

EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF
FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE
KHOJA ISMAILIS IN MONTREAL

by

Mehdi Remtulla

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ABSTRAIT

Cette étude de recherche tente de comparer l'adaptation sociale et éducationnelle des groupes Khoja Ismailis anglophones et francophones qui, depuis leur arrivée à Montréal se sont identifiés avec les communautés anglaise et française respectivement.

Le groupe anglophone se compose de Khoja Ismailis ugandais qui viennent à Montréal lors de l'expulsion en 1972 ainsi que ceux du Kenya et de Tanzanie qui ont immigrés dans ce pays en raison de l'insécurité politique de ces pays. Le groupe francophone est constitué de ceux du Zaïre, du Rwanda et de la République Malgache.

La recherche a été concentrée sur les jeunes adultes de la communauté Khoja Ismaili qui fréquentaient des institutions d'éducation post-secondaire à Montréal, à plein temps. Les groupes étudiés avaient généralement entre dix-sept et vingt-quatre ans. L'échantillon anglophone se composait de 25 participants l'étude a démontré un niveau élevé d'adaptation sociale des deux groupes étudiants bien que les Khoja Ismailis francophones semblaient être légèrement mieux adaptés socialement que leurs homologues anglophones. Cette légère "pas" a été attribué à "baggage culturel" différent. Les Khoja Ismailis anglophones venant d'un milieu racialement compartimenté d'Afrique de l'est, tendait à se différencier plus que le groupe francophone dont la plupart venaient d'écoles mixtes au point de vue racial et vivaient dans un environnement socialement mixte.

Par conséquent, à Montréal, ils se sont adaptés plus rapidement. Les deux groupes ont également manifesté un sens poussé solidarité communautaire.

ABSTRACT

This research study sought to compare the educational and social adjustment of the Anglophone and the Francophone Khoja Ismaili groups, who since their arrival in Montreal have identified themselves with the English and the French host communities respectively.

The Anglophone group consisted of the Ugandan Khoja Ismailis who came to Montreal in the 1972 expulsion, as well as those from Kenya and Tanzania, who have immigrated to this country as a result of political insecurity in these countries. The Francophone group constituted those from Zaire and Rwanda and the Island Republic of Malagasy. The research focussed on young adults of the Khoja Ismaili community who were attending institutions of post-secondary education in Montreal on a full-time basis. Those studied were normally between the ages of seventeen and twenty-four. The Anglophone sample consisted of twenty-five respondents and there were fifteen Francophones.

The study demonstrated a high level of social adjustment of both the student groups though the Francophone Khoja Ismailis appeared slightly more adjusted socially than their Anglophone counterparts. This slight 'edge' was attributed

to their different 'cultural baggage.' The Anglophone Khoja Ismailis having come from a racially compartmentalized milieu of East Africa, tended to be more differentiated than the Francophone contingent most of whom went to racially mixed schools and lived in a socially mixed environment. In Montreal, therefore, they have socialized faster. Both groups also exhibited a strong sense of community solidarity.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

(i) Canada and the Ugandan Expellees

On August 7th, 1972, President Idi Amin of Uganda vocalized a "Dream" that he had to the entire nation, the consequences of which altered the course of that country's history. According to the dream, God had decreed that the Asians¹ had to leave Uganda, for they had always exploited the poor Africans and were therefore the enemies of both Uganda and Africa. Thereupon, Amin ordered the expulsion of 60,000 Asians (citizens and non-citizens) from Uganda within ninety days², failing which they would, to use his own phrase, "be sitting on fire", which meant Nazi style concentration camps, the sites of which he had already selected in five different areas of the country.

The Asian population which was homogeneous ethnically was split into two major religious groups, the Hindus and the Muslims. The other smaller divisions were the Goans who are all Roman Catholics, and the Parsees who follow the Zohorastrian faith.

Whereas the British Passport holders, who happened to be mostly Hindus, were absorbed by Britain just before the

November 7th deadline, the others especially those whose Ugandan citizenship papers had been revoked by the Ugandan Immigration Authorities, were airlifted either by the United Nations authorities to various refugee camps in Europe or absorbed by countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil and Sweden.

Canada offered sanctuary to six thousand Ugandan refugees³ who were mostly stateless and belonged to the Khoja Ismaili sect⁴. Upon their arrival in Canada, the majority of the Khoja Ismailis decided to resettle in English Canada. Having grown up in British East Africa, all Asians except for the very old, had acquired at least a functional knowledge of the English language. While the generations in their thirties and forties had their schooling in English, the older members had picked it up through business interaction with their colonial masters or had some sort of on the job training. The refugees felt that their knowledge of English would enable them to readjust faster in the English speaking provinces. Also, most of them tended to gravitate towards their relatives, friends or contacts who had already immigrated earlier from East Africa and had established themselves in the English speaking provinces. Some, who had no particular destination in Canada, were requested to stay in Montreal by the Immigration

Officials at Longue Point, their first stop in Canada. Montreal, therefore, received four hundred Anglophone Ismailis some of whom have since then left for English speaking provinces.

In 1973, there was another minor wave of Asian expulsion. This time the expellees came from Francophone Africa - Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi (formerly Belgian colonies) and the Republic of Malagasy (formerly colonized by France). Although Canada absorbed eight hundred expellees as an initial gesture, this did not receive any media coverage. Since these newcomers were all Francophones, they chose to settle in Quebec. The present population of the Francophone and Anglophone Khoja Ismailis, according to a survey conducted by a Khoja Ismaili Committee of Montreal, is 1300 members of which three hundred are English speaking⁵.

(ii) Theoretical Base

Whereas in East Africa, they were a 'visible'⁶ minority in a predominantly black African population, in Canada they found themselves in a somewhat parallel situation. They were once again a 'visible' group in a predominantly white population. In East Africa, the host group tended to identify them

as a homogeneous ethnic group and the term "Asian" referring to anyone from the Subcontinent of India who was domiciled in East Africa, gained great currency. Similarly, in Canada, the Euro-Canadians have not yet become aware of the Khoja Ismailis as well as the other groups of South Asian ancestry as being religiously or linguistically heterogeneous entities. They have been classified once again as an ethnically homogeneous population and terms such as "East Indians" or "Pakistanis" (the recently coined "Paki" is used as a pejorative term for South Asians in general), have been widely applied, not only to the East and Central African Khoja Ismailis, but to anyone who appears to have a claim of Indian ancestry. The Khoja Ismaili community in Canada, is in fact, a highly institutionalized community having its own organizational set-up. However, despite its significant ascriptive difference based particularly on religion, it does consider itself a part of the larger East Indian population which is once again defined by ethnic ascription, sometimes following nationality, sometimes depending upon cultural indicators, and at times depending upon religion.

Before focussing on the Khoja Ismaili community in the context of some other 'visible' minorities, it would be pertinent to analyze the functions of 'opening' and 'closing' mechanisms of an ethnic group as studied by Comeau and

Driedger⁷. Opening and closing can be considered as part of a shifting strategy to get most of the best information and less of the worst noise. A balance between intake and outflow of information will produce the best results for any social system. When for instance, there is only continuous intake, there comes a point where information overload sets in. It is then that a closing mechanism is needed.

A model analyzing ethnic communities in the context of opening and closing mechanisms was developed by Klapp which illustrated that for cultures to survive in a structurally and socially open society, no matter what the ethnic group, there would be a need for both opening and closing mechanisms. If a group experienced too much intake through opening mechanism, it would suffer a lack of reinforcement of strong ethnic values and a subsequent loss of cultural heritage. If, on the other hand, a group had only closing mechanisms, it would remain estranged from the mainstream society and be forced to exist more or less in isolation.

Comeau and Driedger⁸ amplify Klapp's claims that new immigrants must find some points of ethnic subcultural identity (through mechanisms of closure); otherwise, they will lapse into anomic (marginal) state. They consider that three

vital mechanisms of closure are needed in any immigrant ethnic group to maintain its communal boundary which, in turn, would heighten a sense of ethnic identity. These vital mechanisms are cultural identity, ethnic self identity and institutional completeness. The term "institutional completeness" was originally used by Raymond Breton⁹.

Vitality-facilitating mechanisms such as churches, synagogues, voluntary communal organizations or parochial educational systems are all symbols that assist in promoting institutional completeness.

Ethnic Cultural Identification: some dimensions of cultural identification as selected by Comeau and Driedger were endogamy, choice of in-group friends, attendance to churches and the use of mother tongue at home.

Ethnic Self-Identity: when a member is proud of his/her ethnic heritage, involved in his/her community, he will exhibit traits of self-affirmation as opposed to the one who, as a result of his feelings of inferiority or his need to hide his cultural identity, would resort to self-denial. Whereas self-affirmation is a vitality-facilitating mechanism, self-denial is seen as a vitality-inhibiting mechanism that leads

to marginality. Comeau and Driedger claim that it is important for ethnic groups to maintain a sense of "we", and "they", else a dilemma of getting "caught between their identities as members of the larger societies and their identities as members of their particular group"¹⁰ (Newman: 228), may result in their falling into a marginal vacuum.

The study involving seven ethnic groups, the French, Germans, British, Poles, Scandinavians, Ukrainians and the Jews by Comeau and Driedger indicated that the Jews and the French in Winnipeg provided examples of ethnic groups that were able to retain both their own cultural heritage as well as adopted characteristics of dominant society. Their vitality-facilitating (or closing) mechanisms such as the churches, synagogues, voluntary associations, cultural heritage and language (especially with the French) helped to keep them culturally distinct (pluralistic and differentiated) as well as culturally and structurally integrated into the overall host Canadian society.

Comeau and Driedger have employed the term "ethnic identifiers" to refer to the Jews and French of Winnipeg. Caditz would most probably categorize them as "assimilated communalists", meaning those ethnic group members who adopt many of the values, beliefs and customs of the majority group, and yet maintain a communal set of social relationships.

On the other hand, the British and Scandinavians were found more or less assimilated. They did not have exclusive associations or organizations, nor did they have a high sense of ethnic identity as the former two. They have, however, fitted themselves into the achievement oriented socio-economic system of Canada.

The Poles, Ukrainians and Germans were found to be most marginal. They had no major closing mechanisms to give them a strong sense of cultural identity nor were they assimilated like the English and the Scandinavians. They tended to experience ethnic denial rather than ethnic affirmation.

In view of the recent influx of non-white immigrants mostly from the Third World areas, it would be appropriate to study the visible groups such as the Chinese, Japanese and South Asians within an analytical framework based on Klapp's thesis that is, a strictly open social system will result in entropy.

Marginality (entropy) caused by such an open system will result in individuals of that group to identify neither with their in-group nor with the host society. An overview of the arrival, relocation and subsequent socialization of these ethnic communities, which have certain shared characteristics in these areas, would give us an insight into the dynamics of the adjustment problems of visible ethnic groups in the Canadian mosaic.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Chinese Experience: The Chinese were 'pulled' to Canada for economic reasons. The lure of gold, and later, of employment with the Canadian Pacific Railways, brought about a large Chinese influx. The first encounter of Chinese with Canadians took place in British Columbia in the mid-1800s. From the very outset, the anti-Chinese feelings by the British Columbia populace were manifested through violence and press propaganda. These spread through the Prairies and even to Toronto¹¹ (Paupst; p. 54-59). As a result of the oppression by Canadian Society at large, the Chinese in Canada withdrew into sub-culture which manifested itself in the formation of "cultural ghettos" or Chinatowns all over North America. This 'total closure' (Comeau-Driedger) remained unchanged until the post-war immigration of the educated Chinese elite from Hong Kong. Being professionals, businessmen and clerics, these

Chinese chose the life in the white community and used
as
Chinatown only/a buffer zone for the transition from their
native culture to the adopted one. As Voisey¹² points out,
there exists in the Chinese community today a dichotomy,
epitomized on the one hand, by the pre-war immigrants who
have maintained many aspects of their traditional life styles
in their cultural ghettos, and who are reluctant to adapt
themselves to the new style of Chinese Canadians' life as a
result of their initial hostile encounters with the host
group. On the other hand, one sees the newly arrived
educated elite from Hong Kong, and the second and third
generation Chinese Canadians, who are more prone to adapting
to the majority culture. Voisey's account of the Chinese
community seen in the light of Comeau-Driedger analysis,
demonstrates the two divisions in the Chinese community:
the older, pre-war generation enforcing too many closing
mechanisms, thereby becoming insular; conversely, the newer
immigrants and the younger generation employing more opening
than closing mechanism in their overall social interactions.

The Japanese Experience: The Japanese, like the Chinese, had
an economic motive for immigrating to Canada. Due to popula-
tion pressure and scarcity of land, Japanese farmers had
begun migrating to countries bordering the Pacific. The
Anti-Japanese feelings by the host group remained persistently

intense¹³. The climax reached in 1942 when the entire West Coast Japanese community was interned and relocated through the War Measures Act. At the war's end, about 4000 were forced to leave the country under a Government "Repatriation" scheme. The second generation Japanese (Nisei) who remained behind started conscious acculturation to North American milieu in an effort to be a vital part of the North American mainstream. The third generation (Sansei) therefore have become, in the words of Mel Tsuji¹⁴, "super Canadians" at the expense of their Japanese identity. Hirabayashi¹⁵, Daniels¹⁶ and Kitano¹⁷ have noted that the Sansei have undergone extensive acculturation. The exogamous marriage rates are at fifty percent and above. Added to this, their horizontal interaction and the upward mobility provided by education has in fact, brought about an emergence of a Middleman minority. The Sansei like the British and Scandinavians in Winnipeg, have achieved status in the main culture. They have few closing mechanisms and have, therefore, become majority assimilators.

The South Asian Experience: The East Indians, like their precursors the Chinese and the Japanese, were "pulled" to Canada for economic reasons. Their smaller numbers, by contrast with the Japanese and Chinese, did not protect the "Hindoos", as the immigrants from India were generally called, from the anti-Asian antagonism that became prevalent in British Columbia and California¹⁸.

Their arrival coincided with the Depression that was causing a high rate of unemployment in the majority group. The anti-oriental feelings were already beginning to surface. The 1907 anti-oriental riots fanned by the Asiatic Exclusion League made the Government take immediate action to stop the South Asian Immigration: The Indians were made to pay a sum of at least \$200 called "head tax" upon their arrival in Canada. From 1909 onwards, they also had to reach Canada via a single continuous passage. This became a near impossible task since few ships sailed directly between India and Canada.

Perhaps the most memorable incident in the history of the South Asian Immigration to Canada is the Komagata Maru experience of 1914. Three hundred and seventy six Sikh passengers on a Japanese steamer called the Komagata Maru arrived at the Vancouver harbour on May 23, 1914¹⁹. In view of the newly imposed ban on the East Indian immigration, the passengers were not permitted to disembark. Instead, they were quarantined on the ship until July 23rd. The growing frustrations culminated in riots on board that took the lives of twenty men. Finally, under a naval escort, the ship left the harbour and returned to India where more riots took place upon its arrival there. The incident reflects the defiance on the part of the passengers who braved the trans-Pacific journey to come to a new land;

it also indicates the intransigence on the part of the Canadian Government, through its restrictive and exclusive Government policies.

Not only was there a control on the South Asian immigration, but those who were in the country were denied the franchise. They were not on voters' list and could not apply for various licenses. The Indian community therefore remained in small isolated pockets alienated from the Canadian mainstream. Like the pre-war Chinese and Japanese, they ensured their existence, in the face of a hostile environment through self-imposed closures. It was the liberalization of Canadian Immigration policies in the 60's that brought larger numbers of the overseas South Asians from the Caribbean Islands of Jamaica and Trinidad, from Guyana, Eastern and Central Africa as well as from Mauritius and the Fijii's besides the obvious sources such as India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Buchignani, quoting the 1973-74 census figures says that at present there are at least 150,000 people of South Asian ancestry in Canada²⁰. Of these, approximately 30,000 are Khoja Ismailis.²¹

The Asians from East and Central Africa are among the newest arrivals in this country and as such no extensive study of the group's relocation has been carried out yet.

Apart from the Government reports such as the Green Paper Report that mentions the circumstances under which the Ugandan expellees arrived and the Government involvement in relocating them, Krauter and Davis have also touched on the arrival and subsequent resettlement of the Ugandan Asians in Canada.²²

An indepth research on the assimilation of Ugandan Asians in Calgary has been carried out by Morah (1973)²⁴. The results, while indicating that the Asians have assimilated only moderately into the Canadian culture context, have demonstrated that the high level of educational attainment and occupational status, both of which the majority of his respondents possessed, were the two indicators that could affect the process of assimilation further. Unfortunately, Morah's research does exhibit certain ambiguities that need to be looked into.

The majority of his respondents had lived in Calgary for only a short space of time (9-10 months) and only one had been a resident of Calgary for 1 year. It could be maintained that the process of acculturation is effected on the very day of the immigrants' arrival in a new land. However, the Ugandans had arrived in Canada under special circumstances. Most were still in a state of shock at having left their country within the 90-day deadline. Some had their families -²

broken up, with some members being airlifted by the United Nations to be taken to the Refugee camps in Europe. Added to this trauma was the climate that was totally different from the one they had left behind. Under the circumstances, the study such as the one carried out by Morah could have been more meaningful had he instituted at least a twelve to fifteen month time lapse during which the residents could have made themselves more accustomed to their new environment.

Morah claims that "Most Asians did not want to assimilate to their hosts or even to take out Ugandan citizenship, holding either to their British Passports or to use British protection." His research indicates that 80% of his respondents were of Muslim persuasion. It is very likely that these were Khoja Ismailis since the majority of the Ugandan Asians who were selected by the Canadian authorities were Khoja Ismailis. In fact, Buchignani in his bibliography of South Asians in Canada does mention Morah, who he indicates studied the Ismailis in Calgary²⁵. If indeed the majority of Morah's respondents were Khoja Ismailis, a point that has not been discussed in the thesis, his earlier statement on Asians not wishing to take out Ugandan citizenships is totally erroneous for the Khoja Ismailis were one distinctive group who made it a point to identify with the country they were living in by becoming citizens (Bharati; Thomson, Gardner)²⁶.

Having become stateless, they suddenly faced the prospect of being hurled into the concentration camps that President Amin had been talking about. Before the 90-day deadline, however, they were airlifted out of Uganda by many nations of which Canada was one. Sixty percent of these stateless Ugandan expellees who were absorbed by Canada were Khoja Ismailis (Gardner Thompson, 51.)

(iii) Definition of the Problem

Ubale, in delineating the problems faced by the South Asian community in terms of race prejudice to discrimination from the dominant Canadian group, states "The intensity of violence and the extent of discrimination on the one hand and the prevailing apathy on the part of policy makers on the other, lead to frustration and resentment within the South Asian Community" ²⁷

The school constitutes a society in microcosm where the problems as well as prejudices of the outside society are localized within the school walls. Ubale draws attention to the internal and external problems that a South Asian pupil has to contend with. The former arises from the background of the South Asian child as compared with the entirely different type of surroundings with which he/she is suddenly faced.

The latter results from the image about him and the country of his origin in the minds of teachers and other children.²⁸ It is manifested in the form of name-calling, harassment and bullying, both on the school grounds, and outside the school periphery that has been levelled at South Asian groups, among them the Khoja Ismailis. Although that has not been so much a problem in Montreal as in Toronto, Vancouver and Calgary.

The problem encountered by Khoja Ismaili adolescents at high or post high school level may be one of social rather than educational adjustment. Students joining secondary or post-secondary level institutions in French or English do not have to go through special training in either of these languages as French is both the official language as well as the medium of instruction at schools in Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi and Malagasy. The same applies to English and the East African countries of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. Tanzania's policies at making Swahili the official language and the medium of instruction at the primary school level have remained a theoretical success but a practical failure as on both levels English is still the dominant language.

Social problems may emerge if the existing norms and social behaviour of the dominant group are viewed with "shock" or disapproval by new students resulting in the withdrawal syndrome described very succinctly in Tania Das Gupta's personal account entitled "Experience of the Immigrant Youth":

"I was alienated from the students completely. I spoke their language but not their mind. I was not familiar with their environment which was now mine, e.g. TV., snow, dating, make-up, weekends and so on. I couldn't relate to them. I tried but failed miserably by coming out with ridiculous statements which were not felt but manufactured and which they couldn't understand in the first place because of my accent. I was totally different from them. They had short hair, I had long braids; the girls wore make-up I didn't; they shaved their legs, I didn't and so on."²⁹

The Khoja Ismailis have been regarded as more "progressive" than their other Asian counterparts even in East Africa and western social activities such as dancing, dating and interpersonal relationships between the sexes have become acceptable in the Khoja Ismaili East African setting.³⁰ Socialization in their new land may therefore not pose as great a problem to the Khoja Ismailis as to their other South Asian cohorts.

The problem of a negative self-concept as a visible minority member amidst a majority white school population can be viewed best in the following two personal accounts. Sadhu Singh Dhani in his "Discovering the New World" describes his early experience as a youth in Canada in the twenties and

and thirties.

"With this broadening, however, the old and the new in me, never at peace for long, came into conflict even more sharply. At times, there was confusion, perplexing enough, but short-lived, for an active life could not nurse indecision for long. At others, I managed to achieve a modus vivendi, and established a measure of ~~coord~~ination, if not harmony, between the two. Normally, however, I shuttled, both mentally and physically, between the miniature old India of my community, closely knit by the strange, not always friendly, environment and the vast new world, engaged in folding the wilderness back like earth against the plow and building a new civilization."³¹

It is mandatory for Sikh males to keep their hair long as prescribed in their religious beliefs but Dhami cuts his hair in order to "westernize" and decides he "could not revert to orthodoxy."³²

He, therefore, decides to project a positive image by becoming one of the majority; he resorts to a western life style. On the other hand, Tania Das Gupta "became more an Indian than I ever was before. I wore a kameez to school, refused to adopt the Canadian accent, ate with my hands and asserted my cultural heritage. I found that by having this identity I retained my dignity."³³

The problem of a minority self-concept has been a prevalent one among all visible minorities in North American schools. A few solutions to such a conflict need to be examined. Lita Lizer Schwartz and Natalie Isser³⁴ advocate the introduction of ethnic literature and history in the school curricula in order to create a better understanding between majority-minority groups. Ujimoto³⁵ suggests employing "the re-educative strategy" which requires the educational institutions to provide teaching aids ethnocultural curricula and teachers familiar with the socio-cultural heritage of several ethnic groups. Bancroft³⁶ suggests a need to achieve a "Psychic breakthrough" so that a full participation in society is restricted not only to the **two** founding races but can open to all Canadians.

(iv) Significance of the Study

The Khoja Ismaili community as a minority among minorities is an interesting challenge for research for both linguistic groups have a homogeneous ethnic and religious base. They both have a distinct Indian heritage pertaining to their religion, culture and mother tongue, Gujarati. However, the differences in the social outlook created by the two linguistic groups have evolved from each group's past colonial experience in Africa and are associated with the two linguistic host groups, the English and the French, in Montreal.

In Montreal, members of both Khoja groups have been seen interacting with each other on the basis of their common Indian language, Gujarati, (dialect - Kutchi) and religion; with members of the host culture by means of their colonial language.

This linguistic dichotomy in the Khoja Ismaili community poses an interesting basis of comparison as to which group is stronger in maintaining its ethnicity or conversely in acculturating with the dominant culture.

Morah has focussed his research on Ugandan Asians in Calgary, most of whom are Khoja Ismailis. Other than that, no extensive research has been carried out on the Ismaili community elsewhere in Canada. The present comparative study on social and educational adjustment of the linguistically dichotomized Khoja Ismaili group is therefore the first and could therefore bear significance not only for the community administrators in Montreal or the rest of Canada who are involved in the planning of educational, economic and social strategies for the community in this country, but also for members from different ethnic groups who are interested in ethnic relations in particular, and ethnicity in general.

Immigration of the South Asians, especially of the Ugandan Asians, after their expulsion in 1972, has been the subject of much public concern in Canada. The Canadian public has focussed its attention on the efforts made by the Department of Manpower and Immigration to settle and relocate these individuals in Canadian society. In this context, it is important to study how far the Khoja community's resettlement has succeeded in this Province.

LIMITATIONS

The study has certain limitations. A study of the social or educational adjustment of the student population at elementary or secondary level has not been included in this research which has been restricted to a post-secondary sample. An attempt was made to study the entire full-time post-secondary student population but due to the lack of participation by some members and problems of time, the study was restricted to a sample of the entire student population. Twenty-five out of thirty-three Anglophone students and fifteen out of twenty-one Francophones were finally studied.

The Montreal Khoja Ismaili community is a small segment in the overall Ismaili population in Canada of which the heaviest concentration is in Toronto. The findings of this study are localized and are therefore not indicative of the Jamats (congregation) elsewhere in Canada where the rates of educational and social adjustments might vary.

For instance, in Toronto, the Khoja Ismaili community is decentralized. It has twelve Jamat Khānas, as a result of which, **religious** and social activities of the community are widely scattered. In Montreal, where there is only one Jamat Khana, a sense of togetherness prevails which may be lacking in Toronto.

Decentralization could weaken the in-group feelings among the youth who might be more prone to interact outside the community boundaries through primary relationships with the host group. On the other hand, there might exist stronger bonds between the different Jamats (congregations) thereby strengthening the in-group feelings. A comparative study of such scope is beyond the limited localized research of the present study.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

1. The term 'Asian' is an East African neologism that refers to all domiciled people from the sub-continent of India. The term 'Indian' seems to refer to guests from India, temporary visitors or Indian agencies and the people of India.
2. A correspondent 'A Ugandan Diary', Transition, No. 42, Vol. 8(V) 1973, p. 13-19.
3. The Movements of Asians from Uganda (The Green Paper) The Immigration Program 2, A Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Manpower and Immigration (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974), p. 110. This report states that apart from Britain itself, Canada ultimately received more Ugandan Asians than all other countries combined between Sept. 5 to Nov. 8, 1972. Over 6000 Asians obtained Immigrant Visas on the spot. Chartered airplanes flew the refugees directly from Kampala to Montreal. Altogether, 4420 persons were airlifted to Canada in thirty-one flights.
4. 'The Ugandan Argus', Uganda's official Daily had made several references to the Canadian team of officials giving top priority to the processing of applications of the 'displaced persons' most of whom belonged to Khoja Ismaili sect. Britain was not prepared to shoulder the responsibility for these stateless people as she had her own share of 'British Asian' citizens to take care of.
5. The Khoja Ismaili Councils and Committees collaborate to conduct population surveys annually in all cities or towns where the Ismaili community is centered. According to the 1976 survey, the Ismaili population in Montreal comprised 1300 members.

6. The term "A Visible Minority", to use Adair and Rosenstock's definition refers to a group of people that can not, by virtue of complexion, disappear into the dominant group within one generation. Dennis Adair and Janet Rosenstock, Exploring Racial Attitudes Among Adolescents Multiculturalism (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1977), p. 5.
- * Klapp, O. Currents of Unrest: An Introduction to Collective Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972.
7. Comeau, Larry, R. & Driedger, Leo. "Ethnic Opening and Closing in an Open System: A Canadian Example," in Social Forces, Vol. 57:2, (Special Issue) Dec., 1978, pp. 600-620.
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Caditz has 4 major categories on her assimilation - identification scale. These are (i) Assimilated-associationists, (ii) Identified-communalists, (iii) Assimilated-communalists, (iv) Identified-Associationists. Assimilated Communalists are those ethnic group members who adopt many of the values, beliefs and customs of the majority group and yet maintain a communal set of social relationships.

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CHAPTER II: THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF THE KHOJA ISMAILIS

(i) Early History

The Khoja Ismaili sect belongs to the Shia division of Islam. It is a part of a larger Ismaili movement that sowed its politico religious seeds from the latter part of the eight century up the thirteenth century in countries stretching from North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Persia, Yemen, Sindh and Northern India.

In order that the present situation is more meaningful, it is necessary to briefly outline the evolution of Islam with its factional development. The origins and growth of Ismailism and its relationship to the Khoja strand highlighting certain syncretistic characteristics, have made it unique in its wider Islamic macrocosm.

Schisms in Islam developed upon the death of the Prophet (AD 632). There were basically two main factions. One supported Abu Bakr and a Caliphate based on the elective principle. Those who opted for Abu Bakr came to be known as Sunnis (adherents of Sunna or dogma). The Caliph, according to the Sunnis, can exert his authority in a political sphere only. His authority is merely temporal.

Those belonging to the Shia division of Islam, pledged their allegiance to Ali, the companion of Mohammed, the vicar of God, maintaining that the Prophet had bequeathed both secular and spiritual leadership to Ali and his descendants by Fatima, the Prophet's only daughter.¹

The Shias regard Ali as their first "Imam" - Imam referring to the lineal descendent of the Prophet, the secular and spiritual leader of the Shia sect of Islam.

Abu Bakr, who succeeded the Prophet as the Caliph brought the whole of Arabia under the rule of Islam. He was poisoned in 634 AD.² His successor, Caliph Umar who extended the Muslim dominion over Syria, Iraq and Persia in the North and Tripoli in the west, was also later murdered. His successor, Uthman, the Umayyad, was also slain. He was succeeded by Ali, hailed by the Shias as their first legitimate successor of the Prophet.

Internecine struggles between the Shias and the Umayyads resulted not only in Ali's death on the battlefield but also that of his son, Hussein. Hussein's son Zain-Al-Abedin (the third Imam, according to the Shias) escaped from Kerbala to live in Medina, where he gained tremendous respect.³

A major schism in the Shia community was brought about by the death of the sixth Imam - Jafar Sadiq. Some gave allegiance to the line of his descendants through his elder son and designated heir, Imam Ismail, and came to be known as Ismailis. Others claimed that Ismail's younger brother Musa Kazim was in fact the real Imam. The followers of Musa Kazim continued to give allegiance to five more Imams after Musa believing that their last Imam (i.e. twelfth) has gone into concealment but will reappear one day to grant final salvation to his followers. These followers became known as the Twelver sect or Ithna'Ashariya. They are very strong in Iran now where this branch of Sh'ism is the official religion. They are also found in the Indian sub-continent as well as in East Africa.

The followers of Ismail, assumed a deliberate anonymity and practised their faith in secret (taquiya)⁴ because of the hostility they encountered from the Abbasid sunnis as well as Twelvers. The whereabouts of the Imams was generally kept a secret and only a few of his closest advisors knew where they were. When they resurfaced in the 9th century AD, their movement had assumed both political and doctrinal sophistication.⁵

At this time, the Ismaili doctrine, was spread to Yemen, Sindh, India and North Africa by agents (dai) of the institution of the 'Da'wa', emissories.⁶

Under the eleventh Imam (910 AD) an age of glory for the Ismaili Imam^{at} began that lasted for two centuries, adopting the title of Al-Fatimiyyum (the Fatimid Dynasty) after Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, and wife of Ali, from whom the Imams, the present Imam being Karim Aga Khan, claim descent. The Fatimids, in 969 AD had a claim to an empire that included besides North Africa and Egypt, the Islands of Malta, Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily as well as Palestine, Syria, the Hijaz and Sindh. The early Fatimid era lasting until (975 AD) was characterized by a political stability and administrative cohesiveness that remains unique in the history of Islam. Political stability combined with economic prosperity led to a blossoming of culture and learning. The Fatimid Imams patronized both cultural activity and scientific research, and Cairo with its Al-Azr university became the centre of civilization that attracted large numbers of physicians, astronomers, mathematicians, historians and philosophers.

(ii) NIZARI ISMAILISM

The later period starting about 1036 AD of the Fatimid reign was rent with internal strife that climaxed in the reign of the 18th Imam, Al Mustansir in AD 1094. His death caused yet another schism among the Ismailis. The military opposed his elder son, Nizar and supported the younger brother, Mustealli. Nizar had his following in parts of Iran and Syria where his followers became known as Nizari Ismailis. In Egypt, Yemen and Sudan, Mustealli was hailed as the new Imam and his followers became known as Musteallians or Bohra. Musteallians believe that the grandson of Mustealli, Tayib, has gone into "occultation." When Salladin took over Egypt (1171 AD), the Fatimid dynasty came to an end. The Mustealli community flourished in Yemen and Gujarat.

In the face of a renewed hostile environment, the followers of Nizar withdrew into various strongholds, in different parts of Iran where intellectual, philosophical and theological activities flourished. Also, it was during the Nizari phase of Ismailism that the Ismaili doctrine absorbed the Persian Sufic (Mystical) principle that "deepened into a real coalescence of the Ismaili and Sufi dimension of Islam." 7

(iii) KHOJA ISMAILISM

The fortress strength of the Nizari Ismailis came to an end with the Mongol invasions (1250 AD). Thereafter, the Ismaili Imams and followers again reverted to taquiya disguising their activities under a mode of sufism, again expanding the Ismaili underground network.⁸

As Hollister points out, "From its beginning, Ismailism has depended on an organized programme of teaching for its strength. Not through armies but through selected and well-trained dais, it spread."⁹ As the Nizari da'wa reached India, it set the stage for the rise of Khoja Ismailism. Thus, despite invasions and political termination of the Ismaili states (such as Sindh) the sect persisted.

The Nizari version of Ismailism cloaked in heavy sufic overtones that took roots in the Indian soil, did not have the political connotations of the Fatimid strand of Ismailism that had been earlier established in Sindh.¹⁰

In the fourteenth century particularly, the Nizari Ismaili movement gained a great momentum with the arrival of the Ismaili "pirs" (wandering missionaries) from Iran to Northern India. They began an intensified program in Kashmir spreading

to Cutch into Kathiawar through Gujarat and Bombay.¹¹

The new converts were named Khoja from the term Kwaja which means "the honorable gentlemen," a title that has been carried to this day.¹² Those from the Gujarat areas were from the trading class (Lohana) who in the nineteenth century, migrated to East Africa.¹³

(iv) THE KHOJA ISMAILI TRADITION

Professor Bernard Lewis has stated that "Ismailism evolved over a long period and a wide area and meant different things at different times and places."¹⁴ For example, during the Fatimid reign in Egypt, certain Hellenistic (Greek) concepts, especially the Ptolemaic system and Neoplatonism, were absorbed into the Ismaili cosmology. In the same vein, in Iran, Nizari Ismailism synthesized a rich Sufic (mystical) perspective, whereas in India it fused certain Hinduistic strands which are best reflected in the gnan literature (gnan or ginan are devotional poems composed by the Pirs and used to impart religious values.)

The Pirs, studied and assimilated the languages, customs and cultures of the various Hindu castes and fused aspects of local religions with Nizari Ismailism. At the outset,

therefore, the Nizari Ismaili missionaries set out to sift the meaning and spirit of Islam from its hard Arabic shell.¹⁵ They explained the high ideals of Islam in familiar terms of the ancestral religion and culture of the new converts, Hinduism. They emphasized the need to strive to be good Mu'mins (sincere adepts to the spirit of Islam) rather than good Muslims - those who formally profess Islam but often ignore its spirit and implications.¹⁶

Hollister¹⁷ claims that in the Khoja tradition, Pir Sadar Din holds the most important position for it was he who gave the title of Kwaja to the new converts from which Khoja has been derived. It was also Pir Sadar Din who started the institution of the Jamat Khana (Prayer house).

(v) EARLY MIGRATION OF THE KHOJA ISMAILIS TO EAST AFRICA

A consistent network of commercial intercourse between East Africa and the western coast of India had been carried out since long before the Christian era. The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea (a guide book to the Indian ocean) written in AD 60 mentions a regular, close-knit network of Indian Ocean trade between "Africa and Barygaza."¹⁸

The first Khoja Ismailis played a vital role in the economic development of East Africa. These merchants came to the East Coast upon the invitation of Seyyid Said (1806-56) who had moved his capital from Muscat, Oman to the Island of Zanzibar off the East African Coast. With his encouragement, there soon formed a large nucleus of merchants enjoying the Sultan's confidence and expanding their business enterprises on the coast and into the interior as far as Lake Victoria.¹⁹

Some of the famous Khoja Ismaili merchants of the last century were Tharya Topan (later knighted by Queen Victoria), Nasser Lillani, Peera Dewji, Allidina Visram and Hajee Paroo. They consolidated businesses on the East African Coast and the Islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Kilwa and helped to open up the interior by establishing a chain of "dukas" (shops) along with the slave caravan routes and later along the East African Railway up to Lake Victoria, into the Congo State (now Zaire) and the southern Sudan.²⁰ They were among the first Asians to help build the land that was to become British East Africa. Mangat's assessment of Sir Tharya Topan's contributions in East Africa is apt:

"As a leader of the majority of the Indian community in Zanzibar, the Khojas, Tharya Topan was to play an important role in Zanzibar affairs during the 1870's and the 1880's, and his success was to provide an impetus to the Khoja Ismaili enterprise in East Africa generally. In 1881, he supported Kirk's efforts to establish a school in Zanzibar by undertaking to provide Rs 200,000 for the purpose. As a leading property owner, he endowed suitable buildings and a sum of money for the establishment of the first general hospital in Zanzibar in 1887. He was to assist British efforts in the final suppression of slavery in Zanzibar; and in view of his services was rewarded with a knighthood in July 1890."²¹

By the twentieth century, a large Khoja Ismaili community had been established in all the three East African countries of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya. The late Aqa Khan's "modernization" projects in the fifties were implemented mainly through the establishment of schools, hostels, dispenserries, hospitals, housing societies, welfare organization and financial institutions. His concern for women's rightful place in the modern society made him advise them to disavow the crucially retarding features of Muslim conservatism.²² His message to the Khoja Ismaili women of Pakistan sums up his views:

"No progressive thinker of today will challenge the claim that the social advancement and general well-being of communities are greatest where women are least debarred, by artificial barriers and narrow prejudice, from taking their full position as citizens...

"The progressive modernization which depends on cooperation and understanding will be impossible unless women are permitted to play their legitimate part in the great work of national regeneration on a basis of political equality."²³

Ismaili women were urged to discard their traditional long garment in favour of western dress. This change is thought to have brought about a rapid new awareness of the Ismaili women. Parents were also urged to let their daughters go for higher educational training. By early sixties, the Khoja Ismaili girls were attending universities both in East Africa and abroad and training for various occupations such as secretaries, nurses, teachers, at a time when Hindu or Muslim girls were still being forced to discontinue schooling after the elementary level.

The mid-fifties saw desegregation of Khoja Ismaili institutions such as schools, hospitals, health centers and clinics. Compartmentalization at an educational or social level along ethnic or racial lines that had been characteristic of the British regime, was therefore eliminated with the late Aga Khan's initiative. These changes gave the Khoja Ismailis a chance for exposure to the other communities.

Around this time, (i.e. early mid-fifties) the late Aga Khan also advised his followers, especially those in the over-populated Zanzibar, to explore the African hinterland and to seek more economically lucrative areas. This resulted in small-scale waves of migration into the Belgian colonies of what is now Zaïre, Rwanda, Burundi and the Republic of Malagasy (Madagascar) where there had already existed a Khoja Ismaili community that had migrated from India at the turn of the nineteenth century. By the late fifties, the Ismaili community of East Africa, had become the most progressive of all Asian communities. Bharati sums up the community's progress under the guidance of the late Aga Khan most appropriately:

"Through a chain of historical accidents, the Ismailis in East Africa have become modern and prominent, and the transition within three generations from the state of the community in the cutchi-speaking areas of Western Indian to their present situation verges on the miraculous. Contrary to the view that factors other than the rise of a single, charismatic, influential individual are instrumental to thorough-going social change, it can be shown that the Ismailis in East Africa today are what they are largely through the efforts of the Late Aga Khan."²⁴

(vi) KHOJA ISMAILIS IN CANADA

In Canada today- the Khoja Ismailis number some 26,000²⁵ most of whom are concentrated in large cities. As in East Africa, the community affairs are managed by the "Councils". Khoja Ismaili councils form an intricate administrative machinery which is operated smoothly and effectively on a voluntary basis by members of the Jamat (congregation) who are zealous and dedicated to the cause of the Khoja brotherhood. The purpose of the councils is to co-ordinate the entire community's activities in order to further the Jamat's sense of group solidarity. In Canada, the National Council acts as an umbrella organization with its head quarters in Vancouver. It implements major policies concerning the Jamats in the country. It also channels recommendations, resolutions or problems from subsidiary councils to the Supreme Council (in Nairobi, Kenya) for Europe, Canada and the States. This

council maintains direct communication with the Imam. Two Regional Councils (one for Eastern Canada and the other for the west) fall under the direct jurisdiction of the National Council. The Eastern Canada Regional Council with its headquarters in Toronto is further atomized into various District or Administrative Committees for the various cities.

(vii) THE MONTREAL ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MODEL

The Montreal Administrative Committee is headed by a Chairman whose role is to supervise and act as liaison between several portfolio members such as Health, Social Welfare, Education, Women's Organization, Youth, who report to him. The three ex-officio members who sit on the Committee are the Mukhi and the Kamaria²⁶ and the Chairman of the Ismailia Association who has the task of organizing religion-oriented activities as well as dissemination of religious knowledge.

The Committee meetings are held once a week in one of the rooms adjacent to the Prayer Hall. Here the Administrative Committee members meet to discuss the progress reports in their areas of endeavour, articulate their views, resolve problems and implement policies concerning the well-being of the Montreal Jamat. Once a month, the Chairman of the Montreal Administrative Committee makes a trip to Toronto to represent

the Montreal Jamat at the Regional Level. The meeting also gives him an opportunity to interact with his counterparts from other Administrative committees. Important reports of the Regional meetings are either read out in the Jamat Khana or are printed in the community press such as the Canadian Ismaili. The Regional councils, in turn, report to the National Council in Vancouver. Hence, no Jamat in any given town or city is left to operate in a vacuum.

Insight into the organizational set-up of the Jamat in Montreal is gained when we examine the portfolios of various groups in the organization. For example, the Youth Portfolio member works with his sub-committee to generate sporting and social activities among the youth in the community. The member responsible for the Education portfolio acts essentially as a liaison officer for both Anglophone and Francophone students attending universities, and organizes classes in French and English at the Jamat Khana premises. The member for Women's Organization has succeeded in having organized a series of talks by invited guests by both Ismailis and non-Ismailis on topics such as breast cancer, the role of a working mother in a technologically advanced society, cookery classes.

(viii) THE ISMAILIA ASSOCIATION

A number of activities are organized by the Chairman of the Ismailia Association. These include religious classes in the evenings, quiz competitions based on the knowledge of Ismaili history for elementary and high school students, essay and "gnan" competitions for students at all levels of schooling, as well as Gujarati classes for any member who wishes to better his/her understanding of the "gnan" tradition. The Association was also instrumental in setting up a library in one of the rooms in the building. The collection now boasts over a thousand titles consisting of both religious and educational material in English, French and Gujarati. A large section on children's literature in English and French has also been started.

The Jamat Khana in Montreal is located on Van Horne. It used to be the Greek community social hall and has up to now served the community's purpose ideally. Of the two large halls, one has been converted into the prayer hall and the other, across it, into the social hall that has been the fulcrum of a wide variety of activities ranging from panel discussions, disco-dancing parties to wedding dinners. The rooms adjacent to the social^{hall} and on the first floor have been converted into classrooms, the library and the council

"chamber", whereas the fully-equipped kitchen has been utilized during festive and social occasions for the preparation of tea and "sherbet."

The Montreal Administrative committee is at present engaged in conducting a feasibility survey for new premises in view of the expanding Montreal Jamat especially in the Francophone section. Immigration from Malagasy and Zaire has stepped up. A larger building, preferably a school which has been closed down in the Montreal area might serve the purpose ideally.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

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3. Ibid., p. 231.
4. Ivanov, W. Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism. (Bombay, Ismaili Printing Press, 1952), p. 11.
5. Esmail, Aziz & Nanji, A. op. cit., p. 232.
6. Ibid., p. 232.
7. Ibid., p. 251.
8. Ibid., p. 252.
9. Hollister, J.N. The Shia of India, (London: Luzac & Co., 1953), p. 351.
10. Nanji, Azim. Nizari Ismaili Traditions in Hind and Sind, (Montreal, McGill University, Ph.D. thesis, 1972), p. 182.
11. Morris, H.S. The Indians in Uganda (Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 67.
12. Hollingsworth, L.W. The Asians of East Africa, (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1960), p. 136.
13. Ivanov, W. Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism. (Bombay, Ismaili Printing Press, 1952), p. 20. Also, Nanji has examined the ginan literature and cites Jannatapuri which does make a mention of the conversion of the Lohana groups into Ismailism. Op. cit., Nizari Traditions, p. 105.
14. Lewis, Bernard. Assasins (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967), p. 38.

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 22. Dharam & Yash Ghai (eds.,). Portrait of a Minority: Asians in East Africa, (revised ed., Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 29-31.
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 24. Bharati, A. The Asians in East Africa - Jayhind and Uhuru, (Chicago, Nelson-Hall CO., 1972), p. 317.
 25. Census Survey by the Khoja Ismail: National Council for Canada, Vancouver, 1978.
 26. Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. 11, p. 961. "The officers (of the Jama'at-Khanas) are the Mukhi (headman, treasurer, chairman) and the Kamaria (secretary, accountant). They are sometimes appointed by the Aga Khan, but are frequently elected.
- Encyclopedia of Islam (Vol. 2), Luzac & Co., London (1st Ed.).

CHAPTER III: THE SURVEY

(i) Structure

The Instrument used for the research was a structured questionnaire with fifty-nine items of which fifty-seven were close-ended questions. The two open-ended items, further sub-divided into six more categories, were left at the end of the questionnaire so as to give the respondent an opportunity to respond at length.

The items, were constructed in English that was simple, logical and to the point. With the assistance of Prof. Michel Laferriere of Social Foundations of Education, of the Faculty of Education at McGill, the questionnaire was then translated into French for the Francophone Khoja Ismaili contingent in Montreal. Care was taken to keep the French translation as close to the English version as possible.

The development of the questionnaire was guided by three general questions:

1) What difficulties do the Khoja Ismaili students encounter in adjusting to the Francophone and Anglophone societies in Montreal?

2) How do factors such as length of residence in Canada, socio-economic status, family size and structure affect the social adjustment of the group?

3) Are there important differences in patterns of social adjustment and sense of communal identity between Francophone and Anglophone Khojas that are attributable to their different 'cultural baggage' and to differences in receptivity of Francophone and Anglophone societies in Quebec?

Having spent their formative years in their countries of origin, these two linguistic groups would reflect a lifestyle and a set of values quite distinct from those of the host society. Yet the new social environment as well as a new educational experience in both the Francophone and Anglophone milieus would result in their intermingling with and adjusting to the lifestyle of the two host groups respectively. Each group, however, might exhibit a different rate of adjustment due to their past educational experiences. Their past experiences in social evolution and new interactions offered by a new educational environment, makes the study of the two groups' educational and social adjustment to the Quebec society, all the more significant.

VARIABLES

The approach employed in this questionnaire was to start with the "specifics" with an examination of independent variables going to the "general" with dependent variables.

The main independent variables examined in the study are:

- 1) Place of birth (Anglophone and Francophone Africa)
- 2) Other biographic variables including:
 - a) Sex
 - b) Age
 - c) Family size and structure
 - d) Length of stay in Canada
 - e) The type and length of education in the country of origin.

The "specific" items constituted the first three sections of the questionnaire under the headings:

- i) Biographic questions
- ii) Biographic details of parents which also included variables on family size and structure
- iii) School related questions

The variables were considered important in that they would give us a general picture of the Francophone and Anglophone Khoja Ismaili groups' lifestyle in the new cultural environment.

In East Africa, during the colonial era, the Khoja Ismailis, as other Asians, played their characteristic role as the middlemen in an essentially three-layered society with the white expatriots at the top, the Asians in the middle and the Africans occupying the bottom layer. The upper-layer expatriots controlled civil service and government administration. The Asians controlled trade and commerce whereas the Africans were largely agrarian people living on subsistence farming. This three-layered, highly compartmentalized social structure along racial lines perpetuated to a large degree in the decolonized East Africa.

In Francophone Africa, the Khoja Ismailis were also traders but their lives were not as sharply demarcated by racial boundaries as in East Africa.

Biographic variables examining parents' educational background and his present occupation, items (13b and 13d) were designed to assess how the Khoja Ismailis with a commercial background have been able to adjust to a new environment. Such biographic details will seek to examine if education has indeed been a factor in their diversification into new occupational spheres.

Questions examining the respondents' length of residence in Canada would give an indication as to the probable extent of the respondents' level of social adjustment in this century. As stated in Chapter 1, at least a twelve-month settling-down period would be considered feasible for a new immigrant to get habituated to his/her new educational and social environment before a study of this nature can be said to have produced effective results.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Dependent variables in the instrument influencing the degree of social adjustment of the Khoja Ismaili were subdivided into: 1) Attitudinal and 2) Behavioural variables.

1) The attitudinal variables were based on the following broad categories:

- i) The students' perceptions of French and English Canadians vis-a-vis the Khoja Ismaili community.
- ii) Their attitudes towards schools, teachers and educational practices of the host country.
- iii) Their attitudes towards the Canadian values and social practices such as dating, marriage and friendship.
- iv) Their sense of communal identity.

2) Behavioural variables measuring social adjustment encompassed:

- i) dating patterns
- ii) friendship patterns
- iii) dietary practices

Attitudinal and behavioural questions are designed to assist the investigator to assess the degree of the respondents' social adjustment. The social and educational system in East Africa before decolonization reflected a three-layered set up with the white expatriot children having accessibility to the exclusive "public" type school. The city day schools were mostly run by Asian communities. Boarding schools in the country run by missionaries were by and large attended by African children. In the same vein clubs, hospitals and other institutions were characterized by racial compartmentalization.

Although the Khoja Ismaili institutions were desegregated early in the fifties, and the atmosphere of easy racial interaction pervaded the Khoja Ismaili institutions, the Khoja Ismaili students still formed the majority in their primary and high schools where the in-group feeling remained intense. At the University level the trend reversed. The Asians here formed a distinct racial minority but the tight-knit communal enclaves, maintaining tangible links with their larger communities outside the campus, perpetuated.

In Montreal, the Khoja Ismaili school population does not constitute a collective unit. It is scattered and absorbed into different school boards, CEGEPs and Universities. Most of the respondents have experienced at least a part of high schools or CEGEPs where attitudes towards the host culture usually crystallize. Their perceptions with regard to the host group values, culture and friendship patterns (items 20, 21, 27 and 33) form an interesting basis for comparison of the respondents' new environment viewed against their East African cultural backdrop.

Other behavioural variables included attendance to the Jamat **Khana** (item Q52) to degree of activity in religion; use of the ethnic language at home (item Q45, 46) to determine amount of language use to explore in group and out of group feelings (Q22-27).

(ii) Population

The research focussed on adolescents or young adults of the Khoja Ismaili community attending institutions of post-secondary education in Montreal on a full-time basis.

By the fall of 1976, the student body of McGill and Concordia had already established an ad hoc Jamat Khana used specifically for the evening prayers at one of the Undergraduate Library's attached staff-rooms. With the help of the "Mukhi"

and "Kamadiani" (the lady representative), the eligible respondents were identified, and approached. Subsequently, appointments were set up. The Francophone students were identified with the assistance of a student at McGill, who knew the Francophone contingent well having lived and studied in Zaire.

In all, twenty-five Anglophone and fifteen Francophones were studied. In addition to these, there were three Anglophone (all males) and two Francophone (one male and one female) rejections. All five rejected on the grounds that the questions probed too deeply into their personal lives about which they were unwilling to communicate to any sources. The rejections were made in spite of the guarantee made by the author of the anonymity of the respondents' identity and the assurance given that all the data collected would be treated in a professional and confidential manner.

METHODOLOGY

Initially, the first five questionnaires were distributed but since the rate of return was poor, a different strategy was employed thereafter. Appointments were set-up and the respondents were administered the questionnaire under the author's supervision either at his apartment or at the Van Horne Jamat Khana classroom. Six Anglophone respondents felt more inclined to answer the questions verbally than to write them down. The

remainder (both Anglophone and Francophone respondents) showed a preference to written than verbal method.

The "supervised" technique worked effectively. Generally, it took approximately an hour and a quarter to an hour and a half for the respondents to complete their questionnaires. A few took longer than 2 hours.

Items designed to examine the attitudinal variables, more particularly the respondents' perceptions of the French and English Canadians and their values against the Khoja Ismaili background (26,33) elicited the highest numbers of comments and queries.

A large number (twelve Anglophones and nine Francophones) felt that the item on their perceptions of the Canadian way of life (item 29) had too many generalizations. Some could not distinguish between the two responses "Agree somewhat" and "Disagree somewhat". Statements such as "Canadian young people are immature," and "Friendship in Canada is shallow and superficial" could not fit into any of the response slots.

A statement such as "while in Canada, it is good for international students to try to give up their national customs", appeared to have irritated an Anglophone female respondent who claimed that the statement was "facetious". Similarly, item 33 consisting of words and phrases used to describe people (e.g. ambitious, obedient, aggressive, etc) to be applied to each or all four groups (French Canadian, English Canadian, Anglophone Khojas, Francophone Khojas) was not too favourably received. One student felt that the entire section was "blatent generalization" and therefore refused to fill it. The others filled some parts of it leaving the others blank.

The item examining the dating patterns of the Khoja Ismailis (Q35) was received with caution. One Anglophone female felt that it was too "personal" requesting me to let her omit that section. The request was granted. Another Anglophone male sought repeated reassurances of confidentiality regarding the entire matter. He had been living with a Canadian girl. The relationship had ended and he was at that time wooing a Khoja Ismaili girl to whom he did not want to mention his "romantic" past - at least not yet. Reassurances were once again given after which the section was completed.

Biographic questions pertaining to respondents and their parents did not meet with any problems nor did the items related to schooling variables.

The open-ended items at the end were received favourably. Five Anglophones (three females and two males) asked for extra sheets. The Francophones appeared more economical in their answers. Six used only half or one-quarter of the space provided and none asked for extra sheets.

Data from the above instrument will be used to compare the educational and social adjustment of the Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismaili groups in Montreal.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS OF DATA

BIOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (See Table 1)

Biographic variables of the parents indicate that the Francophone Khoja Ismailis have had an economic head start. The majority are involved in the business sphere (80 percent) as opposed to 26 percent Anglophone Khoja Ismailis. This could be attributed to the refugee status of the Ugandan Khoja Ismailis who came to this country virtually penniless. The Francophone Khoja Ismailis, inspite of their expulsion from Zaire and Rwanda were allowed to bring their liquid assets with them. They have therefore managed to establish small-scale businesses such as dry-cleaning units, groceries, boutiques and gas-stations.

A large number of Anglophone Khoja Ismailis have taken up clerical occupations. These were the once established businessmen in their home countries who have been forced, under the new circumstances, to take up clerical jobs such as bookkeeping, inventoring or by becoming shipping and customs clerks or even payroll clerks. This occupational flexibility on the part of the Anglophone Khoja Ismailis can be attributed to their educational background. Data in this study indicates

TABLE 1: Biographic Variables of Anglophone and Francophone Respondents

		Anglophones N = 25 %	Francophones N = 15 %
1. Sex	Male	44	53
	Female	56	47
	Total	100	100
chi sq: 0.06, 1 d.f., p. N.S.			
2. Age	Less than 20	48	40
	Between 20-25	52	60
	Total	100	100
chi sq: 11.4, 8 d.f., p. N.S.			
3. Origin	a) Kenya	28	--
	b) Uganda	60	--
	c) Tanzania	12	--
	d) Rwanda	--	20
	e) Zaire	--	53
	f) Malagasy	--	27
	Total	100	100
chi sq: 39.9, 5 d.f., p 0.000			
4. Date of Migration	Between 72-74	64	57
	Between 74-76	36	43
	Total	100	100
chi sq: 17.6, 4 d.f., p 0.001			
5. Father's Education	a) Elementary	26	28
	b) Secondary	62	50
	c) Secondary Higher	12	21
	Total	100	100
chi sq: 0.7, 2 d.f., p N.S.			

TABLE 1: Cont'd.

		Anglophones	Francophones
		N = 25	N = 15
		%	%
6. Father's Education	a) Business	26	80
	b) Skilled	51	--
	c) Semi-skilled	--	6
	d) Salesman	10	--
	e) Clerical	42	14
	f) Other	17	--
	Total	100	100
chi sq: 13.1, 5 d.f., p		0.02	

sixty percent of the Anglophone Khoja Ismailis (male heads of the families) have had secondary education which has given them their ability to communicate in English as well as their familiarity with figurework. Besides, their business background had, in fact, reinforced their insight into figurework. In the new country, they could channel this background into clerical fields, a marked contrast to some other immigrants who are forced into blue collar jobs, either through their lack of educational background or because they do not speak either of the two languages.

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS AND SOCIAL INTERACTION (Table 2)

Fifty-six percent of the Anglophone and sixty-one percent of the Francophone Khoja Ismaili respondents were of the opinion that there are no important differences in which Canadians and other Khoja Ismailis think of friendship. Their rate of interaction with the English and French host groups, respectively, is also high. Seventy-three percent of the Francophone Khoja Ismailis see their French Canadian friends "very often" and sixty-eight percent of the Anglophone Khoja Ismailis see their English Canadian friends "very often" (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: Social Relationships of the Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismailis

HOW OFTEN DO YOU VISIT:		Anglophones N = 25 %	Francophones N = 15 %
1. French Canadian Friends	very often	40	73
	fairly often	44	27
	rarely	12	--
	no friends	4	--
	total	100	100
chi sq: 5.1, 3 d.f., p N.S.			
2. English Canadian Friends	very often	68	27
	fairly often	32	46
	rarely	--	7
	no friends	--	20
	total	100	100
chi sq: 10.2, 3 d.f., p p.01			
3. Khoja Friends	very often	88	93
	fairly often	12	7
	rarely	--	--
	no friends	--	--
	total	100	100
chi sq: 0.0, 1 d.f., p N.S.			
4. Indian Friends	very often	40	13
	fairly often	56	27
	rarely	4	--
	no friends	--	60
	total	100	100
chi sq: 19.6, 3 d.f., p. 0.0002			
5. Other Immigrant Friends	very often	48	53
	fairly often	40	20
	rarely	12	20
	no friends	--	7
	total	100	100
chi sq: 32., 3 d.f., p. N.S.			

However, the in-group interaction on the part of both groups appeared remarkably high. Ninety-three percent of the Francophone Khoja Ismailis and 83 percent of the Anglophone Khoja Ismailis claimed that they see their Khoja Ismaili friends "very often". Such a high rate of in-group interaction can be explained in terms of the highly institutionalized nature of the Khoja Ismaili community set-up. The Jamat Khana (prayer hall) as explained earlier does not function merely as a meeting place for religious activities. It also serves as a forum for socio-cultural activities often held in the adjoining social hall.

Besides the daily regular prayers, there are panel-discussions, talks, Arts and Crafts exhibitions, disco dances, and the traditional (Rass, Garba) dances arranged by different portfolio members that keep the community members of all ages actively involved in the functions of the community organism.

Apart from the interaction of the Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismaili students with their host groups respectively, the perceptions of these Khoja Ismailis, vis-a-vis the host group Canadians and their society, need to be examined.

IMPRESSIONS OF CANADA (Table 3)

Both groups rated more positive than negative in their impressions of Canada which they felt were "favourable". The majority in both groups also felt that they "liked the Canadian way of life". Most of the respondents indicated that they did not feel any particular sense of belonging to their home countries (No. 3 in Table 3). The circumstances under which the Anglophone Khoja Ismailis of Uganda as well as those from Zaire, Rwanda and Malagasy left their countries, could be indicative of their lack of attachment towards their home countries.

There was an attempt to examine the attitudes of the Anglophone-Francophone Khoja Ismailis towards the two host groups as well as towards each other (item 33). A set of categories with positive connotations (e.g. friendly, hospitable, always think of others, willing to make sacrifices for you etc.) and those with negative connotations (consider foreigner inferior, unfriendly, unoriginal, etc.) were employed. The item elicited more positive than negative responses from both the Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismailis towards the two host cultures (see Table 4).

TABLE 3: Attitudes Towards Canadians

	Anglophones N = 25 %	Francophones N = 15 %
1. Canadians consider their own heads first. This is a practical way to live.		
very much agree	16	60
agree somewhat	52	40
disagree somewhat	24	--
very much disagree	8	--
total	100	100
chi sq: 10.6, 3 d.f., p. N.S.		
2. Even if I never returned to my home country, I would always feel as if it were there, that I truly belonged.		
very much agree	16	0
agree somewhat	20	7
disagree somewhat	16	33
very much disagree	48	60
total	100	100
chi sq: 5.0, 3 d.f., p. N.S.		
3. Most Canadians do not seem to know or respect the values and cultures of my country.		
very much agree	21	7
agree somewhat	29	29
disagree somewhat	46	57
very much disagree	4	7
total	100	100
chi sq: 1.4, 3 d.f., p. N.S.		
4. My impressions about Canadians are now favourable.		
very much agree	32	50
agree somewhat	32	50
disagree somewhat	36	--
very much disagree	20	87
total		

TABLE 3: Cont'd

	Anglophones N = 25 %	Francophones N = 15 %
5. Khoja Ismailis have more things to avoid than to learn in Canada.		
very much agree	16	7
agree somewhat	4	--
disagree somewhat	60	6
very much disagree	20	87
total	100	100
chi sq: 17.1, 3 d.f., p	0.0007	
6. I like Canadian way of life		
very much agree	44	67
agree somewhat	32	26
disagree somewhat	20	--
very much disagree	4	7
total	100	100
chi sq: 4.8, 2 d.f., p	0.08	

TABLE 4: Characteristics Attributed by Respondents
to the Two Host Groups and to Each Other

	Anglophones N = 25 %	Francophones N = 15 %
1. Khoja perceptions of French Canadians		
more positive than negative	92	100
more negative than positive	8	--
same	--	--
total	100	100
chi sq: 0.14, 1 d.f., p	N.S.	
2. Khoja perceptions of English Canadians		
more positive than negative	84	64
more negative than positive	8	29
same	8	7
total	100	100
chi sq: 2.9, 3 d.f., p	N.S.	
3. Khoja perceptions of Anglophone Khojas		
more positive than negative	100	87
more negative than positive	--	7
same	--	6
total	100	100
chi sq: 3.5, 2 d.f., p	N.S.	
4. Khoja perception of Francophone Khojas		
more positive than negative	30	100
more negative than positive	65	--
same	5	--
total	100	100
chi sq: 18.0, 2 d.f., p	0.0001	

With regard to their perception towards each other, the Francophone Khojas exhibited a total affinity (100 percent) with their own Francophone contingent, while displaying a very favourable (87 percent) disposition towards the Anglophone Khoja Ismailis. On the other hand, the Anglophone Khojas while, demonstrating a complete sense of fraternity (100 percent) towards their own Anglophone group, expressed a more deprecatory attitude towards their Francophone cohorts.

The high degree of negativism expressed by the Anglophone Khojas towards the Francophone Khojas could be explained in terms of the latter's affluent lifestyles, which include students driving expensive cars and keeping abreast with the latest fashions. The Anglophone Khoja attitude towards the Francophone Khojas can best be summed in a student's remark to the effect that "Those Francophones show off their money and love to give in to fads".

FOOD HABITS

Food habits of the Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismailis reflect the perpetuation of their pre-migratory culinary pattern. Thirty-six percent of the Anglophone and forty percent of the Francophone respondents claimed that the food prepared at home was exclusively Indian. Twenty-eight

percent Anglophones and thirteen percent Francophone Ismailis stated that they had a mixture of Indian and Canadian foods, whereas thirteen percent of the Francophone respondents (zero percent Anglophones) claimed to have "other" (i.e. Chinese, French, Italian) dishes besides Indian food cooked at home.

As far as personal preference was concerned, fifty-six percent Anglophones and fifty-three percent Francophones stated their preference for Indian to any other foods.

Their length of residence in this country has not diminished their taste for Indian food. Most would still prefer chapati, pillau, and curries to hamburgers, french fries or sirloin steaks.

LANGUAGE ANALYSIS

All Khoja Ismailis from East and Central Africa are either Gujarati or Kutchi speaking. Thirty-two percent of the Anglophone and sixty percent of the Francophone respondents indicated that their parents communicated with them exclusively in Kutchi. Another thirty-two percent Anglophone respondents and seven percent Francophone respondents spoke Gujarati with their parents. An interesting insight into the gradual inclusion of either English or French into family communication

TABLE 5 : Language communication of Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismailis with brothers and sisters

Languages spoken :		Anglophones	Francophones
		N % 25	N % 15
English		21	0
French		0	20
Kutchi		4	0
Gujarati		4	0
English & Kutchi		42	0
English & Gujarati		25	0
French & Kutchi		0	33

Chi sq : 35.6, 9 d.f., p. N.S.

is indicated by the fact that thirty-eight percent of Anglo-phones stated that their parents communicate with them in either English and Kutchi (30 percent), or English and Gujarati (8 percent). Among the Francophone contingent only seven percent spoke French and Kutchi and another seven percent, French and Gujarati to their parents.

Perhaps the growing predominance of the two host languages in the Khoja Ismaili homes is shown in the following table (5) indicating the extent to which the respondents spoke either English or French at home with their brothers or sisters.

DATING PATTERNS

Bharati¹ (1970) describing the interpersonal relations between the sexes among the Asian sub-groups in East Africa, comments that the Ismailis "seem to be the least inhibited relatively speaking in their dating patterns, and the coffee houses and restaurants in the larger cities are full of young Ismailies, especially on Saturday mornings, eyeing each other with interest and wanting it to be known that they do so". This pre-migration trait has been transplanted in their new environment for all the respondents (hundred percent from both

TABLE 6: Views of Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismailis
Respondents on Marriage Outside Their Own Community

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT MARRIAGE BETWEEN SOME ONE IN YOUR COMMUNITY WITH A CANADIAN	Anglophone N = 25 %	Francophone N = 15 %
1. No reason why not	67	67
2. Should not be done because people and cultures are too difficult	0	20
3. Should not be done because relations with family, problems of where to live are too difficult to solve	4	0
4. I could imagine it for myself	4	0
5. Might work out for some, but I could not imagine it for myself	25	13
Total	100	100

chi sq: 6.6, 4 d.f., p N.S.

groups) claimed that they have gone out on dates. This behaviour presents a marked contrast to other immigrants from the Indian sub-continent most of whom have had very little interaction with the opposite sex. Eight percent Anglophone Khoja Ismailis and ninety-three percent Francophone respondents have gone out with Canadians though the degree of frequency of dating on a long term basis declines. Only twenty percent of the Anglophone and seventeen percent of the Francophone Khoja Ismailis have been dating Canadians for one year or more.

In response to how they felt about dating the Canadians, forty percent Anglophone respondents and thirty-three percent Francophone Khoja Ismailis stated that it was "a pleasant way to pass leisure time". Thirty-six percent Anglophone and sixty percent Francophone respondents felt that it was a "very meaningful experience that has influenced me". Only eight percent Anglophone Khoja Ismailis (zero percent Francophones) felt that dating Canadians was "all right but not very relaxed or comfortable for me".

The item with regard to the topic on marriage between someone from the Khoja Ismaili community with a Canadian elicited more positive than negative response (see Table 6).

TABLE 7: Religious Practices/Dietary Pattern

		Anglophones N = 25 %	Francophones N = 15 %
1. Do you say your dua regularly?	yes	96	87
	no	4	13
	total	100	100
chi sq: 0.2, 1 d.f., p		N.S.	
2. Do you meditate in the morning?	no	40	27
	as often as I can	28	47
	sometimes	32	26
	total	100	100
chi sq: 1.4, 2 d.f., p		N.S.	
3. Do you know some of your Ginans?	yes	96	100
	no	4	--
	total	100	100
chi sq: 0.06, 1 d.f., p		N.S.	
4. How often do you attend Samatkhana?	very often	56	53
	often	32	40
	fairly often	8	7
	rarely	4	6
	total	100	100
chi sq: 0.8, 3 d.f., p		N.S.	
5. What dietary restrictions do you observe?			
	no pork	60	60
	no pork alcohol	20	33
	no restrictions	20	7
	total	100	100
chi sq: 1.7, 2 d.f., p		N.S.	

The item on the parents' attitude to the respondents' dating with Canadian (No. 40), produced an illuminating response. Thirty-three percent of the Anglophone respondents felt that their parents would approve; 17% stated that they would disapprove, and 25% felt that their parents would disapprove at first but would concede to it eventually. On the other hand, 47% Francophone respondents felt that their parents would approve. No respondents felt that their parents would disapprove, while 33% thought that their parents would disapprove initially but would concede to their going out with Canadians eventually.

An overview of the dating patterns of the Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismailis indicate that both groups score very high on dating habits although the Francophone Khoja Ismailis would have a slight edge over their Anglophone counterparts. Francophone Khoja Ismaili parents, it would appear, are also more liberal towards their children's socializing habits than the Anglophone Khoja Ismaili parents.

CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS

Judith Caditz², discussing the concepts of identification and assimilation states, "one may assimilate into the American culture by adopting certain styles of life in consumption behaviour, dress, social conventions, manners of speaking, and expressions of values and beliefs, and yet, at the same

time, still identify with a particular ethnic group." This statement could well be applied to the Khoja Ismaili community of Montreal.

The findings demonstrate that the level of social adjustment of both groups is high. For example, both the Francophone and Anglophone groups scored high on dating habits. They have all gone out on dates although the Francophone Khoja Ismailis ranked higher (93 percent) on dating with Canadians than the Anglophones (80 percent).

Both groups feel no restrictions with regard to exogamous marriages. Sixty-seven percent in both groups responded by stating that they see no reason why a member from the Khoja Ismaili community should not marry a Canadian.

Both the Francophone and Anglophone Khoja Ismailis ranked reasonably high on positive attitudes towards the Canadian society. Sixty-seven percent Francophone and forty-four percent Anglophones "agreed very much" to the statement "I like the Canadian way of life". The Francophone Khoja Ismailis ranked slightly higher on attitudes towards Canadian life and culture than the Anglophone Khoja Ismailis.

The slight edge that the Francophones have over the Anglophones in the behavioural or attitudinal dimension may be attributed to the former group's exposed educational background in their countries of origin. There being no exclusive Asian or communal schools in Zaire, Rwanda or Malagasy, the Francophone Khoja Ismailis were sent to the racially mixed schools attended by Africans, Asians and Europeans. This could have been a factor enhancing their out-group interactions. The Anglophone Khoja Ismailis of East Africa went to schools which had a preponderance of Asians over other racial groups. The three broad categories that included inner city Asian schools, the missionary run boarding schools for Africans in the up-country areas and European schools in the suburbs had remained even after decolonization, although a certain amount of racial mix had been effected in all the three systems. Given that the out-group interaction of the East African Khoja Ismailis had not been as extensive as that of the Francophone Khoja Ismailis, the social adjustment of the Anglophone Khoja Ismaili contingent in Montreal has been remarkably swift.

An important point to consider is that although both groups scored high on social adjustment, their in-group interactions with their respective groups were even higher. Eighty-eight percent Anglophones and ninety-three percent

Francophones claimed that they see their Khoja Ismaili friends "very often". Both groups also scored high on religious activities. Eight-seven percent Francophones and ninety-six percent Anglophones attend Jamat Khana regularly (i.e. more than twice a week). Almost all know at least some of their gnans and most recite their Dua regularly.

One reason for the ease with which the Khoja Ismaili community has identified with the new environment yet keeping close ties with the community and its activities, is its adaptational flexibility. This was brought about by the removal of crucially retarding strictures of traditional Indian Islam by the late Aga Khan in the mid-fifties. Hence, no Khoja Ismaili women have any inhibiting fear of Chaddur (veil) nor is a western lifestyle frowned upon by any Khoja Ismaili male or female.

In East Africa, the Khoja Ismailis were regarded as a pace making group (Bharati). In Canada, their flexibility to adapt to new environments and culture has enabled them to identify positively with their new country of adoption.

TABLE 8: The Extent of Khoja Ismaili involvement
in their own religion

	Anglophones N = 25 %	Francophones N = 15 %
Have your religious practices changed since your arrival in Canada?		
Same	50	73
Stricter	20	13
Liberal	30	14
total	100	100

chi sq: 3.4, 2 d.f., p N.S.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER IV

1. Bharati, Agehanauda. "A Social Survey," in Portrait of a Minority, by Dharam and Yash P Ghal, Nairobi : Oxford University Press, 1970. p.50.
2. Caditz, Judith. "Ethnic Identification, Inter Ethnic Contact and Belief in Integration." Social Forces Vo. 54, 1975-76. p. 634.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

Reviewing the Ugandan Ismaili situation up to the eve of the 1972 expulsion, Gardner Thompson states:

"In the event, the Ismailis' separate identity was ignored in their identification as 'Asians'. The positive pluralism that they had displayed was not enough to counter the historical legacy, the racial stereotypes, the economic relationships, the political weakness and physical conspicuousness of the Asian minority... The Ugandan Ismailis had to seek new countries of adoption but they could do so with a reputation as good citizens and as an accomplished and adaptable community, which their expulsion from Uganda, in spite of the individual human suffering it involved, did not destroy." (Thompson: 52).

The above description applies to the Khoja Ismailis of both Francophone and Anglophone Africa besides those from Uganda.

As stated in the preceding chapters, the community has transplanted its institutions from its countries of origin, and is adapting these to its new cultural environment. Here, as in East Africa, its self-ascribed communal identity is often seen as a part of an ethnically homogeneous population. The respondents, however, demonstrated favourable overall impressions of the new society they are living in as well as of their own communal institutions. Regarding the existing

gap between the Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismaili student groups, it is believed that the presence of the Administrative Committee, as a policy making body, may in time, narrow the cultural differences between the groups by involving both in common core projects.

Referring to the Comeau-Driedger findings based on Klapp's thesis that "a strictly open social system will be entropic" (Comeau-Driedger, p. 616), the conclusions drawn from the study of seven ethnic groups in Winnipeg provide an added dimension to the study of the Khoja Ismailis in the context of ethnic participation in an open social system like that of Canada.

The findings in Chapter 4 demonstrate that the Khoja Ismaili situation is analogous to that of the French and the Jewish communities in Winnipeg. They have a closed or vitality-facilitating mechanism such as their Jamat Khanas, councils, Youth, Women, Welfare and other organizations. These engender a sense of communal solidarity.

Their sense of ethnic identification tends to be very high for both the Khoja groups scored very high on in-group friendship, attendance at the Jamat Khana, observation of religious practices as well as the use of Kutchi or Gujarati at home.

However, there also seems to be a shift towards an open mechanism in that each group scored well above average in its interactions with the two host groups respectively. Their strong identification with their new country vis-a-vis the old is also indicative of their receptivity towards the new country, its culture and its ideals. Behavioural variables such as their dating patterns, and attitudinal variables such as their perceptions of the Canadian society, and their positive views on exogamous marriages, indicated their assimilationist tendencies.

A general observation of the author over the past two years has shown that although endogamous, there seems to be a growing tendency among the young Khoja Ismailis to lean towards exogamous marriages. At least eleven exogamous marriages have taken place of which nine were between Khoja Ismailis from both groups and members of the two host groups.

A marked contrast between the Montreal Khoja Ismaili community and the Jewish and French communities of Winnipeg is that the Khoja Ismailis have been consciously dissuaded by their communal hierarchy from maintaining ecological sub-systems in form of segregated residential conglomerations. The Montreal Khoja Ismaili community is scattered all over the Island and its suburbs. This is another indication of opening mechanism that could further heterogeneous interaction.

The Khoja Ismaili community could therefore be termed "ethnic identifiers" in the Comeau-Driedger terminology. Caditz would most probably categorize them as "assimilated communalists".

Like the Jewish and French communities in Winnipeg, they score highly on sound-closing mechanisms that give the community a positive identity and a sense of worthiness.

High ethnic affirmation, community maintenance, low ethnic denial, and a strong religious institution show positive reinforcement for the community as a whole. A strong sense of ethnic awareness may lead to the creation of "psychic shelters" (Porter),¹ which as Porter concedes are important for the raising of the "self-concept of the low status groups". (Porter: 301). Although both the Anglophone and Francophone Khoja Ismaili respondents did indicate a tendency towards "psychic shelters" through a high sense of communal affiliation, the community as a whole can hardly be termed "a low status group". The Khoja Ismaili community is small numerically but it does not exhibit a low status in terms of occupational or social mobility.

Porter's assertion that a heightened sense of ethnic identity is "less and less relevant for the post-industrial society because they (cultures) emphasize yesterday rather than tomorrow" could be considered a valid observation if an ethnic community employed excessive closed mechanisms thereby becoming socially insular.

For a group such as the Khoja Ismailis, having an administrative machinery that employs a conscious interplay between closed and open mechanisms, the question of insularity does not arise.

For example, when the expellees from Uganda arrived in Montreal, they tended to congregate in a low income ethnic area known as the Mountain Sights. Initially, there were approximately 150 members² in that vicinity living amidst many other Third World ethnic groups. A basement apartment was converted into the Jamat Khana and a request was made to the Montreal Administrative Committee to grant it an official status; but the Montreal Administrative Committee, not wanting to encourage the ghettoization of the community, refused to legalize the Mountain Sights Jamat Khana.

A conscious attempt was made by the Administrative Council to make the members of the community disperse rather than congregate in enclaves. Announcements were made in the official Van Horne Jamat Khana emphasizing this point. The "unofficial" Jamat Khana at Mountain Sights reached its natural end when the Khoja Ismailis in that area started moving out. They had become better established economically. Many moved to their own homes while others moved to better apartments. The Mountain Sights Khoja Ismaili population is now roughly 20 members.

Another example of an open mechanism is the banquet given in the honour of His Highness the Aqa Khana at the Toronto Hilton by the Khoja Ismaili Regional Council for Eastern Canada. Approximately 800 guests consisting of representatives from the Federal, Provincial and Municipal Governments, as well as members of the Canadian establishment, bankers, professionals, academics and the clergy mingled with the Khoja Ismaili representatives. The menu consisted of western dishes and alcoholic beverages were served. The fact that the Khoja Ismailis are not supposed to drink alcohol (although most do indulge in social drinking) did not prevent them from interacting with members of the host culture who do imbibe as a social norm. Such a situation would enrage the orthodox Muslim who, on many an occasion, has branded the Ismailis as being heretical (Bharati).³

The Ismailis, however, are of the opinion that to march with the times, one has to discard the retrogressive, sartorial strictures of religion without having to surrender one's inherent religious values.

The Aqa Khan, himself, has been educated in the west (Harvard). While he believes firmly in adherence to religious principles, maintenance of one's faith in the face of a materially changing world and the perpetuation of the community's social and voluntary organizations (all are examples of closing mechanisms), he insists that the members of the Ismaili community identify with the country they are living in, not merely by becoming citizens but also by interacting with host groups at all levels (opening mechanisms). His constant reminders to his community everywhere to use education as a step towards social adjustment in a rapidly changing global society is best exemplified in his address to the Jamat (Congregation) in Nairobi in 1976:

"You must absolutely take the maximum benefit of the education which you can obtain. Not only does this education represent an insurance for your future, not only does it give you mobility, but at a time of crisis the young are going to have to work hard to be able to take advantage of the possibilities that exist. These possibilities are not going to be easy to achieve, to obtain as they may be in the past; and our young boys and young girls must be aware of the fact that if they do not work properly, if they do not take maximum benefit from their education, nobody can help them to find satisfactory employment, a satisfactory outlet in the future."

A final instance of a conscious, deliberate policy of an interplay between closing and opening mechanisms adopted by the Khoja Ismaili hierarchy is indicated in the address by Prince Sadruddin Aqa Khan (The Aqa Khan's uncle) to the Vancouver Khoja Ismaili university students in which he stated:

"Please remember that sometimes in the past we like other people, tended to be parochial, isolated, living too much in our own closed units. Instead of looking outwards, we tended to look inwards. Now that you are in a great country with boundless horizons, I want you to look outward and to think about all the opportunities which you have here".

"What we have to seek, I think, is not only the physical integration in the economy and the social structure of the country, but we have to seek a kind of integration of ideas in the small world that we live in. This is what we have to aim for: An Integration of Ideas".

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

At present, both the Khoja Ismaili student groups have indicated a positive self image through a strong ethnic identity that their institutionally complete community provides. They have remained differentiated that is, possessing the ability to retain a distinct communal identity within the society at large. Yet, they also indicate tendencies towards identification with a bicultural Canadian society.

The community has both sound closing and opening mechanisms that has made them ethnic-identifiers in Comeau and Driedger's terminology. There is no indication, at present, to support Gordon's theory that over a period of time, the ethnic groups will assimilate with the dominant culture. It is, however, difficult to project what the community's situation will be within a few generations.

What is evident, though, is that the Anglophone attitudes towards the Francophone Khoja Ismaili groups are more negative than positive. In time, this could escalate into a more pronounced conflict situation. Already, the Anglophone Khoja Ismaili students gather for prayers at one of the conference rooms at the McGill Undergraduate Library. They are often joined by Concordia students. It is very seldom that Francophone Khoja Ismaili students join the McGill group for prayers. This could be attributed to the long distance from the University of Montreal; but the **clannishness** on the part of Anglophone Khoja Ismaili students seems to be increasing. A rift among student groups along linguistic lines could be imminent.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The Khoja Ismaili community is concentrated heavily in cities like Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton. Most of these, unlike the ones in Montreal, are not dichotomized into linguistic groups. Having ~~immigrating~~ from East Africa

Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya) they are all English speaking.

A study examining the social adaptation and education status of the rest of the Khoja Ismaili community in Canada could shed significant light on the community's overall progress in this country.

The majority of the Anglophone respondents in the present study were females (fifty-six percent). As the status of the Khoja Ismaili women had begun to change back in the early fifties, a comparative analysis of the social, educational and occupational adjustment of the Khoja Ismaili males and females in the context of their new environment may provide some new and interesting results.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER V

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2. Figures have been obtained from Mr Amin Merani, formerly, a resident of Mountain Sights. He was actively involved in the Khoja Ismaili community of that area and was instrumental in the establishment of the Mountain Sights Jamat Khana.
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4. His Highness Karim Aga Khan, Farman Mubarak, Nairobi : Ismailia Association Press. p. 32.
5. Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan's address to Khoja Ismaili students, Vancouver, 1976. pp. 4-8. (unpublished)

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