cultural values. In particular, there was a great deal of regret with regard to the daughter. Since, in
the caste structure, women are seen as gatekeepers, it was harder to accept her decision. They felt that the grandchildren would not be accepted by other Sikhs as truly "Sikhs". As for the son and daughter who married out; they too felt ambivalent about their relationship to the Sikh community. While they had no fear of being accepted by other Sikhs, they found themselves to be increasingly marginal members of this group. They also recognized that their children would not be accepted as Sikhs. There are not many mixed marriages in the valley, however, and clear conflicts of interest have not sprung up between those who have married Canadians and those who have not.

By the third generation, then, a wider Canadian milieu became part of the arena for family interactions. Nonetheless, traditional notions of status and identity were not replaced entirely by Canadian norms. For instance, while an increased emphasis was placed on achieved status by all family members, corporate markers of status (such as throwing a feast for employees in the household or orchard) were still displayed from time to time. To other Sikhs in the valley, it was clear that the family had roots not only in Canada but in India as well.

The major separations that they had to make were between
1) Corporate family identity and individual status and identity;

2) Family identity and local residential identity; and

3) to a lesser extent, between family identity and the status of women as independent of men.

The Portuguese Family

In most accounts of Portuguese society, reference is made to the fact that the family is the most sacred of all institutions (Cutieliero: 1974, Anderson and Higgs: 1976). Like families in the West, they follow a nuclear household pattern, although kin ties and obligations are duly met. A distinct break with the family of origin is made when an individual marries. Little property is owned jointly. In fact, joint ownership is incompatible with an adult man's independence and is made more difficult by the absence of any principle which would clearly establish the priority of rights for the eldest. In most cases property is divided equally amongst all the children.

Controversy over land occurs mainly amongst the wealthier Portuguese, although as Cutieliero (1974) points out, it is not absent among the working classes. There are several cases in the Okanagan where sibling rivalries over property had to be settled at court. Thus marriage and
inheritance serve to separate the members of the family of origin.

While rivalry often severs relationships between male members, women generally have emotional ties with other female family members. The mother/daughter relationship is a strong case in point. Usually the daughter's husband is also drawn into the circle of his wife's kin. The father and son dyad, on the other hand, is not always a cohesive one. Once the son is married, he does not work for his father. Although there is a certain amount of respect shown to the former, the relationship, is an ambivalent one.

Unlike the Sikh family, the Portuguese family follows the life cycle pattern similar to that of the average Canadian family. At each stage specific duties and obligations are defined and respected. The nuclear household is the unit of action, although it undergoes transformations in the life of an individual. One's obligations are to one's family of origin before marriage, and to one's affinal household thereafter.

Thus family status and identity is not carried over into the next generation. The emphasis is on an individual's achievement and ability to establish and maintain socio-economic and political status in the community.
In accounts of the status of women in the Iberian peninsula, particularly during the colonial period, it has been observed that they are subordinate to spouses.\textsuperscript{1} In my own research, I found that there was ambivalence about the status of women vis-a-vis men. While in an ideological sense women were not perceived as equals to men by both men and women, certain structural arrangements did allow them a sense of independence. For instance, both men and women can inherit property. As discussed earlier, since a young couple do not live with either family after marriage, significant contributions to the new household are made by both of them. Further, according to Cutieliero (1974) matrilocality is preferred since the father and son often find it impossible to live together. In situations where matrilocality is preferred, the women of the household find themselves surrounded by kin and friends that they have known all along, whereas the husband might not continue to live in the same village or neighbourhood. Further, at marriage a woman does not lose her maiden name but adds the husband's name to her own. Likewise, at baptism the children receive both the mother's maiden name as well as the father's name. These arrangements suggest that although men act as if they have more power, in a real sense, there are checks on the extent to which they exercise this power (see Quinn: 1977 for a further discussion).
It also must be noted, however, that men represent the family in the public sphere. Although women work outside the home, it is seen as "necessary work" which will cease when the family has sufficient assets, and not as prestigious work. Thus women work because they have to, and not because it would bring them individual status. Also, women tend to show deference to their husbands or fathers and, in general, children are warned not to provoke the father. Although women play a very active role in the church, they are conspicuously absent in both the official committees of the church and the adhoc committees that are struck for organizing local feasts and celebrations. According to Cutieliero (1974), a man who does not exhibit control over his family, and particularly the women, is described as a "cuckold"; yet the structure of the family is such that he does not get many opportunities for displaying such control. Thus tensions between the males and females exist, because while ideology promotes male supremacy, in practice they do not have extended opportunities for dominance.

There are several examples that can be cited to illustrate this. On one occasion, while doing my fieldwork, two men were reported as exhibiting obnoxious behaviour in the local pub and the wives were informed of this. Since the families were friends, the two wives took it upon
themselves to go to the pub. They did not go into the pub, but waited outside until the men came out. When they appeared, the women dragged their husbands home while verbally abusing them all along the way.

There are two important principles in operation here. First, the women did not feel that they had a right to enter the pub and insult their husbands, but they did not consider it wrong to wait for their husbands, to abuse them verbally, or to drag them home. Such behaviour would be unthinkable among the Sikhs, but it was not perceived as being out of line for the Portuguese. But secondly, and balancing the above, had the women entered the pub and dragged their husbands away from the table, this would have been considered unseemly behaviour.

Given this background we can talk about the changes within family structure and ideology among the Portuguese. Of the 39 families that I interviewed, there were five who could be classified as "pioneers". But since the differences in the time of arrival between these and the other 34 is negligible, it would be more useful to ask if there are differences in family relationships between those whose children were born and brought up in Canada and with those with grown children on arrival. We will begin with the former.
Case Study 2

Mr. Costa came to Oliver in 1956. A few months later he sponsored his brother to join him. A year later his wife joined him. All of them lived in the same cabin with just two rooms. The couple had a child the following year. The young wife helped the husband and his brother in the orchard as well as took care of the household chores. In 1959 she started working as a sorter in the local packing house. In 1960 they bought their first two acre orchard and home. The same year the husband's brother married her niece by proxy. The two couples then lived together until 1963, when the younger couple bought their own home. The wife then sponsored two of her brothers who came in 1965. When they got jobs they also left their sister's household.

Second Generation

Mr. Costa has two daughters. The oldest was at university while the other attended the local school. Both were not keen about living on an orchard or even in Oliver. There was no preference for being in a Portuguese neighbourhood, either, if they were to live in a city. What was clear was the interest to live and work in a big city. Work to them was not part of a rural set-up.

In the first generation, obligations and duties to ones family of origin were clearly expressed. But co-residence and commensality in Canada, as is the case in Portugal, was a limited phenomenon. Newcomers lived with the sponsors and worked for them until such time as they could rent or own their own home. This usually took up to three years. The importance attached to owning a home was so great that every penny was saved.

Thus despite kin obligations and duties, individual achievement and status were emphasized over and above cor-
porate family identity. In the second generation there are signs that financial security and independence might not only erode emotional bonds between family members, but also make them lose sight of cherished cultural values and patterns - one of which is to live near primary kin. To substantiate this issue, there was an incident that was related to me, by a Portuguese woman who had lived in the valley since the mid-fifties. According to her,

"My sister's children have grown up in Canada and while they are very affectionate kids, they maintain a certain distance from us. I can't really describe it, as generational differences or educational differences. It's almost as if it were a cultural difference brought about by living in Canada. They no longer think it's important to live near family and friends. They want to go to live in big cities, where nobody knows them."

Once again, the emphasis was on the ways in which the second generation Portuguese interpreted the question of individual autonomy and individual status.

The Newcomers (Sikhs)

The arrival of newcomers to the valley was structured in two significant ways. There were factors that contributed to the formation of both the extended as well as the nuclear household. We will discuss and assess each of them in turn in terms of the differential constraints they created for their members.
Those immigrants who came to Canada between 1960 and 1967, and who were eligible to sponsor their family and friends, were involved in the process of establishing themselves in more than the family of pro-creation.

Living in Canada meant making necessary alterations. The old parents were no longer allowed complete decision making powers, although they were consulted. The state of dependency imposed on the older folks and other siblings by the process of immigration, rendered them helpless in some cases. Yet in other cases this antagonism took several forms, chief of which was the strategy to rally support from other Sikh families and to involve them in the ensuing debate. Familial duties and obligations, respect for the aged, and the role of the wife in the traditional household were all invoked to bring the recalcitrants in line, which is illustrated in the following case (see also Helweg: 1979 for a discussion of Sikhs in Britian).

Case Study 3

Marriage to a Sikh girl who had grown up in British Columbia was the means by which Mr. Satinder came to Canada. He had three brothers and two sisters in India. His father had a small farm of 5 acres in the Jullunder district. The proposal for marriage was seen as the single
most important event in the contemporary history of the family. He came to Canada in 1962. Two years later he sponsored his brother to join him. By 1965 all the brothers were in Canada. Two of them married Punjabi women who had grown up in British Columbia, while the third went through an arranged marriage with a woman from the Punjab.

All the younger brothers lived with the oldest brother until they were married. Two of them worked in sawmills while the third worked on an orchard. They then pooled together their resources and bought an orchard which the youngest brother managed.

In 1970, the old widowed mother and the two sisters came to live in Canada. They lived with the youngest son and his wife, whom they had chosen. However adverse relationships developed between the women, and the son and his wife had to move out. In the meantime, the mother and daughters had tried to enlist moral support in condemning the actions of the daughter-in-law whom they defined as having become "Canadian and having lost her Indian virtues". The joint farm was then sold, and the youngest son broke away from the rest of the family. The mother and sisters then went back to India. Letters and remittances, however, continue to be sent regularly.

Discussion

In this instance, the formation of nuclear households occurred at marriage. Although the brothers pooled together resources and owned property jointly, there were clear stipulations as to each of their shares. Likewise, although the youngest brother managed the property, his position was clearly defined. It was appropriate that the mother and daughters live with the youngest son on the orchard. But due to differences of opinion, the youngest son decided to break away completely from the family. The property was then divided, and the women who did not wish to
live with the other sons had no option but to return to India. A discussion with the wife of the youngest son further revealed some of the problems she encountered. According to her,

"I have developed a sense of independence in Canada since I began to work. I had work to do in the hotel as well as the chores at home. My husband was understanding although the responsibility was mainly on my shoulder. When my mother-in-law and her daughters arrived, there were far too many expectations placed on me. I had to cater to all their needs and fancies. In India this would have been inevitable, but in Canada I felt that I could protest. At first I tried to accommodate, but it was very difficult. When my behaviour was discussed with neighbours and friends by my mother-in-law I felt that I had enough. My husband, who understood my plight, supported me and felt that his mother and sisters would be happier in India.

It is quite clear that this family experienced conflicts in their adjustments to life in Canada. With the arrival of other members who could not appreciate changes in lifestyle, the conflicts became too hard to manage, and the family had to separate into smaller units. Although property is not owned jointly, emotional ties are still maintained.

To those who could not sponsor anyone except their spouses or their aged parents, a different set of conditions prevailed. In most cases the old parents declined the offer of settling in Canada, on account of their other children living in India. The family in Canada was therefore nuclear
in structure. As a result, schisms and conflicts were also minimal.

Case Study 4

In 1971 Mr. Singh came to the valley on a visitors visa. He had an uncle in Kamloops who urged him to come. On arrival he applied for a work permit as well as immigration. In the meantime he found a job in the sawmill in Vernon. When he had saved enough money, had received his immigration papers, he returned to Punjab and was married (1973). His wife joined him a year later.

They did not have any immediate relatives in the valley. Their sponsor lived about a 100 miles away. All the friends or contacts they had were the friends of the husband. These friends then became as close as "kin". They were treated as brothers and intimate relationships were maintained. In one instance, an unmarried friend became a paying guest and lived with the family.

In the choice of a house and a neighbourhood, friendship networks were crucial. When it was not possible to accommodate all of them, visiting on a regular basis was established. Through the years letters and financial help continued to be given to the family in India.

In this case, the problems of immigration had placed real constraints on the size and structure of the household. Obligations to the family of origin were maintained through letters and remittances, but in the process of being separated from immediate family members, close relationships and ties were established and maintained with other Sikhs in the valley. Friendship then became equated with kinship.
Thus the extension of the principle of a joint household to include friends from the same village of origin or nearby town, was an innovative mechanism for perpetuating an important cultural norm. Unfortunately it created uneasiness among other Canadians. The interviews suggested that local Canadians viewed the Sikhs as strange people with odd customs, congregating together in a locality and maintaining an extensive communication network.

Thus cultural loyalty was more important than local-residential identity, and despite modifications, corporate family status was emphasized over and above individual achievement and status.

The Portuguese

Those who came with grown children found it a strain to establish themselves. For instance,

Case Study 5

Mr. Tome came in 1965. He has three daughters, two of whom were twelve and eight when they came to the valley. The third was born here. They lived in the household of the brother who had sponsored him. Two years later the family moved into the cabin on an orchard where they worked. The husband in turn sponsored his brother, his wife and her sister. In 1971 they bought their first 13 acre orchard. While the mother's sister lives in the cabin on their orchard, the husband's brother has established himself separately.
Second Generation

The oldest daughter finished high school and worked in the credit union. She then married a Portuguese man who worked in the packing house. During the courtship period the young couple were constantly chaperoned by the youngest sister. They now live in a separate home in the same town. The second daughter likewise finished school, and worked in the credit union. When she had saved enough money, she decided to go to art school in Vancouver despite much disapproval. She did not wish to live in Oliver or on the orchard, yet she feels very obligated to her parents. In Vancouver she went through many phases of depression, until in time her parents became reconciled to her actions. Although she recognizes her public and private identities, she finds it difficult to switch from one to another.

The youngest daughter, who was born in Canada, did not experience the same trauma. She finds it easy to please both her parents and herself. That is, her private Portuguese identity is not in conflict with her public Canadian identity.

In the first generation, family ties and obligation was manifested through sponsorship programmes both on the husband's and wife's side. In the second generation however, things took a different turn. The oldest daughter, although Canadian in her public behaviour, acted according to Portuguese standards. This made the parents very proud of her behaviour. She could be described as having a preference for a Portuguese way of life. The second daughter felt very ambivalent towards her parents. While emotionally attached to them, she wished to break away and establish herself before marriage. Furthermore, after having done so she experienced a great deal of guilt. In her mind she found it difficult to be "Portuguese at home, and Canadian outside of it". She could be described as
wishing to break out of certain traditional forms without losing her Portuguese identity. The third daughter, who was born in Canada, did not feel much attachment to her Portuguese heritage. She had never been to Portugal, although she spoke Portuguese at home, and understood many Portuguese customs. In her mind it was clear that she would be Canadian outside the home, while observing Portuguese manners and customs inside the home.

For the most part, the Portuguese made the separations between ethnic identity and local-residential identity and confined the former to the family. Within the family itself, individual achievement and status were given more importance than was a corporate group identity.

Celebration of Life Cycle Ceremonies

The Sikhs

An important area where changes in family behaviour can be observed is in the celebration of life cycle ceremonies. Three ceremonies that were considered significant were the naming, marriage and death ceremonies. We will look at each of them in turn.
The Naming Ceremony

Although there were none celebrated while I was there, the procedure was described to me by my informants. Traditionally all males were given the title "Singh" and all females "Kaur", although they did not always use them. Instead, caste or village names were commonly used as surnames.

In the pioneer families, at least in the third generation, Canadian names were given in addition to Sikh names. Thus, it was quite common to find girls with names like Anna, Barbara, Julie, and boys with names such as George and Jimmy. In the public sphere, they transacted business or any other activity under their "Canadian name" while at home they were referred to by their Sikh name.

The Portuguese

Life cycle rituals and ceremonies for the Portuguese were very important as well. Unlike the Sikhs, no major changes were made in celebrations such as baptisms and confirmations.

But in the marriage ceremony changes occurred for members of both groups. Although marriages are strictly
family or private matters, they are also in many ways public pronouncements of individual or group preferences. Let us begin with the Sikhs.

Marriage Ceremony

Sikh marriages are usually conducted in a temple, followed by a reception at the temple and/or at home. The scale and splendour of such ceremonies depends on the wealth of the families involved. Recognition and incorporation of Canadian cultural norms is usually minimal on such occasions. The celebration of two ceremonies in 1976 in Rutland - a Sikh and a Canadian wedding - demonstrate the family's interest in both cases in promoting and maintaining a bi-cultural identity.

Case Study 6

Ms. Singh was engaged to a young man in the Punjab. Her marriage was negotiated through her mother's brother in India. A month before the wedding the entire family left for India. Not having lived in India, the entire procedure was confusing and staggering for the young woman. Her recollections are as follows: on the day of the marriage, her husband, dressed in a traditional outfit, arrived at her home riding on a horse, and accompanied by his relatives. The entourage were then invited to stay on at the bride's household. After dinner, the women of the household teased and insulted the groom according to folk tradition. For the young bride, this was not the first time that she set eyes on her future spouse. They had met each other on several occasions in informal ways. Concessions had been made for the young bride from Canada, with respect
to courting practices, although she was advised to act discreetly.

On the morning of the wedding (the next day) professional singers or ragis were invited to sing hymns. The pair were then seated in front of the "Granth". A priest dictated and described to them the realities of married life, and the attendant duties and obligations. The appropriate stanzas from the Granth were then read aloud, followed by the singing of the "ragis". The couple then circambulated around the Granth, four times. Following this there was more singing and they were pronounced man and wife.

This was then followed by a feast. In the evening a large reception was held to which all family and friends were invited. Clothes and jewels were bought or made in India specifically for the wedding.

Wedding in Canada

Shortly after the wedding the bride's family returned to Canada. It took the husband a little longer to obtain his immigrant visa. On his arrival in Canada six months later, another ceremony was performed. For these purposes the community hall in Rutland was rented and decorated. At one end of the hall, the Granth was installed. A priest was invited from Kamloops to perform the nuptials.

The groom wore a tuxedo and the bride a white dress with a veil. She had three bridesmaids, all of whom wore lilac dresses. The best man also wore a suit.

The couple then stood in front of the "Granth" while the priest read the appropriate stanzas in English. He blessed the rings, bought for the occasion, and handed one to each of them, which they then exchanged. The groom then held one end of his wife's veil and they walked together around the Granth four times. They were then declared man and wife. A champagne reception followed to which all friends and kin were invited. Later a dinner was organized in the bride's home to which only close friends and family were invited and at which Indian food was served.

Discussion

Since they were a wealthy family, such elaborate procedures were possible. In this case, the marriage
ceremony in India was an affirmation of the family's wealth and status in the village of origin. The Canadian wedding likewise was an indication of the ties of the family in Canada. The use of the white dress, the exchange of rings, the veil, the bridesmaids, and the best man were all procedures to emphasize both their recognition and commitment to Canadian notions of marriage. The reception following the ceremony in the community hall featured cold cuts, the wedding cake, hot and cold hors d'oeuvres, salads, roast beef and champagne, while the dinner given in the bride's home featured traditional festive items. There were clear separations between Punjabi and Canadian elements in the performance of the wedding ceremonies. Most of all, distinctions were made between the private Sikh and public Canadian identity.

Marriage Ceremony

The Portuguese

In the early years of Portuguese arrival, most marriages were by proxy. As the community began to establish itself more firmly ceremonies were held with great pomp and splendour. There were 21 marriages in all between 1959 and 1977. Four of these marriages were held outside Oliver, one outside the Okanagan and 16 in Oliver.
There were in these 21 cases (first and second generation).
- 14 cases where both spouses were from the same region in Portugal.
- 4 cases with spouses from other regions.
- 2 cases involving Canadian men and Portuguese women.
- 1 case of a Portuguese man and Canadian woman.

What is evident is the fact that selecting a spouse from one's own community in Portugal, or even in Oliver, has been preferred. The range from where the brides were sought in Canada was not large: most were found in Oliver or Osoyoos. There were three Canadian-Portuguese marriages. I will first discuss a wedding that involved a Canadian man and a Portuguese woman, and then compare it with a regular Portuguese wedding (the women involved were sisters).

A Canadian-Portuguese Wedding
Case Study 7

The individuals concerned met at the packing house where she worked as sorter and he worked a machine operator. She was second generation Portuguese and her husband was a fourth generation Canadian. Though she fell in love with him she knew that she would not be allowed to date him like other Canadian girls. So he visited her at her home. They were not seen together very often in the town before they were married. They were always with someone from the family, usually the younger sister. He went along with it for a while, until he was quite sure that she wanted to marry him and that her family were willing to accept him. Then he proposed to her. The father was quite willing when he realized that the man was determined.
So from that day until the wedding they were allowed to spend time alone together in her basement. Her father described this as keeping within both Canadian and Portuguese traditions. Canadian men wished to be alone with their girl friends or fiancées; the Portuguese did not allow this. But by being alone together in the basement of her home, they were making a compromise. From a Portuguese perspective nothing serious can happen within one's own home, and from a Canadian perspective, at least there was some privacy.

The date for the marriage was then fixed and guests from both sides of the family were invited. The ceremony was conducted in English and the English priest officiated at the ceremony. The bride chose a Canadian friend as her bridesmaid, because she felt that after all she was marrying a Canadian. At the ceremony itself one-half of the church was occupied by Portuguese guests, and the other half Canadians. The ceremony was conducted in the English Catholic tradition; after which a reception was held. There were 200 guests in all, the majority being Portuguese. The reception was completely hosted by the bride's family. The food that was served was Canadian. During the ceremony, the father of the bride gave a speech in English. Then one of her uncles got up and made a speech in Portuguese.

Following dinner the guests went to the community hall for dancing. It was here that Portuguese food and drinks were served. Local homemade wines, punches, and other traditional Portuguese foods were served. The Portuguese again sat together as well as danced together while the Canadians occupied another section of the room. While only couples were invited from among the groom's friends, the bride's guests brought the entire family along. One section of the room was even made into a nursery and ladies took turns looking after the kids. Ladies then danced with each other, and little children were also allowed to dance with the rest.

Discussion

What is quite clear throughout the ceremony is the accommodation made to both cultures. The formal wedding ceremony and the formal reception were a recognition of Canadian norms and practices. Although the Portuguese participated in the ceremonies, they remained separate and
did not contribute much to the formal presentations. However, the end of the dinner marked the finish of the formal "Canadian" aspect of the wedding, after which it seemed that the rest of the evening was planned around the Portuguese community. The food and drinks served as well as the number of families invited, all suggested that it was important to preserve Portuguese culture and traditions.

In summary, the sequencing of the activities during the entire ceremony and thereafter was a clear indication of the process of acculturation. There were quite clearly strategies and skills that were learnt by both the groom and the bride that were satisfactory to both sides of the family. But by adding on and integrating both traditions much of each had to be excluded. Only those items that were considered to be "core" items were included. It remains to be seen whether, by marrying outside their separate groups, one or both would lose some of the customs special to their own community. That is, would they acculturate to acculturation?

A Typical Portuguese Wedding

Case Study 8

Ms. D'Melo was interested in a man whom she met at community parties or dances. She worked in the local pharmacy while he worked in a bottling company. When he began to show more interest, he talked to her father and obtained his approval. The next year they dated each
The wedding was held in the local Catholic church with the Portuguese priest officiating. The English priest was invited to give the blessing at the end of the ceremony. The bridesmaids and the best man were all Portuguese friends of the bride and the groom.

After the wedding there were two days of celebration. The first night there was a feast consisting of a number of meat and fish courses. After the formal dinner was over, the tables were cleared, and the floor was thrown open for dancing. All along the sides of the room there were large amounts of snacks and sweets and drinks for the guests. The dancing lasted until 3:00 A.M. The next morning the party started all over again with breakfast served to all those who stayed over. Dancing and music continued until the evening.

Discussion

In this case study it is quite clear that there were very few Canadian customs taken into consideration. Apart from a few Canadian friends, all others invited were Portuguese. The Canadian priest was asked to give the bridal blessing, which again was an attempt to accommodate to Canadian life. The music for the dancing alternated between Portuguese and English, but the band consisted of only Portuguese men of the community. Despite the fact that the two weddings involved sisters, there were marked differences in terms of the celebration of their respective weddings. The parents felt that in the first instance there was a real need to incorporate their son-in-law into the household. Since he was Canadian, they had to accept his way of life. However, as the second daughter was acting according to the customs and standards of the Portuguese
community, there was no need to actively incorporate Canadian customs into the celebration.

In summary, then, appropriate behaviour was exhibited by the family and friends at both ceremonies. In the process, there was no perceived loss of fundamental cultural values.

Death Ceremonies (Sikhs)

There were no funerals observed while I was in the Okanagan. However a performance was described to me by a member of the above family, recounting events when the old family father died (first generation). On the day of the death, hymns were sung that were appropriate on such occasions. The priest was then sent for, while the mourners sat around the deceased and chanted prayers. The body was then dressed and bathed in the traditional manner before it was taken to the funeral parlour where it was cremated. A ten day period of mourning was observed. On the last day friends and relatives were invited for prayers, and in the presence of the assembled, the oldest son was presented with a turban. Officially, then, he had become the head of the household.
Death Ceremonies (Portuguese)

There were no deaths during 1976-1977 but informants provided insights into the performance of the rites. Since the Portuguese priest was a recent arrival, he only attended a small number of funerals. Until then the English priest performed the last communion at the bedside of the individual. While women used to wear black in mourning, this custom has been abandoned in Canada. Death anniversaries were not forgotten and prayers were said in honour of the departed.

Child Rearing (Sikhs)

Although girls and boys are often treated equally, girls had greater restrictions placed on their freedom, especially when they attained maturity. This became particularly oppressive in the case of those born and brought up in Canada. Ideas of autonomy and independence were learned during school years and created a great deal of conflict in their minds. Values in the family seemed to contradict what they learned and saw all around them. While some have been willing to accept this, many have suffered on account of it. Thus, although concessions were made in terms of inheritance or even getting a job, the women are generally under the jurisdiction of men.
In the case of sons, there is a great deal of ambivalence. Sons continue to be seen as representatives of the family in the community.

Friendship and Family Ties with Other Sikhs

As noted earlier in this chapter and in other chapters, friendship ties were emphasized. These networks, as we saw earlier, helped newcomers to find jobs. It was on the basis of these friendships that travel arrangements and car pools were organized to go to work. In the work place these same ties contributed to the use of Punjabi, much to the chagrin of the other workers.

Visiting friends became a regular pattern. This not only meant sharing meals, but also extensive gift giving on special occasions. Usually at life-cycle ceremonies, reciprocal relationships were established and maintained. In situations where families were neighbours, food items and articles of clothing were frequently exchanged. In situations where families did not live close to each other, telephone calls were made. Thus the social networks provided the arena within which models were tested, altered and re-tested.
Having looked at the Sikh family, let us consider the Portuguese family.

**Child Rearing (Portuguese)**

In the early years no distinctions are made between sons and daughters. However after the girls attain puberty they are watched over very carefully. Although they are allowed to get an education and to find jobs outside the home, they are not given the freedom to choose a spouse without the approval of the parents. Even when the parents approve, they are always chaperoned during their dates.

Although sons are expected to pay heed to the wishes of their parents, they are allowed more freedom than the women. There are no restrictions on time spent outside the home, and the pressure to marry Portuguese girls is not stressed to the same extent.

**Kin and Friendship Networks (Portuguese)**

While the Sikhs had an extensive network of immediate and secondary kin and friends, the Portuguese developed ties mostly within the immediate or extended family. Most of all, while friendship with other Portuguese was cherished, there were no social and spatial enclaves in
Oliver. Fortunately for them, other Canadians looked at it as a movement away from ethnic or cultural loyalty.

Summary

The Sikh and the Portuguese household provide an important setting wherein changes can be examined. In keeping with our definition of acculturation as the learning of skills and values that are native to another group, we saw that the household was not exempt from such cultural permeation. The case study of the pioneer Sikh family revealed that hierarchical relations based on sex and age were re-examined and additional privileges granted, without the loss of corporate family status. Further, despite some cultural erosion in the third generation, the development and maintenance of a bi-cultural identity did not necessarily reduce ethnic loyalty. The length of time spent in Canada and the reduction of hostility encountered made it possible for these pioneer Sikhs to accept Canadian forms without their perceiving a threat to their additional Sikh identity.

The Sikh newcomers did not share in this ethos. While authority structures based on sex and age have been altered, cultural loyalty and corporate family status now receive renewed priority. The Sikh family today is seen primarily as a refuge against the onslaught of new values.
In summary, then, the major issues the Sikhs have been confronted with are the separation of

1) corporate family identity and individual status.
2) family identity and commitment to a local-residential unit.

The real and/or perceived conditions of hostility made this separation process difficult, and in most instances has made recently arrived Sikhs resort to increased ethnic identification.

The Portuguese households, on the other hand, did not perceive much threat to their cultural identity and therefore no major alterations have been experienced. Their native cultural model, despite emphasis on kin duties and obligations, recognized the importance of

1) individual achievement and status over and above family identity; and
2) the importance of identifying with a local-residential unit.
1) In the book entitled, Mary and Misogyny, Boxer (1975) observes,

"Woman is the most monstrous arrival in the whole of nature, bad tempered, and worse spoken. To have this annimal in the house is asking for trouble in the way of tattling, overbearing, malicious gossip and controversies, for wherever a woman is, the world seems to be impossible to have peace and quiet. However even this might be tolerated, if it were not for the danger of unchastity".

2) The procedure is to open the Granth at random. The first letter of the first word on the left hand side corner is then used to generate a name.

3) At the ceremonies godparents were appointed as spiritual leaders and guides for the concerned individual. These Godparents were referred to as Compadre and Commadre. They were usually close friends or sometimes even relatives. Their official status at these ceremonies was a public announcement of the responsibility towards the spiritual and godly life of the girl or the boy.

The following table gives the number of baptisms since 1959 at which godparents were chosen from among members of the Portuguese community in Oliver.
TABLE XXIV

Baptisms Recorded for the Years 1959-1977 (Portuguese)

(Oliver Catholic Church)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Information gathered from the records of the Oliver Catholic church.)
As there were not enough to go around, several became Godparents to more than one child in the same family, or in other families.

Confirmations

These were not as frequent as baptisms. The former was the most important in that the identity of the child as a Godly person was established; confirmation was only an assurance of the same procedure. Once again Godparents were central figures in this ritual. The following is a list of all the confirmations that were held until 1975.

In a comparative analysis of the couvade and the institutions of godparents, it was suggested that the cultures that observe these customs distinguish between what is "natural" and what is "cultural", or as in this case, "spiritual". Since the biological mother represents the natural, and as a result, the "impure", there is a need to distinguish this act of becoming "godly" from the actual birth itself. To make this distinction, Godparents are chosen to make this transition complete.
TABLE XXV

Confirmations Recorded for the Years 1960-1975 (Portuguese)

(Oliver Catholic Church)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Information obtained from the records of the Oliver Catholic church.)
As was evident in earlier chapters, my fundamental concern is to understand how the Sikhs and Portuguese order and re-order their ideas and beliefs in the face of social and cultural change. I wish to understand the particular ways in which the Sikhs and the Portuguese deal with these issues in their newly defined ambience in Canada. Uprooted from environs that gave rise to and helped maintain certain traditional cultural forms and premises, they have had to re-organize these principles within an ecologically new and socially alien habitat. How do they deal with this "otherness"? How do they accommodate to the new situation? How do they make sense of the dissonance they experience in their day to day activities and their system of ideas and beliefs? What are the reciprocal influences on their institutions? These are some of the questions I wish to explore in this chapter. Finally, although in earlier chapters we discussed individual acculturation, in this chapter we can talk of certain group patterns as well.

While religious beliefs and practices like marriage and baptism are private, familial matters, they have an important public component as well. In particular, to the Sikhs, who operate with a hierarchical mode the dilemma of
having to separate religion from ethnicity and confine both
to the private sphere has been most painful.

This will become more apparent in the following
pages. Suffice it to say that religious beliefs and
practises provide a canopy-like structure and guide an
individual's ideas and actions in other spheres such as
work, family, village and community.

Although to members of both groups, to be Sikh or
Catholic is very important, one major difference exists. To
most Portuguese, religion is distinct from ethnicity and
both are private matters. However, as we shall see the
celebration of ethnicity (Portuguese identity) in a
multi-cultural context has created new problems for them.

One of the striking features of the contact situ-
atation is the emergence of ideological differences among the
different groups of immigrants. Roughly speaking, two major
camps can be discerned within the Sikh and within the
Portuguese communities. I will refer to them as Group A and
Group B.

Group A are defined in terms of their espousal of
values that are basically individualistic and self-
regulated. Group B are defined in terms of an adherence to
a transgenerational notion of identity couched in group forms and symbols (Parsons, 1975). In the latter case, an individual relies on the corporate group for his identity and in the former each individual defines himself, independently of that group membership. What is taken for granted as ascriptive by Group B is re-fashioned and modified as personal characteristics by members of Group A. Finally, in both situations such concepts of identity emerge from interactions between members of the group and those outside of it.

In the following sections I propose to discuss several concrete cases of either a religious or quasi-religious nature in which these conflicting paradigms and partial resolutions to conflict can be explored. Table XXVI provides the layout of the format that I shall follow.

- see Table XXVI -

The left side of my table deals with issues significant to the Sikhs; the right refers to issues salient to the Portuguese. Within each of these there are two parts, the first dealing with issues of a fully religious nature, the other with issues of a quasi-religious nature. These are then further subdivided on the basis of whether each issue relates to outsiders or is mainly confined to insiders.
TABLE XXVI
Issues Relating to Ethnic Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SIKHS</th>
<th>PORTUGUESE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insiders</td>
<td>c. The Rehat Marayada</td>
<td>c. Liturgy and ritual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>d. The Gurudwara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Quasi-Religious)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insiders</td>
<td>e. The Langar</td>
<td>d. Inter-denominational marriages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>f. Inter-religious marriages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insiders/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsiders</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>e. The Feast of Fatima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes to Table

a - (long hair)
b - (sword)
c - (A guide to the Sikh way of life)
d - (The temple)
e - (The free kitchen)
Row 1 of the chart deals with issues of a religious nature that involve both insiders and outsiders. I choose to present these first because I feel they highlight the thorny nature of these issues and the difficulties involved in negotiations. Coming to terms with another culture is perhaps one of the most painful and moving spectacles of all times. I shall begin with the discussion of the Sikhs.

ISSUES RELATING TO SIKH IDENTITY

Section 1
A. The Maintenance of Keshas, or Long Hair

The maintenance of the turban and of unshorn hair are perhaps the most important symbols of the Sikh faith today. The origin of these customs dates back to the festival of Baisaki in 1699, when the tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, instituted the order of the Khalsa or the brotherhood of "saint-soldiers". After the baptism ceremony was over, he is said to have invested the five faithful followers with the five K's or the symbols of the faith. They are the Keshas (long hair), the Kirpan (sword), Kara (bangle), Kangra (comb) and the Kacha (breeches). (Cole and Sambhi: 1977).
Uberoi (1968) argues that all these symbols are related to each other through the over-arching concept of control or discipline. Thus for instance the comb is to prevent the hair from matting. Likewise the bangle is said to restrain the sword. He continues this juxtaposition of contrasting elements and adds a third, which is the "uncircumcised penis". He argues that the "breeches" are introduced to control the sexual urges of the individual.

Thus the long hair, the sword, and the uncircumcised penis together represent sexual virility, power and the uncontrollable nature of these primitive forces. The comb, the bangle, and the breeches, on the other hand, represent discipline and restraint. Taken together they constitute a balanced "whole". According to Guru Gobind Singh, a true Sikh is one who not only abides by the principles of the faith but also observes the five symbols and is baptized (Cole and Sambhi: 1977).

Although today some of these symbols have waned in importance, the Keshas and the Kirpan have remained vital and alive. They are the very symbols that have become such controversial issues. From my own research I can attest to the significance of these two. In fact, my argument rests on the presentation of the controversy over these two symbols as cases of accommodation and cultural persistence. I
shall begin with the issue of the Keshas. I shall show how this becomes salient not only from an individual point of view but from a group perspective as well. Two factions or groups have emerged over the maintenance of this symbol: one argues for the custom, while the other prefers to discard it.

The first group (Group A) argue from the point of view of individual feelings. As one of them observed,

**Group A - No. 1**

My family and I have chosen to make Canada our home. We do not want to be conspicuous. I feel very self-conscious wearing my turban on the street. My son feels the same in school.

He and his family have determined to make their life in Canada. They do not want to suffer the (supposed) effects of being too conspicuous. Notably, he worries that he might not be hired by a firm in a sawmill if he wore a turban.

Others in the community (Group B) do not think of their identity as individuals (on this issue) but rather as members of the Sikh community. The community, furthermore, is here defined by adherence to certain outward forms on the part of all those of the faith.

**Group B - No. 2**

To be a Sikh is to be a distinct person in soci-
Our distinctness takes various forms, including the observance of the five symbols. Especially here in Canada one has the right to practice one's faith.

Although he makes reference to the Canadian ideal of individual and religious freedom he still places even greater emphasis on the definition of the Sikhs as a group. His identity flows from this larger category, and his behaviour follows suit. Still, in both of the above examples the stress is laid on the elective definition of the person or group by insiders.

A third example brings in the opinions of outsiders and their role in defining identity. In another context, the first individual in Group A shifts his ground perceptibly.

**Group A - No. 1**

People here make fun of the turban. I have been called a raghead. I have been humiliated. I object to that and in order to avoid it I do not wear one.

He suggests in this conversation that his decision not to wear a turban arises from the negative responses he has experienced from non-group members. Hence his perspective tends to shift ground. Sometimes he puts more emphasis on his own role in deciding to wear the turban; at other times he attributes the decision to outsiders' pressure. He is not only on the side of individual determination in reli-
igious matters, but also acknowledges the importance of outside judgements in making these individual decisions.

Others, like the second individual in Group B, continue to focus on the determination of group norms by reference to the past (i.e., the Gurus).

**Group B - No. 2**

Did not the Gurus have to put up with a lot of trouble in their times? Should we not do the same? If we do not observe the five symbols what is it that makes us distinct? How can you tell a Sikh from anyone else? Besides, people here are not going to stop discriminating against us because we no longer wear the turban.

But others who share the same feelings place more emphasis on the turban as a symbol to outsiders of group membership. There is a group right involved here, and the sense of one group being defined in contrast to others is emphasized. For example,

**Group B - No. 3**

I do not object to what other people do. It (the turban) is a religious symbol. I plan to keep it even if it means trouble.

He is concerned with group identity and sees that identity as emerging in parallel with (or in response to) the actions and opinions of non-Sikhs.
Both groups further waver on the question of what role present day outsiders have in defining their identity. Within the more individualist faction, for example, there is a difference of opinion about covering the head in the temple. The more orthodox members are willing to compromise on the five K's if the individuals concerned cover their head with a cloth while in the Gurudwara. The less orthodox do not worry even about the head covering in the temple. However this is an issue amongst insiders (and will be dealt with later). The outsiders are not concerned with the details of dress inside the places of worship of those of other faiths.

From the above we see that the factional split rests on a basic difference of opinion about appropriate cultural behaviour in Canada. The first group (Group A) stress the role of individual determination of an identity within their larger Sikh heritage. They can give up the turban and still be "Sikh". The others see their religious identity as inevitably wedded to those outward behavioural norms that have traditionally been agreed upon by the group as a whole. Furthermore, Group A tends to seek a justification of it in terms of their future life in Canada (prospective jobs, friends, etc.) while Group B tend to justify their behaviour in terms of the past (the Gurus, Sikh history in the Punjab, etc.).
Both in their respective ways seek to create order where there is a weakening of boundaries. One chooses to incorporate new themes within the old and refashion tradition, while the other wishes to tighten the existing system and force a fit between the new experiences and their existing world view.

B. The Kirpan, or Sword

The Kirpan (McLeod: 1976) or the sword, like the Keshas, is an important symbol of the Sikh faith. In the institution of the Khalsa, Guru Gobind Singh is said to have performed the "Amrit ceremony" drawing his sword, dipping it into the amrit or nectar and touching it to the lips of his faithful followers. Ever since, every baptism ceremony continues this practice. His choice of the Kirpan, McLeod (1976) notes, is not unusual. It was an element of the Jat culture. The bearing of arms represented by the dagger was a Jat practice, and one which received ample encouragement from the events of the eighteenth century.

According to Indian law, any Sikh is allowed to carry a Kirpan on his person as a religious symbol. According to Article 25 of the constitution of India,

"The wearing and carrying of Kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion."
In other overseas countries such as England and Burma, it is also legally allowed. In Canada since 1976, it has been legally permissible to carry a sword; however, it was clearly stated that while it was not an offence to carry a Kirpan as a religious symbol, other circumstances in which a person was found having one on his person could constitute an offence.

On the question of the sword Group A individuals are explicit. They see it as a symbol and want to use it only as such.

**Group A - No. 1**

There is no reason to carry a sword on me. I have a small one at home, but it is used only for ritual and ceremonial purposes. For instance, at my daughter's marriage we presented a Kirpan to my son-in-law's family.

The others do not advocate the use of the sword openly but they imply (by their words) that use is not ruled out.

**Group B - No. 1**

We should have the right to carry the Kirpan. it is a religious symbol and we should be granted that freedom. Other countries like England and Africa allow it. Besides, it can be harmful only when a person intends it to be.

The debate rests, it would seem, on an ambiguity in underlying Sikh values. As Uberoi (1968) has argued, the
sword symbolizes physical power and strength, but should always be tempered by the bangle, a symbol of restraint. Together the bangle and the sword form a balanced whole. A true Sikh uses the power of the sword with great caution.

As if to illustrate this dilemma, a rather violent situation erupted in the Sikh community in Kamloops in 1972. This was called the "Holt Street riot" and it was started by one of the members of Group A. They harrassed the more traditional members of the community by making obscene telephone calls and attempting to date the latters' daughters. The men of Group B were angered and aroused by their sense of duty, which (according to Punjabi tradition) demands that they defend the honour of their women. Violence broke out between the two factions, and the latter were the ones to pick up the sword. Several weapons were produced from the homes of the accused individuals, including a curved ceremonial sword that was over three feet long and kept in a velvet case (Kamloops Chronicle: July, 1972).

In the question of the sword, we again see contrasting definitions of Sikh identity. The individualists do not place the same value on external symbols as the others do. They are content to keep their swords inside the house, and also to keep them very small. Members of Group B feel that the sword must have value as a defensive weapon,
especially where group honour is threatened. Furthermore, confrontation with outsiders is not an issue for members of Group A. Canadian law forbids the carrying of murderous weapons by the public in public places. Members of Group B protest that their swords are religious symbols and can be carried with them even though this creates conflict with the law. Hence they confront outsider opinion in general.

Summary of Cases A and B

These two issues question the propagation of two basic and major symbols of the Sikh faith in the face of mounting external pressures. This has happened elsewhere in Canada, as well as in the United Kingdom. For example, in England there has been a major struggle between the Sikhs and the transport authorities over the maintenance of the turban. The Sikhs won (Beetham: 1970).

From a Sikh perspective what is perhaps so striking is that something so personal and private as maintaining long hair and the turban (for religious reasons) has become such a public issue. As we have seen, some of them have opted to abandon it, while others have wished to maintain it. It is the insistence of the latter, of course, that has resulted in tensions between the Sikhs and the non-Sikhs. The latter view these bodily demarcations as symbolic of the
groups' identity and as a threat to their own. The resolution of this issue in favour of either group would of course indicate the extent of power wielded by the successful group.

The above situations called for a separation between religious identity and work identity. Implicit in this distinction is the separation of public and private spheres of activity.

The retention of religious identity is interpreted by Canadians as the importance of cultural loyalty over and above work identity or local-residential identity. The turban has thus become the symbol of these conflicting definitions of "self". The segmented model of Canadian identity is juxtaposed as a threat to the stratified model of Sikh identity. Thus the Sikhs in Canada, have had to recognize the significance of the public and private spheres of activity and confine religion and ethnicity to the latter sector.
ISSUES RELATING TO PORTUGUESE IDENTITY

Section 1
A. The Maintenance of the Portuguese Priest

In most countries that the Portuguese have immigrated to there has been an attempt to retain some of the major traditions and customs. For instance, in Brazil and Africa, the Portuguese church is the most important of local religious institutions. The continuance of the church has meant the maintenance of a priest, either a native of the country or an emigre from Portugal.

In Canada, according to Anderson and Higgs (1976), these symbols of identity took longer to appear on the local scene. Portuguese immigrants were generally part of the Catholic churches in their respective communities. In the Okanagan, for instance, they did not have a Portuguese priest until a few years ago. This priest served several parishes in the valley. His role is essentially that of a mediator, between the Portuguese and the rest of the community. Perhaps it is not surprising that over this very issue the Portuguese are divided in opinion. These ideological differences have crystallized and contributed to the formation of two factions. I shall refer to them as Group A and Group B. What is most important is that by and
large members of Group A are from the mainland of Portugal, whereas Group B members are from the Azores and Madiera Islands.

In this sense they are faced with the same situation that the Sikhs find themselves in, that is, whether or not to retain external symbols of group identity. Further like the Sikhs, their internal division is based on ideological differences. Group B invoke a transgenerational notion of group membership and identity to justify their position, while Group A are concerned with notions that relate to their life in Canada and individual choice. Consider for instance the following:

Group A - No. 1

Although I would like my children to know Portuguese and appreciate our customs and traditions, I am also concerned that they learn Canadian ways and are accepted by other Canadians. I do not want them to be discriminated against. One of the best ways to avoid it is to allow them to attend English mass, and English catechism. Besides, they want to do so because their friends are there.

In this instance he indicates his preference to be effective in Canada. His decision to send his children to English mass and english catechism classes is a logical outcome of this position.

There are, however, others in the community who do
not think like him. To them the church and the priest are important symbols that they wish to retain.

Group B - No. 1

I think it is important to be Portuguese and retain some of our customs. Father Periera (the priest) has made us feel that we do have a lot to offer. He has made us feel that it is important to be Portuguese and celebrate our feasts and ceremonies. Especially here in Canada, there is a general tolerance of religious beliefs and traditions.

In spite of her token reference to religious freedom in Canada, she draws her own strength and identity from being "Portuguese". She stresses the maintenance of cultural forms and tradition. Both the above cases are instances of definitions of the person and the group from the insider's point of view. The first tends towards accommodation, while the second tends to have cultural persistence as its outcome.

Since identity is not derived just from an insider's point of view, it is important to consider views from the outside as well.

Group A - No. 1

I am unhappy about the situation here in Oliver. There is a lot of resentment against us now that the priest is here. They do not like these separatist tendencies. They argue that the priest is trying very hard to keep us from integrating. If you ask me for my opinion I also feel that way myself.

In this situation he seems to have shifted ground. He moves from his earlier statement about his own role in decision
making to having to take into account outsider opinions as well. He does not like the accusations hurled at the Portuguese, and feels that he has to accommodate. He is on the side of individual decision making, although he acknowledges the importance of outside judgements.

Members of Group B are also affected by outside pressures. But it seems as if they prefer to hold to group norms and group membership.

**Group B - No. 2**

It is true that we have been accused of being separatist and very Portuguese. But we feel it is important to keep our ways. Father Periera makes our religion come alive.

To others of a similar position, the maintenance of the priest has become an important symbol of the group's identity, and one they do not want to compromise on. Thus,

**Group B - No. 3**

We need a good leader. Father Periera is important to us. We need to strengthen the community even if this provokes conflict.

She is concerned with group identity even at a high social cost.

Both Group A and B waver on a question of what role
present day outsiders should have in defining their identity. Within Group A itself there is a difference of opinion about the maintenance of a priest. Some, more orthodox in their leanings than others, feel that he is good for the elders who do not know any English.

Thus we see that this distinction rests on a basic difference in principles. Group A stress the role of the individual in the determination of identity within the larger Portuguese heritage. Such persons also argue for the maintenance of the distinction between religious and ethnic identity. They do not hesitate about compromising on external symbols. Group B, on the other hand, see their identity as inevitably wedded to those outward forms agreed upon by the group as a whole. Furthermore, while the former tend to seek justification of their decisions in terms of the future (such as prospective jobs, their friends, etcetera), the latter tend to justify their behaviour in terms of the past.

B. The Maintenance and Upkeep of the Church

The attitude of some sections of the Portuguese towards the upkeep of the church also alienated the English speaking Catholics in Oliver. When the Portuguese priest arrived and the congregation was divided in terms of the
number of services held, the maintenance charges increased. However certain members of the Portuguese congregation were not willing to provide additional maintenance costs. It seems persons of Group A, on the whole, were more willing to pay than persons of Group B. In Portugal and the Azores the church was an extension of the state (Cutieliero: 1974). Apart from donations and the offertory, people did not pay any regular form of subscriptions to the church. Here in Canada they were faced with a new situation. The church was a private institution and dependent upon private funds to keep it going. This is particularly so in small communities where there are a large number of churches and smaller congregations. Although in the town of Oliver the largest church was the Catholic church, it depended very heavily on the Portuguese population to fill its pews on Sunday mornings.

Group A - No. 1

In Canada religion is a private matter. So churches depend on the members for support, unlike the case in Portugal. So I feel I should make my contribution, in addition to donations and offertory.

He knows that things are different here in Canada, and sees it as reasonable to make the necessary changes.

There are many other Portuguese, however, who do not agree with him. They do not want to change. They mere-
ly would like, in spite of opposition, to maintain certain customs that they have known.

**Group B - No. 1**

The church has always had a lot of funds. I always make donations at baptisms, weddings, and an offertory at regular services. Why should I pay a regular subscription in addition to the above?

His argument is that he was following an age old tradition. He does not see why he should change.

But the matter did not rest there. The situation was compounded by the increasing censure that the Portuguese received from other Catholics. Group A reacted to these negative pressures in the following manner.

**Group A - No. 2**

We have been accused of being tightfisted and being penny pinchers. I object to it of course. I feel that if I make a regular subscription, the tensions will be eased.

This speaker has shifted his position. Although at first he insisted on his own role in making a decision, he now acknowledges the input of outside forces. In both situations he is clearly on the side of individual decision making. Persons in Group B are also affected by these external forces. But it seems as if they are not willing to compromise. They try to hold out as long as they can.
In the eyes of non-Portuguese in the congregation, Group B's position was unreasonable. Indeed it lead to further polarization and confrontation. However, the issue was eventually resolved. The Portuguese were refused the use of church space unless they paid for its upkeep. Given such a situation, of course, had little choice; they simply complied.

Summary of Cases A and B

It is quite clear that a confrontation between the Portuguese and the rest of the community occurred. As was true in the case of the Sikhs, the conflict arose over the maintenance of certain external symbols. Members of the community were divided in opinion. Persons in Group A pleaded for change and accommodation. They argued for the separation of religious identity from ethnic identity and emphasized individual decision-making. The other section refused to compromise. They were defined in terms of their adherence to a communal identity. In both cases a temporary resolution was found.

Section 2

C. The Rehat Marayada

Just as Christians have the ten commandments the
Sikhs have the Rehat Marayada, or a guide to the Sikh way of life. Although various versions of this have existed over time, the most recent was drawn up by the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbhandak Committee in 1945. (A Committee instituted to take charge of the management of Sikh temples in India). This document consists of a code drawn up to regulate the individual and corporate life of the Sikhs. One of its important aspects is that it has come to represent a blend of major reform movements within the Sikh community. As Cole and Sambhi (1977) point out, the influence of the Akali (or the traditionalist) and the Singh Sabha (or the modernist) perspectives are both visible in the formulation of this document.

Since the Rehat Marayada covers all aspects of the social and religious life of the Sikhs, it is not surprising to discover that its various sections are given unequal importance. Some of its first principles, particularly those that deal with marriage and other life cycle ceremonies, are taken for granted. Thus when asked, none of my informants were able to give me an exhaustive survey of its contents. Instead, they selectively verbalized those parts that were important to them.

As was true with regard to all issues, the Sikhs I interviewed were internally divided over the importance of
the various aspects of this code. Persons in Group A are of the opinion that these principles ought to be modified to suit the times. Others do not believe in compromise. Those I have assigned to Group A emphasize individual rights and beliefs, while the latter class of respondents stressed those principles that best outline Sikh communal solidarity. Let us consider what had to say. We will begin with Group A.

Group A - No. 1

A true Sikh is one who believes in the words of the Guru and the Adi-granthis. He believes also in one god, and rejects the Hindu pantheon of gods and goddesses. He believes in the equality of all men. He does not commit adultery or have extramarital relations. He does not believe in magic, miracles and other forms of superstition. He earns his living by honest means and helps the poor and needy.

What is very apparent in this description is the definition of an individual Sikh. What is missing is any reference to the five symbols of the faith, on the importance of the baptism ceremony, both of which, symbolize the communal nature of Sikh identity. This man's insistence on the duties and rights of an individual is important to his life in Canada.

Those in Group B did not deny the significance of the above principles. In fact, they argued, as well, that these behavioural norms formed the core of the Sikh way of
life. But one does not stop with the "individual". There are additional duties of a communal nature these people feel each Sikh should perform. It is these, in addition to the above, that form a complete guide to the Sikh way of life.

Group B - No. 1

A true Sikh is one who believes in the words of the Guru, the Adi-granth and observes the five symbols. He is also one who is baptized in the faith, i.e., undergoes the "amrit ceremony". He does not drink alcohol or any other intoxicants. He does not eat meat.

For a start, this man begins his description with an emphasis on communal identity. He clearly defines himself in terms of the group to which he belongs and insists on the corporate nature of Sikh identity. Significantly enough, he also mentions certain individual's rights and duties absent in the earlier version — abstinence from alcohol, other intoxicants and meat. All of these are consumed in varying quantities by persons in Group A.

While persons in Group A share the opinion that change and re-definition of traditional forms is imperative and inevitable in a new situation (a new country), those in Group B do not take this point of view. The consequences of these two ideological positions are as a result very different.
D. The Gurudwara or the Temple

In the history of the Sikhs, the temple, or the Gurudwara, has always been a sacred and central symbol (McLeod: 1976). It not only houses the Granth (the Sikh holy book) but is also a place of worship for Sikhs from all walks of life. Within the precincts of the temple distinctions based on caste or other forms of hierarchy are strictly forbidden. The Sikh congregation or Sangat, therefore, is formed on the basis of brotherhood and love. Its unity draws on the presence of the "true Guru". As McLeod (1976: 18) notes,

"Without the true Guru there is no congregation and without the name no one is ferried across the world ocean. He who utters the Lord's praise day and night merges his light with the supreme light."

Therefore, when a Sikh enters a Gurudwara, he believes he is entering the presence of the Guru.

The architecture of Sikh temples all over the world is the same. In the Kamloops temple (as is the case of temples in Vancouver) there are two levels. On the top floor is the prayer hall. Outside the entrance, are the racks for shoes. There are also provisions made for those who do not wear turbans (white handkerchiefs that are available to them, in order to cover the head). In the hall
itself, the men sit on the right facing the altar, the women sit on the left. At the far end of the room is the altar where the Guru Granth is installed on a raised platform and covered with a tapestry. A canopy hangs over the altar. Beside the Granth is a chauri (used to fan the Granth while it is read). Further along the walls of the temple are verses from the scriptures. Outside the temple is the Sikh flag.

In Canada, Gurudwaras have a reputation as houses of worship but they are also public places for dissent. In fact, in Vancouver and other parts of British Columbia conflicts within the Sikh community have mostly been staged within these temple precincts. Such behaviour attracts both public attention and at times, public censure.

The temple in Kamloops has been no exception. I shall show that even within this temple, nearly a hundred miles from the nearest city in the Okanagan, differences of opinion have arisen over the maintenance of various Sikh traditions.

Persons in Group B have insisted that those elected to the offices of the temple had to be "Amritdhari Sikhs". That is, they had to be baptized, and had to observe the
five symbols. This group, however, was a very small one, and was very quickly voted out. As one person said,

**Group B - No. 1**

We do not go to the temple anymore. There is no respect given to the Guru-Granth. We do not really want to associate with those who compromise on religious beliefs. So we hold services at our home, and invite those who wish to participate."

To him this situation is tragic, and the only solution he sees is to opt out. He correlates the observance of tradition in the temple to being a "true Sikh". The emphasis once again is on communal forms and practices, all of which point to a group notion of identity.

Unlike him, persons in Group A take a very different position. Consider the following:

**Group A - No. 1**

The Gurudwara no doubt is an important institution. But one has to remember that this is not the Punjab, and that we are living in Canada. Therefore some changes have to be made. For instance, to insist that one has to be an "Amritdhari" in order to be elected to the temple is really unreasonable. Personally I do not think that even covering the head is important. But I know there are some who will not agree with me."

He feels that change in forms of worship is imperative in the new situation. His stress is on the inward forms of worship. He even suggests that one does not have to cover
one's head in the temple, which is truly heretical in the eyes of the others. While his is an extremist position, others suggest a compromise.

Group A - No. 2

While there should be no stipulation that every Sikh who held office has to be an "Amritdhari" there should be some respect shown to the Granth. Even if people do not wear the turban they should cover their heads with the white handkerchiefs that are provided for the purpose. One should not defile the sanctity of the temple by being disrespectful to the Granth."

This position is a common one. It is clear that among those classed as Group A there is a division of opinion over the issue of covering the head. What this respondent does is to shift his emphasis from "being an Amritdhari" to being respectful towards the Granth. This clever transformation strengthens and helps define the issue as an "internal" one concerning individual character.

Summary of Cases C and D

These temple issues basically concern the Sikh community internally, yet they once again highlight the fragility of group boundaries. Supplementary to the issue of dress codes (cases A and B), these debates outline a second set of core issues that are religious in content, and which are equally vital to the definition of group identity.
Section 2

C. The Maintenance of Portuguese Liturgy and Ritual

The maintenance of a Portuguese priest has also meant the retention of Portuguese liturgy and ritual. For instance, in addition to the Sunday mass the priest in Oliver wished to conduct Portuguese mass at least three times a week. He also wished to have catechism classes once a week. All other celebrations of life cycle and other ceremonies were to be over and above this weekly routine. This meant, of course, a great deal of autonomy for the priest and for the Portuguese congregation; which also created tensions. Group B argued in favour of maintaining the liturgy and ritual, while Group A pleaded against such retention of traditional forms.

Group B - No. 1

I am so happy that I can use the Portuguese Bible and say the prayers. I feel I am participating in the worship. Why should I not have this, especially when it is important to me.

In her poignant statement she outlines the congruence between her life experiences and her retention of traditional beliefs. She does not want to alter it, lest it create chaos and more bafflement.

Persons in Group A had a different opinion to
express. Unlike the former, they did not attach much significance to their collective identity,

Group A - No. 1

Although I am Portuguese I am not so keen on retaining all our customs and traditions. Afterall, we are in Canada, and we must adopt some of the customs of this land. We have to think of our children. They will not want to learn the scriptures in the Portuguese language. I do not want to alienate them.

Her concerns are in terms of the future, especially the future that her children will inherit. She does not want to reinforce distinctions between them and other non-Portuguese Canadians.

Summary of Case C

In this section one issue merited public attention and had some potential for being harnessed for the purpose of confrontation. Once again ideological differences between those in Group A and B found of expression on this topic.

The next two issues that I shall discuss are quasi-religious. These latter debates deal with the question of caste and of social relationships internal to the Sikh community. I will begin with the discussion of the
"langar", or the free kitchen, and then lead into an analysis of inter-religious marriages.

Section 3

E. The Langar, or the "Free Kitchen"

One of the essential features of the Gurudwara is the "langar", or the "free kitchen". Just as the temple is open to people from all walks of life, so is the langar. In fact, it is said that Guru Nanak refused to receive anyone until he or she had eaten at the langar. This idea of commensality, which is at the root of the Sikh faith, helps to contrast them with most Hindus. Not only are Sikhs supposed to eat together, they are also supposed to share in the preparation and serving of food. As McLeod (1976) notes,

"The temple was a school where community service was learned. People therefore were involved in cleaning, carrying out repairs, fanning the congregation, looking after the shoes, giving water to drink, preparing and serving food in the langar, etc. The langar thus serves a dual purpose - it trains people in sewa (community service) and overcomes caste distinctions."

Although within the temple precincts traditionalists and modernists made no distinctions on the basis of caste, it was the extension of these principles to their respective homes that allowed differences of opinion to emerge. Persons in Group A favour abolishing caste
distinctions. As a result, they are not guided by matters of caste status, in the choice of friends. Consider the following:

Group A - No. 1

Do you know Mr. Shakone and his brothers? Although they are Sikhs they are Harijans. But we invite them to our home. They are in fact our very good friends. They are quiet and respectable people. We discuss politics, music, poetry and literature (Punjabi of course). We even have them over for meals. However, there are several Sikhs (who think they are very devout, you know who I mean) who will not entertain these people in their homes."

Perhaps he is very frank. He observes that persons in Group B (who think they are true Sikhs, and follow the law of the Gurus) make such social distinctions. On the other hand, people like himself, who make no such religious claims, he sees to be the ones who follow the adjuncts of the Sikh faith most closely. One of the important features of being modern, he suggests, is to be less caste-oriented. Others, in the community, he says, ignore the teachings of the Gurus when it comes to private lives and friendships. Such persons have very little to do with Sikhs of lower castes.

Group B - No. 2

I make no differences between castes in the temple. Anyone can come and anyone can worship. I know vaguely Mr. Shakone and his brothers you are referring to. Unfortunately I do not know them very well.

Although this man is discreet about his notions of caste and
makes no public pronouncements, he does admit that he has very little knowledge of Mr. Shakone. This enactment of social distance becomes clearer when one considers inter-religious marriages, I shall now turn to that issue.

F. Inter-Religious Marriages

If we were to extend the principle of commensality to the question of marriage, tensions within the community re-appear. While the ideal rule is that a "Sikh" marry another "Sikh", there are cases in which this principle has been modified. Particularly in Canada, there have not only been cases of inter-caste marriages, but also of inter-religious and inter-racial marriages. All three are aberrant forms which have neither been prescribed nor preferred. In the choice of a spouse as one might expect, the modernists are more tolerant of caste and religious differences.

Group A - No. 1

I have a very good Malayali friend in Kamloops. She is the head nurse at the hospital. She is very smart and very bright. She is married to one of our boys, Daljit - a very nice boy. He is a clerical assistant in Kamloops. They have a little son. Chinnamma (that's the name of the girl) is a Catholic but she now attends the temple. She also brings the child with her. She thinks it is important for her child to have a good family and religious background. They are extremely happy and she is well adjusted to a Sikh way of life. But this is because she is from India, and knows our customs and ways.
In this graphic description, she suggests that persons in Group A are willing to extend Sikh social and religious boundaries. But she also makes it clear that the marriage was a success because the wife had decided to accept the Sikh religion and the Sikh way of life. Members of Group B, by contrast, argue that prevention is better than cure.

Group B - No. 2

According to the Rehat Marayada, the Anand Sanskar (Holy matrimony) can only be performed if the two who are to be joined in holy matrimony are Sikhs. This means conversion prior to marriage. Sometimes there are problems. We do not really want our children and friends to go through this, so we discourage it."

Summary of Cases E and F

In the earlier cases discussed it was apparent that certain ideological differences needed a particular occasion in order to manifest themselves. Others equally significant are internal issues that primarily concern insiders and can become charged with a sense of urgency and emotion at any time. Even issues of a semi-religious nature become crucial to debates about social identity.

Section 3

D. Inter-denominational Marriages

Inter-denominational marriages are rare among the
Portuguese, although over the years a few cases have occurred. Differences between persons in Group B and Group A also emerge over this issue, the latter being more tolerant than the former in the choice of a spouse from another denomination.

Group A - No. 1

My son fell in love with a girl who attended the Pentacostal church. At first we were annoyed, but we realized that we should have acknowledged it. So we did. The only difference was that she was not a Catholic.

In this instance the speaker makes it clear that he is willing to accept a daughter-in-law of another denomination. He also implies that this is inevitable, and that he would only alienate his son if he did not do so. Persons in Group B, on the other hand, assess the same situation more critically.

Group B - No. 1

It is very important that we marry another Catholic. When the children come, it will be a problem otherwise. Conversion to the faith is alright, but a lot of people are not willing to do so. They are also not willing to promise to bring up their children in the Catholic faith.

In this case, the woman in question makes it quite clear that the consequences of an inter-denominational marriage can be severe and detrimental to the faith. Her decision is guided by her allegiance to Catholic traditions she has known since birth.
Summary of Case D

We have now discussed cases of both a religious and semi-religious nature. In comparison to the Sikhs, the Portuguese have fewer conflict situations that primarily interest their own group. This was noted and commented upon by several non-Portuguese in the community. It is often said that the Sikhs are internally ridden with strife. Such debates do not promote public acceptance or admiration. The Portuguese, on the other hand, claim to be non-factious. They lead quiet lives and, apart from a few recent clashes over the maintenance of the priest and the upkeep of the church, they do not seem to argue over communal identity issues. We will hear more about this in the following section, where I shall discuss the celebration of the Feast of Fatima.

Section 4
Case F

There is no Sikh event to correspond to the Portuguese celebration of the "Feast of Fatima" (see table presented earlier). Although the Sikhs do participate in ethnic festivals, their local demonstrations of solidarity are minimal. Further, it seems that Sikh celebrations often do not take place in the valley because there is no temple
here. In this way, therefore, they are seen by Canadians as "not settled" or as "uncommitted" to local life.

In contrast, the Portuguese take an active part in local church activities. Although public displays are not common, the "Feast of Fatima" has become an ethnic as well as community celebration. I would like to show that in the case of the Portuguese, the Feast of Fatima has been accepted as a contribution to the cosmopolitan dimension of the community. I am not arguing, however, that a public display of customs and traditions would necessarily ease ethnic tensions for the Sikhs.

Section 4
E. The Feast of Fatima

The Feast of Fatima is an annual celebration that falls in the month of May. It virtually coincides with the middle of spring, which in Oliver is an active season filled with carnivals, horseshows, and other community events. Perhaps one should refer to these activities as community rites that help to affirm identity. While horseshows, cantaloupe fairs and cherry blossom festivals have been a regular feature of the community roster for years, the Feast of Fatima is a relative newcomer. It has only been
celebrated since 1973, although at present it is listed among the highlights of the season in Oliver. It is to the interpretation of this event that we shall now turn.

It is no accident that the regular celebration of this feast was begun only in 1973. It was only with the coming of the Portuguese priest that serious thought was given to the Feast of Fatima. The celebration of this feast was the result of a great deal of interest and instigation on the part of persons in Group B. They pressed for the celebration of this feast. Some preliminary efforts were made as early as the late 1960's when a travelling South American priest held a special mass in the town in honour of the Lady of Fatima.

Group B - No. 1

Since Father Periera arrived, we have been able to celebrate this feast. It is very important to us who are Portuguese. It is important to retain one's identity and one's culture.

The celebration of this feast, this woman observes, helps affirm her community's collective identity. She also states that it is very important to do this. Since the arrival of the Portuguese priest her wishes, and those of others she represents, seem to have come true.

Persons of Group A, at least in the early years, were against any such communal representation.
The celebration of Fatima is no doubt important. However even in Portugal it is not celebrated with the same pomp anymore. It has increasingly become part of the folk tradition. So I don't see why here in Canada we should perpetuate it.

In this description there is a hint of class differences being used as a distancing mechanism. In fact, this woman clearly suggests that celebration of feasts is generally an attribute of peasant life, and that she would rather not be associated with it.

Persons in Group B won the first round, although some modernists were not convinced that this was a victory. Over the years, however, persons in category A have conceded this coup to Group B sympathizers, now that the feast has been relegated to the ranks of other yearly communal events.

Both positions help define the person and the group as seen by insiders.

In the 1977 celebrations (which I had the good fortune to witness and participate in) several old in-group rivalries manifested themselves once more. In the meantime the persons in Group A had altered their position quite considerably. By 1977, the Canadian Multi-cultural Organization had emphasized the celebration of folk or ethnic
culture throughout the province of British Columbia. The celebration of the Feast of Fatima thus became an ethnic festival in Oliver and assumed political importance in the community. Re-defined in the above fashion, it became an important issue for all Portuguese and particularly for those from the mainland. They now wished to participate in the execution and organization of the event. In fact, they felt they had a right to do so, as the feast was basically a feast of the mainland of Portugal, their homeland.

Group A - No. 1

The Feast of Fatima is a very important Catholic feast. In Portugal, it is celebrated with a candlelight procession. There is a large cathedral in Lisbon built in honour of Mary where pilgrims from all over the world congregate. I myself have taken part in these yearly pilgrimages.

In her description one can detect a "possessive" attitude. This speaker almost makes it sound as if the festival is exclusive to the mainland, and therefore must rest in the hands of the people from the mainland (that is, people like her). After all, did it not originate in Lisbon?

It is not surprising that persons in Group B received this with very little enthusiasm. They felt that they had worked very long and hard to introduce the festival in the first place. They felt that their rights were being usurped. The issue was eventually resolved. Members of
both factions were elected to form a committee that would be in charge of the celebration. It was called the Irmandade (a carry over institution), an organization that would execute to the minutest detail the complete event.

Although the Feast of Fatima was labelled a Portuguese performance, it soon assumed dimensions that extended beyond that groups' own boundaries. For instance, the English priest of the Catholic church was asked to give a sermon, in addition to the sermon given by the Portuguese priest. Non-Portuguese Catholics and others in the community were also invited to participate in the celebrations. They used not only the church premises, but also public spaces such as the school grounds to hold masses. In the light of these various external developments we must evaluate the ways in which accommodation and cultural persistence occurred together. Let us begin with the miracle that happened at Fatima.

The Legend of Fatima

I was presented with various versions of this legend. Although each of these interpretations share a broad or common framework, the variants stress different elements. Roughly speaking, these accounts can be grouped into two major narrative styles - the first representing
persons in Group A and the second those in Group B.

Group A showed little concern for the cultural details embedded in the narrative. These persons were more concerned with the presentation of such customs in a form acceptable to non-Portuguese. It was at their insistence, for example, that the English priest was invited to give a sermon. Further, they were satisfied with the contents of the sermon the English priest gave. It represented their position.

**English Priest:**

The blessed virgin Mary appeared to three children in Fatima, in Portugal to bring attention to the fact that Jesus was being neglected. The purpose of Mary is to bring Jesus to the world, that is, to bring Jesus to the hearts of all people, to convert them from their earthly ways. When Mary brought Jesus into the world she gave him to us. If our devotion to Mary does not bring us closer to God it is all in vain. Our purpose is the same as Mary's: to bring Jesus into our lives. Mary is our model for all times.

Apart from the initial reference to "Fatima in Portugal", there is no other mention of the details of the miracle, there is no description of the shepherd children, where the virgin Mary appeared or even how she appeared. The facets that are considered significant and are highlighted are those that are of relevance to all Catholics - that is, all those who share in the theology associated with Mary. This is truly a reflection of the position of persons in Group A.
In contrast to this, those in Group B stressed elements that helped define their "Portuguese" identity. As a result they found the Portuguese priest's sermon more appealing and more relevant.

Portuguese Priest:

On the thirteenth of May 1917, our lady of the Rosary appeared to three little children, Lucie, Jacinta, and Francis and counselled them to prayer and penitence as the best means to combat the misfortunes that had befallen Portugal and the rest of the world. I do not need to stress the anti-clerical stance taken by the government. The revelation of Mary was a call to liberate the people from tyranny and to become good. God was showing his great mercy to the unfaithful. Further our Lady promised to appear on the thirteenth of every month for the next six months. The last time she did, a great crowd was gathered and she performed a greater miracle. Even the elements obeyed her command. Then the blind could see, and the lame could walk, and all who were there praised God. However this is not just an event in history. It is happening here in Oliver. People are trapped by their vain glories and are moving away from God. Thus a celebration of this sort is to exhort you to examine yourselves and to return to your past.

His sermon was powerful and moving. He wove many strands into his talk. The priest's attention to relevant details made his sermon meaningful to those in Group B. He first discussed the relevance of the event in Portugal, and then drew it into the Canadian ambience.

If the distinction between Group A and B is presented in the two sermons given at the feast, a selected version of several children's interpretations of this same narrative makes this separation even clearer. During the
celebrations I talked to a few children from each of the factions who were between the ages of 10 and 12 (female as well as male). As we shall see, their respective knowledge of the Feast of Fatima is once again a case in point. I have summarized the major elements of each faction below.

Group A - No. 1

It is believed that Christ's mother Mary appeared to three little children in Fatima Portugal in a little grotto, and ever since then - this happened between 1910-1914 - somewhere there - I don't know - the children saw her and asked for a miracle to occur, and it did. On the day that it happened the blind started to see, and the lame started to walk. Ever since then it has become a pilgrimage center. Every year on May the 13th they say a mass for her and go into procession.

This ten year old girl's description fits very well with the published version of the story intended for children. Her version covers the revelation of Mary and the miracle. In contrast, consider the following:

Group B - No. 1

There were three children in the village of Fatima who were very spiritual. One day while they were in a little field the virgin Mary appeared to them. She told them that there would be war if the people did not change their ways. They told the villagers that, but of course they did not believe them. But the children truly believed and so Mary promised to appear to them again. This time many came, the blind, the lame, the rich, the poor, the police, the troops, and even the most important people. Then Mary appeared on top of a tree on a hill, and her right hand was raised to the sky. It had been raining all day. The sun came down, and all the people were afraid. They thought the world was coming to an end. Instead the lame walked, and the blind could see.
This second child, aged eleven, knew many more details of the story of Fatima than did the first. This is not surprising. She came from a religious family and had attended Portuguese catechism classes. Further, it is quite clear, in her version, that she placed considerable emphasis on a knowledge of Portuguese history and traditions.

Summary of Case E

We have looked at the several ways in which ideological differences between factions A and B are manifest in the Portuguese community. Each issue is concerned with definitions of the individual and of the group by insiders and also by outsiders. The former are not willing to give up group-oriented forms of identity maintenance (that is, the traditional forms and symbols). The latter plead for privatization of these forms and for the accommodation of such principles to suit a new situation.

Persons in both groups are caught up in the process of testing how much to retain and how much to alter. Celebrations of this feast both in 1977, and more recently in 1978, suggest the latest form this issue has taken. At present the celebration of the Feast of Fatima is both a celebration of faith and an event defining the ethnic and cosmopolitan dimensions of this community as a whole.
Conclusions

We began this chapter with a quest for understanding persistence and change in religious beliefs. We saw that conditions facing the Sikhs and Portuguese in their new country created a fierce desire among certain individuals to retain familiar principles and symbols. Among others there grew up a desire to alter these same forms. The emergence of the two groups is therefore the logical outcome.

We found that negotiations on each issue underwent several transformations before they were acceptable to both parties. In the case of the Sikhs we discussed the maintenance of the Keshas (or the long hair) and the Kirpan (or the sword). In the case of the Portuguese we discussed two issues: the maintenance of the Portuguese priest and the upkeep of the church. We saw that in both cases, those in Group A were convinced that change was inevitable and necessary; they supported the view that certain traditions have to be modified to suit new contexts. The traditionalists or persons in Group B, on the other hand, were unwilling to compromise. They adhered to the view almost unswervingly, that traditions must be perpetuated. This contrast of views led to tension and conflict.

Internal issues of a religious nature that were
salient to the Sikhs were covering the head in the temple and the adherence to the principles laid out in the guide to the Sikh way of life. In the case of the Portuguese, the "maintenance of Portuguese liturgy and ritual" was an issue. Once again Group A were seen as espousing the values of individual decision making, while Group B concerned themselves with corporate notions of identity.

Concerning issues of a semi-religious nature, the Sikhs were divided on the issue of the "langar" (the free kitchen). Inter-religious marriages were an issue for both groups. Finally we discussed the Portuguese celebration of the Feast of Fatima. There was no a corresponding issue for the Sikhs. This in itself is quite significant, because the public performance of a specific tradition contains within it the ideas of settlement and acceptance. The possibility of conflict is also there. However, in the town of Oliver, in 1977 and again in 1978, signs of confrontation between the Portuguese and the rest of the community were minimal.

In the final analysis, each of these issues can be viewed as crises both for the individuals concerned and for the groups they belong to. The resolutions can be seen as the testing out of varying permutations of cultural categories. The development of factions within the Sikh community and in the re-evaluation of the traditional symbols
of the faith all point to an on-going dilemma in the minds of newcomers. The question Sikhs and Portuguese both ask is how much to give up and how much to retain? If learning new strategies and skills are seen as a threat to identity, this process can be very stressful. In the case of the Sikhs, this has involved moving from a hierarchial cultural model to a segmented cultural model so that religion and ethnicity could be confined to private life. It also meant that in the public life of the community and in the work sphere Sikhs have had to transcend their prior notions about of ethnic or cultural loyalty. The acquisition and use of knowledge appropriate to Canada was taken to be the challenge. In the face of such ambivalence, Sikhs have chosen the canopy of ethnicity. The Portuguese, although divided on many issues, have more closely approximated the Canadian model. A majority recognize a distinction between religion and ethnicity and confine both issues primarily to private life.
In all the preceding chapters an attempt was made to understand the ways and means of acculturation of the Portuguese and the Sikhs in the Okanagan Valley. However not much attention was placed on the ways by which these groups were evaluated by their Canadian counterparts. Indeed informal discussions and short interviews done with leaders of the community (whether it be in local politics, business, the water board, the church voluntary organizations or leisure time activities) all suggest that one of the major obstacles to being effective in the community has been a lack of understanding concerning the meaning of the term "good citizen". What seems to emerge from the various interviews was both an abstract notion of a "participant" as well as a concrete notion of psychological attachment.

Fortunately, I was able to obtain a list of all the various types of organizations operating within the small communities of Oliver, Vernon and Rutland. I also interviewed a few leaders in each of these towns. To simplify matters, I shall discuss these findings in terms of a contrast between the southern Okanagan and the northern Okanagan. Such opinions and observations can be of value in exploring civic culture that newcomers have to acculturate
to. All persons interviewed, for example, were asked the following questions: What does it mean to be a good citizen? What do newcomers have to do to get accepted? What does the term "community" mean to you? This allowed me to explore one of the major dimensions of local acculturation: the type of democratic ideals espoused, and the social structures these ideals generate.

In both northern and southern Okanagan I interviewed key members of the community. They included priests, members of the local Chamber of Commerce, village council, voluntary organization, newspapers and the fruit board.

- see Table XXVII -

Southern Okanagan

All of the priests interviewed described Oliver as a small, growing community. Owing to effective transportation networks, people have poured in not only from other parts of Canada but also from other parts of the world as well. From its inception Oliver, like most other parts of the valley, had settlers of many different denominations. With a population not exceeding 8,000 it now has ten churches. Although the trend is towards secularism, and while the numbers that attend church regularly are very
TABLE XXVII

List of Canadians Interviewed
(Affiliated with the following Categories, Departments or Institutions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Southern Okanagan</th>
<th>Northern Okanagan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priests</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Organizations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia Fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growers Association</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
small, people still prefer to get married, baptized, confirmed and buried according to Christian traditions. Differences of a cultural nature have also contributed to differences in religious rituals, as witnessed by the formation of two Lutheran churches.

Most of the priests were explicit about the role of the church in a small community. They were quick to point out that the church was only one of the venues of social interaction in a community. Especially today, its role has become limited. The waves of immigrants that have moved into the community have given periodic boosts to the various churches. The history of these institutions shed light on the questions of citizenship and acceptance in the community, and it is to this that we shall now turn.

Priest of St. Paul's Lutheran Church

"The St. Paul Lutheran church was established in 1936 with the arrival of the Germans into the valley. In Oliver there were mostly second and third generations who came from the prairies. In Osoyoos (10 miles south) they were mostly first generation. Some of them even organized a German "Bundt" that propped Nazism. It was terrible. Germans were hated and feared. In Oliver the Canadian Germans maintained a low profile and tried very hard to separate themselves from the newcomers. There were bitter struggles between the newcomers and the established members here. By identifying with Oliver, those second and third generation who lived here managed to maintain respect within this community. It was very difficult to do so, but we did it."
Later, there were other newcomers into the valley, mostly Estonians, Latvians and Scandinavians. They were different. They had different forms of liturgy and ritual. So they started their own church. At present there are 70 families in Oliver that belong to this church. There are both German and English services held although there is no longer an interest in maintaining German services. There are a considerable number of inter-ethnic as well as inter-denominational marriages. Members meet at least three or four times a week for choir practice or other social activities."

From the minister's description it is clear that Germans were not accepted into the community with ease. The second and third generation Germans in Oliver had to distinguish themselves from the new Germans in Osoyoos in order to obtain respect in the community. This led to bitter struggles. During the war years the severe social pressures of being "German" had impressed upon them the importance of highlighting their Canadian identity over being "German". This did not mean, however, that they lost their "German identity", as witnessed by their exclusion of Lutherans from Estonia and Latvia. Finally the continuance of the practice of German in addition to English services illustrates the process of acculturation they had to undergo. A similar opinion was voiced by the Mennonite priest who talked about the differences between the Mennonite brethren and the Mennonite conferences churches.

_Priest of the Mennonite Conference Church_

"There are two groups in Oliver, the brethren and the conference church. The latter are more relaxed about religious observance and child socialization. The church
envourages participation in Canadian life. The members of the brethren church are more rigid in their beliefs and practices."

In this response, acculturation to Canadian ways was the means by which he differentiated the brethren from the conference church members. Once again, sharing in the activities of the community was emphasized.

The established churches, such as the Anglican and the United church, showed less concern over immigrant accommodation to cultural norms. The Anglican church, according to the minister, had attracted a few Dutch and Norwegians but was mainly English. The numbers that attended had substantially dwindled. The church is still important, although attendance is no longer considered significant. On the concept of "community", he elaborated,

"Race and colour should not make a difference, but it does. To counteract this, one has to voice concerns that are common to the community. Your similarities with other members should be expressed first. Eventually your differences will be tolerably received. Orientals in general have had a bad time. The Japanese seemed to have risen above this and are respected in the community. They do not stick together or for each other. The individual is the center of their society. The Chinese and East Indians have not done so."

Unlike the other priests, he brought up the subject of colour in his elaboration of the meaning of the term "com-
While colour is significant, he talked about the ways in which the Japanese have resolved this issue. In essence, then, becoming accepted into the community involves participating and contributing to the life of the community.

Finally, the Catholic priest had some important observations to make. In the last 20 years the church had to cope with the Portuguese that moved into the valley. At first these people were incorporated into the English service, catechism classes, and so on, but at present they have their own priest and services are held in Portuguese. According to him,

Priest of the Catholic Church

"There are about 1,000 members, a quarter of which are Portuguese. At first there was no service in Portuguese, and the priest made a real attempt to understand their problems and their needs. Eventually, a Portuguese priest was invited to live in the valley and to cater to the needs of these immigrants. But he had very different ideas. He emphasized the need to separate from the English Catholic. Many of the Portuguese who had lived here for a long time were not happy with this. But there are sufficient numbers who wish to have services in Portuguese and maintain their liturgy and ritual. The celebration of the Feast of Fatima is an example of the integration of different cultural systems that are possible within the Catholic church."

Although comments of all the priests have not been discussed, it is quite clear that each of the above churches had to cope with changes brought about by the influx of immigrant
populations into the community. Each stressed participation and contribution to the community as an essential ingredient in adaptation. They also emphasized the importance of separating cultural or ethnic loyalties from community identity. Although religious attendance is low, there are other social activities that encourage participation in church life during the week.

The priests were not the only ones who voiced such concerns about participation and contribution to the community. The representatives of the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association as well as the cooperative also had their own definition of the terms community and citizenship. Consider what one of them had to say,

Member of the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association

"In the old days of course it was very different. There was not much money around and we all had to pool together our resources and help each other out. Things have now changed with crop insurance programmes and cooperative selling. But our friendships have not grown stale. They are the people we trust and know very well. It is no longer necessary to depend on others today. The government steps in to bail you out. Newcomers do not appreciate this anymore. They do not know the history of the community nor do they care to know. The old sense of 'community' is gone."

In this informant's response, there is an attempt to explain the lack of participation in the community in economic terms. The vagaries of the weather, and the risk
associated with the growing and marketing of fruit have made it necessary to rely on others. This reliance took the form of exchange of fruit, vegetables, sometimes even of farm equipment. With the introduction of government assistance programmes and effective marketing organizations. These risks have now been considerably reduced. Hence, the forms of integration possible at present are different. This was the message that was received from members of voluntary organizations and leisure times activities. The latter, especially, defined participation through "play".

Member of the Oliver Golf Club

"In Canada, you know, people work at play. It is very important to get away and relax either skiing, swimming, golf, curling, skating and so on. The Okanagan has everything that you would want. In Oliver there are some important leisure time activities. In the winter you curl, ski or skate. In the summer you go fishing, camping, play golf or whatever you wish. There are others who wish to do the same. That is how you meet people and make friends. You have got to get out and actively participate."

In this response it is clear that leisure is a very important aspect of life in Oliver and in Canada as a whole, and that people not only work when it is mandatory but also work at play. In the process they meet people who share similar interests, eventually moving from "acquaintanceship to friendship". The importance of leisure time activities as a means of participating in the community becomes clear
when one considers the number of local clubs and organizations that cater to these needs. In addition to golf and country clubs there are also arts councils, hobby craft groups and other such organizations.

For those who are politically involved, there are organizations such as citizens groups, civic groups concerned with energy and pollution, historical societies, political parties, the Chamber of Commerce and so on. Participation is defined in terms of one's concern for the environment, energy problems of the country, the quality of life, and the role of the government in society. In the end, an individual's life is enhanced by the group he lives with and the surrounding environment.

For the more socially or welfare conscious citizens, there are a number of organizations such as the Kinsmen, the Kiwanis, the Rotary, the Lions Club, and so on. They hold bazaars and bake sales and other fund raising activities. They are quite prominent in the community, in that they attempt to reach as many people as possible.

Finally, the school teachers, who have the responsibility of training youngsters to become "good citizens", had some interesting observations to make. According to one of them,
Local School Teacher

"The school encourages participation in all of its activities, whether it be the drama club, the debating group, sports, carnival or whatever. At the same time it tries to reach out to the parents of these children who are active as well. There are parent teacher associations, school councils, public meetings to decide certain matters, school boards, etc. Although access to parents is not granted in all these ways, there is certainly a tremendous attempt to get the parents involved. The schools cannot work by themselves. Families have to be involved. In many instances newcomers do not understand this. They separate the school from the home, and they do not even encourage their children to do their homework, etc. They don't let them play, or participate in school activities after school hours. Of course they do not even come to the parent teacher associations."

In this description the importance of developing a sense of individual identity, participation and contribution is emphasized. Some members of the community do not recognize this need for civic participation and competence, and further, do not make the necessary links between values taught in the home and at school. In the final analysis, the school is a training ground for imbuing students with the values of a society.

From the various interviews with the leaders of the community, it is clear that the abstract notions of participation and contribution are core concepts in the structuring of the community. Therefore the individuals who live in these towns must translate their understanding of these principles into action. The avenues that they choose
however, may differ. Some might choose to be active in local politics, others in civic groups, social groups, voluntary organizations or even church groups. Whatever it be, there is an obligation to participate; more than that, an underlying assumption is that a functioning democracy is dependent on civic competence which in turn depends on a capacity to work or cooperate with others to meet this goal.

The following table summarizes the answers to the three main questions that were obtained from the key respondents in the communities. The table raises a number of important issues.

- see Table XXVIII -

Two main factors emerge as central to life in communities, at least communities in the southern end of the Okanagan Valley, which are as follows:

1. the emphasis on the individual as the unit of action.
2. a demonstrated interest in key community issues.
TABLE XXVIII
Southern Okanagan Perspectives on "Community"

N: 22

The Good Citizen
- Acts as an individual.
- Raises common concerns.
- Participates in institutions.
- Is a good family man.
- Is a church goer.

A Community is
- A group of individuals who act together for a common cause.
- A spatial unit (residential/regional).
- An administrative unit.
- Both rural and urban in its spatial dimensions.

Acceptance in the Community involves:
- A demonstrated interest in key issues.
- A time commitment.
- Refusal to act primarily on behalf of/or as a member of a particular ethnic group.

(Source: Interviews)
In all my conversations, that related these issues, an emphasis was placed on the bifurcation of one's private and a public identity. An individual was expected and even encouraged to activate his ethnic affiliations and networks in the private sphere (with family or extended kin, and among close friends). But in the workplace, in shopping centers, or at church, an individual's ethnic group associations were to be subordinated to his/her actions as an autonomous individual. In other words, the policy advocated for newcomers is one of compartmentalization: one must separate public individual life from private group life.

The second principle is based on the first. Here newcomers must demonstrate an interest and commitment to issues dear to the community. They must prove that they care about the community in which they live. This necessitates a fraternity of members who lived within the same spatial unit, especially in the face of threats from the outside. In this context it is useful to recall the Portuguese situation in Oliver during the period when members of this group were becoming independent commodity producers. Many Portuguese farmers although members of the cooperative, were either warned about or charged with peddling fruit. This was because many non-Portuguese farmers were outraged at what they described as "sneaky and unacceptable
behaviour". As for the Portuguese themselves, they learned through trial and error that cooperation was the most efficient means of handling and marketing their fruit. Moreover, they soon realized that this had both economic dividends and political advantages. In 1976-77 there were no non-Portuguese members of the community willing to describe the Portuguese as poor citizens.

At another level, membership in local institutions or organizations is only a necessary and not a sufficient condition. Acceptance is contingent upon a psychological alignment with members of the community over "core issues". Those who fulfill both conditions, especially those who demonstrate interest and commitment, are the most likely candidates to be chosen or awarded the title of "good citizen".

However, from my interviews with the Portuguese, it seems that they were involved only in a select few. The following table lists the number of organizations in Oliver, and a rough measure of participation and membership in each of them, by the Portuguese.

- see Table XXIX -
TABLE XXIX

List of Institutions in Oliver and Rate of Portuguese Participation in Them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RELIGIOUS</td>
<td>Church Committee</td>
<td>Choir</td>
<td>Youth League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catechism</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Revitalization</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Womens League</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feasts and Celebrations</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMI-RELIGIOUS</td>
<td>Bake Sales</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Bazaars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizen's Groups</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Water Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Village Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICAL</td>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Credit Organ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BCFGA</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMIC</td>
<td>School Boards</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Guides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parent/Teacher Ass.</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>School Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scouts</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATIONAL</td>
<td>Rotary Club</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Kiwanis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kinsmen</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Masonic Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>Golf Club</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Skiing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skating Club</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Curling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEISURE CLUBS</td>
<td>Folk Festival</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Horse Show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL</td>
<td>B.C. Historical Society</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Energy Conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pollution Groups</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Wilderness Preservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>B.C. Historical Society</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Energy Conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pollution Groups</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Wilderness Preservation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

High - over 15 members
Medium - between 5-15 members
Low - at least 5 members
From the above it is quite clear that membership and active involvement in any of the institutions is limited for Portuguese residents, except in the religious and economic sphere. In the economic activities of the area, however, they are seen as important contributors, even though residents have not quite forgotten the peddling activities of the early years. It is for these reasons, then, that all the leaders interviewed in the community either referred to them as "good citizens" or described them as having the potential for becoming so.

In this context, it is also appropriate to discuss variations among the Portuguese themselves despite their general acceptance in the south end of the valley. Some are clearly seen as more "bi-cultural" than others. Names of such individuals were cited by schoolteachers, businessmen, presidents of voluntary associations and recreational clubs. One such family is the family of Mr. Costa. Not only has he received recognition from Canadians, but even other Portuguese in the area seek him out for advice, to provide leadership and so on. Mr. Costa has more than 20 acres in the valley, and has a large home. Unlike other Portuguese who have built modern homes, he bought a tudor style home of an English farmer and maintains it very well. He is bilingual and can move with ease among the Portuguese as well as other Canadians. He is active on church
committees, political parties, economic organizations and the Parent-teachers' Association. His children have done very well in school, and are now at university. His wife still works in the packing house and takes an active part in community events. To them public and private life are clearly separate and they confine their ethnicity to the private sphere. The only occasion when they are consciously and publically "Portuguese" is at the celebration of the Feast of Fatima. They are Canadian citizens although they visit Portugal every three years or so. They see their future in Canada, and actively participate and contribute to the community. Finally they feel that their heritage is important and actively pass it on to their children.

Mr. D'Melo, on the other hand, has been in the valley since the early sixties. Although he knows some English, he avoids talking the language or taking part in community meetings, etcetera. He is, however, a member of the cooperative, although his children speak for him at these meetings. He is also a Canadian citizen, although he does not take an active part in community life. He feels most comfortable with Portuguese friends and kin and remains largely peripheral to the Canadian community. His wife and children, likewise, are encouraged to be "Portuguese" rather than as Portuguese Canadians.
While Mr. Costa and members of his family are bi-cultural and bilingual, Mr. D'Melo and his family are confined to mainly their culture of origin.

Thus, although the Portuguese as a group have received a certain measure of acceptance in the community, it is clear, that some of them have received more acclamation as "good citizens" and are treated more equally than others. Having discussed the meaning of the terms "good citizen" and "community" from the point of view of the southerners, let us take a look at what northerners have to say.

The Northern Perspective

The priests in the north end of the valley made similar observations to their counterparts in the south. They also emphasized the role of the church in getting people to interact with each other. In Kelowna there was a Buddhist temple and in Rutland and Vernon there was the Japanese United church. Since there are many similarities in the observations made in the north and south, only a few select comments will be discussed here.
Immigration Officer

"Colour and race are important factors in the community. People are always suspicious of differences in biology. You cannot get away from it. But certainly an attempt can be made to reduce the dissimilarities. It takes a long time to build trust and friendship, but it is a two way road. If you do not share some of the activities of the community and speak the language people will not get to know you and like you. This does not mean you cease to be East Indian. You merely have two loyalties - one to Canada and the other to India. But this is hampered because of fear and prejudice. It is a vicious circle. The government, in promoting multi-culturalism, is trying to break this. They try hard to make the lives of immigrants tolerable and eventually the next generations will see the point of it all."

In his response to the issues, some of the dynamics of stranger behaviour (Schutz: 1964) emerge. People of different cultures see each other as aliens or strangers and will continue to do so until some effort is made to reduce social distance. The government is seen as a mediator in this link, in as much as it legally recognizes the validity and equality of all cultures. But the government can only go so far. The onus is on individuals and groups to make an effort to break down these cultural barriers and to promote communication. This is a very difficult process, as all the interviews with both the Sikhs and the Portuguese suggest. However, from a Canadian perspective, participation in organizations is a legitimate means of identifying with other interested participants. It is also the way by which social distance is reduced.

The school teachers were of the same opinion:
"In a small community or in a rural setting, people see each other very often in social situations or otherwise. The anonymity of a big city is not present here. The most important thing is to get out, and do things in the community with people. If you don't, then people are going to say that newcomers are clannish or they stick to their own kind. Students of different backgrounds are encouraged to participate in school activities and their parents likewise are urged to do so. However for valid reasons parents cannot meet these requirements and do not encourage their children to do so. These kids then remain 'unknown quantities' to their peers who then slight them."

In this teacher's response, the importance of participation and of community contribution is once again stressed. She also introduces the idea that the size of the settlement affects social interaction and mentions the necessity of psychologically aligning oneself with community concerns. Although these themes are similar to those outlined by members in the south end of the valley, comments related to church attendance and to being a good family man, were noticeably absent.

Even in the north end of the valley, however, much emphasis was placed on individual action and the subordination of ethnicity to individuality. Although all respondents stressed participation and contribution, none provided clear guidelines for evaluating these two factors. All stressed the psychological alignment of newcomers. From interviews with members of the Sikh community in the north
end of the valley I also obtained a rough measure of their participation in local activities. The following table lists the major organizations in Rutland and Vernon, and provides a measure of Sikh membership and attendance rates.

- see Table XXX -

From the above it is quite clear that Sikh participation is minimal. Their areas of interest and activity appear to be strictly political. Finally, in conversations with the key respondents, very few examples were provided of Sikh participation or of their psychological alignment with members of the community over core issues. That is, their demonstrated interest was minimal although they were very "visible".

In this context, it is appropriate to discuss the situation of a few Sikhs who have received acclaim from Canadians and who are generally described as more "bi-cultural" than the majority. As a result they have had the misfortune of being lumped together with others in the valley.

Mr. Thind and his family are a good example. Both husband and wife work, he in a local firm and she in a school. They have been in Vernon since the early sixties.
TABLE XXX

List of Institutions in Vernon and Rutland

and Rates of Sikh Participation in Them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RELIGIOUS</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Revitalization</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church Committee</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Youth League</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catechism</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Womens League</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Choir</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMI-RELIGIOUS</td>
<td>Bake Sales</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bazaars</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICAL</td>
<td>Citizens Groups</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water Board</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Parties</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Town Council</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMIC</td>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Credit Organization</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BCFGA</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATIONAL</td>
<td>School Board</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parent/Teacher Association</td>
<td>Low</td>
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<td>LEISURE CLUBS</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Lacrosse</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Football</td>
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<td>SOCIAL</td>
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<td>Western Days</td>
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<td>Ukranian Night</td>
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<td>Get Acquainted Club</td>
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TABLE XXX (cont'd)

List of Institutions in Vernon and Rutland and Rates of Sikh Participation in Them

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<tr>
<th>OTHER ORGANIZATIONS</th>
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<tr>
<td>B.C. Historical Society</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Pollution Group Nil</td>
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<td>Mothers Auxilliary</td>
<td>Nil</td>
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<td>Teen Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>Park Society</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Senior citizens Nil</td>
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<td>Regional District</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Volunteer Fire Nil</td>
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<td>Farmers Institute</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Dorcas Welfare Nil</td>
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TOTAL: 53

High - over 15 members
Medium - between 5-15 members
Low - at least 5 members
They have been interviewed by the local newspaper about their cultural background. They take an active part in community affairs, such as the Water Board, voluntary organizations and so on. Their children are also active in school debates, sports, music which bring them in close contact with other Canadians. They are bi-cultural and bilingual. A few other families will also fall under this category.

In contrast Mr. Basran who has also been in the valley since the sixties, does not participate in the community. He and his family prefer to speak Punjabi and fiercely maintain their "Punjabi-Sikh" heritage. They prefer to be separate from the mainstream, and confine their activities to their home and Punjabi friends. Even though he does not wear a turban, he feels that cultural erosion is a serious matter and can only be checked by remaining peripheral to Canadian life and culture. He is of course not alone in the valley. By and large, many Sikhs subscribe to his policy of actively maintaining their cultural heritage. The significant differences between the former group (represented by Mr. Thind) and the latter (represented by Mr. Basran) are:

1) level of education;
2) some exposure to concepts of individual autonomy; and
3) compartmentalization of life activities.

Conclusions

In this chapter, an attempt was made to understand the meaning of the terms "good citizen" and community. There was some agreement that a good citizen is one who demonstrates an ongoing interest in the affairs of the local community, particularly in times of stress; therefore he or she must be both a participant and a contributor to the quality of life in the community. Participation alone, does not confer formal recognition, but is viewed as a necessary pre-condition. A contribution, loosely defined, refers to outstanding work in the community.

The most important criterion is to share in local interests, and to demonstrate continued involvement, in community issues. Local identity then becomes meaningful at two levels. On a day-to-day basis, it is taken for granted and is shared by those who participate. However, when the same unit is juxtaposed with another, or is threatened by the activities of another group, a symbolic unity is also expected from all those who live within that spatial unit. In times of stress all discrete entities such as leisure groups, social groups, voluntary organizations, and others, are expected to set differences aside and provide a united front.
For new immigrants and in particular the Sikhs and the Portuguese, it is an arduous task to interpret and actively participate in community life. Although we have discussed cases of adaptation and cultural persistence within both groups, it is clear that the Portuguese native model and the context of tolerance that they experienced allowed for greater compartmentalization than did the Sikh model. But it is equally clear that within both groups those members who compartmentalized and segmented their life activities and who actively contributed and participated in community activities were better accepted by other Canadians.

Such a finding then, questions the validity of a theory that suggests that race is the most important factor in the subordination and segregation of a group such as the Sikhs. Although the history of the Sikhs warrants such an explanation, I would hasten to add the importance of their native cultural model and its incongruence with the Canadian cultural model.

To summarize, the most important distinctions made within the Canadian model were between,
1) local-residential identity and ethnic loyalty.
2) individual status and achievement and group status or identity.
CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSIONS

"People are moral creatures who beget moral problems. Seeking the truth about them and the environments they spin around themselves carries the burden of unleashing new evils and new realities. How to keep the techniques of discovery subject to an address which acknowledges just this is a continuing if often covert imperative". (Burridge K.O.L.: 1975: 42).

Early in my introduction to British Columbia, and in particular to the Okanagan Valley, I became conscious of the tensions and conflicts that existed between the Sikhs and other Canadians. Such tensions also existed, to a lesser extent, between the Portuguese and other Canadians. This thesis is an attempt to understand the dynamic process that lies behind these intra-cultural encounters.

One question that has an important bearing on the analysis presented here is the issue of race. A visible minority group like the Sikhs have indeed had a long history of discrimination and prejudice toward them. Further, it is a documented fact that at least in British Columbia, there was a definite move to keep it "white" forever (Ward: 1978). While there is no denying that "race" is a central issue, (as discussed in chapter 2, 5, 6, 8 and 9) focussing on it alone, obscures the importance of cultural differences
between groups and variations within the groups themselves. This is much the same criticism offered by Williams (1975) against the concept of "internal colonization" used by Rex (1973) and Hechter (1974) in explaining the inter-ethnic situation in England.

It is appropriate then to recall the discussion relating to internal variations within the two immigrant groups themselves. It is evident that among the Sikhs, Mr. Thind and a few others compartmentalize their life activities and contribute to community life without loss of cultural identity. On the other hand, Mr. Basran and others like him prefer to talk in Punjabi, interact with other Sikhs and fear that they would lose their cultural identity in their interaction with other Canadians.

Although racial animosity is a reason for such a separation, one cannot ignore the voluntary nature of the separation as well. The cultural model that they use as blueprints for action, are revitalized concepts of being Sikh, that do not recognize the segmentation of life activities. The same can be said of some of the Portuguese as well. Mr. Costa and a few others do not find it difficult to be bi-cultural and bilingual and function effectively in Canada. Mr. D'Melo and others like him find it much harder to segment their activities. Thus, among
both the Sikhs and the Portuguese there are some families who make the distinctions between their public and private lives and who as a result receive more recognition in the community. Finally, when one considers the problems that other immigrants like the Doukhobors faced in the Kootenay district of British Columbia (see Hawthorne 1955 for an extensive discussion) there is reason to investigate the nature and role of cultural differences in inter-ethnic confrontations.

I have found that Kiefer (1974) offers the most useful definition of acculturation. For my purposes she defines it as the learning of skills, strategies and values that are native to another group. Such a concept is not unilinear. It allows the researcher to explain the emergence and maintenance of 'ethnicity' along several dimensions simultaneously.

While the acculturation process is documented here, the purpose of this thesis is also to identify the factors that have made this experience less stressful for the Portuguese than for the Sikhs. My argument is that the degree of connectedness of the various spheres of an immigrant's life and also of the new contexts that they find themselves in (whether it be hostile, tolerant/accepting) will determine the extent to which accommodation and cultural persis-
tence occur. Although the term "Canadian cultural model" is used, it specifically refers to the immigrants' perception of the cultural order in Canada. This needless to say varies with provincial, regional differences as well as the experiences of individuals in Canada. It is against this arbitrary yardstick that measures of success are evaluated. Of course, neither the Sikh nor the Portuguese native model is static. Some traditional cultural items were strongly valued, but others quickly became questioned by each group. Some have even been altered.

My chapter on work has outlined the struggle to identify and separate the work sphere from that of family, religion and communal loyalty. The Sikhs have tended to integrate the different areas of their lives such that no distinctions between the sacred and the secular or public and private, are highly visible. Thus religion has permeated all aspects of their lives and provided an anchorage for the definition of a Sikh's individual identity.

The issue of the turban is a symbol of this struggle for the re-definition of identity. It has taken many forms, such as vicarious ritualization, compartmentalization, and normative re-organization. Under conditions of hostility, these above processes have been magnified and seen to be potential threats to Sikh cultural identity.
Being thrust into a new and hostile industrial environment has demanded that they learn to separate,

1) work identity/non-work identity (family, ethnicity, caste and religion)
2) public spheres of activity/private spheres of activity

But this separation has been very difficult to achieve.

The Portuguese did not experience the same pressures. Their choice of farm work did not create much disruption in their daily lives. Further, it was not imperative that they separate work from non-work. Farming did not require such a sharp compartmentalization. Finally, their own native social model recognized the distinction between work (public) identity and religious (private, ethnic) identity. Although there were some traumas associated with becoming orchard owners, the majority felt able to accept these key conditions of work in Canada.

The alternative argument that the differential success can be explained through the use of categories as commodity producers and wage labourers was as we saw in chapter 5 inadequate. Sikhs who are farmers or businessmen are not necessarily more acceptable in British Columbia.
Associated with finding jobs and settling in the new context was the process of buying land or homes in the community. Property ownership was not only an investment but also a means of demonstrating one's presence in the community. By the same token, it can also be a means of distancing oneself from others, particularly if certain cultural cues are misunderstood.

The majority of the Sikhs bought homes rather than orchards. However they also sent money back to India to help their extended families acquire more property. They wished to enhance their status in the villages of India. In Canada, their criterion for the choice of a neighbourhood was friendship or kin ties. But buying homes in a multi-residential, new and cheap development was incongruent with the host community's notions of correct home and neighbourhood selection. Most of all, they had to learn to distinguish between

1) local-residential identity and their cultural or ethnic loyalties.

The Portuguese, by virtue of being farm workers and later farm owners, did not form ethnic enclaves. They lived mostly on the peripheries of the town. Their homes were not in cheap, multi-residential developments. They were farm houses and remained so until the owner had money to re-model
it or add new rooms. This was a gradual process and matched the step like progression of their larger economic achievements in the valley. Most of all, to the Portuguese ethnic loyalty was considered a private matter and was separable from their local-residential identity.

Differing Portuguese and Sikh encounters in the work world and in the community had repercussions for family life as well. The Sikhs had to learn to make the distinction between family status (corporate identity) and individual achievement (individual identity). Some alterations were also made in the role and status of women. There also had to be a demonstrated family interest in community matters. Finally, the Portuguese did not have to make a sharp distinction between work and home. Their choice of work made it less imperative to demonstrate a further residential commitment. Their native model already emphasized individual achievement and separated it from family and ethnic issues.

The most poignant displays of ambivalence and frustration for both communities were found in the religious sphere. To be a "good Sikh" meant the extension of one's spiritual power into the secular and temporal realm. Since the same symbols permeated all aspects of their lives, these became inseparable worlds. It was over and around these
issues that factions within the Sikh community soon emerged. The struggles were over the separation of religion from the workplace and from work identity (if only in a symbolic sense) and its threatened confinement, along with ethnicity, to the private sphere.

From a Portuguese perspective it was clear that religion and ethnicity could be defined as private issues. What was not so clear, however, was how to separate religion and ethnicity. The celebration of the Feast of Fatima was an important occasion and was used to express what it means to be "Portuguese" in Canada. Multi-cultural festivals are as much public events as is the cherry blossom festival. Both types of events involve other Canadians. The question that baffles the Portuguese is to what extent their religion plays a part in their new ethnic identity. Until the time of immigration to Canada, it was not a relevant issue. With migration they suddenly became Catholic and Portuguese. This conceptual bifurcation necessitated an unexpected examination of their previously "taken-for-granted" religious label.

Canadians who were interviewed about the concepts of good citizenship and community, finally, were quick to point out the need for individual autonomy and for a demonstrated interest in community life. In short, in the public
sphere, an individual was required to transcend sub-group loyalties.

To summarize, adaptation to Canada involved re-thinking and re-socialization for both the Sikhs and the Portuguese. It meant acquiring additional knowledge of the workings of a new culture. The Sikhs in the Okanagan Valley had to make a new separation between

1) religion/national background
2) religion/work
3) family corporate identity/individual achievement
4) ethnic loyalty/local-residential commitment.

In other words, they had to distinguish between

5) public and private activities and confine religion and ethnicity to the private sphere.

The Portuguese, on the other hand, had to distinguish between

1) Religion/work

and to a lesser extent between

2) religion/national background.
The contexts within which such learning occurred also varied. The Sikhs experienced and also perceived much local hostility. The Portuguese were received with greater tolerance and perceived less hostility. Learning new strategies was seen by the Sikhs to be an encroachment on cultural values rather than an addition to their existing repertoire of knowledge. Resorting to what was known and secure (ethnic loyalty) was the most feasible alternative.

To the Sikhs, therefore, "ethnic identity" became a protection against the erosion of their previous cultural habits and a safeguard against foreign domination. Although they have had to learn to be effective, particularly in public life this has been painful and they have resented it. Thus, their settlement experience in Canada has been one of frustration. They remain ambivalent toward the Canadian way of life. More appropriately they are testing their own cultural models against the Canadian cultural model.

The Portuguese, on the other hand, did not not resort to prior cultural loyalties or to ethnic identity as a defense against foreign cultural encroachment. Instead they confined ethnic group identity to their private lives, while in their daily public activities they rapidly learned
the ways and strategies of their colleagues. To them accul-
turation and ethnic identity have been compatible. It is
not hard to understand, then, why they experienced less
acculturative stress.


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Oliver Chronicle, 1940-1977.


**TABLE XXXI**

**DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS CONTACT SITUATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIKHS</th>
<th>1st Interview (meal)</th>
<th>1st Interview</th>
<th>2nd Meeting</th>
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### TABLE XXXI (cont'd)

**DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS CONTACT SITUATIONS**

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