EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF

FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE

KHOJA ISMAILIS IN MONTREAL

by

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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 vienent 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 Zaire, 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 dé montré un niveau élevé d'adaption sociale des deux groupes estudiantins bien que les Khoja Ismailis francophones semblaient être légèrement mieux adaptés socialement que leurs homologues anglophones. Cette léger "pas" à 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 racialet 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.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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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 Asians[1] 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 days[2], 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 refugees[3]
who were mostly stateless and belonged to the Khoja Ismaili
sect[4]. 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 taining. 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 Canda, 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 con-
ducted by a Khoja Ismaili Committee of Montreal, is 1300
members of which three hundred are English speaking[5].

(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 popula-
tion. 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 per-
tinent to analyze the functions of 'opening' and 'closing'
mechanisms of an ethnic group as studied by Comeau and

Driedger[7]. 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 Driedger[8] 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 Breton[9].
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 socieites 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, Ukranians 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 exper-ience 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 charac-
teristics 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 employ-
ment 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 Toronto[11]
(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
Chinatown only/a buffer zone for the transition from their
native culture to the adopted one. As Voisey[12] 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 analsyis,
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

intense[13]. 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 Tsuji[14], "super Canadians" at the expense of their Japanese identity. Hirabayashi[15], Daniels[16] and Kitano[17] 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 California[18].

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 <u>Komagata Maru</u> 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, 1974[19]. 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 immigra-
tion, 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 Carribean
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 Canada[20]. 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 moder-
ately 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 processof 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

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 Calgary[25]. 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
theprevailing 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 differ-
ent 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 insitutions in French or English do not have to go through **special** training in eitherof 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. Tanzanis'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 with-
drawal syndrome described very succintly in Tania Das Gupta's
personal account entitled "Experience of the Immigrant
Youth":

> "I was alientated 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 inter-
personal 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 minor-
ity member amidst a majority white school population can be
viewed best in the following two personal accounts. Sadhu
Singh Dhami 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 esta-
> blished a measure of coordination, if not har-
> mony, 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 pre-
valent 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 Isser[34] advocate
the introduction of ethnic literature and history in the
school curricula in order to create a better understanding
between majority-minority groups. Ujimoto[35] 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. Bancroft[36] 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 relig-
ion, culture and mother tongue, Gujarati. However, the differ-
ences 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 thrity-three Anglophone students and fifteen out of twenty-one Francophones were finally studied.

The Montreal Khoja Ismaili community is a small seg-
ment 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 Khanas, 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 reports 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.

per

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 Multicultaralism (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1977), p. 5.

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Caditz has 4 major categories on her assimilation - identification scale. These are (i) Assimilated-associationalists, (ii) Identified-commualists, (iii) Assimilated-communalists, (iv) Identified-Associationalists. 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 if Islam
with its factional development.   The origins and growth of
Ismailism and its relationship to the Khoja strand high-
lighting certain syncritistic 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 polit-
ical sphere only.   His authority is merely temporal.

Those belonging to the Shia division of Islam, pledged their allegience 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 descendents 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 descendents 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 institu-
tion of the 'Da'wa', emissories.[6]

Under the eleventh Imam (910 AD) an age of glory for the
Ismaili Imamat 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 civil-
ization 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 followeres 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 missionaires) from Iran to Northern Inida. 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 peoms 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]

Hollister[17] 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 sourthern 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 sup-
ported 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 knight-
hood 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 Aga Khan's "moder-

nization" projects in the fifties were implemented mainly

through the establishment of schools, hostels, dispenseries,

hospitals, housing socieites, welfare organization and finan-

cial 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 discon-

tinue 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 Zaire, 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 situa-
tion verges on the miraculous. Contrary
to the view that factors other than the rise
of a single, charismatic, influential individ-
ual 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 26,000[25]

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 brother-

hood. 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 head-

quarters 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 Kamaria[26]   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 Khanas

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 leves 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 pre-
paration 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 IL

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chairman) and the Kamaria (secretary, accountant). They
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elected.

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    (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 sectionsof 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 sub-divided 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) dietry 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 inter-action 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 communi-ties 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 Anglo-
phone (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 inspite 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 respond-
ents 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 Anglphone 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) Elemetary	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 N = 25 %	Francophones 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

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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 Kjoja 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

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			

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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		

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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 cuillinary 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. Thrity-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

		Anglophones N = 25 %	Francophones N = 15 %
Languages spoken :	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

Bharati [1] (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 becasue 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 Franco-
phones) felt that dating Canadians was "all right but not very
relaxed or comfortable for me".

The item with regard to the topic on marraige between some
one 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.

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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 dis-
approve 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 social-
izing habits than the Anglophone Khoja Ismaili parents.

CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS

Judith Caditz[2] discussing the concepts of identification
and assimilation states, "one may assimilate into the American
culture by adotping 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 adjust-
ment of both groups is high. For example, both the Franco-
phone 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
marraiges. 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 schoosl 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 con-
tingent 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.
Eight-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

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                           <u>a Minority</u>, by Dharam and Yash P Ghai,
                           Nairobi : Oxford University Press,
                           1970. p.50.

2. Caditz, Judith.   "Ethnic Identification, Inter Ethnic
                       Contact and Belief in Integration."
                       <u>Social Forces</u> 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 stereo-
> types, the economic relationships, the poli-
> tical 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 ogranizatons.
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 re-
spectively. 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 endogomous, 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-concpet 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 affilia-
tion, the community as a whole can hardly be termed "a low
status group". The Khoja Ismaili community is small numer-
ically 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 insurality 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 members[2] 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 roughtly 20 members.

Another example of an open mechanism is the banquet given
in the honour of His Highness the Aga 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 inter-
acting with members of the host culture who do imbibe as a
social norm. Such a situation wold 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 Aga 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 the are living in, not merely by becoming citizens but also by interacting with host groups at all levels (opening mechanisms). His consistant 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 Nairóbi in 1976:

> "You must absolutely take the maximum benefit
> of the education which you can obtain. Not
> only does this education represent an insur-
> ance 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 satis-
> factory employment, a satisfactory outlet in
> the future."[4]

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 Aga Khan (The Aga 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 paro-
> chial, 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 tenden-
cies towards identification with a bicultural Canadian society.

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The community has both sound closing and opening mech-
anisms 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 pro-
nounced 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 Franco-
phone 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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