

Employment and Immigration Discrimination Against Visible Minorities: The Experience of South Asian Immigrants in Canada with Special Reference to Bangladesh

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***Abstract :** Immigration is now a world-wide phenomenon in the age of globalization. People especially, those who are more educated and wealthy, from third world countries are frequently immigrating to so called 'first world' countries because of various socio-economic and political reasons. But immigration not always ensures their expectations. Sometimes they became the victims of discriminatory policies, experience discrimination, unfairness and are compelled to lead inhuman life. They are beset with problems like poverty, gender discrimination, inadequate employment opportunities, lack of social integration and inequitable access to social services. The aim of this paper is to explore the issues of discrimination from the historical, social and economic perspectives. This article focuses on the South Asian immigrants and explores their own experiences about forms of discrimination, dissatisfaction, mental and psychological dispositions. The findings of the paper reveals that the immigrants specially from the third world, are not getting proper treatment from the host country, Canada though once it was their dreamland. Instead of getting proper shares and rights from the host country most often they are oppressed, marginalised, and made scapegoats.*

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Introduction

Employment discrimination is a growing concern in Canada. Employment discrimination against visible minority groups such as South Asians has been a matter of considerable social and political concern in Canada since the mid-fifties. Numerous studies have found the prevalence of discrimination in the workplace against such minorities (Ubale, 1977). Like many other immigrants South Asian people come to Canada for a better and prosperous life. They usually come here with a dream that Canada is a land of opportunity, a land of good fortune, and believe that if they stay here they will be able to considerably change their socio-economic fate.

However, after arrival they face the harsh reality of Canadian society and the beautiful dream vanishes like soap bubbles. Here they face many obstacles; for example, their previous experience and academic qualifications are not recognized unless they have a Canadian degree from a recognized institution. But even having a proper degree does not ensure a fair chance. They face difficulties in acquiring jobs in their prior line of work, especially at the equivalent level they had before coming to Canada. Above all they are to face illusive and so called 'Canadian experience'.

Methodology

The article is primarily based on secondary data. The author extensively searched various published research reports, books, journal articles, video documentaries etc. The author had the opportunity to observe very closely the plight of the South Asian immigrants while studying at Carleton University, Ottawa and residing with some of the skilled immigrants from Bangladesh. The author also talked to and shared with them about their experiences in a new country.

Demographic Features of the South Asian People in Canada

The growing ethnic diversity of Canadians includes a large number of non-white Canadians, called visible minorities. In

1981, 67% of the 'immigrant' population were of European origin; by 1996 this number dropped to 47%, while the share of Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants grew to 31%. This shift in countries of origin has raised the number of people considered 'visible minorities' in Canada (Kelly, 1995). One such 'visible minority' of sizable number in Canada is the South Asian group. South Asians are people born in the Indian subcontinent in Asia and includes countries like India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal. (Henry, 1999).

The first South Asians to enter Canada were Sikhs, who came to British Columbia in the late nineteenth century. While it is difficult to pinpoint the exact date of the first arrival of immigrants to Canada, Jain (1971) reports that by 1908 about 5,000 South Asians had entered Canada. In this early period most of them obtained jobs in the lumber industry, railway construction, and on farms. As a result of changes in immigration policies in Canada over the past thirty years, there has been a significant change not only in the volume but also in the composition and settlement patterns of recent South Asian immigrant population.

In the past 145 years (from 1852, when Statistics Canada started publishing records, to 1997) Canada added about 14.9 million immigrants to its population. Of this number, 1.2 million were admitted in the early 1990s with almost two thirds coming from Asia, most of whom settled in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Most of these immigrants fall within the age group of twenty to fifty years, which is the most productive period of an individual's life span. (Kanungo, 1984)

History of Oppression on Asian Immigrants

The earliest East Indian immigrants came to Canada in about 1899 and were retired soldiers of the British Indian army. In that time most of them landed and resided in Victoria and other cities in British Columbia. Upon arrival these early immigrants sent favorable and positive reports back to their families and encouraged them to come to Canada (Raj, 1980). At the same

time some steamship companies, particularly the CPR, launched a propaganda in some parts of North India to stimulate interest in emigrating to Canada (Raj, 1980) which resulted in a sudden influx of immigrants arriving in British Columbia.

The Indians were also compelled to emigrate from their homeland due to poverty-stricken conditions which occurred due to colonial control. India was used to provide raw materials to the British industries and market for the consumption of the products of those industries (Sandhu, 1969). As Sandhu stated,

Through various restrictive tariffs and legislative means, industrial and commercial enterprises were curbed in India... British policies in India brought about the decline of the domestic handicraft industry, throwing many craftsmen out of work... Subsistence farmers were obliged to borrow money to pay heavy taxes, as their debt burden increased a large number became tenant farmers, while many others were simply thrown off the land (Sandhu, 1969:163).

Under these conditions, masses of Indian people were compelled to seek their livelihood abroad (Saha, 1974). Destruction of their traditional sources of livelihood left these destitute Indians ripe for labor exploitation (Cumpston, 1969).

These laborers were especially attractive to the Canadian employers due to the combination of their low cost, plentiful supply and willingness to perform undesirable work. Their life in Canada was marked by overt prejudice and discrimination. They faced discrimination and exploitation in almost every sphere of their lives. They were subject to economic exploitation, paid lower wages than white laborers, barred from franchise, acquire crown land, obtain liquor licenses, excluded from white labor unions and subjected to discriminatory housing covenants (Lampkin, 1985).

Interestingly, on one hand, the companies welcomed and brought Indians as indentured labor and on the other hand, the community

did not accept them and became furious, violent and hostile and accused them of destroying the "British way of life" (Raj, 1980). The press depicted Indian immigrants as "criminal, breeders of diseases and competitors of local labors" (Raj, 1980). From 1921 to 1947, even though South Asians had no access to public or private occupations, they had to pay taxes equal to other Canadians from early settlement.

This historical legacy of exploitation in farming still exists. Nowadays, in British Columbia, it is evident that farm workers face exploitation in terms of wage, working hours, overtime, lack of pay and benefits, working environment and so on (1982; Bolaria and Li 1988).

Premika Ratnam, in his video documentary "ACCESS DENIED" showed the discrimination faced by visible minorities. He depicted the discrimination faced by people in the various Canadian institutions. Box-1 provides examples from that documentary :

Box - 1

Sima came from Iran. She graduated from a nursing school in 1985. She served as a supervisor, head nurse, and teacher in nursing school. She had wide range of experience in her profession. She worked for the Red Cross in "Vietnam in a surgical team. She had twenty years of working experience in her field. But when she went to the Ontario College of Nurses to recognize her degree and experience gained from her country of origin, she failed to get recognition from the College because of the discriminatory accreditation process and laws pursued by the College.

Manda also faced similar discrimination. Prior to her immigration to Canada she submitted her documents before the Canadian immigration Officer in India. The officer assured her about the bright prospect and job chances to Canada. After arrival she faced the reverse

situation. When she submitted all the papers to the Ontario College of Nurses, they asked her to submit TOEFL score. As she lived in England for five years and worked there as staff nurse, she requested the College to waive TOEFL requirements. The College authority refused her appeal on the ground that she was not a native English speaker.

Racism in Canada's Immigration Policy : From Exclusion to Acceptance?

From the very earliest period of Canada's settlement, the government made every effort to exclude non-whites from entering this country. Canadian legislation pertaining to immigration prior to the Second World War clearly indicates differential treatment of immigrants based on race (Corbett, 1957). The Canadian government has largely pursued an immigration policy that is geared towards the contraction and expansion of capital, thereby producing a cyclical change in policy. There is little doubt that immigration laws and regulations are designed to control the flow of labor from other countries (Bolaria, 1988). It is experienced that in the times of prosperity, economic growth and labor shortages, immigrants are welcomed while in the periods of economic recession the demand for immigrants is not only curtailed but immigrants are also blamed for unemployment.

In order to exclude and discourage immigrants from China, Japan, and India the Canadian government passed several acts. In the history of Canada, institutionalized discriminatory practices against minority groups were common, for example, in the enslavement of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia until 1949, and the exclusion of Chinese between 1923 and 1947 (Laquian, & Laquian 1997). Even though severe restrictions were placed on non-white entry, substantial numbers of Chinese began entering Canada by the end of the nineteenth century and by 1884 there were over 20,000 Chinese on the West Coast of Canada. By 1901 the non-white population in British Columbia had risen to

23,700 including 4,700 Japanese and some 1,700 East Indians (Ramcharan, 1982). As a result, between 1875 and 1923, the government of British Columbia 1885 Chinese Immigration Act imposed a 'head tax' on Chinese immigrants. Originally set at \$50, it rose to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1904. The 1923 revision of the 1885 act effectively terminated immigration from China (Laquian, & Laquian 1997).

Historically, East Indian immigrants to Canada have had experiences similar to the experience gained by other immigrants. This is reflected in racial immigration policy, restricted entry and quotas, denial of legal-political rights, and racial labor policy (Bolaria and Li, 1988). Asian immigrants were deemed desirable as a cheap labor force, to build sound economic base of Canada, but not tolerated as potential settlers or citizens. Various efforts made to prevent the entry of this group to Canada were so successful that Jain (1971) notes that by 1942 there were only 6,111 South Asians in Canada, and for the period 1920 to 1943 only 760 migrants were allowed entry. In 1907, British Columbia disenfranchised South Asians and the federal government passed an order-in-council requiring South Asians to have \$200 in their possession upon arrival in Canada and further were prohibited from landing as immigrants unless they came from their country of birth by continuous passage. This meant no one could emigrate from India to Canada, as there was no direct steamship service between these two countries. In 1910 immigration act enshrined the government's discriminatory policies which creating an excluded class of immigrants deemed undesirable because of Canada's climate or its social, educational, labor or other requirements – or because their customs or habits were deemed to result in a probable inability to become readily assimilated (Malarek, 1987).

To What Extent is the Point System Discriminatory, Universal and Color Blind?

In October 1967, Canada developed the first immigration points system (Jakubowski, 1999) which can be called a non-

discriminatory, color blind and universal system. In fact, although blatantly discriminatory provisions have been eliminated within the regulations, subtle discriminatory mechanisms remain. These biases take the form of the inadequate supply of immigration offices in many countries as well as provisions in the current Immigration Act introduced by Bill C-86 that impact the entry of family members and refugees.

In terms of immigration offices outside of Canada, it was noted that as policy shifted from racially-based to an objective criteria approach, government would have to expand its overseas offices so that the right of review was equal for prospective immigrants regardless of their country of origin. However, analyses of overseas expenditures indicated from 1951 to 1969, the largest concentration of resources committed to the recruitment of immigrants was in developed, traditional source countries (Jakubowski 1997). As Green noted :

From 1951 to 1969 the largest concentration of resources committed to the recruitment of migrants was in 'developed,' traditional source countries. Specifically, in the period 1951-57, 91 percent of total expenditures for recruitment went to developed countries and only 9 percent to less developed countries. In the years 1962-69, the distribution in resources remained largely unbalanced, with 78 percent of total expenditures for recruitment going to developed countries and 22 percent to less developed countries (Green, 1976 : 47).

Furthermore, in the early 1980s there were five immigration offices in the United Kingdom, but only three in South America and only five in the whole of Africa, two of which were located in South Africa. The United States had ten offices, but India with twice the population only had one (Jakubowski, 1997). This disproportionate distribution of immigration offices, in turn, has had a real effect on the numbers of immigrants from these parts of the world (Agnew 1998). This situation suggests that the influence of deeply entrenched ideologies of racial inequality is

still strong. Yet, this is not surprising considering the fact that Canadian nationhood is built upon unequal relations. In turn, the notion of preferred nations and the traditional preference for white European immigrants has persisted, leading to the need to continue to control, though subtly, the immigration of visible minorities. In the point system the issue of "personal suitability" (worth ten point out of one hundred) which provides scope of wide discretionary power to the immigration officers is one of the key tools for practicing discrimination.

Employment Discrimination Against Visible Minorities

The historical racism of Canadian society meant that the new immigrants were the victims of discrimination, particularly in employment. "Equality Now!" the report on visible minorities in 1984, and the work entitled "Who Gets the Work?" affirmed that visible minority Canadians face considerable racism, both covert and subtle, in the workplace (Gavigan, 1986). Discrimination against visible minorities in the workplace, the denial of entry into the job market, lower pay, inhuman working conditions, and harassment on the workplace follow a long and ignoble tradition in Canada (Mckague, 1991).

Henry et. al. (1985) conducted a research on discrimination in employment and the findings of the study clearly reveal that there was very substantial discrimination affecting the ability of members of racial minority groups to find employment. He found that telephone callers with accents, especially South Asians and Caribbean, were more often screened out when they inquired about vacancies. He also found that white applicants received a greater proportion of job offers than the non-white applicants; when the white applicants were called back for a second interview in greater proportions than the non-white applicants and when the white applicants were treated fairly and courteously whereas the Blacks were accorded rude, negative and sometimes blatantly hostile treatment.

It was found that visible minorities as a group experienced higher rates of unemployment, earned less money and were unable to

find jobs in their prior line of work. They were paid lower salaries than other Canadians despite their higher levels of education and experience. They were consistently denied equal access to employment because of the color of their skin or foreign accents.

One of the key barriers preventing immigrants of color from access and equity in the labor market is credentialism. Studies in Ontario (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, 1989) and British Columbia (Fernando and Prasad, 1986) showed visible minority immigrants with professional qualifications trained outside of Canada often encounter barriers in the Canadian labor market. Educational qualifications from their country of origin were not recognized or were downgraded or that people required recertification in Canada. Thousands of immigrants find their university degrees and trade diplomas were of little value in Canada. Sometimes this has led to tragic results. One example of a case can be found in an article by Buchagnani and Indra :

[An immigrant] came to Canada with B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Punjab. The Ontario Department of Education rated his B.A as equivalent to Canadian Grade 13 and apparently overlooked his M.A. altogether. He unsuccessfully applied for over a hundred jobs in his occupation. The only work he could find was as a security guard. In 1971 he ended his life by jumping in front of a Toronto subway train (1985:211).

Another barrier that prevented racial minorities from gaining suitable employment is the requirement of bilingualism in English and French. In most advertisements this is a precondition and in some cases an asset. Several studies have treated individual factors such as lacking Canadian experience and inadequate command of English as major occupational barriers for immigrant professionals. As mentioned by Gurcharan :

On the one hand, nonrecognition of their foreign professional work experience disqualifies their entry into professional jobs leaving them no chance to get Canadian

work experience. On the other hand, the emphasis on Canadian work experience as a requirement for professional employment makes it difficult for them to be qualified for professional jobs. (1998: 17).

Canadian work experience and bilingualism are other areas of discrimination that place immigrants in a double-bind. Without a Canadian job, one cannot acquire this elusive "Canadian experience." Canadian experience or bilingualism is used as the overt reason for not hiring a person, when racism is the actual hidden reason.

The accreditation process for immigrant professionals and tradesman is another means widely used by regulatory organizations to block their entrance to the job market. In order to determine the applicant's potentiality, most professional bodies require original documents accompanied by translation and evaluation of academic standing, an application and TOEFL score. Proof of practical experience and examination of professional knowledge is also required (Szado, 1988). But all of this is lengthy, unfair and discriminatory in nature.

The Plight of Bangladeshi Immigrants in Canada

Several studies had been conducted on South Asian immigrants that include Bangladeshis. Since Bangladeshis, who are tiny in number, are a recent addition to the composition of South Asian immigrants, we can get very little clue about their condition. Bangladeshi immigrants in Canada who constitute a part of the larger East Indian community and are considered to be the relative new comers in Canada (Islam 2002). Bangladeshi immigrants often got lost in the shadow of other South Asian groups. Other reason for being rather unknown to the general population is that Bangladeshi immigrants comprise a small fraction of the fairly large and varied Indo-Pakistani community in Canada. Prior to independence, immigrants from Bangladesh were described generally as either Pakistanis or Indians. It is difficult to ascertain how many people immigrated from Bangladesh (Ahmed and Mondle 1989) before the country

achieved independence in 1971. There has never been a major influx of immigrants from Bangladesh, rather immigration levels from 1972 to 1984 have fluctuated a little. After 1986 there was a noticeable increase and the numbers grew steadily through the following years (Ahmed 1993). According to Statistics Canada (1996) there was altogether 10,485 Bangladeshi immigrants in Canada of whom 6,780 came between 1991 to 1996.

Bangladeshis are extremely diverse in their professional skills, rather than being homogenous. They are among the most educated of South Asian immigrants; a significant proportion of them is technically trained, particularly in engineering (Buchignani and Indra 1985). Though the Bangladeshis are more skilled and educated than other South Asian groups but their experience is not different than the others. They too face discrimination and marginalization in their new country. The host society portray them as 'visible minorities' due to their color and country of origin. Sanjida Ahmed's (1993) study describes and analyses the subjective perceptions of racial discrimination and adaptation by means a survey of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Toronto area. A Majority of respondents perceived "less reward" as the typical differential treatment, referring to a variety of situations in promotional setting, e.g. comparatively fewer promotional opportunities, denial of promotion to key positions, low salary, underemployment, etc. Studies by Islam (2002) also found the same things. One of the respondent of Islam's study mentioned :

You see, I have a Ph.D. in engineering. I got my Ph.D from the western world. I was a professor in one of the public universities in Bangladesh. I came to Canada with an expectation of a higher status. Now I am working in a housing office—a far lower status than that I had in Bangladesh. I can't go back to Bangladesh, as I resigned from my job, and I can't go for another Canadian degree, as I am getting older. I know lot of migrants who are undergoing great psychological problems due to this downward mobility, and this downward mobility is due to

the racialized labor market. The only hope that I have is my kids, who are studying here and going great (Islam, 2000:65).

Women's Experience regarding Racism and Discrimination

If we give a look towards the reality of South Asian immigrant women we will find their situation is worse than their male counterparts. As a minority within an ethnic minority they face disadvantages and discrimination because of their culture, sex, race, ethnicity, and class. "They bear double burden with respect of their status in Canada" (Boyd 1977:228). They face harsh reality regarding immigration and employment and other aspects of life before and after arrival in Canada. Several studies depicted the systemic discrimination against visible minority women and specifically regarding their entry into the Canadian job market (Ghosh 1981 a). As mentioned by Ralston through an example of a report on women in British Columbia,

[The most difficult thing] was discrimination. I would apply for a job. As soon as they'd see me, they'd say, "sorry, the job has been filled." Once I called from a pay phone. I was told to come and apply. I went right away and was told the position was closed. Also, a friend from Australia went to see about a job. She was pushed on the ground by a man. He said "you bitch niggers taking all our jobs (Ralston 21997:228)."

This experience is even more dreadful for professional South Asian women. They encounter a general suspicion and ignorance of educational qualifications obtained in South Asia, which result in unfair evaluation of qualifications and make the initial entry into appropriate employment difficult. The requirement of Canadian experience is a conventional method of discrimination against non-whites in general. This is particularly detrimental to South Asian women who are less likely than their husbands to have overseas degrees and training. As mentioned by Ubalet, a women with a Ph.D degree was told by counselor that the only job she could hope for would be a cleaner (1977:119).

Federal and Provincial Interventions to Combat Discrimination and Their Limitations

There have been changes at the policy level to smooth over racial conflicts in Canada. The Employment Equity Act, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Human Rights Commissions and the Multiculturalism Act, can be called significant steps on the path to racial equality. Accordingly some provinces passed legislation against discrimination and set up respective provincial Commissions. There are also Voluntary Human Rights Associations.

All the above legislations and organizations are working for the betterment of the minority and non-white people of Canadian society. Despite their efforts the existing evidence suggests that such changes have done little to ease racial tensions, much less resolve the problem of racism and discrimination (Bolaria, 1988). The major flaws of these organizations is they are working towards handling individual grievances against discrimination, leaving the structural aspects of racial practices largely untouched. As a tool for promoting equality of opportunity in employment, the 'Employment Equity Act' has failed to achieve justice. Among these efforts towards achieving inequality, combat racism and wipe out discrimination the Employment Equity Act is one of the most bold and comprehensive steps. I want to discuss some aspects of this Act now, show its limitations and provide some suggestions to strengthen the Act.

Canada's official response to racial discrimination was the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment, established in 1983 with Judge Rosalie Abella as the commissioner. The report was the first to address systemic discrimination in the Canadian employment system. Abella found that members of visible minority groups face employment disadvantage in Canadian society because of systemic discrimination. According to the report, equality in employment should seek systemic remedies to the systemic discrimination faced by these groups. To ensure equality in employment the report recommended the

development of an effective communication network among employees, employers, educators, and the government. In 1986, as a result of the 1984 Report on Equality in Employment, the federal government passed the first Employment Equity Act which was revised in 1995.

The employment equity policy has been criticized for lack of specific goals or timetables, for weak monitoring mechanisms and for ineffective sanctions for non-compliance (Jain and Hackett, 1989). There is no step in the policy that requires the employers to abide by the suggestions offered by the employee union or its representatives. Under the policy, the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) cannot order compliance that cause "undue hardship" on an employer. Here the employer gets complete control over the decision of workforce composition. The submission of any non-compliance issue to the tribunal is always too lengthy to bring any fruitful change (CHRC Report 1993). The monetary penalty is not effective, as it is very minimal for any organization. For these reasons the policy has been greatly criticized since its introduction for "having no teeth" (Mcdermott, 1996).

The employment equity policy in many ways fails to bring equality in employment practices. More emphasis should be given to its implementation process. It is necessary and essential that senior management is committed and dedicated to bring equality in employment. They must be actively responsible for its implementation and the establishment of its goals and timetables (Jain in Dwivedi, 1989). The Human Rights Commission may be given more power over the employer to impose equity measures and the Commission needs to be proactive with the tribunal process. The penalty system should be stronger and more measures can be included for punishment.

Extensive research should be done to identify more target groups, know the barriers faced by the designated groups, extend the equity measures, know the requirements of the people in the

designated groups and to know managers' experiences and lessons learned in implementing policies.

Policy Implications

Canada is committed to providing equal rights and opportunities to all of its citizens irrespective of class, caste, creed, gender and origin. However, there is a hidden transcript behind the scene. On paper it is very fair but what about in practice? This paper indicates testimony of psychological and legal discrimination which inflicts on the immigrants people everywhere in Canada. On the one hand, Canada welcomes immigrants from third world countries by providing attractive advertisements for the greater interest of Canada. On the other hand, she refuses to recognize their educational background, skills, and expertise. Consequently instead of prosperity and wellbeing in this new land, immigrants suffer from poverty, psychological guilt and lead inhuman and pitiable lives. It is the author's experience that many Bangladeshis struggle regarding their situation. They want to go back to Bangladesh but this is not possible as many of them have spent a lot of money to emigrate including selling off land and leaving jobs in Bangladesh. It is evident that immigrants bring significant human capital resources to the Canadian labor force. But Canada fails to utilize this huge human potential. There is a general policy failure which could undermine Canada's future. It is essential for federal and provincial governments as well as for professional organizations to understand the reality of new immigrants lives and work out how to stop abuse and misuse of precious human resources. Instead they should utilize this potential in a more positive and constructive way. There will be a need for highly coordinated inter-agency linkages throughout both planning and implementation.

Government can establish an information bank which will preserve the up to date information and coordinate with all bodies and circulate the information to them. It would outline the responsibilities, of the various agencies and licensing bodies for professions and trades in the credential assessment process.

As a result of patriarchal ideology and immigration policies in general, more than any other group, immigrant women are concentrated in the poorer paying work sectors where they are frequently overworked and underpaid. For immigrant women, lack of knowledge of English and French is one of the chief reasons why they cannot move out of low-paying jobs in garment and textiles, domestic work, hotels, restaurant and so on.

Most women immigrants are not educated about minimum wage laws and other employment standards legislation. These women are unaware of their labor rights and fearful about complaining. As a result, abuses in the labor abound. Labor is mainly under provincial jurisdiction. So provincial government could do a lot in reducing exploitation of immigrant women on the labor market. It could be possible by enforcing measures in minimum labor standards legislation through regular independent inspections and steep fines against delinquent employers.

Canada must think over this matter, must recognize and help these people as they are the lawful citizens of this country. If Canada fails to recognize this truth, the possible consequences in the future will not be good. It will definitely hinder the building of a better and more prosperous Canada.

It is evident that there remains structural inequalities among the various organs of the Canadian institutions which fail to work in harmony with the social needs and aspirations. Canada is still oblivious about the contribution of the immigrants which reflects on its immigration policy. Non-recognition of professional credentials and their emigration to U.S.A is the consequences of this ignorance. Canada has failed to formulate a balanced, impartial and comprehensive immigration policy on the basis of Canada's future demands. A defective immigration policy along with racial attitudes, patriarchal ideology, gender subordination, sexual division of labor and isolated agencies working in this field, contribute to this reality and worsen discrimination against visible minority men and women. This in turn depicts Canada as a racist country and demolishes the images of a democratic,

multi-racial Canada. The experience of visible minority group in immigration and employment indicates an institutional breakdown between immigration promises and reality. It is high time to think over the matter for the greater interest of Canada's society.

Conclusion

Inequity, inequality, stereotypes, prejudice, individual discrimination and systemic discrimination in employment have a long history in Canada that goes back to the early colonization by Europeans. The history of visible minorities in Canada is a history of exploitation, oppression, and discrimination. They are the victims of racist ideology, inhuman, as well as illogical state policies. Racism hinders the development of its victims, raises political tension, produces antagonism between people and seriously disturbs national peace and security. Canadian society, at least on paper, believes in equal dignity and worth of all human beings. By virtue of physical features, place of birth or heritage one should not have particular advantages over others, nor should he experience discrimination. But racism is a threat to the viability and stability of the broader society. The victims of discrimination themselves become alienated and frustrated and such a feeling can lead to social unrest and disorder. If this discrimination is continued there may be racial conflicts as experienced by South Africa, Rhodesia, and Great Britain. Canada is committed to the development of an equitable society based on fairness and non-discrimination, achieving a racially just and equitable society requires large-scale changes in every sphere of life and concerted commitment as well as strong political will.

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