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TRINIDAD MUSLIMS IN CANADA: A COMMUNITY IN TRANSITION

by Rakib Buckridan

Thesis presented to the School of
Graduate Studies of the University
of Ottawa as partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy



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SUMMARY

This research project sought to obtain information through a mailed questionnaire on various issues and problems encountered by Muslims of Trinidad ancestry in transition as they settle into the Canadian environment. Predicated on social learning theory and a perspective on "institutional completeness", it was felt that these Muslims have been undergoing important changes in some of their religious values and practices because of the surrounding dominant culture.

Six hundred questionnaires were sent to the leaders of 44 Muslim associations across Canada for distribution to Muslims of Trinidad ancestry. Ninety completed questionnaires were returned and these constituted the data base on the non-random sample of people. The computer approach was through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS/PC+), an integrated system of computer programs for use in exploratory studies and analyses of social data. The data were reviewed mainly along two levels: (a) one-way frequency distributions, and (b) cross tabulations in areas of interest.

The small sample of ninety and the lack of randomness would obviously be very restrictive on extrapolations from the data. However, with the particular sample, the results indicate there is a core of non-negotiable elements which are held firm. For example: all respondents claim belief in the

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oneness of God and Muhammed as His prophet (- the testimony of faith that defines the Muslim); the Quran is the revealed word of God to Muhammad; acceptance of the Quran and some or all of the Hadith; there is life after death; angels exist; and that Christianity and Judaism are also acceptable to God.

At the same time, several aspects of their religious practices appear negotiable, perhaps for survival or simply getting along in the larger society. The frequency distribution of responses indicates, for example, that the socio-cultural environment in Canada tends to hinder the exercise of some basic injunctions such as praying five times a day, attending congregational prayers on Fridays (with alternative measures having to be adopted such as praying after work and holding the jumma prayers on Sunday), fasting during Ramadan from dawn to sunset (with lengthy daylight hours), all of which are more difficult than experienced in Trinidad.

At significant levels are the eating of pork, drinking of intoxicating beverages, indulging in games of chance, and holding financial accounts that pay an interest (usury). Political or governmental agencies may find it of interest to note concerns related to finding suitable education for children (including facilities for the imparting of Islamic instruction, Arabic and Urdu or Hindustani languages), obtaining proper burial sites, avoiding religious and racial prejudices. Also problematic are efforts geared at maintaining

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the extended family with parents and elders held in high respect. There is a disenchantment with the practice of arranged marriages, preferring pre-marital mixing of the sexes, dating and mate selection. The appeal of skimpy clothes, calypso dancing, pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs are also noteworthy. Respondents, while regarding themselves as less religious than their parents, see themselves as definitely more religious than their children, an obvious decline over generations.

The cross-tabulations indicate that while the immigrants from Trinidad tended over time to modify their religious tradition and practices, their Canadian-born children (i.e., the next generation), caught between two cultures and no doubt experiencing tension between minority-majority cultures as they live in the culture of their parents at home but experience a different one in school, the neighbourhood and through the media, were influenced further by the dominant culture in attitudes to their religion and related issues and practices.

Further, among the Trinidad Muslim respondents in Canada, the overall watering down in Islamic traditions and practices seems more prevalent among those respondents who are university educated, are professionals, and have high salaries, as anticipated by the tested hypotheses which are thereby confirmed. Such respondents, for example, compromise

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significantly their daily, Friday and Ramadhan prayers. They are given to eating pork, consuming alcoholic beverages, indulging in games of chance and preferring the nuclear family.

It is noteworthy, too, that by the second generation born in Canada, there is a swing-back (reversion) to enhanced involvement in their religion; and while interesting in itself, it seems to suggest a hope of rescuing and developing their ethnic identity and religiosity.

While the Muslim community constitutes a mere minority in Canada, their problems and practices, however, are surely not of mere academic interest; they are issues of vital significance, affecting the daily lives of human beings. The pioneering assessment here, not only enhances current knowledge with empirical facts in an otherwise nebulous or guessing area, but it promotes interfaith understanding and may have important implications for government policy formulation, especially in the multicultural society of Canada. Muslim leaders can also discern the impact of Canadian life on the dwindling of religious observances among members of their religious community in the possibility of organizing measures to provide and foster the religious values and ethnicity of such Muslims of Trinidad ancestry that were studied here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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The dissertation is dedicated to the author's parents whose untiring love and devotion have always been an inspiration: Haji Imam Ibrahim Buckridan and Hajin Shamshun Buckridan.

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INTRODUCTION

A number of studies have been written on Muslim immigrant communities in Canada. A few attempt to discern the scope of assimilation of those groups into Canadian life and the role of religion in aiding or impeding this process. These studies, as Yvonne Haddad¹ has pointed out, offer valuable insights into the Eastern and Middle-Eastern (e.g. Lebanese) communities in Canada but they do not deal with the complexity of responses to Canadian society by Muslims who immigrated to this country from other parts of the world such as Trinidad. Furthermore, these studies do not deal with the role of ethnicity within the Islamic community itself. Abu-Laban, too, asserts that the "research evidence on Muslims adaptive experience in Canada is rather limited",² and a number of other scholars speculate that the new socio-cultural environment hinders observance of some basic Islamic injunctions such as praying five times a day, refraining from

1. Yvonne Haddad, "Muslims in Canada: a Preliminary Study", in: H. Coward and L. Kawamura, eds. Religion and Ethnicity (Waterloo, Canada: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1978), p. 71.

2. B. Abu-Laban, "The Canadian Muslim Community: the Need for a New Survival Strategy", in: W. Waugh, B. Abu-Laban and B. Qureshi, eds., The Muslim Community in North America (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1983), p. 75.

eating pork or drinking intoxicating beverages. And, of course, Quranic injunctions can not be enforced on adherents in a society with a secular legal system.

This present study focused on certain "Trinidad Muslims" and aimed at obtaining information, through a mailed questionnaire survey, on various issues and problems these Muslims encounter in transition as they settle down into the Canadian environment. Ninety respondents, amounting to a non-random sample, provided the data base. The project was predicated on the hunch that these Canadian Muslims who themselves, or their ancestors, originated in Trinidad in the West Indies, have been undergoing important changes in some of their religious values and practices. This research therefore explored the scope and progress of acculturation and assimilation of the participating Trinidad Muslims, with particular attention to the problems, pressures and conflicts (compromises?) the community experiences in the Canadian context.

Surely, problems of a minority community are not of mere academic interest; they are issues of vital significance, affecting the daily lives of many human beings. An assessment of their views not only enhances current knowledge and promotes interfaith understanding, but it may also have important implications for government policy formulation.

No doubt, religious interests even of a minority group

in a democracy, can sometimes initiate, though perhaps more frequently can be a limiting factor, on governmental measures and direction.

The policy of multiculturalism in Canada is, no doubt, favoured by Muslims in Canada. Canada and several other Western countries are pluralistic societies in the sense that they consist of different religious, ethnic and racial groups. And it is all the more cogent to note how the Trinidad Muslim respondents (to the survey questionnaire) adapt to the non-Muslim socio-cultural milieu in Canada. More specifically, the differences between current-day practices of respondents and their earlier adherence to Islamic principles and traditions, especially as these differences are reflected over time, and more concretely between generations in Canada, could shed light on the impact of Canadian life on their religious observances. Hopefully as well, the Canadian neighbours of these Trinidad Muslims can arrive at a better appreciation of Islam and such Trinidad Muslims. These Muslims, too, can discern if and when and how their religion is being dwindling so that responsible leaders may if they so wish, adopt fortifying measures.

Further, because there seemed to be no previous study of a similar nature, at least none focused on Trinidad Muslims in Canada, this investigation could well be viewed as a pioneering endeavour that could bring to useful light some of

the important difficulties and limitations that could be encountered in exploring such an uncharted or nebulous area as this. Hopefully, later researchers would be better prepared and armed in examining similar or allied phenomena.

In this report, a review of the pertinent literature is presented in the first chapter. Theoretical considerations leading to the hypotheses under investigation are indicated in the next. Chapter three presents the survey design and procedure effected. The statistical techniques adopted are also described. The results of the survey and associated discussions are presented in the fourth chapter. In the fifth chapter, implications of the study are noted, while the sixth chapter presents a number of limitations in the study, together with suggestions for further research. Then follow a summary and conclusion section, a bibliography and appendix, including a copy of the survey questionnaire.

chapter presents a number of limitations in the study, together with suggestions for further research. Then follow a summary and conclusion section, a bibliography and appendix, including a copy of the survey questionnaire.

CHAPTER 1

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

While an exhaustive search of the literature reveals nothing concerning Trinidad Muslims in Canada or of Muslims from any Western nation migrating to Canada, certain helpful works on Muslims in general, and the few studies on Muslims of other ethnic origins taking up residence in Canada, and in such other places as the U.S.A., two largely Christian countries, may well bring to attention the kind of issues that Trinidad Muslims might be expected to encounter in their new Canadian homeland. In this chapter it seems sensible therefore to note first what the literature presents in regard to the number of Muslims, particularly in Trinidad and Canada and a definition of the term, Muslim. This is then followed by an exploration of the literature in regard to information on Muslim migration from the sub-continent of India to Trinidad, with some indication of the religious life and practices of Muslims in Trinidad. This would provide an appreciative background from which the Trinidad Muslims emerged in their migration to Canada. The specific studies of various Muslim groups in Canada are reviewed, with indication of the problems engendered through the assimilation process in

the multicultural Canadian scene. Important considerations leading to the planning of the current investigation are also identified.

1. Muslims: Incidence and Definition

Today, Muslims can be found in almost every country of the world. Their number is reported to be close to one billion. One of every five or six people in the world is said to be a Muslim¹. One report states: "300 million Muslims out of 900 million live, as minorities, in non-Muslim countries".² In the last fifty years or so Islam, compared with other

1. While some authors state one in six, certain others say one in five. J. McDowell and J. Gilchrist, two Christians, spoke of Islam as "the fastest-growing religion in the world with an estimated 750 - 800 million believers or adherents", in: The Islamic Debate (San Bernadino, California: Here's Life Publishers, 1983), p. 340. C.G. Fry and J.R. King, two other Christians, reported the number to be one billion, in Islam: a Survey of the Muslim Faith (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1980). A recent Muslim publication also reported: "There are over one billion Muslims distributed in the world today", Al-Hikmat, Oct. - Nov., (1989) 7. (Al-Hikmat is a monthly Islamic publication of Trinidad and Tobago: Ciperio Street, San Fernando, Trinidad, West Indies). And A.A. Elkholy asserted: "Islam is already the faith of one-fifth of the world's population and the 67 nations that make up the Muslim community occupy a seventh of the world's land masses", in: "The Quranic Concept of Community", Hamdard Islamicus, 10 (1987) 85.

2. A.K. Gaye, "Muslim Minorities: a Framework," in: Islamic Council of Europe, Muslim Communities in Non-Muslim States, (1980), p. 1.

religions, has had the largest percentage increase in adherents (i.e., 235%; with Christianity having only 47%; and Judaism a decrease of 4%).³ And through its years, Islam has evolved a bewildering number of "sects", or more properly, schools of thought.⁴

Thus, when writing about Muslims, followers of the religion of Islam, one may be tempted to ask: which Islam?

Hodgson has declared that "in launching the venture of Islam, the events of the first generation after Muhammad were almost as formative as those of Muhammad's own time. It is not accidental that later Muslims have identified themselves in terms of these events and of the factions that grew out of them".⁵

Muhammad is reported to have predicted that his followers would be divided into numerous sects. The Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam notes that Abdullah ibn Umar said the

3. K.W. Stump, "A Crucial Half Century of Religion", The Plain Truth, (Feb. 1984) 11, citing comparative information from The World Almanac and Book of Facts, (1935), and The Reader's Digest Almanac and Yearbook, (1983).

4. Most Muslims scholars advocate the term "schools of thought", claiming there are really no "sects" in Islam.

5. M.G.S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam, Vol. I. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 217.

Prophet remarked:

Verily it will happen to my people even as it did to the Children of Israel. The Children of Israel were divided into seventy-two sects, and my people will be divided into seventy-three. Every one of these sects will go to Hell except one sect. The companions said, "O Prophet, which is that?" He said, "The religion which is professed by me and my companions." (Mishkat, book i, Ch. vi, pt. 2).⁶

The Encyclopedia also notes that the number has exceeded the Prophet's prediction and that Shaikh Abdul Qadir says there are no less than 150 sects in Islam.⁷

The Sunnites (or Sunnis), the largest division in Islam, and numbering over half a billion, arrogate to themselves the title of Najyah, i.e., those who are "being saved". Of course, so do the other sects, such as the Shiites, the next great division numbering about one-third that of the Sunnites.⁸ The major divisional split which later became more splintered, dates back to the very early days of Islam, even to the time of Muhammad's death, and has been reinforced by powerful political, cultural and theological

6. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, eds. The Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam (Leiden: Brill, 1953), p. 567.

7. Gibb and Kramers, Shorter Encyclopedia 567.

8. C.G. Fry and J.R. King, Islam: a Survey of the Muslim Faith (Grand Rapids, Michi.: Baker Book House, 1980), p. 111.

perspectives.⁹ To some people, Islam is the position reflected by the late Shiite Imam of Iran, the Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, yet his contemporary, Anwar Sadat, the late Prime Minister of Egypt, also a Muslim (but of the Sunnite group), on a television CBS news broadcast, decried Khomeini as distorting and misrepresenting Islam to the world.

On researching the question of what or who is a Muslim, Fyzee, an ardent scholar in Islamic Law, notes there are at least three divergent views on defining a Muslim: (i) he who believes in Muhammad as a prophet belongs to the Muslim Community; or (ii) every person who affirms "that there is no god but God (Allah), and Muhammad is the Prophet of God" is a Muslim; or (iii) al-Baghdadi and other theologians hold that in addition to the belief in God and the Prophet, a number of other beliefs are also necessary.¹⁰

9. Interestingly, Fry and King, Islam, iii, have likewise pointed out that Christianity is split into at least three major divisions, each with its own sects and innumerable subsects reflecting conservative or liberal viewpoints, social or personal commitments, historical and geographical differences, and that the same can be said of Buddhism, Hinduism and Judaism.

10. A.A.A. Fyzee, Outlines of Muhammadan Law, 4th ed. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 60.

In the practical world, however, the solution, or rather question has remained more complicated. Among Muslims of South Asian ancestry, the problem of the Ahamadi community has been difficult. The government of Pakistan under Zulfiqar Bhutto passed a law to condemn the Ahamadi community as non-Muslim¹¹, because of their teaching that their leader had the status of a prophet. This has been difficult for the Trinidad Muslims, because Ahmadi missionaries had been active in Trinidad. (Interestingly, prior to the new legislation, in reviewing the court case of Atla Waris vs Sultan Ahmad in 1959, and that of Narantakatch vs Parakkal of 1922, the High Court of Pakistan were of the view, reported Fyzee,¹² that Ahmadis were Muslims since they held the criterial tenet of belief in Allah and Muhammad as the Messenger of God).

However, the vast majority of Muslims continue to oppose the Ahmadis fiercely, regarding them as non-Muslims and corrupters of Islam. An English translation of the Holy Quran

11. O.J. Hesselgrave, ed. Dynamic Religious Movements: Case Studies of Rapidly Growing Religious Movements Around the World (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1978).

12. Fyzee, Outlines 62.

by an Ahmadi, the late Maulana Muhammad Ali, has managed to hold wide acceptance in the West, perhaps because of its brilliant scholarship, but it has been condemned by order of the ulema of Cairene University of the august Al-Azhar authority in Egypt. Interestingly, this translation of the Holy Quran may be found openly or secretly tucked away in the homes of many non-Ahmadi Muslims in the West.

Muslims of several different schools, as well as Ahmadis, do exist in Trinidad as well as in Canada. The total number of Muslims in Trinidad is reported ¹³ to be about 100,000 in an overall island population of 1,250,000. Among these Muslims, the Sunnis are in the majority. Writing in the "Supplement" to the "Sunday Guardian" (a popular newspaper in Trinidad) by way of celebrating "Indian arrival Day 1990" marking the 145th year since the first boat load of East Indians arrived in Trinidad, Maulana Kemal Hydal (the Ahmadi leader in Trinidad) observes: "while Muslims may appear to be critical of identity in other faiths, they are equally critical of identity within their own community. This sense of belonging has led to two strains of Muslims in the local setting. One, the majority, orthodox fundamentalist or Sunni

13. The Torch of Islam, April-June, (1988) 10 (A quarterly magazine of the Islamic Missionaries Guild of the Caribbean and South America: P.O. Box 800, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies).

and the other, the minority, reformist, intellectual or Ahmadi".¹⁴ And the degree to which the Ahmadis are held in contempt may be gleaned from a circular entitled "A Reply to Kemal Hydal", published later in 1990 by a Sunni group, the Islamic Da'wah College (of Kelly Village, Caroni, Trinidad, West Indies), wherein is stated about Hydal: "He recently said that 'the Quran forbids Polygamy', that is a lie". The article states further: "The Leader of the Ahmadis here in Trinidad is a 'Salman Rushdie'. He lies on Allah and the Prophet and therefore deserves the same treatment (from the Muslims) as Salman Rushdie ... It should be noted here that the World Muslim Council which represents Muslims worldwide, declared the Ahmadis as non-Muslims, and has even put a ban on them from going to MAKKAH for pilgrimage."

Turning to the Canadian scene, Abu-Laban¹⁵ notes that the earliest record of Muslim presence in Canada dates back to 1871 when the Canadian census indicated 13 Muslim residents. By 1901 there were 300 to 400 Muslim immigrants. They were of Turk and Syrian ancestry. By 1911 there were 1,500 and mainly

14. "Indian Arrival Day Supplement", in: Sunday Guardian, (National Newspaper of Trinidad and Tobago, 73rd year, May 27, 1990), p. 30.

15. B. Abu-Laban, "The Canadian Muslim Community: The Need for a New Survival Strategy", in: E.H. Waugh, B. Abu-Laban and B. Qureshi, eds. The Muslim Community in North America. (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1983), p. 76.

of Turkish origin. At the onset of World War I many Turkish immigrants, classified as enemy aliens, had to return to their country of origin. In 1931 there were 645, mostly of Syrian and Lebanese Arab decent. Abu-Laban states that it was estimated that in 1951 there were 2,000 to 3,000 Muslim residents. After 1931, Statistics Canada no longer counted Muslims as such. And the statistical problem is complicated by the fact that a Muslim is not required to be registered as such or show active membership in any religious organization. His piety and personal belief are to be recognized only by God. But in 1981 a newer set of Canadian statistics¹⁶ revealed the number of Muslims in Canada to be about 100,000 (half of whom lived in Ontario). They were of different schools and origins, with the majority (about 6 in 10) being foreign-born.

A 1983 publication¹⁷ reports that the Council of Muslim Communities of Canada (CMCC) embracing over 30 member communities from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Victoria, British Columbia, represents over 100,000 Muslims, in an overall Canadian population of about 25 million. There are

16. "The Muslim Canadians, a Profile", 1981 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 1985. Government of Canada.

17. M. Hogben, "The Socio-Religious Behavior of Muslims in Canada: an Overview", in: Waugh, Abu-Laban and Qureshi, Muslim 112.

mosques and Muslim associations in every major city. There are four umbrella organizations, the first is of Canada itself while the others include Muslims of the U.S.A. They are: the Council of Muslim Communities of Canada, the Islamic Society of North America, the Organization of North American Shia Ithna-Ashari Muslim Communities, and the Federation of Islamic Associations in North America. The last-named was very active in its early years but is now more or less dormant, at least in Canada.

Abu-Laban¹⁸ observes that the single most important characteristic of the post World War II Muslims in Canada, is diversity. While sharing a common religious designation, they include immigrants from different parts of the Arab World (especially Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Egypt), and from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Iran, Eastern Europe, East Africa, the Caribbean, and elsewhere. The majority are Sunni Muslims. Differences based on school of thought, language and national origin can lead to cleavage and hinder communication between different subgroups.

M. Hogben in Canada has observed that "each local community has a different mix of Muslims from various ethnic backgrounds, as well as different generations of 'Canadians'

18. Abu-Laban, "Canadian Muslim" 76.

of one ethnic background or more".¹⁹ Muslims in general, as well as Trinidad Muslims, do not occupy any distinguishable residential area. There is no visible concentration as may be found with the Chinese in a Chinatown. Many live in various parts of cities and towns, and are socially and geographically mobile. And, notes Hogben further, that as Muslims "do not usually wear any distinguishable dress here, they are almost impossible to spot in a crowd"²⁰

Given the variety of backgrounds, it seems feasible at this point, by way of an operational definition for the concept of a Muslim, to adopt Kettani's view which states that the word "Muslim" denotes any person who affirms Muhammad to be the messenger of the one God and hold his teachings to be true, irrespective of the extent to which he or she is able to live up to the ideals of Islam. Further, says Kettani:

a person is 'socially' Muslim as long as he or she feels himself or herself to be part of the overall Muslim ummah, wherever he or she might be. There is no other possible definition of Muslims in a study dealing with Muslim minorities, especially in view of the extremely severe conditions which have confronted these Muslims in the past and are confronting them now.²¹

19. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 112.

20. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 112.

21. M.A. Kettani, The Muslim Minorities (Leicester, U.K.: The Islamic Foundation, 1979), p. 5. (Note: the Arabic term ummah signifies community).

Hogben, too, echoes the simple, common pronouncement, that "'Muslim' defines anyone who believes in God and His Prophet Muhammad".²²

In summary, having noted the population of Muslims in the world to be close to one billion, with 100,000 living in Trinidad, as well as 100,000 residents in Canada, and that for practical expediency a Muslim may be defined as one who believes in God (Allah) and in Muhammad as the messenger of God, it may now be useful to note the adventure of the Muslims from India to Trinidad, with a focus on Muslim life in this cosmopolitan, Western island.

2. From Sub-Continent India to Life in Trinidad

In a recent journal entitled 150th Anniversary of East Indians in the Caribbean: 1938-1988, published as a commemorative issue by the Toronto-based Ontario Society for Studies in Indo-Caribbean Culture, it is noted that May, 1988, marked the 150th anniversary of East Indians in the Caribbean. The Whitby and the Hesperus, the first ships taking East

22. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 113.

Indians to the Caribbean, arrived in British Guyana with 396 indentured workers from Calcutta in 1838. The Futtle Rozack, the first ship to Trinidad, arrived in 1845 with 225 such workers. These Indians were taken under a system of indenture, when Caribbean sugar plantation owners needed fresh labour as slavery was abolished in the 1830s and the newly freed Africans exercised their right to discontinue working on the plantations. (Several authors attest to the fact that some of the black slaves brought from West Africa were Muslims, thus being the first to bring Islam to the Caribbean, but that their religious zeal fizzled out because of harsh and powerful Christian bosses²³.) Some of the Indians returned to India at the end of their 5-year labour contracts, but the majority remained. Today, their descendents form the largest ethnic group in Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam.

Most of the indentured immigrants spoke the Hindi dialect or Urdu and came from North India, mainly from Uttar

23. For example, see H. Tinker, A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1880-1920 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974); H.S. Sohal, "The East Indian Indenturship System in Jamaica, 1845-1917", (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Waterloo, Canada, 1979); and E. Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966).

Pradesh (formerly "United Provinces") and Bihar.²⁴ Many also came from Bengal and Madras. It is claimed that conditions on the ships were horrendous, and there are records of high mortality, and the occasional attempt at mutiny. When by 1917 the indenturship system ceased because of agitation in India against the bad treatment of the labourers, over half a million Indians had been settled in the Caribbean area, with 143,000 in Trinidad. The vast majority of the immigrants were Hindus, about 10% were Muslims.²⁵

While the Indians on the whole, in Trinidad have constituted a minority, the vast majority of the population being blacks (with a fair number of whites from Europe, England and the Middle East, together with some Chinese), they did not let the inequality, during a period of 145 years, leave them in a subdued state. They sought meaningfulness in their lives by fostering ethnic identity and cultural persistence. In his article, "Muslims in Trinidad", U. Omarali (a native of Trinidad and practising physician in

24. The majority of Indians came from Northern India. Those exiting through the port of Calcutta in Bengal were often referred to as "Kalkatiyas" to distinguish them from South Indians who emigrated through Madras and were called "Madrasis" in Trinidad. Those from the tribal areas of Bihar and Bengal were known as "Jangalis" or "hill coolies", as noted by J.C. Jha in "The Indian Heritage in Trinidad", in: J. La Guerre, ed. Calcutta to India (St. Augustine, Trinidad: Extra Mural Studies Unit, 1985).

25. La Guerre, Calcutta.

Toronto) notes²⁶ the tenacious religious zeal of Trinidad Muslims in holding on to their heritage from India. Citing some prominent early Muslims in Trinidad, he writes about the renown Syed Abdul Aziz Meah who came from Afghanistan in 1883 and worked out his indentureship in Princes Town (in the South of Trinidad), as learned in Islamic theology and a spiritual advisor, counsellor and politician. In 1893, Aziz Meah formed the East Indian National Association which was the first organized Indian pressure group in the colony (with headquarters in Princes Town) and the Islamic Association in 1906. Aziz Meah was conferred the title of Qazi (judge) in 1907 and Khalifa (spiritual head) in 1923. Before he died, the Qazi accomplished the realization of another cherished dream. By 1926 he was able to unite most of the colony Muslims into the Tackveeyatul Islamic Association ("Society for the Strength of Islam") or TIA for short.

Another formidable pioneer, Yacoob Ali, who was born in 1875 and left Trinidad at age 10 for India and returned in 1898, is described as a Hafiz (one who knows the Quran by heart) and as a Quari (one whose intonation of the verses

26. U. Omarali, "Muslims in Trinidad", in: 150th Anniversary of East Indians in the Caribbean, 1838-1988 (Toronto, Canada: Ontario Society for Studies in Indo-Caribbean Culture, 1988).

thereof is deemed very correct)²⁷, as well as a "most dynamic Islamic Revivalist".²⁸

D. Dabydeen (a lecturer in Caribbean Studies at the University of the West Indies) and B. Samaroo (lecturer in history at that same University and Minister in the government of Trinidad) point out in their book, India in the Caribbean²⁹ that while Aziz Meah was active in the South of Trinidad, another former indentured labourer organized the early Muslims in the North. Haji Ruknudeen Sahib came to Trinidad from the Punjab in 1897 at the age of 18. With constant practice he improved on his earlier Arabic, Urdu and Hindi. After his indentureship he became sufficiently affluent to afford the Haji pilgrimage. He established several jamaats (Muslim communities) and a number of small schools in villages. In 1927 he succeeded Aziz Meah as Qazi.

Following these two leaders a succession of missionaries arrived from India. They aspired to foster and maintain the Muslim way of life, and "to unite the forces of religion against irreligiousness".³⁰ Some of the more

27. Omerali, "Muslims".

28. ASJA, Tribute to Hafiz Yacoob Ali (Trinidad: ASJA, 1972).

29. D. Dabydeen and B. Samaroo, India in the Caribbean (London, England: Hansib, 1987).

30. Dabydeen and Samaroo, India, 52.

significant ones may be indicated. Moulvi Haji Sufi Shah Mohammed Hassan Hanafi Quadri came in 1914. He held an orthodox view on Islam, not unlike that of the Iranian Ayatollahs. His rigidity was opposed by Haji Ruknudeen and many others, and he left Trinidad in 1918. On the invitation of local Muslims, a missionary from the Punjab, Moulvi Fazal Karim Khan Durrani, arrived in 1920 and quickly found himself in debate with Yacoob Ali at that time. In his two-year sojourn, Durrani caused the first major schism in local Islam by his advocacy of the view that the founder of the Ahmadis, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, was indeed a prophet after Muhammad, whereas most Muslims regarded Muhammad as the last of the prophets. Still worse in the view of his antagonists was his arrangement for Islamic training in India for a youth, Ameer Ali, from Siparia in South Trinidad.³¹

Ali was educated at the Anjuman Ishaat-I-Islam in Lahore (an Ahmadi community), and he performed the Hajj while returning home in 1930. He proceeded to Surinam as a Muslim missionary and controversy raged between the newly organized Ahmadi community there and the traditional Sunnis over questions such as the crucifixion of Jesus and the prophethood of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

This schism led to the formation of a new Muslim

31. Dabydeen and Samaroo, India, 50.

organization in Trinidad and Surinam. In Trinidad, a substantial number of Muslims formed themselves into the Anjuman Sunaatul Jamaat Association, or ASJA, which was incorporated by Ordinance 24 of 1935. This is still the largest Muslim Group in Trinidad.

The first president of ASJA was the dynamic figure, Haji Mohammed Ibrahim, well known as "M.I." of M.I. Baking Company in Port of Spain. A close associate of Qazi Ruknudeen Sahib, M.I. was dedicated to the cause of Islam. He was a successful businessman and in 1942 he built and donated to the Muslim community a large beautiful tiled and marbled mosque in Queen Street, Port of Spain, on land donated by his Muslim friend, the merchant, John Mohammed. With many trips to the Middle and Far East, he had occasion to meet with Farouk, the King of Egypt. In 1990, the presidency of ASJA which was at that time in the hands of the well-experienced Haji Abdul Sattar, passed on to a son of M.I., Haji Mansoor Ibrahim, a physician and Sufi, a young man with a progressive outlook.

In 1936, S.M. Hosein (of ASJA), a dynamic orator and interpreter in the courts, as well as film censor, marriage and divorce officer, exhibited (in conjunction with Ranjit Kumar) the first Indian movie from India to Trinidad, "Bala Joban". Indian movies, he felt, could resuscitate the language and culture of India. He wisely claimed that when a

language is lost a culture is lost. A keen interest in Indian movies has continued unabated.

To counter the influence of Ameer Ali in those early formative years, the ASJA obtained the services of Moulvi Nazir Ahmad Simab of Lahore in 1936 but his visit created further rift among the Muslims, resulting in his return to Lahore in 1938. Invited again one year later he went on to found another organization, The Tabligh-ul-Islam ("For the Propagation of Islam through Education").

Regarded as one who admirably revolutionized Islamic education in Trinidad, Moulvi Nazir Ahmad Simab had several brilliant students under his sway. Among these were Senator Ramzan Ali, President of the island-wide Cane Farmers' Association; the late Saieed Mohammed, a Minister of the first P.N.M. government; M. Ayub Khan, Imam of the later TML Mosque; Ali Hosein; Kamaludin Mohammed, veteran politician and Minister in the P.N.M. government from day one and one-time acting Prime Minister. Moulvi Nazir Simab founded the Islamia School in San Juan in 1942 and ran it with the help of Abdul Ghany, Noor Ghany, the Hashim Muzaffar family, the Mustapha family, Ramzan Ali and Rajab Ali. On his death in 1943, the Moulvi's group of followers merged with the TIA.

In the meantime, Moulvi Ameer Ali was not only President of the Tackveeyatal Islamic Association but also

President of the Indian Educational Association. He was the first non-Christian member of the Board of Education in Trinidad from 1938 to 1942. At a meeting on the 5th June 1939 of what was the East Indian Advisory Board, Moulvi Ameer Ali moved that the Education Ordinance be amended to include all religious associations in the colony and not Christian denominations only. He approached Governor Hubert Rance for aid to Indian denominational schools and was refused. But he persisted in his quest. In 1948-1949, state-aid arrived. The Islamia School in San Juan was the first to be recognized for such aid.³² And soon Muslim organizations undertook a proliferation of schools.³³ Further, Muslim marriages before the 1930s (as well as Hindu marriages before 1946) were not recognized by Trinidad and Tobago law. Moulvi Ameer Ali encouraged the government to pass a Marriage Ordinance for

32. There were, of course, a number of unaided schools prior to this, with emphasis on Indian language and religion. It is doubtful that any were held in a proper school building. There was an Arabic and Urdu school at Princes Town in 1925 started by the Islamic Guardian Association, with the Imam as teacher. "M.I." a business man at El Socorro at the time, carried out his promise in 1924 to build a mosque and school there, with help from India. Haji Gokool Meah sponsored a Muslim school at St. James, Port of Spain, from 1927, with a mosque as well at his own expense; and Haji Ruknudeen Sahib sponsored a few small schools in St. James. There was also a report that in Princes Town there was a Leguana Islamic school in 1929 for pupils aged 8 to 18 years.

33. La Guerre, Calcutta 129.

the Muslims alone when apparently insoluble difficulties arose in framing one to cover both Hindus and Muslims.³⁴

Meanwhile, it was becoming uncomfortably apparent to some earlier members of the TIA that the new members, that is the Simab disciples that were welcomed in, were tending in their larger number to monopolise the TIA. Thus there developed what some observers might call a power schism in the TIA. And in 1947 Moulvi Ameer Ali and his followers left that association and formed the Trinidad Muslim League, or TML. A legal resolution allowed for some crown land in the town of St. Joseph to go to the TML while the beautiful Nur-E-Islam mosque in San Juan would be left with the TIA. The TML was actually founded on Pakistan Day, the 15th August, 1947, underlining the connection with the sub-continent. Its incorporation was in 1950. It may be noted that in 1945 there was great joy in the grand "Indian Centenary Celebration", marking 100 years since Indians, both Muslims and Hindus, arrived in Trinidad. It was an occasion for Indians to assert their Indian heritage. Haji Ruknudeen was among those who led Muslims in prayers in day-long proceedings.

Religious visits by foreign Muslims continued and

34. As reported in the newspaper, Sunday Guardian, (July 1, 1990) 9.

there was much rejoicing when civil or political personalities from Pakistan visited the Caribbean. For example, in November, 1948, M.A. Ispahani, Pakistan's first ambassador to the U.S.A. spent a few days in Trinidad. He there laid the foundation stones for the proposed Jinnah Memorial Mosque and the Jinnah Memorial College, both institutions of the TML and both named after Mohammed Ali Jinnah, one of Pakistan's founders and its first Governor-General. Trinidad Muslims held many joyous celebrations in honour of the ambassador's visit.

Under the guidance of their Mufti, Moulvi Ameer Ali, the TML grew into a formidable organization which went on to establish several primary and secondary schools, at the same time accomplishing completion of construction of the outstanding Jinnah Memorial Mosque with such grandeur and architectural elegance that its beautiful minarets and domes against a tropical sky bring such glory and pride to the population in general that one of the country's more expensive stamps bears its picture.

Prominent members of the TML include well-known personages such as the late M.H. Khan; Aziz Ahmad; Mohammed Refeeq; Al-Haj Muhammad Ayub Khan (a former pupil and associate of Aziz Meah, one time secretary of the Islamic Guardian Association of Princes Town, father-in-law of Al-Haj

Moulvi Ameer Ali, an expert in Islamic calligraphy, earlier Imam of John Thomas Mosque, and for many years until his death, Imam of the Jinnah Memorial Mosque); Haji Mohammed Ibrahim (currently President General of the TML); M. Aziz (the Mufti, as well as an ear, nose and throat specialist); Kadir Baksh (prominent businessman of the lumbar industry); Inayat Hosein (agricultural specialist); Haji Ibrahim Buckridan (an Imam, social worker, marriage and divorce officer, earlier manager of school and mosque in Rio Claro, and Justice of the Peace); Mazac Shaama and Murad Ali (both retired school inspectors); Abraham Khan (insurance agent and advisor); Clem Razack (a judge in the law courts); and Noor Hassanali (President of Trinidad and Tobago). Hassanali who previously was a Senior Magistrate, Senior Crown Counsel, Acting Solicitor General, Judge of the High Court and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was described in 1990 at the University of Toronto where he received an honorary LL.D. degree, as a man who:

exemplifies the best in human beings, not merely in practical achievements but in the qualities of soul and heart that we all admire but too seldom manifest in ourselves ... a man distinguished by his virtues. Kindly, patient, considerate, and above all, broadminded and tolerant, he has dedicated his life to observing and exemplifying the highest principles of the Muslim religion and

his humanitarian faith.³⁵

(Such a group of members can be illustrative of the quality of mental calibre, acumen and resourcefulness that may be found in a Muslim organization in Trinidad.)

The ASJA Community, too, through the energetic drive of the late Shafik Rahaman set up schools in the towns of San Fernando, Princes Town, Point Fortin, Charlieville, Carapichaima, Rio Claro, and Barrackpore.

It may be pointed out at this juncture that the ASJA and TML have held opposite views, often publicly and hotly debated, on such matters as Mukallidism vs Ghair-Mukallidism. ASJA prefers Mukallidism in adhering to the doctrines of four learned and influential Imams in early Islam, in that following these Imams the gate to personal interpretation is closed, and on a principle of taklid or imitation a believer must abide by the interpretations of one of these Imams. ASJA tends to adhere to Imam Abu Hanifa. The TML holds to Ghair-Mukallidism on the principle of ijtihad or personal deduction, in that while often respecting and being guided by interpretations of the same four Imams, a believer can be a "non-conformist" where differences are perceived between the imams in practice of worship and law. The gate to interpretation remains open. And he or she as a "non-

35. As reported in the newspaper, Sunday Guardian, (July 1, 1990) 9.

conformist" can form personal judgements while resorting to the Quran and the Hadith.³⁶ Thus the motto of the TML is: "Back to the Quran and Hadith", as is announced in their regular journal, The T.M.L. Times. In Trinidad, most Sunni Muslims and therefore the majority of Muslims there, are followers of Imam Abu Hanifa. The ASJA and TML have also argued on whether or not the Tarawee Namaz (nightly prayers during the fasting month of Ramadhan) consists of 20 rakaats (performances), advocated by ASJA, or 8 rakaats, practised by the TML; whether or not Jesus had an earthly father, is alive physically in heaven and will return at some later time. The TML denies the non-earthly fatherhood and that Jesus is in heaven bodily and declares Jesus will not be returning. The theological outlook of ASJA and that of the TIA are very similar, except that the TIA claims to be "non-sectarian". They do, however, hold separate administrative bodies and operate separate schools and mosques. The famous Nur-E-Islam mosque of the TIA seems in recent years to be finding its own independence under the guidance of Imam Razack Ali who is able to have jamaat members through several committees share and

36. Hadith consists of a record of behaviors and sayings of Prophet Muhammad. As supplementary to the Quran, it is regarded by Muslims in general as exemplifying in the Prophet's life (his approach and solutions to problems) various principles that may or may not be found expounded in the Quran (It is sometimes said that "a good example is the best sermon").

help the community in various activities. When the leader of the TIA, Abdul Ghany died, the presidency was passed to his son, the merchant Noor Ghany, and when the latter died in 1990, it was passed to the latter's son, Aurangzaib Ghany ("Zebo" for short).

In Trinidad, there is also an Ahmadiyya Movement, the Missionary Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat-I-Islam, under the leadership of Maulana Kemal Hydal. This group believes Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was a Reformer and not a prophet. Internal friction has yielded another section under Imam Kalamazad Mohammed. A journal published under the editorship of Maulana Hydal is entitled, The Call. There is yet another small group of Ahmadis, the Jamaat-I-Ahmadiyya, that holds Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was indeed a prophet. One of their well-known leaders was the late "Chotee Meah". At present they are guided by Maulana Ibrahim Bin Yacub, a black person who is originally from Ghana but trained in Pakistan and who served in London and now leads the McBean Mosque Jamaat in Trinidad. Their publication is Al-Zikr (the exhortation).

There is also an energetic Islamic Missionaries Guild of the Caribbean and South America, under the guidance of Haji M.K. Hosein. Their large mosque and school in Kelly Village, and their journal, The Torch of Islam, are at the service of the community. Of rising prominence, is a residential, theological seminary by Dar-ul-Uloom with Maulana Shabeer

from India spearheading Islamic knowledge and hafiz training there.

The Al-Hikmat Islamic Propagation Centre, a recent organization still struggling to establish itself, publishes a monthly journal, Al-Hikmat, with the motto: "Invite all to the way of the Lord with Hikmat. Ch.: 16 v: 125". That organization also attempted, without much success, however, to operate an Islamic Home for children. The Muslim Credit Union Co-operative Society Ltd. of Trinidad and Tobago publishes the Muslim Co-op News.

It may also be noted that in July, 1990, there was an attempted coup by a black Muslim, Imam Abu Bakr, representing a generally black Muslim group, the Muslimeens, to overthrow the government but the coup attempt was unsuccessful. One of the underlying motives was reported to be that of hoping to turn Trinidad into an Islamic state. Whatever was the actual motive, the instigators of the coup attempt are currently before the law courts.

Despite the various Muslim groupings, certain localities have preferred to remain independent of any umbrella organization and to be able to welcome visitors of any school of thought. For example, the "Four-Roads Junction" Mosque in Freeport, led by Imam Hassan Mohammed, and the "Diamond Road Mosque" in Claxton Bay under the guidance of

Haji Imam Kalas Amjad Ali hold such positions.

Visits by missionaries to revitalize Islam in Trinidad have continued from time to time. And, further significant ones include such well-known figures as Maulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqui (whose name is usually prefixed with the title, "His Exalted Eminence") and his son-in-law and Secretary Maulana Hafiz Fazl-Ur-Rahaman Ansari. The reception line for these two distinguished visitors included Haji Ruknudeen Sahib who no doubt was very pleased to have such distinguished visitors in the land of his adoption. The visitors were given a civic reception in Port of Spain (the capital city) and a ceremonial tour of San Fernando. They gave lectures and participated in prayers throughout the colony, and at one meeting in the Queen's Park Savannah in Port of Spain in 1950 they drew as many as 7,000 people. The impact of these missionaries on the local Muslim population was profound. They revitalized and re-energized Islam from any possible dormancy. And Moulvi Fahtedad Khan, an energetic missionary became the Imam at a conspicuous mosque in St. James, and this position later devolved to Haji Imam Karimullah, and after the latter's death in 1990 the Imamship went to Karimullah's son. The late Maulana Tufail, of the Working Mosque in London, England, is well known in Trinidad for his Ahmadi viewpoint, missionary persuasion, and Arabic instruction. Another missionary, the

late Moulvi Mallam Tayo who originated from Ghana was sometimes accused of being an Ahamdi who later changed his mind.

While the prestigious Islamic Academy, directed by Ebrahim Kazim and his wife Joan (both physicians) frequently present a variety of learned guest speakers and provide a tremendous amount of community services, with charitable donations to the poor and needy, several individuals also highlight the presence of Islam in additional ways, such as Waffie Mohammed, a former Senator, who in 1976 after years of religious study in Pakistan returned to Trinidad and is known for his prolific writings and lectures on Islam and its way of life; Haji Ralph Khan, a Senator, with his religious perspective on the political scene; Rakeeb Hosein, a former mayor of the city of San Fernando and keen advocate of matters Islamic; Haji Gufran Rahaman with occasional newspaper analysis on the international scene of Muslims; Haji Mustapha of the Knowles Street mosque who, like certain other Muslim travel agents, takes a group of Muslims on the Haji pilgrimage every year; and Sookoor Mohammed (theatre name of Ulanos) now retired baritone singer of international opera fame; and Faz Ali, well known radio announcer.

It must not be forgotten that a great deal of the success of prominent Muslims lies in the quiet "behind-the-

scene" operations of energetic, devoted and supportive wives who take on serious responsibilities as well in various ladies' organizations toward enhancing home, community and cultural values in the cause of Islam.

With the development of different schools of thought or "sectarian" differences, Muslims had become so aware and acutely defensive of the viewpoint of their particular school that actual physical fights between members of different schools were known. However, perhaps because of increased knowledge and understanding and the universal ecumenical quest, serious attempts in recent years have been made to promote Muslim brotherhood between schools, without at the same time denying the existence of differences. For example, the Coordinating Council of Imams occasionally draws different Imams together for discussion of tolerance, respect and fellowship. An increasing number of publications and public lecturers are geared towards unity. And there is a larger religious body known as the Inter-Religious Organization or I.R.O., that brings together representatives of various faiths, such as Roman Catholics, Protestants, Baptists, Bahais and Muslims (but not Ahmadis). A common feature today between Muslims of different schools of thought and between members of different faiths is the challenging exchange of opposing theological viewpoints by articles in the daily newspapers.

Despite its minority status in Trinidad, the Muslim presence is felt throughout the larger society, which is mainly Roman Catholic. Its culinary practices, music, garment, and literary work are interwoven into the fabric of Trinidad society. In addition to the variety of religious organizations, each attempting to check and countercheck the others for adherence to Islamic principles, TV programs such as the popular "Indian Variety" and "Mastana Bahar", together with religious presentations (both TV and radio) and Indian movies tend to counteract eroding forces and to enhance the living vibrancy of Indian culture. The impact of the Muslims on general public life may be seen, for example, in the celebration of their religious festival, Eid-ul-Fitr which for some years now has been observed as a statutory public holiday throughout the island.

Interestingly enough, despite the small number of Indian Muslims in relation to an overwhelming black population in a democracy that has continued to have black prime ministers since independence of the island in 1962, two acting prime ministers have been Indian Muslims, Kamaludin Mohammed and Wahid Ali. The latter, a physician, also served as President of the Senate for several years and has continued to be a strong advocate of the propagation of Islam. The present Speaker of the House in Parliament, in a largely black

government is Nizam Mohammed, an attorney-at-law and a staunch active Muslim. The Ombudsman for the island is G. Edoe, a former Justice of the law courts. R. Narine, a Muslim, is also a Justice much concerned about the Islamic way of life. So, too, is Mustapha Ibrahim, a Justice of Appeal. And, as mentioned earlier, Noor Hassanali, the President of Trinidad and Tobago, is also a very devout Muslim. For instance, the President may frequently be found at Friday prayers at mosques, always preferring to "take a back seat" as he shuns special attention and special favours. He insists on no liquor in his home or to his guests (no matter their status or Western habits), and he devotes to charity much of his financial fringe benefits as president.

The Muslim in general remained strongly attached to his or her religious faith and practice. As one writer has observed:

The Indian Muslims brought to Trinidad their scripture, the Quran ('Recital'), the infallible word of Allah (God), containing the creed and the proper pattern of life, believed to have been revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. Even now the reading of the Quran and offering of namaz (prayer) is imperative for Muslims in Trinidad. Islam is a brotherhood, all the faithful being equal before God.³⁷

In his analysis in the paper, "East Indians in Trinidad, a

37. Jha, "Indian" 1.

Sociological Study," F.E.M. Hosein, a prominent figure in the Indian community in the early part of the century, put forward the following causes to explain cultural persistence among Indians:

- (a) Indians brought from India, "bound by the common bond of race and fellowship", formed an association on the depot and the ship, which later blossomed into a bond of family and friendship;
- (b) they were segregated from the rest of the population;
- (c) they had their "racial prejudice";
- (d) their language was different from that of the West Indians.³⁸

And, while dwelling conditions in the barracks were very bad, with the immigrants thrown together without any consideration for privacy with resulting conflicts, poor sanitation and weak health, as noted by J.C. Jha,³⁹ family solidarity and cohesion, with respect for elders in the extended family, persisted. Jha in his 1985 publication, further observes:

In the rural areas of Trinidad and Tobago where most of the Indians live, 'family' is still a magic word and strong sub-groups loyalties are build around it. It is through the stable family system that the Indian

38. Official newspaper of Triniad and Tobago at that time, Port of Spain Gazette, (5 May, 1913).

39. Jha, "Indian" 3.

business class is thriving and the agricultural class is sustaining itself. The older males in the family control discipline among male members and the older females among the female members. It is the father and mother of the bride or bridegroom who arrange marriages, or give formal approval to the love marriages of their boy or girl. It is they who arrange the barat (procession), tassa (drumming), presents, food, etc ... Hindu families avoid a marriage between even distant cousins, but Muslims permit cross-cousin marriages.⁴⁰

And, the Indian immigrants, "knew the value of money. Naturally, therefore, they preferred to live a simple life and save money to acquire property as soon as possible so that their children could live in comfort".⁴¹ Not surprisingly, therefore, small mosques were built as soon as some Muslims in Trinidad could afford to have them. Eventually, with affluence, came imposing structures and today the Jinnah Memorial Mosque in the town of St. Joseph, the Jama Masjid in Port of Spain and the Nur-E-Islam mosque in San Juan are outstanding beautiful structures, serving as religious and cultural centres for the Muslim community. There are actually over eighty-five mosques in Trinidad.

40. Jha, "Indian" 3.

41. Jha, "Indian" 2.

Maulana Kemal Hydal in a 1990 publication, wrote: "Religion is not a philosophy or dogma always to be altered by changing trends in social outlook; it is rather a powerful social force that guides human attitudes along correct lines for the benefit of the communal welfare." He declares further that Muslims do:

not adapt Islam to suit the age and time, rather they demonstrate a way to adapt modern trends to Islam and to adapt modern research in proving Islam as a universal religion for all mankind. This is most evident in both the cultural as well as the religious aspects of the Muslim experience ... In Trinidad, Muslims have so integrated themselves with peoples of other races and cultures and faiths, without losing their identity, that in spite of being a minority group they have not enjoyed minority status, rather they have enjoyed equality status ... the Muslim religious experience in Trinidad has been a more favourable one than in many parts of the Muslim world itself ...⁴²

The Muslims in Trinidad, diligent, zealous, of high mental calibre and of "all walks of life", are able in great measure to adhere to the five basic pillars of Islam: (a) not only as Muslims do they believe in God (Allah) and Muhammad as His prophet, but (b) they often practise their daily prayers

42. M.M.K. Hydal, "Religious Experience of the East Indian: a Muslim Viewpoint", in: Indian Arrival Day Supplement, of the Sunday Guardian, (May 27, 1990), p. 30.

and are also in general able to attend Friday jumma (community) prayers despite their work, business or professional schedules, and (c) they are avid in their fasting during the month of Ramadhan, flocking to their mosques at night for Tarawee prayers, and (d) they are keen on zakat (the giving of alms to the poor and needy), and (e) they venture, as well, in increasing numbers on the annual Hajj Pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴³

Obviously, Trinidad has posed a strong Islamic setting for Muslim people. Yet, admittedly, one could expect some measure of modification in values and outlook in adaptation to a Western world in the century and a half that the Muslims have been in Trinidad, especially with increased communication between Trinidad and North America.

Thus, anyone visiting Trinidad can easily discern the Muslim who drinks alcohol, buys lottery tickets, disregards obligatory prayers, ignores zakat (alms to the poor) and is in many other ways unconcerned about his religion. While such a person may be the exception, being unduly influenced in various degrees by the surrounding set of different values as can be expected in a society of different cultures, the majority of Muslims seem able to steer an Islamic course.

43. Innumerable books on Islam, or translations of the Holy Quran, indicate the five basic pillars. See for example, Fry and King, Islam.

Unfortunately, there seems to be nothing in the literature that might indicate degrees of change in religious values among Muslims in Trinidad. Interestingly, H. Persaud, a Hindu observer reflecting on the Indians, comments: "They are caught in the paradox of being western by birth while retaining the traditions of their ancestral homeland - the Indian sub-continent, enjoying the affluence of western economies but adhering to the moral and ethical values of the East".⁴⁴

Yet, admittedly, one could reasonably expect some measure of adaptation to a Western world when over a century ago Muslims (all illiterate and at the occupational level of indentured labourers) emigrated from (what was then) India to Trinidad. In an era that was hardly developed industrially or economically, these East Indian Muslims were able to retain and live, in their rather isolated conclaves, the religion they brought with them; so much so that Pakistan's first ambassador (His Excellency, Mr. M.A. Ispahani) to the U.S.A. stated, after visiting the Muslims in various parts of Trinidad and observing how zealously they maintained and practised their religious culture, that "The Indians from India are more Indian than the Indians in

44. H. Persaud, "Indo-Caribbeans in Canada: a Reflection", in: 150th Anniversary of East Indians in the Caribbean (Toronto, Canada: Ontario Society for Studies in Indo-Caribbean Culture, 1988), p. 9.

India".⁴⁵ But during the last thirty to forty years several of these Muslims (some with considerable education or professional status) have taken up permanent residence in Canada (and the U.S.A., particularly in Florida) perhaps attracted mainly by the economic development in the West. And, like their fellow-Muslims from other parts of the world, they confront a society with powerful, and at times overwhelming, styles of life different from theirs. And, as Persaud speculates: "East Indians from the Caribbean now living in Canada face new challenges. It is expected that further cultural transitions will take place with concomitant alterations of traditions and values".⁴⁶

3. Religious Issues in the Integration Process

Despite the paucity of relevant literature, certain difficulties in the process of assimilation or integration among Muslims in Canada in general may be gleaned. Certainly, complex movements cannot unfold without friction or conflict. In Canada the Muslim is surrounded with Christian values and practices and is thus confronted with serious challenges.

45. From unpublished, personal compilation of the ambassador's speeches, by Haji Imam I. Buckridan in Trinidad.

46. Persaud, "Indo-Caribbeans" 9.

Whether problems arise from relating Islam to the Western world or absorbing Western values at Islamic expense, can remain an intriguing and important quest. But whatever religious or socio-religious issues may be discerned, they can help provide an emerging frame of reference against which the Trinidad Muslims may be more sharply gauged.

M. Hogben, in his article, "Socio-Religious Behaviour of Muslims in Canada",⁴⁷ has provided some interesting information, but his observations with no citation or objective supporting evidence, remain personal or "arm-chair". And, while the limitations surrounding his brief article can be appreciated, his presentation from the viewpoint of a participant observer, is helpful as will be made manifest presently.

By way of orderliness or directional scope, a starting position may well be in terms of religiosity, which in this context can be viewed in terms of the well-known five pillars of Islam: belief in God and Muhammad as His prophet; prayer; fasting; alms-giving; and the Haji pilgrimage to Mecca. Allied and other significant areas of difficulties are also abstracted from the literature.

(a) First Pillar: Belief in one God (Allah) and in Muhammad as His prophet (messenger).- The literature is

47. M. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 111-123.

especially sparse or lacking on any report of alteration in this belief by Muslims who have settled into the Canadian context. Apparently, the basic proclamation, said to define the Muslim as noted earlier, tends to persist despite whatever changes may occur in other aspects. More directly, therefore, a question to ascertain persistence or change in this basic tenet would be helpful.

(b) Second Pillar: Prayer.- Performance of the five daily prayers, and attendance at the Friday (jumma) prayers which requires a gathering of some kind, during Canadian working hours provide difficulties, as Hogben observes.⁴⁸ In some areas the shortage of enough numbers to form a congregation can be problematic. And, where a gathering place is needed, this, too, can present a difficulty. In several cities, a congregational prayer at noon on Sunday (when more members would find it easier to attend) substitutes for the Friday prayers. The annual Eid prayers, which brings out the largest congregation, tends to be held in large rented halls in big cities (such as Toronto, Montreal, Edmonton and Ottawa).⁴⁹ For the Trinidad Muslim, too, questions specifically on the performance of prayers, particularly the five obligatory daily prayers and the community Friday prayers, would be helpful in gauging change.

48. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 113.

49. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 113.

(c) Third Pillar: Fasting.- In tropical areas such as Trinidad, fasting from pre-dawn to sunset, in the lunar month of Ramadan, is usually about twelve hours, but in Canada where the summer days can easily be sixteen or more hours long, the fast could demand a drastic shift that could easily tax the health or even survival, of many among the elderly devout. Other questions stand out, notes Hogben,⁵⁰ for example: What to do about business or social obligations, children's lunches, efficiency at work, or how to break the fast at work. Some Muslims attempt to compensate for missed days by other fasts or financial contributions.

Thus, not only would an exploration in this area be informative as to the amount of fasting that is practised (e.g., whole month, few days?) by the Trinidad Muslims but it might help determine as well the associated particular difficulties encountered in the Canadian setting.

(d) Fourth Pillar: Alms for the poor (zakat or tithe).- Hogben⁵¹ observes that the Canadian Muslims do contribute a few dollars each year before the Eid prayers and that some individuals and communities send funds even to non-Muslim organizations or victims of natural or man-made disasters. But because the contribution of alms is a personal

50. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 114.

51. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 114.

matter and because of the tradition of concealment of generosity, it is difficult to assess the incidence and amounts given. But a question on the degree of contribution (e.g., regularly, occasionally?) may also reflect persistence or change.

(e) Fifth Pillar: Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj). - In earlier times this was a financially difficult and risky adventure undertaken by a few pious old men, observes Hogben.⁵² But today with increasing air travel (e.g., charter flights) and credit availability many young couples, devout or not, now flock to Mecca for the Hajj. The associated vast, sacrificial slaughter of sheep and camels raises the question of what to do with all that meat when millions of people are starving in other parts of the world.

There seems to be a growing practice of donating money instead. In any event, given the Canadian milieu, the question arises: Are the Trinidad Muslims becoming less interested, over time, in accomplishing the Hajj pilgrimage?

Apart from the foregoing five pillars, several other areas of the life and behavior of Muslims in Canada can be explored. Some of these probably have a stronger base in

52. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 114.

tradition rather than in religion per se. A.A. Elkholy,⁵³ on a selected set of variables, compared two Muslim communities in the U.S.A. And M.R. Haque, while observing that "Muslims look at Islam not just as a religious ideology but as a total way of life",⁵⁴ chose an interesting, albeit very restricted, focus for examination. In his 1978 doctoral dissertation on "Cultural Assimilation and Consumer Decision-Making Among Muslim Couples in Windsor, Ontario", he reports that adaptation "resulted in a change in the conjugal role and power relationship especially with regard to the ideology, decision-making, and division of labor within the immigrant families".⁵⁵ However, with interest on a wider horizon, the following broad categories may be delineated for examination and exploration.

(a) Family life.- An area that challenges integration into a Canadian context is the family life of the Muslim. The tendency to marry at a young age, male domination with females having less opportunities in work, recreation and

53. A.A. Elkholy, "Religion and Assimilation in Two Muslims Communities in America" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Princeton University, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1960).

54. M.R. Haque, "Cultural Assimilation and Consumer Decision-Making Among Muslim Couples in Windsor, Ontario". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1978), p. 38.

55. Haque, "Cultural" 1.

education (though Muslims "continue to extol the great role of women in the past"⁵⁶), and modesty in dress and behavior for females, large families, a reluctance in practising birth control ("even though most 'experts' say it is allowable, if not necessarily desirable"⁵⁷), a problem of pre-marital mixing of the sexes and sexual activity outside of marriage, all generate questions in the minds of young Muslims in Canada who witness a freer way of life outside the family. Hogben remarks:

Muslim teenagers at summer camps organized by the CMCC often object to the segregation of the sexes for sports, swimming, and even religious instruction when they can mix to a greater or lesser degree with members of other sex at home and at school the rest of the year. Many attend dances and parties and find it difficult to accept the arguments of camp instructors that they should at least experience the social side of Islamic life, as well as the traditional prayers, etc., while at camp.⁵⁸

For the adult single Muslim, the problems of dating, cohabitation or mate selection can be more trying. There is the route of "arranged" marriages through family connections, but there is also, as Hogben reports, a high incidence of Muslim men marrying non-Muslim women, "because they have met

56. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 115.

57. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 115.

58. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 116.

and fallen in love".⁵⁹ But, for the Muslim woman to marry a non-Muslim it is demanded that the future husband convert to Islam, and this can be quite problematic, leaving the safe marriage of daughters a major concern of parents. But there is an increasing practice of inter-marriage between Muslims of different ethnic communities. "Islam in Canada has both its own melting pot and its own multi-culturalism, as it has since its beginnings".⁶⁰

Hogben reports that in certain cases "non-Muslim and even nominally 'converted' wives have reneged on earlier understandings or declarations and have had children baptized, or have hindered Muslim funerals for deceased Muslim husbands".⁶¹

In regard to burial, while some Muslims in Canada have sent their dead back to their homelands, "many Muslims are still buried as most Canadians are, and in cemeteries that have no connection with any Muslim community."⁶² Obviously, the question of the availability of a suitable burial site is of concern.

(b) Food and Drink.- Another general area of

59. Hogben, "Socio Religious" 116.

60. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 116-117.

61. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 117.

62. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 117.

difficulty for Muslims in Canada is reported to be in the matter of food and drink. No doubt, all Muslim theologians would agree that the Islamic code orders Muslims, and as Hogben has summed up this aspect, "to eat halal meat, avoid pork products, and shun alcoholic drinks".⁶³ While some devout Muslims would slaughter their own meat, or buy from halal butchers (if and where available), some seek out kosher butchers. Some are wary about eating restaurant food cooked in wine or pork sauce and are careful about ingredient listings. Most Muslims in Canada (or the Western world for that matter) are probably not that cautious and as Hogben speculates "for the majority perhaps, it is more a series of compromises and well-intentioned rationalizations or interpretations."⁶⁴

In regard to alcoholic consumption while there may well be a feeling of some distance, several less committed Muslims are known to take a "social drink" with work mates, at Christmas or in their younger years before settling down as family fathers with a responsibility of good modeling. In Canada it is difficult for young people to avoid the subtle influence of beer advertisement in the mass media (especially on television).

63. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 117.

64. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 118.

Hogben states: "With alcohol already banned to Muslims, it is possible that drugs are also much less in vogue among young Muslims, but I have no firm evidence of this. Several teenagers were expelled from a Muslim camp for the mere suspicion that they were smoking marijuana".⁶⁵

(c) The Educational System and Change in Values.-

Another area of difficulty seems to lie with the educational system.⁶⁶ While in Trinidad there are several well established Muslim schools supported financially in large measure by government grants, in Canada the question of the availability of schools for Arabic and Islamic instruction becomes a serious issue for Trinidad Muslim parents who aspire to impart religious knowledge to their children. Even where the occasional school exists or is now coming into being, the problem of financial assistance by government calls for much pioneering effort.

At present, while young Muslims are exposed to a Christian culture within Christian schools or to a Western outlook in "non-separate" government schools on the one hand, they may also be receiving a different set of values at home or at weekend classes or summer camps. Thus conflicts can arise between parents and children over values and behavior.

65. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 118.

66. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 118.

Indeed, while the older generation in Canada may well appreciate the religious, political and social freedoms, they may oppose the permissive Western society. Questions, therefore, that may provide relevant data can be such as would explore the obedience and respect by children for their parents, the appellation by which parents are addressed, the interest in Islam and its values by the younger generation as compared with that of their parents.

(d) The Ummah (Community). - With respect to the ummah, it is well known historically that as the Muslim community expanded into empire and beyond, it adopted a way of life that transcended the narrow parochiality of language, geographical region or kinship group, as Islam permeated all social forms. As Van Nieuwenhuijze has remarked: "To be a Muslim is not something that results in, or qualifies for, membership in the umma: the two are fully synonymous".⁶⁷ And, Hogben has noted that on intra-community relations between Muslim groups in Canada, the Islamic fraternity overlooks ethnic differences but in large centres, perhaps because of language, customs and certain differences in Islamic perspectives, previously tolerant communities fall apart and reform into their own ethnic inclinations or

67. C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, Sociology of the Middle East, cited by E.H. Waugh in: "Muslim Leadership and the shaping of the Umma", in: Waugh Muslim 19.

regroupings.⁶⁸ Waugh, too, has observed, that the immigrant Muslims in Edmonton tend to live on the North side of the city, and in the Albertan town of Lac La Biche its high percentage of Muslims occupy the lake area of that town, while in Detroit a large area of the city is occupied by Arab Muslims.⁶⁹

Waugh reports one immigrant to say, that in North America, after prayers, "the Pakistanis return to their curries and the Arabs to their Kebabs", thus indicating that ethnically oriented groups have more validity as communal Islam than the universal concept of ummah. And, Waugh comments: "This is why there are ethnic mosques and organizations ... This is, perhaps, why acculturated Muslims are 'turned off' by mosque organizations."⁷⁰ But in this there are some positive aspects, such as the vigorous growth of mosques and associations. Without a hierarchical structure to impose an organization from above, the ummah has had to take the form of loose associations, with a focus on developing common cultural and religious convictions. Such organizations as the Federation of Islamic Associations, the Muslim Student's Association, and the Council of Muslim

68. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 119.

69. Waugh, Muslim 23.

70. Waugh, Muslim 20.

Communities in Canada, are all attempts to give structural identity to the ummah in North America. Despite vagaries in waxing and waning by membership and problems of rotating leadership, they reflect attempts to express the larger reality of the ummah.

At the level of inter-community relations it is not unusual to observe slow or hesitant intermingling socially, again because of the differences in race, culture and language. Generally, the Muslim is less inclined to drink or discuss sex freely with work mates or neighbours. Husbands do not fit in with the beer-commercial stereotyped friendship with the "boys" as portrayed on television. And wives and daughters in semi-seclusion do not relate well to a mixed-sex society. It is often the Imam who must bridge the gap between his group of Muslims and the wider Canadian society.

Interestingly, concerning Lac La Biche Muslims in Northern Alberta, a report states "the imam has criticized what he considers un-Muslim behavior on the part of some members, such as drinking alcohol, gambling, and the wearing of skimpy attire by women."⁷¹ The report goes on to add that "the strictest Muslims are those who are least assimilated to Canadian society. The most assimilated, who tend also to be

71. H. Barclay, "The Perpetuation of Muslim Tradition in the Canadian North", Muslim World 59 (1969) 66.

more successful businessmen, find it difficult to follow the Muslim path in a land where full assimilation and chances of being accepted in the elite of society depend on engaging in certain practices which are contrary to Islamic teaching."⁷²

Still on the level of Muslims and the surrounding Canadian milieu, a 1987 issue of Islam Canada reports that "The first Muslim elected in the Provincial Elections in Ontario is Dr. Murad Velshi. He takes oath of office on the Holy Quran ... Dr Velshi hails from South Africa. He has taken an active role in Canadian politics and decided to run for Don Mills riding in Toronto as a Liberal candidate and won with an overwhelming majority."⁷³ The same journal notes some other inroads: "Dr. Hamid Javed of Saskatoon has been elected President of the newly-formed Canadian Federation of Multicultural Councils ... [His wife] Sister Nayyer Javed, an educational psychologist, is President of Immigrant Women of Saskatchewan"⁷⁴

In another direction, the Muslims of Ontario have been pioneering other significant concerns. In 1987 they caused the Government of Ontario to invite The Council of Muslim Communities of Canada to submit needs of Islamic practices and

72. Barclay, "Perpetuation" 68.

73. Islam Canada 13 (1987) 9.

74. Islam Canada 13 (1987) 9.

tradition toward a review of The Cemeteries Act and The Funeral Service Act.⁷⁵

(e) The Imam.- In regard to the Imam more specifically, while Islam has had no priestly tradition as in the Christian sense, it has had religious functionaries and a wide range of religious leadership, with Imams as conspicuous figure-heads.

Waugh has reviewed the role of the Imam. Apart from conducting official prayers at the mosque the Imam is involved in several important events of the community. He may hold special prayers at deaths and anniversaries, inform a couple on pre-marital arrangements, dowry and financial details, as well as perform the wedding, and be an independent arbitrator between a squabbling couple. He may be invited to conduct celebrations on the passing of exams, accomplished journeys and business successes. He may lead the gathering on these occasions, in songs and praise to Muhammad (the festive mouloods). In the community, as the most knowledgeable person in religious affairs his opinion is often solicited on doctrinal and practical matters. He represents Islam to the larger community, and portrays reverence, piety, honour and good judgement. But none of these functions is unusual in Canada except that the Friday sermon in some centres is

75. Islam Canada 4.

increasingly being rendered in English though still carrying some traditional Arabic form. The degree of involvement of English versus Arabic in an English (or English and/or French) speaking milieu becomes important especially among the younger generations if there is to be communication with understanding.

(f) Occupation.- In terms of occupation, early Muslim immigrants experienced some very difficult times in trying to earn a decent living. Often as peddlers, they were, notes Hogben:

either welcomed to rural homes or expelled at gunpoint! In factories, stores and restaurants they were sometimes accepted and sometimes shunned. For example, it was impossible for the late Albanian Imam of the original Muslim Society of Toronto to find a job at the time of the First World War because of his religion, and he was branded a Turk. Therefore self-employment was the only route for most Muslims and indeed is still widely followed.⁷⁶

Abu-Laban states that post World War II Muslim immigrants are more heterogeneous educationally and occupationally. And Hamdani reports⁷⁷ that in 1976 about 32% of Muslims in Canada were in the professional category, 19% in

76. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 119-120.

77. D.H. Hamdani, Muslims in Canada: a Century of Settlement 1871 - 1976 (Ottawa: Council of Muslim Communities of Canada, 1978), p. 58.

clerical and sales, and 20% in manufacturing.

In a recent speech, Azhar Ali Khan, President of the Ottawa Islamic Association, (and one who also writes an occasional editorial column for the daily newspaper, The Ottawa Citizen), reported that:

Nearly one out of every five Canadian Muslims aged 15 and above in 1981 has a University degree, which is twice as high as the average for Canadians. Average earnings from work in the working age group amounted to \$12,858 in 1980. That year Muslims derived just four percent of their income from government programs, such as unemployment, family allowance, etc., compared to seven percent for Canadians on the whole.⁷⁸

On the matter of occupation, Hogben adds "more research needs to be done in this area. Furthermore, discrimination may keep Muslims from achieving an even balance across the socio-economic scale; John Porter's Vertical Mosaic may apply to Muslims as much as to other immigrant groups, but again evidence is still lacking".⁷⁹ A more up-to-date assessment of occupational distribution as well as income levels among Trinidad Muslims may well reflect on-going changes.

78. M. A. A. Khan, "Muslims in North America and the Middle East," speech delivered to the public, on behalf of the University of Ottawa and the National Library, on March 26, 1987.

79. Hogben, "Socio-Religious" 121.

(g) On the Question of Riba (Usury or Interest).-

In relation to economic transactions, controversy has arisen, in the Western world as well, on the question of riba, meaning "increase" or "interest" as interpreted by Imam Fakrudin Razi and cited by A.J. Qureshi in Islam and the Theory of Interest.⁸⁰ In this position of the fundamentalist, riba signifies zero rate of interest or any amount beyond what is owed.

On the other hand, certain other authorities translate riba as "usury", which The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines as an "exorbitant interest, esp. at higher interest than is legal",⁸¹ which implies that a positive small rate of interest may be permissible.

Commenting on verse 275 of Chapter 2 of the Quran, the verse that relates to riba ("Those who devour usury will not stand ... But God hath permitted trade and forbidden usury"), the well-known translator Yusuf Ali, states "Usury is condemned and prohibited in the strongest possible terms.

80. I. F. Razi, "Mafatihul-Ghaile", cited by A.I. Qureshi, in: Islam and the Theory of Interest, 2nd ed. (Lahore: S.H.M. Ashraf, 1974), p. 45.

81. J.B. Sykes, ed. The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 7th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 1183.

There can be no question about the prohibition".⁸² But he goes on to add: "When it comes to the definition of usury there is room for difference of opinion".⁸³ Further, he excludes interest derived from banking: "My definition [of usury] would include profiteering of all kind, but exclude economic credit, the creature of modern banking and finance".⁸⁴

Also commenting on the same verse, Maulana Muhammad Ali, another well-known translator of the Quran states: "Here is a prohibition to receive any interest on money lent ...". Ali claims that "Riba (literally, an excess or addition) means an addition over and above the principal sum that is lent ...

82. A. Y. Ali, (Trans.), The Holy Quran, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: American International Printing Co., 1938), footnote 324, p. 111. Other commentaries against riba may be seen in M.M. Pickthall, The Meaning of the Glorious Koran (New York: New American Library, n.d.), p. 59; and M. Muhsin Khan (Trans., rev. ed. 1976), Sahih al-Bukhari (Ankara: Hilal Yayinlari, III), p. 168 - 70. The Quranic injunctions against riba encompass verses 275 - 76 and 278 - 81 of Chapter 2.

83. Y. Ali, Quran 111 (footnote 324).

84. Y. Ali, Quran 111 (footnote 324). On this, several authors claiming riba to refer to interest (rather than usury), disagree with Yusuf Ali and argue for zero rate of interest on all transactions. For example, S.M. Ahmad, Economics of Islam: a Comparative Study, (2nd ed. Lahore: S.H.M. Ashraf, 1958); N. Siddiqui, Banking Without Interest (2nd ed. Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1976); S.A. Siddiqui, Public Finance in Islam (Lahore: S.H.M. Ashraf), 1962.

and includes usury as well as interest".⁸⁵ He observes that it is discussed alongside charity in the Quran:

for as charity is the broad basis of human sympathy, usury annihilates all sympathetic affection and leads to the extreme of miserliness ... Usury, moreover, provides habits of idleness; but its worse effect is on morals as it causes man to be obsessed by love of wealth and selfishness ...⁸⁶

He notes further that:

The Quran draws a distinction between trading and usury. In trade the capitalist takes a risk of loss along with the hope of profit, but in lending money on usury the whole of the loss is suffered by the man who uses his labor, while the capitalist may count upon his profit even in the case of loss in the actual concern ... If labor does not bring profit, the capitalist should suffer along with the labourer.⁸⁷

M.S. Noorzoy has pointed out that in a recent issue of Daawa,⁸⁸ ifta ("the scholarly exercise of judgement") was provided by Muhammad Abdullah al-Khatib in reply to questions

85. M.M. Ali, (Trans.), The Holy Quran. (Lahore, India: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam, 1935), p. 120, (footnote 364).

86. M. M. Ali, Quran 120 (footnote 364).

87. M.M. Ali, Quran 120-121 (footnote 365).

88. M.S. Noorzoy, "Islamic Laws on Riba (interest) and Their Full Economic Implications", in Waugh, Abu-Laban and Qureshi, Muslim 53.

by Shaber Ahmad al-Said, a representative of the Muslim community in Houston, Texas, in regard to riba. Noorzoy states: "The clear implication of this ifca is that riba is interest per se". The writings of several other prominent and influential Muslims reflect riba as interest.

A.I. Qureshi has an interesting report.⁸⁹ He notes that Hazrat Omar (the second Caliph or successor to the Prophet) remarked: "The last to be revealed was the verse of usury and the Prophet expired without explaining it to us. Therefore, give up usury or anything resembling it". To be on the safe side, Omar opted for an interpretation according to which one must avoid anything that might resemble riba in dealing with others. However, because the translation here is "usury" and not "interest", the question arises as well: Did Omar mean usury or interest by riba?

Sayyid Ahmed Khan, an educational reformer in Indian Islam, has explained the Quranic injunction as against those who would wrongly exploit others by the economic system.⁹⁰ If, under conditions of modern business practice, loans are arranged in a way that leads to greater well being for the

89. A.I. Qureshi, Islam and the Theory of Interest, (2nd ed. Lahore: S.H.M. Ashraf, 1974), p. 70.

90. S.A. Ali, Economic Foundations of Islam (Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1964). See also B.A. Dar, Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmed Khan.

whole community, then it is a permissible to borrow and lend money. Islam aims at equity, and the principle of zakat bears a similar purpose. A high interest rate would therefore be seen as reflecting a lack of social responsibility, and this may be particularly so among industrialists. People who borrow for consumption, to maintain a minimum standard of living, may have loans without riba, which is then seen as an act of charity.

Noorzoy notes that on the question of riba, particularly in North America, issues arise concerning mortgage instalment payments on construction loans for mosques, community centres, purchasing of houses, cars and such. What then would be the implications for a minority group if it wishes to adhere to interest-free transactions when the larger society operates with a positive rate of interest? One might speculate on problems of implementation even at the level of a Muslim state holding to an interest-free economic system attempting to relate to a non-Muslim world which functions with a positive rate of interest. Obviously, the implications and problems become innumerable. However, much may be reduced to a simple query, and by way of sampling, it would seem useful to determine the degree of involvement in interest transactions such as a bank savings account with interest, among the Trinidad Muslims in Canada. Such a determination may provide a glimpse into the behavior

and feelings (remorse or pleasure) of Trinidad Muslims in this regard in their adventure into the Canadian scene.

(h) Motive for Immigration.- On the question of reasons for immigrating to Canada, a 1976 report by S.N.A. Awan⁹¹ on the Pakistani community in Canada, indicates that educational and economic opportunities were the major attractions at 37 and 27% respectively. Other reasons included: political pressure in the country of origin, adventure and travel, children's education and family reasons.

Abu-Laban⁹² cites information from a study by Khattab which shows that for Arab Muslims in Canada the biggest factor, at 52%, was the pull of relatives already in Canada, followed by economic opportunities at 37%.

In all such reports, while the hope for prosperity seemed the main attraction, there is a conspicuous lack of any religious motivation. Immigrants arrived as individuals or families and not as religious groups seeking sanctuary. It would seem pertinent, too, to determine the motivation of the Trinidad Muslims.

Altogether, then, the various considerations outlined

91. S.N.A. Awan, The People of Pakistani Origin in Canada: the First Quarter Century (Ottawa: S.N.A. Awan, under the auspices of the Canada-Pakistan Association of Ottawa-Hull, 1976).

92. Abu-Laban, "Canadian" 78.

above, as abstracted from the research reports and participant observations of a number of scholars, reveal that the new socio-cultural environment in Canada tends to hinder the exercise of some basic injunctions such as praying five times a day, attending congregational prayer on Fridays, fasting during Ramadan from dawn to sunset (with considerable seasonal variation in number of hours), refraining from eating pork or drinking intoxication beverages, avoiding games of chance, and holding financial accounts that pay an interest (usury). Also problematic are concerns related to finding suitable (Arabic and Islamic) education for the children, obtaining appropriate burial sites, locating meaningful employment and social relations not prejudiced against one's religion, maintaining the extended family with parents and elders held in high respect, giving up more and more on the custom of arranged marriages, preferring premarital mixing of the sexes, dating and mate selection and wrestling with the Western outlook on the equality of the sexes (as opposed to male domination), the woman on the one hand wishing to dress modestly, yet on the other, finding strong appeal in the revealing clothes and skimpy bikinis of the West, together with mixed dancing.

Obviously, when such aspects are viewed against length of stay of the immigrants in Canada, or rather, when regarded as dependent variables as assessed over generations of Muslims

in Canada, change or modification in these variables can provide useful data. And this, indeed, is how the Trinidad Muslims in Canada can be gauged. Further, apart from the generation factor itself, the impact of certain other independent variables such as educational and income levels can be meaningfully explored.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND HYPOTHESES

Theoretical guidelines for this research and the specific hypotheses explored may now be indicated.

1. Theoretical Perspective

The various considerations and questions posed throughout the literature, while many and diverse, may be subsumed within a theoretical position particularly in view of the direction in which data may unfold. Thus this research may be seen as predicated on social learning theory which states that religious behavior, beliefs and experience may change under pressure from different cultures, and are regularly transmitted from generation to generation in the same way as any other custom.¹ This view has been widely held and there is much evidence to show that people reared in different parts of the world tend to acquire, if unchecked, the local religious beliefs, values and customs. Thus the

1. A. Bandura, Social Learning Theory (Englewoods Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall), 1977. Also, by the same author, Social Foundations of Thought and Action (Englewoods Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall), 1986.

forces of assimilation tend to encroach on or erode the forces of religiosity, and this may well be reflected in the battlefield of generations. If this is also evidenced in this research project, not only will it enhance the theoretical position but in a practical way it can be heuristic for Muslims who feel their religious or ethnic identity is challenged and consequently may wish to devise appropriate defensive or generative strategies.

At the same time, it is relevant to note that in recent years, a number of sociologists, anthropologists, historians and psychologists have accentuated research in the foundation, orientation and social values of ethnic groups ("visible minorities", "ethnic communities", "minority groups", "religious minorities" and "cults") in order to explore ethnic cohesion and boundaries, maintenance of identity, residential concentration, language retention and religious observance. Some of these distinguished scholars such as Fredrick Barth, Milton Gordon, Baha Abu-Laban, Wsevolod Isajiw, Jefferey Reitz, Edward Herberg, Hans Mol, and Raymond Breton in particular, point out that established organizations which might be a dimension of ethnic solidarity, do serve as instruments to prevent members of a

minority group from rapid assimilation.² The researchers have provided a variety of systematic approaches to analysing the pattern of ethnic relations in Canada. Mol, for instance, claims that religion provides three types of identity: personal, group and social. Emphasis on any one type of identity can be related to an appropriate type of religion.

Breton,³ starting in the late 1950s, examined various ethnic groups in Montreal from their own formal organizational perspectives. In 1964, after some national and international explorations, he devised the concept of "institutional completeness" which has since been adopted by many scholars in their studies of ethnic groups and ethnic institutions. Institutional completeness deals with the influence of ethnic organizational development on both immigrants, as well as

2. See: F. Barth, ed. Ethnic Group and Boundaries. (Oslo, Norway: Universitets Forlaget, 1969); M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); R. Breton, "The Ethnic Community as a Resource in Relation to Group Problems, Perceptions and Attitudes". Research paper No. 2, Toronto, Ontario: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto (1981): 1-66; W. Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity". Research paper No. 6, Toronto, Ontario: Multicultural History Society of Toronto (1979): 1-81; J. Reitz, The Survival of Ethnic Groups (Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1980); E. Herberg, Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions (Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Canada, 1989).

3. R. Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", The American Journal of Sociology 70 (1964) 193-205.

Canadian born generations. The individual's formal affiliations to the ethnic community are also of importance. Some of these affiliations include the person's interactions with different social and religious organizations in which the ethnic and cultural interests of the individual are represented and maintained. Breton states:

In this study attention was focused not on the individual characteristics, but on the ability of the ethnic community in the receiving society to attract the immigrant into its social boundaries. It is found that this ability is largely dependent on the degree of institutional completeness of the ethnic community, but other characteristics of the community are also important.⁴

In recalling the life of the Muslims in Trinidad, for instance, it becomes obvious that a considerable degree of institutional completeness existed despite a large surrounding Christian milieu. In Trinidad the Muslims were able to foster their own set of institutions (often in particular geographical locations), maintain their Urdu or Hindustani language (with makhtabs teaching Arabic), and generally abide

4. Breton, "Institutional Completeness" 193. Also of relevance are: R. Breton, The Governance of Ethnic Communities: Political Structures and Processes in Canada (Westport, C.T.: Greenwood Press, 1990),; R. Breton, W. Isajiw, W. Kalbach, and J. Reitz, Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City. (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

by an endogenous, patriarchal, extensive family life style.⁵ Marrying someone outside of the religion would be a very rare incident. The zealous, cohesive nurturing of the religion ensured that one of their festivals, Eid-ul-Fitr became a recognized public holiday for the whole island.

Immigrant Muslims, whose quest in the larger, host community of Canada may at first be one of economics may find themselves crossing the boundaries. But conscientious Muslims who are able to cluster together, or Muslims in general who over time, have progressed up the financial ladder, and set up institutions (e.g., ethnic organizations, mosques, schools) to formulate their religious system, may tend to fortify themselves against erosion, and can likely show important "structural" integration in certain dimensions of the dominant culture (as in socio-economic or occupational aspects) and yet maintain a significant distance in their religious and personal life (e.g., marital, behavioral, educational), as Gordon's multivariate theory of assimilation would also imply.⁶

5. These features have also been noted by P. van den Berghe as generally characteristics of the ethnic minority group. P. van den Berghe, The Ethnic Phenomenon (New York, N.Y.: Elsevier, 1981), p. 138.

6. M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

Further, it may not be surprising, in view, too, of the recent increased international awareness of Islam, if some clusters of second generation Muslims show an increased degree of religious concern or enhancement, which would be in line with Breton's statement that "other characteristics of the community are also important".⁷ By the time of the second generation, the more zealous Muslims having become more affluent financially and able to afford construction of a mosque and conduct Islamic classes, may well feel a resurgence of their religious concerns or interests. Thus the second generation of Muslims may develop a favourable regression attitude toward the religion of the old or first generation (though perhaps differing in kind and degree), as indicated by Elkholy, though interestingly enough, he found the opposite (i.e., wider divergence) to hold in a study of a set of Muslims in Detroit, Michigan.⁸

Where, however, a cultural group is able to preserve itself in the main, the concept of cultural pluralism may be

7. P. van den Berghe, too, has stressed that ethnicity is responsive to a wide spectrum of environmental factors. See: P. van den Berghe; ed. Intergroup Relations: Sociological Perspectives (New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1972).

8. Elkholy, Religion 186.

invoked.⁹ And Canada in recent years has endeavoured to assist such preservation. Pierre Elliot Trudeau, the former Prime Minister of Canada, announced in the House of Commons in October, 1971, a new policy he labelled "Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" as "the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedoms of Canadians".¹⁰ A multicultural program was established in the Department of the Secretary of State to study and promote such aspects of multiculturalism as broadcasting in third languages, the role of the ethnic press, and language training in third languages, together with financial grants to ethnic organizations to assist in the maintenance of their culture. Eventually a Cabinet Minister was appointed with exclusive responsibility for multiculturalism, and the Federal Government of Canada now has a full-fledged Directorate of Multiculturalism. The assistance, whether residing largely at the philosophical or

9. Prior to the notion of pluralism in popular parlance today, discussions in regard to immigrant adaptation or adjustment to a large or host society tended to revolve around such concepts as "Anglo-conformity" (with its goal being the desirability of maintaining English institutions, language, and cultural patterns as modified by American or Canadian experience) and "melting pot" (with emphasis on the emergence of a new and unique culture stemming from the interaction of many people of diverse national and ethnic backgrounds). See M.M. Gordon, Human Nature, Class and Ethnicity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 181.

10. N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, eds. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 284.

theoretical level, or having inroads into the practical life of the Trinidad Muslims, may well be reflected in the type of changes that may be discovered. The overriding hunch, however, is that a dilution of religious beliefs and practices would be observed. An elaboration on this can be encompassed within the framework of the hypotheses proposed.

2. The Hypotheses

This research, envisaged as being essentially exploratory, may reveal data that unfold into unpredictable directions among the issues noted, but a number of hypotheses can be forthcoming from the position of learning theory, that environmental influences can modify strong belief systems:

1. The longer the immigrants have been in Canada the more diluted are their traditional beliefs and practices of Islam. Alternatively, it may be said that generally the more recent immigrants do show a greater adherence to traditional beliefs and practices. Of allied interest would be certain comparisons, where possible, in religious behaviours between Muslims of Trinidad ancestry in Canada on the one hand and the Muslim immigrants on the other as the latter recalled their behaviours in Trinidad. The hunch is that Muslims in Canada have adopted a set of Western traits

(many of which are contrary to Islamic principles) to a degree significantly different from what was held in Trinidad.

2. That the first and, in some aspects the second, generations in Canada will reveal a tendency to significant attitudinal changes in beliefs and practices from those of the immigrant settlers.

3. The more educated Muslims will show less adherence to traditional beliefs and practices of Islam. The same holds for professionals or high occupational levels, as well as for high income earners.

4. That despite a general adoption of several Western traits, some Trinidad Muslims in Canada, more so in the second generation, show a return or adherence to some basic Islamic practices.

5. That several Muslims have encountered prejudice on the grounds of their religion. While prejudice on skin colour is not a hypothesis, the opportunity is taken to query the existence of any such prejudice, given the fact that most, if not all, of the Muslims from Trinidad and their descendants are of East Indian ancestry and are therefore dark in skin colour.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

The design and execution of the survey are described in three sections in this chapter. In the first, the survey questionnaire is described. The next section notes the sample of the population and the approach to it. The chapter is then concluded with a brief description of the statistical procedure used in the analyses of the collected data.

1. Preparation of the Questionnaire

A copy of the survey questionnaire used in the project is attached in this report as Appendix 1. It was devised on the following basis.

From the review of the literature, attention was drawn to a number of questionnaires used by previous researchers (e.g., M.R. Haque¹). From these, such questions as might bear on the hypotheses of this research were abstracted. Questions were modified to improve clarity, simplicity and

1. M.R. Haque, "Cultural Assimilation and Consumer Decision-Making Among Muslim Couples in Windsor, Ontario" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1978).

appropriateness for the study. Further, several additional questions were introduced that would elicit other relevant information and broaden the scope of investigation. This becomes clearer in the ensuing discussion. Collectively, the questions could be categorised generally along dimensions pertinent to this project.

Obviously, the hypotheses would require a base position of religiosity from which could be viewed changes attendant to the process of adaptation or assimilation of the immigrants and their later generations.

Such a base could be envisaged as encompassing in the main, the tenets in Islam, starting first of all with the five pillars of Islam, namely:

- The belief there is only one God and Muhammad is His prophet: this pillar is reflected in question 1, part 1 of the questionnaire. The testimony of faith is well-known as the first and most important principle of Islam.

- Prayer: reflected in question 2 in regard to five daily prayers, and in questions 3 to 5 relating to Jumma (Friday) prayer and Tarawee namaz (nightly prayers during the fasting month). Prayer is an essential obligation of Muslim worship². As such, it can reflect the degree of adherence to

2. C. Farah, Islam (Toronto, Ontario: Barron's Educational Series, 1987), p. 135.

Islam, particularly among Muslims who find themselves in a minority situation. The Friday prayers, for instance, can certainly pose a challenge in a society where Friday is a regular work day, leaving the Muslim with the task of finding some measure of exemption from work to attend the prayer, or of providing some alternative device. The Taraweeh prayers, at night and therefore considerably less problematic, does promote as well group solidarity or identity.

- Fasting: reflected in questions 7 and 8. Fasting from the break of dawn to sunset during the month of Ramadan can also provide considerable difficulty particularly during summertime in Canada when a day can be as long as 16 to 17 hours, as compared to regular daylight in Trinidad of about 12 hours. Further, Muslims who are fasting and working among non-Muslims may find the eating indulgence by fellow workers to be distracting and disturbing. Fasting not only teaches the individual person self-control but it fosters as well a means of family and community cohesion thereby strengthening Islamic identity.

- Zakat (alms for the poor): in question 6. Zakat not only assists the poor of the community, but understandably it promotes the welfare of Muslims and the propagation of Islam. The Quran states: "So establish regular prayer, and give regular charity; and obey the Messenger; that you may

receive mercy". (Quran, 24:56).

- Performance of the Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca): in question 9. The Hajj is incumbent on all Muslims who can afford the challenging journey: "In it are signs manifest; the Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security; pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah, - those who can afford the journey" (Quran, 3:97). Hajj is required to provide an atmosphere of equality, simplicity and unity among Muslims, regardless of their geographic, cultural and ethnic differences. It strengthens Islamic identity not only individually but in the wider universal sense of the ummah as well.

The above five pillars are regarded as constituting the cornerstone of Islam and can therefore well reflect an Islamic identity. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have said:

Islam has been built on five pillars: testifying that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, performing the prayers, paying the zakat, making the pilgrimage to the House, and fasting in Ramadan.³

Adherence to these pillars unites the person with the Muslim

3. Imam au-Nawawi, An-Nawawis Forty Hadith (Trans. from the Arabic by E. Ibrahim and D. Johnson-Davies) (Damascus, Syria: The Holy Quran Publishing House, 1976), p. 34.

community and provides his or her basic Islamic identity.⁴

Further, as the review of the literature indicated, certain other beliefs and practices are closely linked into the basics of Islam and can further reflect Islamic identity. From among these the following popular or well-known tenets were selected for utilization in the questionnaire:

- Muhammad is the very last prophet of God (the seal of prophets): in question 2, part 2. This important tenet is upheld by the vast majority of Muslims, especially those of a traditional orientation. Some few Muslims, within the last one hundred years, proclaim, however, the advent of another Muslim prophet (Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian).

- The Quran is the revealed words of God to Muhammad: in question 1, part 4. This, too, as noted in the Quran (2:2) helps in the assessment of knowledge of, and adherence to, Islam.

- The Quran and some or all of the Hadith are acceptable: in question 1, part 5. As noted earlier, in recent time some doubt stemming from modern research has been cast on the validity of the Hadith. Some Muslims feel that Hadith must be accepted; others think that the Hadith material should be reconsidered. Debate on this issue has been going on since the mid-nineteenth century.

- Belief in the existence of angels: in question 1, part 7. Again, this belief is indicated in the Quran (2:285):

4. Farah, Islam 134.

"they all believe in Allah and His angels and His Books and His messengers"

- Belief in life after death: in question 1, part 8. This, too, is indicated in the Quran (17:21): "And certainly the Hereafter is much superior..." And again (89:27-30): "O soul that are at rest, return to thy Lord ... enter into paradise".

- Belief that Christianity and Judaism are acceptable to God: in question 1, part 10. Respondents who are more knowledgeable about Islam may be cognizant of the Quranic statement (2:62): "... And those who are Jews and the Christians ... shall have their reward with their Lord; and there is nor fear for them, nor shall they grieve".

- Eating of pork forbidden: in question 26, part 3. The Quran (2:173) declares: "He has forbidden you only what dies of itself, and blood, and the flesh of swine, and that over which any other name than that of Allah has been invoked".

- Refrain from eating food on which the name of another God is invoked: in question 29, part 2.

- Consumption of alcoholic beverages forbidden: in question 24, part 3. The Quran (5:90) states: "O you who believe, intoxicants and games of chance ... are only an uncleanness, the devil's work, turn aside from them that

you may prosper".

- Indulgence in games of chance forbidden: in question 23.

- Interest (usury) on financial investment forbidden: in question 22. Again, the Quran (2:275) declares: "Those who devour usury will not stand except as stands one whom the evil one by his touch hath driven to madness".

In addition, and continuing in line with delineations from the literature a series of questions were formulated under a number of categories to indicate adherence to, or difference from, Islamic tradition. That is, the degree of conformity to custom could be gauged, even if Islam itself might not necessarily have a direct or absolute pronouncement on these (or that some Muslims might debate some of these) though the general traditional leaning may be well known. The important consideration in these, however, is the assessment of change, particularly over generations. In this area the various categories and associated questions could be construed briefly as follows:

Marital Partner and Family Life:

- Arranged marriages: question 45. The manner of obtaining a marital partner, selected through family connections has been the traditional style among Muslims in general. The non-Muslim pattern in Canada is known to be an

individual's choice, a person meeting another and "falling in love". It is therefore helpful to note the degree of shift from the traditional position, or from what is reported by the Trinidad Muslim respondents as existing in Trinidad.

- Reaction to child wishing to marry a non-Muslim: question 47. No doubt, many sociologists would consider mixed marriages as a strong indication of acculturation or assimilation of an ethnic minority. As Elkholy has remarked, "There is no doubt that the mixed religious marriages in both communities is one of the strongest agencies of assimilation".⁵ The Quran (5:6) allows marriage between a Muslim male and a Jewish or Christian female: "Lawful unto you in marriage are ... chaste women among People of the Book". Surrounded by more non-Muslim than Muslim males in Canada, an eligible female faces a serious problem in finding a suitable Muslim partner. The reaction of parents to the daughter marrying a non-Muslim becomes all the more significant when it is realized that in Canada there is no law against mixed marriages.

- Marriage between relatives: question 43. Because of the strong fervour of adherence to the practice of

5. A.A. Elkholy, "Religion and Assimilation in Two Muslims Communities in America". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Princeton University, Ann Arbor. Michigan, 1960, p. 111.

Islam by Muslims in their conclaves in Trinidad, marriage among relatives would be common. In the vastness of Canada, and increased knowledge in genetics, endogamous marriage would be less popular, and marriage with non-relatives would be expected to be on the increase.

- Age at marriage (often young): question 41. Traditionally, Muslims have been marrying at a young age, usually in their early teens. The prophet Muhammad himself was engaged to Aishah when she was nine years of age but there was no consummation till five years later. The age for marriage among the general population in Canada is at a much older level, often in the 20's.

- Marriage by religious and civil rites: question 43. In this aspect as well, the traditional Muslim marriage in Trinidad usually involves both religious and civil rites. A tendency towards civil rites only, would indicate a drift away from the traditional pattern.

- Length of marriage celebration: question 43. It is well known in Trinidad that celebration of a Muslim marriage, even among the poor, is not a mere few hours affair. Some guests arrive a week before and are accommodated in neighbouring homes. And often the night before the marriage itself, a group of women make merry with song and dance (away from the men folk). There is, particularly among the more

educated and wealthy, a tendency to imitate the Christian church wedding; that is, guests come to the mosque (or other appointed place) to view the wedding ceremony, and this is followed by a reception dinner (without dancing, however) that lasts about two hours.

- Extended family: questions 42 and 43. Again, the traditional Muslim practice, as can still be seen in Trinidad, is one of the extended family.

- Preferred marital status: question 42. While the adult Muslim in Trinidad marries perhaps because "it is the thing to do" as a certain point in time, or because the Quran recommends the marital state "And among His signs is that he created for you, of yourselves, spouses that you may live in joy" (30:21), one can expect that the surrounding dominant culture in Canada with a high rate of dysfunctional marriages, as well as a scarcity of available Muslim partners, may influence a person into a condition of remaining single.

- General equality of the sexes: question 53. This concern stems from issues raised by the Feminist Movement in the Western world and the Islamic viewpoint on equality or inequality of the sexes.

- Festivals celebrated by family: question 50. Again it would be interesting to discern the impact of such Western celebrations as Xmas, New Year's Eve and Thanksgiving

Day on the Muslims, while noting as well the degree of continuance in the observance of such Muslim festivals as Idu'l-Fitr and Idu'l-Azah.

- Family member converted to other religion: question 46. Of course, the more such conversions the weaker is the Islamic identity.

- Any interfaith, interracial marriage: questions 44 and 48. Islam is always proud of its antiracial stand, yet the Muslims in Trinidad tend to hold themselves as East Indians (originally from India and Pakistan). In recent years, black Muslims (the "Muslimeens") mainly from Africa and the U.S.A., have become conspicuous. Interracial marriage is extremely rare. But in Canada, where the majority of people are "whites" it would be interesting to note the feeling of the Trinidad Muslim respondents about interracial marriage.

- If any interfaith marriage, what is the religion of the children: question 49. Children exposed to the wider Christian culture in Canada are apt to be influenced away from Islam.

- Language of conversation: questions 38 and 39. As noted earlier, adoption of the language of the host culture generally indicates a shift from one's own particular ethnic identity.

- Never drink alcohol: question 24.

- Never drunk, no calypso dance, no extra-marital sex, no bikini, no pornography: question 67. In Trinidad, despite the carnival calypsoes, Muslims tend to be conservative in matters of drink, dance, extramarital affair, skimpy bikinis and pornography. Indulgence in these are more liberalised in the Canadian culture.

Children:

- Accessibility of makhtabs to obtain lessons in Islam and Arabic: question 20. Inaccessibility, of course, leads to a dwindling of the Islamic identity in ensuing generations.

- Westernized names and salutations: question 21. The adoption of Westernized names (e.g., Moe or Mike for Mohammed) also leads away from an Islamic identity.

- More obedient to parents, in Trinidad: question 54.

- Separation on sex at camps: question 54. Muslim youth, attracted by the free association of the sexes in the broader Canadian society, may feel uneasy about the separation at Muslim camps, a tradition among Muslims.

- Interest in Islam: question 54.

- Hot dog consumption: question 54.

Food and Drink:

- Finding hallaal food and avoiding pork: question

28. In Trinidad there is no difficulty in finding hallal food. In Canada, the extent to which Muslims ensure their food is hallal would also be indicative of their adherence to an important Islamic principle.

- Not eating food on which another God's name invoked: question 29, part 2.

- Not eat pork: question 26, part 3; question 27.

- Hot dog consumption: question 54.

- Not consuming alcoholic beverages: question 24, part 3.

- Not serving alcohol to guests: question 25.

Education of Children:

- Government-supported Muslim schools: question 19. Schools are important in the conveyance of a heritage. Therefore, where no Muslim school exists there is a threat to identity. And, where financial assistance from the government, can be forthcoming for the establishment of schools, the Muslim would certainly feel more comfortable with his Islamic identity.

- Accessibility of makhtabs to obtain lessons in Islam and in Arabic: question 20.

Ummah (Community):

- How to meet fellow-Muslims: question 11. Again, avenues for meeting reflect the continuance of Muslim

fellowship and Islamic identity.

- Benefits from groups: question 34. Group cohesion, no doubt, resides to a great extent on the benefits as perceived by the members.

- Muslim burial ground: question 63. A Muslim burial ground certainly enhances belongingness and identity.

- Ethnic cliqueing: question 51.

- Impact of Islamic revolution in Iran: question 15. The global saliency of the revolution may very well evoke among Muslims in general a religious sympathy that could generate a keener interest in their own religious convictions.

- Interpretation of Jihad : question 16. Many Muslims interpret Jihad as referring to an internal struggle within one's self, but recent events in Iran might influence Muslims to regard Jihad as involving the use of physical force. Such a view might be perplexing to young Muslims in a Christian milieu (Canada) where Christianity is promoted as peace loving and the very name Islam signifies peace.

- Appeal by any other religion: question 32.

- Religion as impediment in job, educational or social relations: question 31. If Islamic identity hinders progress in terms of jobs, education and social relations, such information may prove informative and useful to local

Muslim leaders and politicians with regard to policy formulations.

- Religious organization affiliation: question 33.
- Naming 2 Muslim organizations in Canada: question 12. Such familiarity can be construed generally as reflecting interest and identity.
- Naming two Muslim organizations in the Caribbean: question 13.
- Explaining the abbreviations CMCC, FIA, MSA: question 14.
- Naming mosque attended: question 36. This question, too, may help reveal interest, alliance and identity with congregational members as they rally around a particular community mosque. It is possible, of course, that a person may attend a mosque without ever paying any attention to the actual name of the mosque (as may be observed among some rural Muslims in Trinidad).
- Islamic newspaper, magazine or journal subscribed: question 35.

Imam: While a variety of questions might come to mind in regard to the imam, it was felt that the degree of acculturation/assimilation could also be indicated by the type of language used by the imam in the Friday sermons, whether it be Arabic, or increasingly English:

- The question of language and preference by the congregation: question 37.

Riba (interest or usury):

- Having a bank account that pays interest, and associated anxiety: question 22. As indicated earlier, Muslims differ as to the interpretation of the Quranic verses regarding usury. For those who believe that any taking of interest is wrong, difficulties arise living in a society wherein the financial life style is based considerably on interest rates of various kinds (e.g., RRSP, bank saving account, mortgages, higher purchases). They would have similar difficulties in most nations where Muslims are the majority.

Lottery: Games of chance being forbidden, involvement in a number of avenues commonly available in Canada could be explored:

- Participation in lottery ticket purchase, gambling, horse racing: question 23.

Spending of Leisure Time:

- At home, with friends, social club, Indian movies, music, singing: question 66.

Reason for Migrating to Canada:

- Better job, economic, political, educational or religious appeal: question 59.

Country preferred for Retirement:

- Trinidad or Canada: question 69.

At this point it may be noted that Q 68 asking for names of certain people who on later interview (if circumstances would so permit) could provide clarification on responses was incorporated in the questionnaire thought is might be considered irrelevant to the hypotheses. The value of such a question would be simply in soliciting opinions on reasons for observed changes. Unfortunately, limited financial resources could not permit the pursuit of interviews.

A number of other questions were mainly biographical or personal, and related to the following:

- Country of birth: question 56.
- Province of residence: question 61.
- Length of stay in Canada: question 60.
- Islamic sect affiliation: question 17.
- Age: question 40.
- Generation: question 57.
- Citizenship: question 58.
- Marital status: question 18.
- Educational level: question 64.
- Occupation: question 65.
- Income: question 40 a.

These biographical questions would be employed in cross tabulation with other questions for exploration of significant relationships and meaningful interpretation of responses. In other words, many of these questions could be

viewed as independent variables with other questions regarded as dependent variables. For example, the independent variable such as length of stay in Canada (question 60) would be examined against the extent of the eating of pork (question 26).

In general, the questions were grouped according to the above categories in order to facilitate the responses by minimizing excessive demands on the part of the respondents' thought processes. Some questions were shifted out of category to other areas in the booklet in order to maximize usage of available space on each page of the booklet. Questions dealing with fundamental beliefs and practices were the first nine questions, that is, the basic pillars of Islam. Establishing good rapport with the respondents was important, and the general categorising order of questions reflects this philosophy.

The booklet with its questions, carried instructions for filling out the questionnaire. The frontispiece bore a covering letter explaining the purpose of the survey and the assurance of anonymity. It was requested that those who would not care to participate should return the questionnaire and provide reasons, if possible. To facilitate the return of each questionnaire, a self-addressed and stamped envelope was provided. The returns were addressed to the researcher, in care of the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Ottawa.

It was hoped that the nature of the subject, i.e., a matter touching on the respondents' value system wherein might lie strong vested interest (whether stemming from a concern about their particular religion or feeling a commonality as people from Trinidad), together with the official letter head (logo) of the University of Ottawa, and the canary-yellow colour of the questionnaire booklet, would provide a serious and polite appeal to the population sampled and enhance the return rate, and that anonymity of respondents would promote honesty in replies.

It might be noted that prior to printing of the questionnaire-booklet, or rather, while in manuscript form, copies of the questionnaire were given to the thesis supervisor, a Muslim scholar and two Muslim acquaintances of the researcher for critical comments and suggestions for improvement (e.g., on face validity of the question items). Two of these people were asked to fill out the questionnaire and report on any procedural difficulties. Some constructive criticisms were forthcoming (e.g., the questionnaire too long; too many questions requiring long answers; preference for check mark for responses rather than written answers). These suggestions were incorporated into the final construction of the questionnaire-booklet. While the set of questions retained might still appear as too many, the consensus on consultation with a sociologist (a professor at

a university in Canada), a Muslim scholar and a statistician, held that the number of questions might well be appropriate primarily because of the vested interest of the Muslim respondents. The final form of the booklet was given a pilot run on five Muslims of Trinidad ancestry (two of whom, a male and a female, were university students; the third was a male professional engineer; and the remaining two, a male and a female, were regular non-professional workers who did not complete high school education). They reported no particular difficulty with the items.⁶ Their average time for completion of the questionnaire was 14 minutes (with a low of 10, and a high of 18). Responses from these preliminary or pilot runs were not included in the data base of the research project.

2. The Sample of the Population

As noted earlier (in the Review of the Literature of this report) the number of Muslims in Canada seemed to be over 100,000. And there was no record, formal or informal, of what part of this total was constituted of Muslims of Trinidad ancestry. The office of Statistics Canada could not hazard a guess. But personal visits to various Muslim organizations

6. It may be noted that question 68 which asked for the names of people that might be interviewed for further information was later discarded, due to a lack of the finances that would be required to pursue that direction.

across Canada revealed that some groups had as many as twelve members of Trinidad ancestry while some had none. In discussions with two Muslim leaders it was felt that a reasonable guess would be a figure between five to six hundred. And the aim was to reach a sizeable number of these Trinidad Muslims in Canada.

Six hundred questionnaire-booklets were printed for distribution, in the hope of obtaining about 100 replies.

A "Directory of Muslim Associations in Canada", appearing as Appendix 1 in The Muslim Community in North America, edited by Waugh, Abu-Laban and Qureshi, provided a ready-made list of 42 Muslim groupings (associations and mosque communities) across Canada. In addition, the researcher, in personal conversation with some Muslims in various parts of Canada, attempted to search out other Muslim organizations in Canada that might not be on that list at time of printing and which would likely contain Trinidad Muslims in their membership. Two such groups were discovered: the "Trinidad Muslims in Montreal" and the "Toronto and Region Islamic Congregation (Taric)". Altogether, with a total of 44 groups, 12 questionnaires were mailed to the leader of each of the first 42 groups, and 20 to the leader of the particular Montreal group, as well as 25 to the leader of the Taric group. Each set of questionnaires was accompanied by a covering, explanatory letter explaining the intent to reach

and survey Muslims of Trinidad ancestry, that the questionnaires be distributed to such people, and that more questionnaires would be available from the researcher if necessary.⁷ No request for further questionnaires was received. A copy of the covering letter is shown in Appendix 1 - A.

A period of about three months was allowed for return of the completed questionnaires. This was then extended to six months, and a total of 90 completed questionnaires were received. The responses from these questionnaires constituted the data base for this research.

Obviously, the population sampled could not be considered representative of the Trinidad Muslims in Canada. Further, it might reasonably be argued that well-assimilated Muslims, probably scattered and living among non-Muslim Canadians, likely did not belong to any of the Muslim

7. It should be noted that shortly after the questionnaires were sent out, it was learned by the researcher that a recently formed Ethics Committee at the University of Ottawa required that any research proposal having to do with human subjects must obtain from that committee an approval for execution of the project. This stipulation was then discussed with the thesis supervisor and with the chairperson of the Department of Religious Studies, and they both advised that in this particular instance the approval might not be necessary in view of the fact that the research was started before the Committee was established and that no name from the anonymous questionnaires would be indicated in the research report. However, the existence and role of such a committee cannot be overlooked in any similar research in the future.

organizations or mosque communities and therefore remained unreachable. Since the responses are not part of a random sample, the results cannot be generalised to the population at large. However, as a pioneering endeavour, as pointed out earlier, this project could report on data from the 90 returned questionnaires, thus providing factual information on Trinidad Muslims, which information, with appropriate statistical analyses, could yield some directional guidelines on current behaviours of some Trinidad Muslims in Canada. Leads and insight as to what is happening in that community might be forthcoming, but it is important to keep in mind the limitations surrounding information from a non-random sample.

3. Statistical Analyses

The returned, completed questionnaires were reviewed and coded prior to data entry. The computer approach was of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences⁸: SPSS/PC+, an integrated system of computer programs for use in exploratory studies and analyses of social data.

The data would be analysed mainly from two approaches:

- (a) One-way frequency distributions. The percentage

8. N. Nie, D.H. Bent and C.H. Hall, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Toronto: McGraw-Hill), 1970.

of responses on each item (category) for each question would be presented as an appendix. Conspicuous or significant results would be abstracted for discussion.

(b) Cross-tabulations of cases according to two or more variables as part of contingency-table analyses and testings for independence. The data would be examined by means of chi-square analyses in various cross-tabulations of interest, indicating degrees of freedom and significant levels (with a cut-off significant point at the .05 level).

Further, in anticipation of the possibility of a very limited number of returned questionnaires, and keeping in mind that some question items carried as many as 10 to 12 subcategories, the cross-tabulations could possibly yield in some cases too few responses per cell for any meaningful interpretation. For instance, question 61 with its 12 areas would accommodate, of the 90 cases, only 7.5 responses per cell, "other things being equal", and this number of 7.5 would be too small from which to abstract any meaningful interpretation. Therefore, on examination of frequency distributions, certain combination of categories would be undertaken in order to provide more useful numbers, hence enhance focus. Such combinations, where adopted, would be indicated and presented in an appendix of collapsed categories.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

In this chapter the results of the survey are presented, together with associated discussions. Beginning with the rate of return of the questionnaires and the incidence of response for each item by the sample of population, significant results are noted, together with certain comparisons with results of similar studies noted in the review of the literature. Next, the relationship of variables of concern, i.e., cross-tabulations, are noted. Then follows a section on non-respondents and comments by respondents. Finally a conclusion and summary section is presented.

1. Incidence of Responses

a) The Return Rate:

Of the 554 questionnaires sent out, 90 (or 16%) were returned,¹ and these therefore constituted the sample of the

1. The 16% return is in accord with a prediction of Dr. J. Graham, an expert on sampling at Carleton University and Statistics Canada, who stated (in personal communication) that a return rate of 15 to 16% could be expected.

population. None was returned blank. At the end of about five weeks of the waiting period, 59 arrived; by six weeks there were 80; by seven weeks 88; and by eight weeks 90. The planned waiting period of 3 months was extended to 6 but no further questionnaire came in during that interval.

b) The Questionnaire Item Responses:

The response percentages on all items of the questionnaire (one-way frequency distributions) are presented in Appendix 2. For simplicity in reference or discussion, a question can be referred to, for example, by its number in the following manner: Question No. 1 as Q 01. A subpart to Q 01 such, for example, as item 1 ("There is only one God and Muhammad is His prophet"), can be cited as Q 0101. Similarly, as another example, subpart 3 of Question No.4, may be indicated as Q 0403. Missing responses to a question may be indicated in brackets: for instance, if 10% of respondents did not answer a question, this can be indicated as (10%), adjacent to the particular question in Appendix 2.

Missing responses can mean either that certain respondents did not understand the question and therefore did not answer it, or for some reason overlooked answering the question, or, and this is most likely, felt the question inapplicable to their particular situation and therefore did

not indicate a response as such. For example, where a question asks for a comparison between Canada and Trinidad on a religious practice, respondents who did not live in Trinidad previously, could not provide an answer; and this can be seen clearly in Q 02, Q 06, Q 07, Q 24, Q 26, in all of which the percentage of "missing" responses is consistently in the order of 33 to 34. Indeed, responses to Q 56 show that 33.3% of the respondents were born in Canada.

Nevertheless, admittedly there can be some confusion with the "missing" responses and those of the "Other" category in a question (e.g., Q 24) though the "Other" category usually yielded insignificantly small numbers (e.g., 2.2% on Q 24) while the "missing" responses remained at about 33 to 34%.

It is noticeable, too, that at times a few respondents indicated more than one answer where only one might have proved sufficient. For instance on Q 04, one respondent ticked off subpart 2 as well as subpart 3, perhaps feeling that both answers were in some way related to that person's situation. The same applies to Q 33, as another illustration. Such responses suggest that future, similar research may benefit by allowing for such combination of responses or restructuring of questions.

Altogether, the salient features of the frequency distributions data may be approached, first of all, from the

position of the five basic pillars, the first of which is predicated on belief, while the remaining four relate more to practical behavior. Though all receive weighty percentages in responses, the practical four reflect a lesser rate of responses compared with the first, as will be seen. And where comparisons can be made with reported behavior in Trinidad, certain definite directional changes become obvious, indicating a diminishing of religious concern in Canada.

First Pillar: the belief "There is only one God and Muhammad is His prophet".- On this, Q 0101, the overwhelming response of 98.9% indicates all respondents can be categorised as Muslims, in keeping with the overall practical definition by Kettani² as noted earlier.

In addition to that testimony of faith, certain other basic Islamic tenets (beliefs, elicit conspicuously large percentages of agreement among the respondents:

- Q 0102: Muhammad is the very last prophet: 85.6%
- Q 0104: Quran is the revealed words of God to
Muhammad: 97.8%
- Q 0105: Quran, and some or all of Hadith are
acceptable: 90.0%

2. M.A. Kettani, The Muslim Minorities (Leicester, U.K.: The Islamic Foundation, 1979), p. 5.

- Q 0107: Belief in the existence of angels: 81.1%
- Q 0108: There is life after death: 91.1%
- Q 0110: Christianity and Judaism acceptable to
God: 73.3%

The last item, Q 0110, at only 73.3%, (which is still a high figure, nevertheless) is not surprising when it is considered that the proper answer, which may be found in the Quran (2:62) might well demand a little more than everyday knowledge of Islam.

Turning to some other subparts of Q 01 which most Muslims would hold are not in accord generally with certain principles of Islam (as noted in the literature review) but to which some few Muslims would subscribe, it is noticeable that Q 0103, relating to the advent of other prophets since Muhammad, received a response rate of 17.8%. The item may be seen as being at variance with Q 0102 (Muhammad is the last prophet), with 85.6%. The reason some respondents agree with Q 0103, even though they may also agree with Q 0102, may reside in the fact some minority Muslims (e.g., certain Ahmadis) do believe in a prophet (Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad) subsequent to Muhammad.

The 90.0% response rate on Q 0105 (with acceptance of some or all of the Hadith) is not surprising since one might expect most or all Muslims to hold that traditional view. But

it is interesting to note, on Q 0106, a separate set of respondents, though small at 5.6%, declare non-acceptance of the Hadith. One may speculate on the likelihood of expansion on this latter percentage in the foreseeable future since, in recent years especially, controversies have arisen in regard to the validity of the Hadith,³ with some Muslims preferring to abide by the Quran only.

On Q 0109, with 21.1%, that only Islam is acceptable to God, which is opposed to Q 0110 (Christianity and Judaism also acceptable), with 73.3%, some Muslims (perhaps the ones less educated about Islam) would so indicate in that they may not be familiar with those parts of the Quran (e.g., 2:62) that declare or imply an acceptance of Christians and Jews (and Sabians as well).

Second Pillar: Prayer.- By Q 0201, those who prayed five times a day in Trinidad are at 22.2%, whereas the ones reporting praying five times a day in Canada are 20.0%. The 22.2%, however, is taken from the 90 respondents (in Canada) as a whole which includes those who lived previously in Trinidad (the immigrants). If the behaviour of these latter respondents (the immigrants) is separated out, for comparison

3. J. Schacht, Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1950.

with the behaviour of the respondents as a whole in Canada, then the 22.2% is changed to 35%. Thus, it is seen that while 35% of the immigrants prayed five times a day in Trinidad, only 20.2% of the respondents as a whole (including the later generations in Canada) do so. Prayer, an essential obligation of Muslim worship, reflects the degree of adherence to Islam.

Interestingly, those praying "a few, occasional times a year" in Canada are at 34.8%, with a corresponding figure for Trinidad at 8.9%, and the difference here may be puzzling until it is recognized that the missing responses, in the order of 33.3%, apply to the Trinidad situation, meaning that the 33.3% never lived in Trinidad. And, no doubt, as all the respondents are Muslims they would understandably pray at least "a few, occasional times a year", thus accounting for expansion of that item to the level of 34.8%.

Once again, the above figure of 8.9% becomes 14% when applied to the immigrants only. The basic comparison is therefore 34.8% for the group in Canada, with 14% for the immigrants as they reflect their behavior in Trinidad.

Of the respondents as a whole, those who would desire to pray daily, attend the Jumma (Friday) prayers and Tarawee namaz, by Q 03 over 40% reported greater difficulty in Canada than in Trinidad, with about 31 to 34% (i.e., Q 0303 plus Q 0304) claiming that any such desire or need is not applicable, or is otherwise inappropriate, to them.

Once again, the above figure of 40% increases to one of over 60% if applied to the immigrants only.

On Q 0401, 22.2% insist and succeed in the exercising of the five daily prayers, and another 22.2%, on Q 0402, combine the prayers at the end of the day (perhaps a more convenient time after work).

Again, some 38% (Q 0404 plus Q 0405) do not seem involved in the five prayers of the day. For the Jumma (Friday) prayer, Q 0501, while 33.3% can succeed in attending that service, 28.9% on Q 0502, must hold the prayer on Sunday, or some other day (Q 0503, with 11.1%), again a time that does not interfere with Friday as a working day in a Christian environment. These alternate devices give some concrete factual affirmation to similar reports by Hogben⁴ in his general overview of Muslims in Canada.

Third Pillar: Fasting.- In regard to fasting in Ramadan, Q 07, 46.7% of the whole group of respondents report fasting the entire month when living in Trinidad, with about 32.2 missing responses in that the associated respondents did not live in Trinidad. In consideration of the immigrants

4. M. Hogben, "The Socio-Religious Behaviour of Muslims in Canada: an Overview", in E. Waugh, B. Abu-Laban, and B. Qureshi, eds. The Muslim Community in North America (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press), 1983.

only, the 46.7% becomes 73%. That is, 73% of the immigrants fasted the entire month in Trinidad. The corresponding report for the whole group in Canada is 36.7%, and this, of course, includes responses as apply in Canada, from those who also reported at 73% when living in Trinidad. This indicates a definite difference, or decline, (the Canadian figure including some portion or all of the 32.2 missing percentage). Further, the figure for "a few days" in Trinidad, on Q 0703, is 6.7%, for the group as a whole, but which can be translated as 10% for the immigrants, while the figure holding for all in Canada is 31.1%. It seems that a sizable number of respondents who fasted the entire month in Trinidad now no longer do so in Canada, as well as a number of new responders (i.e., the ones born in Canada) have also joined the rank of those who fast only "a few days". Fasting, an essential element in Islam, is said to promote self-control, foster family and community cohesion and strengthen Islamic identity.

On Q 08, the most difficult circumstance associated with fasting is "Predawn to sunset as too long a period", at 43.3% on Q 0801. The next most difficult item for respondents is "Interference with business and social obligations", at 14.4% on Q 0802. That the length of time from predawn to sunset is regarded as most difficult, is also understandable in view of the much longer daytime period in temperate or

northern zones in the summer time (reaching up to 16 or more hours) whereas in Trinidad the regular 12-hour day would be less challenging, especially to the health of the elderly devout.

That "fasting interferes with efficiency at work" received a mere 4.4%, and "difficulty breaking fast while at work" is indicated by only 6.7%.

Fourth Pillar: Zakat.- In regard to zakat (alms for the poor), on Q 0601, 42.2% claim to have contributed regularly, and on Q 0602, 16.7% occasionally, in Trinidad. For the immigrants as such, those figures would be 66% and 26% respectively. In Canada 38.9% contribute regularly (Q 0601) and 31.1% occasionally (Q 0602). Again, the reports indicate a shift from "regular" in Trinidad to less regular in Canada, and an increase in the "occasional" category in Canada as this also absorbs some of the missing 34.4%. Another important difference between behaviour in Trinidad and in Canada is reflected in Q 0603 where 2.2% of Trinidad behaviour, or more accurately 3.3% of the immigrants on their Trinidad behaviour, and 26.7% of all the respondents in Canada declare that in their current practice they "never contribute".

Fifth Pillar: Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj).- On Q 09,

performance of the Hajj from Trinidad was in the order of 23.3%, while those from Canada stand at 5.6%. The high level of missing responses, 54.4%, can simply mean that these respondents did not perform the Hajj, which, indeed is not compulsory in Islam though highly urged upon those who can afford it. The Hajj, however, is said to provide an atmosphere of equality, simplicity and unity among Muslims as well as enhancing Islamic identity.

While it is noteworthy that all the respondents claimed adherence to the basic Islamic beliefs while showing at the same time a diminishing degree of religious practice, one may wonder about the direction of an Islamic identity among these Muslims. It is well known that from the early days of Islam it was recognized that unlike non-Islamic countries, an Islamic state is based on religious, not secular, law. The Caliph ("successor of the prophet"), different from a king or emperor had to govern according to the religion. Abd-ar-Rahaman Ibn Khaldun, a distinguished sociologist and historian, remarked that the caliphate "is a substitute for Muhammad inasmuch as it serves like him to protect the religion and to exercise leadership".⁵ While the

5. Abd-ar-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History (Trans. by Franz Rosenthal; abridged and edited by N.J. Dawood), (New York, NY: Bollingen Foundation, 1958), p. 115.

last caliphate was abolished as recently as in March, 1924, in Turkey, several Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, have been trying to exercise their governing by Islamic principles. As Yousif has noted, the kind of Islamic identity that emerges in such conditions may be referred to as "absolute" (involving the political structure), but where Muslims are in a minority situation, with non-Islamic political governments the identity may be viewed as "relative" or "second best" but still to be considered valid and authentic.⁶ Indeed, in reference to migration of Muslims, whether motivated by reason of economics to move to a country where they may be, nevertheless, in a minority position, or by reason of religious prompting or otherwise, the prophet Muhammad, it is reported, declared:

Actions are judged by intention and every man shall have but that which he intended. Thus he whose migration was for Allah and His messenger, and he whose migration was to achieve some worldly benefit or to take some

6. A.F. Yousif, The Maintenance of Islamic Identity in Canadian Society: Religious Observance, Psychological Influences, and Institutional Completeness of the Muslim Community in the Canadian National Capital Region. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1992, p. 168, citing an excerpt from an oral communication with Dr. Syed Z. Abedin, Director of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs in the United Kingdom, during the latter's visit to the University of Ottawa, Oct. 10, 1991.

woman in marriage, his migration was for that which he migrated.⁷

While the basic pillars in Islam remain profound and a Muslim can hold on to his or her inner beliefs, environmental circumstances may well alter certain overt behaviours, particularly so where Muslims find themselves in a minority situation.

Today Muslim communities may be found in almost every country of the world. As Yvonne Haddad and Lummis state:

One of the realities of contemporary Islam on which Muslims throughout this century have become increasingly conscious is the fact that Islamic minorities are to be found virtually all over the world.⁸

It is easy to understand that Muslims who migrated from Islamic countries to those without an Islamic government, may encounter considerable difficulty in their adjustment to the host culture since Islam (as what might be termed a public religion) holds an integration of social, economic, religious and political affairs in constituting a society. Yvonne Haddad remarks:

7. Imam an-Nawawi, An-Nawawis Forty Hadith (Trans. from the Arabic by E. Ibrahim and D. Hohnson-Davies). (Damascus, Syria: The Holy Quran Publishing House, 1976), p. 26-27.

8. Yvonne Haddad and A. Lummis, Islamic Values in the United States: a Comparative Study (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 155.

Islamic ideology makes it clear that the state, by definition, must organize itself around the needs of the believers in order to help them maintain the faith. And the believers in turn have the responsibility to hold the state to this task, to see that religion impacts on public policy and that society lives up to the will of God.⁹

As Haque,¹⁰ too, has pointed out that Islam is viewed by Muslims as a total way of life and not simply a religious ideology.

Trinidad Muslims, however, already exposed in Trinidad to a separation of state and religion and still able to maintain a Muslim identity, would not find the adjustment process as challenging as those Muslims from Islamic countries would experience. The greater, dominant Canadian culture, nevertheless, by mere size of population and the view of Canada as a developed country, would certainly be expected to impact further on the "relativeness" of the Muslim identity.

Examining now the data gleaned from various areas of life, many of which carry a strong traditional base, and some of which stem from Quranic injunctions, the following broad categories are explored.

9. Haddad and Lummis, Islamic Values, p. 155.

10. M.R. Haque, Cultural Assimilation and Consumer Decision-Making Among Muslim Couples in Windsor, Ontario (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Wayne State University), 1978.

Marriage and Family Life.- On Q 41, in general most first marriages, 24.2%, took place between the ages of 15 to 18, with another peak of 23.3% between the ages of 23 and 30. Below the age of 14 shows a reported figure of 5.6%, and above the age of 41 there is none.

On Q 18, in regard to marital status, the majority of respondents are "married, by civil and religious rites", 55.6%, (Q 1803), with a small number "married by civil rites only", 4.4% (Q 1802). Only 2.2% on Q 1804, live in a common-law relationship, and 26.7%, on Q 1801, are single.

On the Quranic verse, "Men are in charge of women, because Allah has made the men to excel the women, and because men spend of their property for the support of women" (4:34), on Q 53, most respondents, 42.2%, do not see it as denying equality of the sexes. But 34.4% feel it denies equality.

On Q 52, 91.1% agree that "where the wife works outside, the husband should share in the housework". But only 63.3% claim that "in general, a wife should cook and look after household affairs; the husband should be the main breadwinner", for both by tradition and Quranic implication there is strong pressure for the wife to look after domestic affairs while the husband as breadwinner is in charge of maintaining the family. By the Quranic verse 4:34, men in a Muslim society have full responsibility for maintenance of

their families. This is said to be a moral and legal obligation. The woman's role in the home is vitally important for the happiness of the husband and the physical and spiritual development of the children.¹¹ Yet husband and wife are always to be ready to help each other in their responsibilities.

It is noteworthy, too, that 80.0% do not agree that in a situation "where the wife works outside, that's her problem; she should still carry the full load of housework". And, while no respondent (0.0%) agrees with the statement, and 4.4% have their own alternative interpretation, 15.6% are non-committal (i.e., they do not provide a response). Does this suggest some wavering in thought?

On Q 42, relating to family composition, 46.7% prefer a nuclear family (Q 4201), while an equal number choose the extended family. No doubt Muslim families in general, and in various parts of the world including Trinidad, are still inclined to the large family which may include two generations. The nuclear family, which is more of a Western preference in an industrialised world, is probably attractive to the Muslim as he becomes more mobile in seeking out his place of settlement in the West.

On Q 43, 88.9% agree that in Canada, there is a shift

11. Hadith, al-Sahih al-Bukhari, 67:91. (n.d.)

to smaller family units.

Again, on Q 43, 86.7% note there were more Muslim marriages between relatives in Trinidad than in Canada. Such a question could well be answered without having to have lived in Trinidad, and this is obvious in the high percentage of response. The degree of endogamous marriages can be readily understood in terms of the conclaves of Muslims in small Trinidad with their fervent religious zeal, as noted earlier (and observed by the first ambassador of Pakistan to the U.S.A. when he visited Trinidad). In the vastness of Canada, Muslims are generally more scattered, with more neighbours being non-Muslims. Further, it might be well guessed that increased education about healthy off-spring, worldwide, tends to discourage endogamous marriages. It is not surprising, too, that the large percentage of 87.8% agree that "It is more problematic for young Muslims to find marital partners in Canada than in Trinidad". And 83.3% claim that "Muslim weddings in Trinidad often lasted several days whereas in Canada they are rarely more than one-day celebration" - a definite shift from tradition, to a more Christian-like behaviour.

On a question of arranged marriages, Q 45, 51.1% are not in favour of this, as opposed to 28.9% who condone such arrangements. 67.8% approved of "people finding their own

marital partners while 20.0% hold an opposite view. But 51.1% disagree with the idea of "Muslim girls of Trinidad descent returning to their Caribbean area to find a marital partner".

On Q 44, a majority of 67.8% claim that their first choice about an "East Indian Muslim of Trinidad descent marrying", would be, to an "East Indian Muslim of Trinidad descent", rather than, to an "East Indian Muslim from any part of the world", which however is given second preference at 54.4%. The choice of a "white Muslim from Canada or any part of the world" is at 15.6%, while 3.3% feel it is irrelevant if the person is non-Muslim, whether East Indian or white, so long as the couple "claim to love each other". The direction and degree of these percentage may be viewed as well within expectation about an ethnic group in the process of settling within a wider cultural milieu.

On Q 54, a substantial 73.3% of respondents agree that "some Muslim girls, isolated from boys outside of school hours, or while at camp, dislike the separation". No doubt, this uneasiness, perhaps stemming from what is observed with appeal among non-Muslim youngsters, challenges the traditional premarital non-mixing of the sexes in Islamic societies. Ironically, Muslims in Trinidad are known to separate the sexes, adults as well, at various functions but immediately following a function the sexes usually intermingle as they

make their way through the building, car park, and public places as they return home. Intermingling of the sexes, including transactions with Christians and other non-Muslims, is obvious in various public areas. Muslims may need to be cognizant of the feelings of young Muslims who may perceive something of a disheartening inconsistency when they are separated at Muslim gatherings. They may also feel robbed of an opportunity to meet and know Muslim members of the opposite sex. Thus their socializing interest may well move to non-Muslim youngsters whom they can meet outside of any Muslim context, and their marital partners may be selected increasingly from among the non-Muslims. In Canada, as well, such intermarriages would reflect a greater absorption of the Muslim into the wider societal context, and this, of course, can dilute a Muslim's particular religiosity. Ironically, an ethnic group may defeat its purpose by its own values.

On Q 47, concerning one's child wishing to marry a non-Muslim, there are three reactions of equal degree at 24.4%: express disapproval; allow it on condition the non-Muslim becomes a Muslim; and, accept the situation wholeheartedly. No respondent would "disown the child". 5.6% would allow the marriage on condition the children be raised as Muslims, and 7.8% would tolerate the situation with quiet disapproval.

On Q 46, regarding conversion of any family member to

another religion, 3.3% so affirmed and said it was in Canada, while 2.2% note theirs was in Trinidad.

On Q 48, relating to interfaith marriage in the family, 7.8% so acknowledged and said it was in Canada, and 8.9% indicated Trinidad. And where there was an interfaith marriage, 10% (by Q 49) declared there was agreement on the faith in which the children would be raised.

On Q 50, 96.7% affirm celebration of Idu'l-Fitr (Eid), 81.1% on Idu'l-Azah (Baqarah-'Id), 78.9% on Christmas, 61.1% on the Prophet's birthday, 61.1% on Thanksgiving, 58.9% on New Year's Eve, and 43.3% on Carnival (or Caribana with dancing and steel-band music). No doubt, the celebration of Christmas, Thanksgiving, New Year's Eve and Carnival are Western institutions, and their strong visibility provides not only curiosity, intrigue and attraction, but a desire to participate especially on invitation by non-Muslim friends and neighbours. Many Muslims would rationalize there is nothing amiss in celebrating Christmas in that Jesus is a recognized prophet in Islam. Thanksgiving would likely be regarded as sensible. But New Year's Eve and Carnival, with frequent accent on alcohol and sex are frowned upon from an Islamic point of view though more and more Muslims indulge in their celebration. The percentages noted above, shed light on the absorption in a practical way of certain Western behaviours

even when these may not be in keeping with Islam or despite the religious values claimed. Muslim leaders, however, may feel delighted with the 96.7% celebrating the universally popular Idu'l-Fitr (Eid) festival that follows immediately the month of fasting (Ramadan).

On Q 1001, 52.2% of respondents feel themselves more religious than their children, but only 20% and 16.7% regard themselves as more religious than their father and mother respectively. By Q 1002, only 1.1% feel themselves less religious than their children, and 61.1% and 62.2% feel themselves less religious than their father and mother respectively. This direction is affirmed again in Q 54 where 85.6% claim that "Muslim teenagers are less interested in Islam than their parents were as teenagers. Obviously, some religious concerns diminish from the level of parents to children (down the generation line), and this may be of particular significance to Muslim theologians, leaders and religious instructors.

Still more, on Q 67, some further responses reveal behaviours quite unIslamic. 45.6% of the respondents admit to having been drunk, but an almost equal percentage, 48.9, provide a negative answer. 57.8% said they have participated in calypso or reggae dancing, while 37.8% claim no such indulgence. Again, 42.2% say they have been involved in

premarital sex, and 52.2% disclaim any such. And 25.6% admit to extramarital sex while 46.7 have not had such adventure, but 27.8% did not answer the question. 10.0% claim as a female, to have worn a bikini at a public bathing place, and 20% gave a negative answer. On this, the 70.8 missing responses are likely male members, to whom the question does not apply. And, on the question of ever having viewed pornographic movies, 46.7% answer in the affirmative, and 45.6% in the negative. And while 48.9% (on Q 54) say they approve of the Western mode of dancing (the two sexes dancing together), and 43.3% disapproving, 58.9% feel their parents would object to it, but 30.0% believe their parents would sanction such dancing. No doubt, these behaviours, both in type and degree, would surprise the serious Muslim. As is generally well known, they are often described as Western, and it is perhaps because of such indulgences the "fundamentalists" such as the late Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini would condemn the West as corrupt, ungodly and of bad influence (as several newspaper reports announced about Khomeini when he was alive). Indeed, some of the "fundamentalists" have been known to declare they are not fundamentalists but simply Muslims who are trying to restore the beautiful simplicity and purity of Islam and who may appear fundamental in comparison with the liberalization or

contaminated version of Islam in the West today.

Food and Drink.- On Q 26, 62.2% of respondents claimed they never ate pork in Trinidad. This figure probably reflects about all (close to 100%) of the respondents who came from Trinidad), since 33.3% are missing replies (which refer to Muslims who never lived in Trinidad). But of the total set of respondents (all in Canada), only 57.8% "never" eat pork, 35.6% occasionally eat it, and 1.1% do so often. The eating of pork is, of course, strictly forbidden in Islam.

On Q 27, 36.7% of respondents would eat pork at dinner served by a Canadian friend, whereas about 56% (on Q 2702 and Q 2703) would refuse to eat it.

On Q 28, 44.4% find there is a problem in having to check the printed ingredients on food packages to avoid pork, 45.6% find it more difficult to obtain hallal meat in Canada than in Trinidad, and 51.1% say they have to be careful about what is ordered in a restaurant to ensure the food is not cooked in wine sauce. Food agencies (distributors or providers) may find it profitable to make clear in their advertisements the foods that are hallal and without alcohol contamination.

On Q 29, if the name of Jesus Christ is invoked in the blessing of food by a Christian minister at a large, elegant

social dinner, 41.1% of the respondents would go ahead and eat the food; 37.8% would disclaim the blessing and say their own and eat the food. Only 12.2% would flatly not eat the food, because the name of another God (than the Muslim Allah) was invoked on it, and such invocation is traditionally disliked by Muslims.

It is interesting to note that on Q 24 regarding the consumption of alcoholic beverages, 47.8% claim never to have drunk alcohol in Trinidad, and a similar percentage, 46.7% holds for Canada. But again, the Trinidad figure is missing 34.4%, (that is, respondents born in Canada). The 47.8% of the ninety respondents, actually represents 75% of the immigrants. In Canada, those who drink often, are at the 10% level, as compared with 1.1% for Trinidad or actually 1.7% for the immigrants. And those who drink occasionally in Canada are at 38.9% while the corresponding figure for Trinidad is 14.4% or 22.0% for the immigrants. On drinking behaviour, it seems there is a shift from Trinidad to an expansion of "often" and "occasionally" in Canada. Again, this dilution in Muslim behaviour would be of importance to Muslim leaders since the Quran (2:19; 5:90) forbids the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

On Q 25, referring to the serving of alcohol to guests, very similar figures unfold: 14.4% say "yes, but only if they are non-Muslims", while the percentage is only 4.4 of the respondents or 6.9% of the immigrants when living in

Trinidad. In Canada, whether the guests are Muslims or not, 30.0% serve alcohol, while in Trinidad the figure is 2.2% of the respondents or 3.4% of the immigrants, and those who would not serve alcohol at all are at 48.9% in Canada and 55.6% of the group in Trinidad or 87.7% of the immigrants.

Education of Children, and Languages.- On Q 1901, the vast majority, 74.4%, report government-supported schools in Trinidad. A similar majority figure, 77.8% on Q 1902, say there is no government-supported school in their community in Canada. No doubt, Muslim leaders would deem such a report as important, in the same way that they may wish to know that 71.1%, on Q 2001, state it is more difficult than in Trinidad for young people to attend Makhtabs, or, as shown in Q 2002 with 68.9%, to obtain Arabic lessons. Schools, of course, are important in the conveyance of a heritage and identity.

On Q 2101, 77.8%, agree that increasingly Muslims in Canada address their parents as "Mom" and "Dad", terms that carry less respect than those generally used in Trinidad. Still more, on Q 54, 81.1% agree that "in general, Muslim children in Canada are less obedient to their parents in Canada than in Trinidad, but interestingly enough, 87.8% feel that Muslim children in Canada are more obedient to their parents than are non-Muslim children. But 85.6% feel that

"Muslim teenagers are less interested in Islam than their parents were as teenagers".

On Q 54, 82.2% of the respondents note that Muslim youth in Canada have a conflict trying to maintain Islamic values and being pulled to alcohol, marijuana and other drugs. The large majority of 91.1% affirm that young Muslims who reject alcohol and other drugs would earn greater respect from young non-Muslims, and 55.6% declare they feel that young Muslims who reject alcohol and the drug scene would not be rejected by young non-Muslims, but 28.9% tend to think they may be rejected.

On Q 2102, 84.4%, again the majority, find that Muslims increasingly tend to have Westernised names (such as Moe or Mike for Muhammad). And again, on Q 2103, 84.4% note that Muslims in Canada increasingly greet one another with Western terms such as "Hello" rather than with "Assalaam-O-Alaikum". Obviously, there is an erosion of traditional values.

Q 39 reveals 40.0% of respondents read or write French, and 31.1% have children who speak English and French (but not Arabic or Urdu). 22.2% feel it advisable to learn French in order to be a good Canadian citizen.

Q 38 indicates 53.3% speak only English at home, with 23.3% speaking mainly Urdu or Hindustani with very little or

no English, and 17.8% as speaking mainly English with very little or no Urdu or Hindustani. Obviously the languages of the host culture are being adopted increasingly.

While 10% of respondents to Q 37 dealing with the language used at religious services, report "almost entirely in Arabic", and 48.9% stating "part Arabic, with generous English translation" in Trinidad, the corresponding figures in Canada are 42.2% and again 42.2%. Again the situation is confounded with 32.2% missing replies in that this number of respondents probably did not live in Trinidad. A focus on the immigrants (respondents who lived in Trinidad) would then reveal the following in Trinidad: 15.7% in regard to "almost entirely in Arabic". and 77% with "part Arabic, with generous English translation". It is noteworthy that of all respondents in general, 77.8% indicate a preference for "part Arabic, with some English translation" in religious service. No one would prefer services in Arabic only, and only 4.4% wish the language be "almost entirely in English".

It can be anticipated that in a cultural setting wherein English is the dominant or prevalent language, there will be an increasing adoption of that language, by the Muslims as they reach out in various transactions with the wider society. At the same time, Arabic being the language of the Quran and therefore encouraged by Muslim leaders as a

language that must be mastered in order to have a proper appreciation and interpretation of the Quran, may need a particular focus and attention if it is to survive meaningfully in the Muslim world of the West.

The Ummah (Community).- On Q 1103, the majority of responses, 51.1%, claim to meet fellow Muslims at other Muslim families. The next ranking route is the mosque, at 21.1%, followed by Muslim festival occasions, at 14.4%. Interestingly enough, some respondents combined sources, thus creating new categories such as Q 1101 with Q 1102, Q 1102 with Q 1103, but these categories carried only 2.2% each. Avenues for meeting, understandably allow for a continuance of Muslim fellowship and Islamic identity.

On Q 66, respondents indicate that in Trinidad, as well as in Canada, their leisure time is spent mainly at home with the family or visiting friends or relatives. In Canada, however, there is an increased attraction to social clubs. Respondents who belong to a Muslim group in Canada, 31.1%, the largest percentage on Q 34, feel the top benefit derived from the group is on a matter of help and advice when in difficulty, such as illness or death of a family member. 25.6% point to enhancement of their Islamic faith or spiritual upliftment. 21.1% like the general emotional support and

companionship. 6.7% state it pleases them to give more to a group than they receive from the group. No respondent chose the category "I gain more materially (e.g., food) than I give".

In the concern for one another as a community, Muslims tend to have their own burial ground or section of a cemetery. On Q 63, 68.9% indicate the presence of a Muslim burial area in their community in Trinidad. Of all respondents in Canada, 67.8% say there is no such among them, but a minority of 24.4% have a burial area. Many Muslims, as Hogben, commented¹² are buried in cemeteries that have no connection with any Muslim community. And, obviously, the question of the availability of a suitable burial site is of concern. No doubt, in time there will be greater accommodation of this need. As noted earlier in the literature review, the Muslims of Ontario in 1987 caused the government of that province to invite the Council of Muslim Communities of Canada to submit needs of Islamic practices and tradition in the hope of a review of the Cemeteries Act and the Funeral Services Act. Other provinces and localities may wish to follow suite.

On Q 61, the provincial distribution of respondents, show 50.0% in Ontario, 23.3% in Quebec, 5.6% in Saskatchewan, 4.4% in Alberta and in Manitoba, 3.3% in British Columbia and

12. Hogben, "Socio-Religious".

in Newfoundland and Labrador, 2.2% in New Brunswick, and 1.1% in Prince Edward Island and in the North-West Territories. There is therefore representation from every Canadian province except from Nova Scotia. It is noteworthy that Ontario, the major industrial province, is home for half the number of respondents. Toronto is also the centre with the largest international airport in Canada. Indeed, all flights between Trinidad and Canada are mediated through the airport in Toronto.

On Q 51, 41.1%, the majority, claim it "bothers" them that Muslims of different countries stick to their own people and do not manifest a wider unity so that following a service, for example, they quickly go back to their own national (or ethnic) group. 33.3% report such behaviour does not bother them at all, while 16.7% say it does annoy them but they are guilty of the same behaviour. Much of this is in line with Waugh's comments,¹³ noted earlier that "the Pakistanis return to their curries and the Arabs to their kebabs", perhaps indicating that ethnically oriented groups have more validity as communal Islam than the universal concept of ummah. And Waugh further reflects that this is why there are ethnic mosque organizations.

13. E. Waugh, "Muslim Leadership and the Shaping of the Umma", in: Waugh, Abu-Laban and Qureshi, Muslim 20.

While the mosque congregations may therefore seem somewhat segregated both within and between themselves, such a phenomenon is not difficult to comprehend when it is realized that immigrants would certainly feel more understood, more comfortable, more emotionally supported among people from their home country.

On the other hand, there is a positive aspect to a vigorous growth of mosques and associations in that this helps provide a focus on the development of common cultural and religious convictions, giving structural identity to the ummah in Canada. While a Christian church may be regarded as a subsystem within a social situation but separate technically from political jurisdiction, the all-embracing ummah that also universally binds all Muslims, no matter from what country, in a rather alien setting must recognize its limitations at certain points in time. With growth, expansion and a reaching out to other congregations the ummah will feel itself less restricted. A prompting beyond isolation may well reside in the fact, noted above, that 16.7% of respondents claim they are not happy about Muslims cliqueing to their own national (or ethnic) group.

On Q 17, the majority of respondents, 70.0% (on Q 17.01) claim to be Sunni Muslims. There are a few Ahmadis, 6.7% (on Q 1704); and very few Shiites, 4.4% (on Q 1702).

16.7% (on Q 1705) indicate "Other", perhaps some of these might prefer a heading of "Muslims" rather than a sect designation.

On Q 16, "jihad" is seen by the majority, 62.2% (on Q 1602), as meaning an internal personal struggle within one's self, but interestingly a fair number of respondents, 25.6% (on Q 1601), regard it as a need "to fight unbelievers with physical war so Islam can be spread".

On Q 15, concerning the impact of the recent Islamic revolution, most respondents, 35.6% (on Q 1501), agree it caused a heightened awareness of Islam in them. Some, 16.7% (on Q 1502), feel it has encouraged them "to practice Islam more", while about 33.3% (on Q 1504) find no applicability.

On a question of the possibility of switching to another religion, only 5.6% (on Q 3202) see the appeal in terms of material success; 4.4% (on Q 3201) see the other religion as better organised; 3.3% (on Q 3204) note less bickering and internal struggling; 2.2% (on Q 3205) claim the attraction lies in having more knowledge about the other religion. Though these percentages are small, Muslim leaders and missionaries may wish to be aware of the appealing features that tempt some respondents. A large percentage of respondents, 30.0% (on Q 3206), it may be pointed out, indicate "Other", which may imply other attractive features

not in choices offered, or that they have never entertained any thought about switching to another religion. But no respondent feels another religion makes more sense than Islam.

On Q 31, concerning religion as an impediment, 18.9% state it is so in the matter of educational progress; 8.9% report it so in making friends; and 6.7% also find it hinders finding a job. These are important concerns, particularly in the area of education, especially amidst recent legislation in many Western countries (including Canada) about human rights. It is interesting, however, that in business relations, a mere 2.2% report their religion as an impediment. In business, where personal religious beliefs do not affect the financial transaction, the low percentage is understandable.

Again, on Q 30, whether or not respondents, or their children, encountered prejudice on account of their religion, it may be disconcerting that as much as 16.7% note an attitude of prejudice from non-Muslim teachers; and 3.3% from work-mates; and 4.4% from classmates.

On Q 33, 23.3% claim to belong to a religious organization in their community in Canada; and 40.0% state they belong to such organization in Trinidad as well as in Canada. But about 17.8% responses are missing, perhaps because these people do not have an organization, or if they adhere to an organization and are not duly registered members

(as is commonly the case), they may not feel it sensible to report themselves as "belonging" to the organization. Future similar research may benefit in ensuring clarification of this type of question.

On Q 12, on the ability to name up to two Muslim organizations in Canada, 75.6% can name one and 56.7% two. On Q 13, 78.9% can name one in the Caribbean, and 71.1% two. Such familiarity likely reflects interest and identity.

On Q 14, 35.6% can correctly state that MSA refers to Muslim Students' Association; 34.4% that FIA stands for Federation of Islamic Associations, and 18.9% that CMCC stands for Council for Muslim Communities in Canada.

On Q 36, 20% can provide the name of the mosque attended in Canada, and 2.2% for that in Trinidad. These percentages seem unduly low, but it is not to be forgotten that in Canada many Muslims congregate for prayers and various Islamic functions at make-shift or rented places without having a mosque as such. Rented places may change from time to time. Nevertheless, given the strong Muslim identity in Trinidad it seems puzzling that the percentage is so low for Trinidad, especially as compared with that for Canada.

In Canada, where significant buildings are often conspicuous, the name of a mosque is usually highlighted or prominently displayed, and the new Muslim attending a mosque

regularly may well note its name as he or she reaches out for attachment (be it religious, social or emotional) in the wider milieu or society. In Trinidad, the Muslims in their various conclaves for about a century and a half, grow up in their community with a simple routine, leaving them unconcerned about the particular name of the mosque. The general concept of masjid (mosque) probably proved sufficiently satisfying, especially among indentured labourers. But the fact of a large percentage, 52.1, reporting "Other", and 23.3% as missing, is also puzzling, unless this means these respondents do not hold to any particular mosque or prayer place. In any event, this question (in the questionnaire) may need careful redefining in any future research.

Finally, on Q 35, in regard to reports on subscription to Islamic newspapers, magazines or journals, only 10% of respondents indicate a subscription, the low percentage being probably ascribable to budgetary restrictions.

Imam.- On the question of language for religious services, it was noted earlier, on Q 37, noted that 77.8% preferred "part Arabic, with some English translation", with no one preferring Arabic only.

Riba.- On Q 22, the problem of usury, posed in the form of a bank account that pays an interest, while 12.2% say it bothers them a great deal, and 27.8% claim it bothers them a little, 53.3% state it does not bother them at all. This lack of associated anxiety is likely, once again, linked with the surrounding flow of business economics in the West. But, as the literature review indicated, Muslim scholars are currently wrestling with this problem, with renewed vigour (as can easily be seen, too, in the large array of books on this subject in any Islamic bookstore in the West).

Lottery or Games of Chance.- On Q 23, 73.3% of respondents admit to the "purchase of lottery tickets (e.g., Lotto 6/49, Provincial)", 23.3% to "card playing for money (gambling)"; 24.4% to horse-racing; and 30.0% to "other games of chance". Only 8.9% do not participate in games of chance. The high percentage in relation to lottery tickets may be viewed in terms of the hope by new immigrants, usually of poor economic means, of becoming quick millionaires. But by Quranic injunctions, games of chance, as with intoxicants and riba, are strictly forbidden. For instance, the Quran declares: "They ask thee about intoxicants and games of chance. Say, in both of these is great sin and some advantage for man, and their sin is greater than their advantage"

(2:219); "Intoxicants and games of chance ... are only an uncleanness, the devil's work, so shun it that you may succeed" (5:90); "The devil desires only to cause enmity and hatred among you by means of intoxicants and games of chance" (5:91). Games of chance promote not only habits of indolence and are thus a negation of honest labour (as may also be said of riba), but also reduce some members of society to penury while others prosper at their expense. While Muslims may be aware of the Quranic injunctions they may be apt to ignore them in the face of concrete temptation (as Maslow's hierarchy of values¹⁴ might explain, that people's noblest of values tend to topple when unrequited basic needs such as hunger and shelter leave them short-sighted in their quest for immediate gratification).

Reason for Migrating to Canada.- On Q 59, the highest percentage, 23.3%, say they came to Canada "to be with important relatives who migrated to Canada"; next, 12.2% for "better job opportunity in Canada"; and 8.9% on each of escaping "tight economic conditions in Trinidad", and to further one's education. Interestingly, none of the respondents state their move was motivated on being freer to practice their religion.

14. A. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper), 1954.

Visits to Trinidad:- On Q 62, 55.6% have visited Trinidad 1 to 4 times; 25.6%, 5 to 9; 10.0%, 10 or more times; and 6.7% never visited. The large number of visits suggests some on-going strong links with Trinidad.

Country Preferred.- On Q 69, in regard to which country is preferred for retirement, the large majority of 73.3% select Canada, while only 13.3% choose Trinidad. No doubt, the country preferred would be closely linked to one's basic outlook on life and can reveal much about one's value system. Even when a number of common denominators may be discerned between Trinidad and Canada, the data so far indicate a close Islamic life style in Trinidad, and a more pervasive Christian lifestyle in Canada.

Turning attention to personal or biographical information that would be useful in cross-tabulations, the following responses are forthcoming.

Country of Birth.- On Q 56, 65.6% of respondents were born in Trinidad, and 33.3% in Canada. This figure of 33.3% explains, as noted earlier, the frequent "missing" responses where respondents are asked to make comparisons between Trinidad and Canada on certain items.

Province of Location.- This aspect has already been noted and discussed above. Once again, however, it may be said that 50.0% of respondents reside in Ontario, and 23.3% in Quebec.

Length of Stay in Canada.- On Q 60, in descending order of percentages, 14.4% have been in Canada for 20 to 24 years; 13.3% for 10 to 14 years; 11.1%, 25 to 29 years; 10%, 15 to 19 years; 7.8%, 5 to 9 years; 6.7%, less than 5 years, and 1.1%, 34 or more years.

Sect.- This area, too, has been noted above. The majority 70.0%, are Sunni Muslims; 6.7% are Ahmadis; and 4.4% Shiites; and about 18.0% are non-categorised Muslims.

Age.- On Q 40, the higher percentage of respondents, 33.3% are between the ages of 46 to 64 years; next is 24.4% for 26 to 39 years; then 15.6% for 18 years or less. 14.4% are over 65 years; and 12.2% are between 19 to 25 years.

Generation.- On Q 57, 55.6% report that as adults they migrated from Trinidad to Canada, 12.2% did so as children, thus making a total of about 67.6% as immigrants. Those born in Canada from immigrant parents and therefore

constituting the first generation in Canada, are in the order of 15.5% (i.e. 13.3% on Q 5703 plus 2.2% on Q 5704). The second generation amounts to 12.2% (on Q 5705).

Citizenship and Race.- On Q 58, 40.0% of respondents are citizens of Canada; 8.9% are landed immigrants; with 1.1% in process of being landed immigrants. None of the respondents are visitors to Canada. It is puzzling that on the question of race, the latter part of Q 58, there is no response (and 22.1% indicate some combinations of their own). It is suspected that respondents, after ticking off an answer to the first part of the question (in regard to citizenship) probably felt they had completed the question and went on to Q 59, unwittingly overlooking the latter part of Q 58. Obviously, any future similar research may benefit by splitting Q 58 into two separate questions.

Marital Status.- This aspect, too, has already been noted. 55.6% (on Q 18) are married by civil and religious rites; 26.7% are single.

Sex.- On Q 55, about 13% of respondents report they are wives, and 10% are daughters. But, of this 10% who are daughters; 6 are also wives, thus 17% (i.e., 13 plus 4) of the

respondents are females. At first glance, it may seem that the women are underrepresented. But it may well be that the women in the various groups to which the questionnaires were sent, were actually in small proportion. However, the hypotheses were not aimed at sexual differences in particular, though any observable significant sexual difference (from males) might prove noteworthy.

Education.- On Q 64, 28.9% completed university studies; 24.4%, community or technical school; 26.7% High or Trade School; 11.1% Primary School; and 5.6% with no formal education. It is also noteworthy that 37.8% of respondents say their mothers had primary school education only, and another 35.6% say theirs had no formal education at all. 50.5% report their fathers had primary school education only, and another 21.1% report theirs had no formal education.

Occupation.- On Q 65, 28.9% are noted as professionals or managers or senior civil servants; 17.8% as students; 15.6% as skilled workers; 5.6% as labourers; 5.6% as housewives; and 4.4% as unemployed.

Income.- On Q 40a, 36.7% of respondents earn salaries between \$20,000 to \$40,000 a year; 24.4% make less than

\$12,000; 16.7%, between \$12,000 and \$20,000; and 21.1% make over \$40,000.

Summary.- While all respondents, in their testimony of faith (belief in one God and Muhammad as His prophet), can be defined as Muslims, certain practical behaviours, especially where comparisons can be made between Trinidad and Canada, show a dilution of Islamic principles with an increasing adoption of Western structures. In general the results thus far substantiate or provide some empirical evidence for various claims and hunches in the literature. In some instances, definite directional changes become obvious, indicating, about the respondents, a diminishing of religious concern in Canada, and this can be alarming to many religious leaders.

The vast majority of respondents agree that Muhammad is the very last prophet; the Quran is the revealed word of God to Muhammad; acceptance of the Quran and some or all of the Hadith; there is life after death; angels exist; and that Christianity and Judaism are also acceptable to God.

The frequency-distribution of responses also indicate that the socio-cultural environment in Canada tends to hinder the exercise of some basic injunctions such as praying five times a day, attending congregational prayer on Fridays (with

alternative measures having to be adopted such as praying after work and holding the jumma prayers on Sundays), fasting during Ramadan from dawn to sunset (with lengthy daylight hours), all of which are more difficult than obtained in Trinidad.

The eating of pork, drinking intoxicating beverages, indulging in games of chance and holding financial accounts that yield an interest (usury) are at conspicuous levels with Trinidad Muslims in Canada. Political or governmental agencies may find it of interest to note concerns related to finding suitable education for children (including the circulation of Islamic instructions, Arabic and Urdu or Hindustani languages), obtaining proper burial sites, avoiding religious and racial prejudices. Also problematic are efforts geared at maintaining the extended family with parents and elders held in high respect, giving up more and more of the practice of arranged marriages, preferring pre-marital mixing of the sexes, dating and mate selection. The appeal of skimpy clothes, calypso dancing, pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs are also noteworthy. Respondents, while regarding themselves less religious than their parents, see themselves as definitely more religious than their children, an obvious direction over generations.

It is noteworthy that while all respondents claim to

be Muslims yet show a decline in religious and associated traditional practices, such a behaviour is very much in keeping with Kettani's pronouncement that the word "Muslim" denotes any person who affirms Muhammad to be the messenger of the one God and holds his teachings to be true, irrespective of the extent to which he or she is able to live up to the ideals of Islam.¹⁵ Thus a person may be said to be a Muslim by virtue of a claim to certain fundamental beliefs, yet display a heterogeneity in practice or behaviour, and this can reasonably be anticipated in a small group situation where there has not yet been much development in terms of institutional completeness.

2. Meaningful Cross-Tabulations of Responses

While the percentages of responses to some items are large, in certain other instances they are quite small. Therefore, to ensure proper application of the chi-square analyses in comparison of responses, many items in the various questions are collapsed in an attempt to maintain sufficient differentiation in the meanings between grouped items. Appendix 3 indicates such collapsed categorisation.

15. M.A. Kettani, The Muslim Minorities (Leicester, U.K.: The Islamic Foundation, 1979), p. 5.

Understandably, the number of variables in this exploratory study can yield innumerable cross-tabulations which can become very unwieldy. The approach here is one of abstracting and examining first the data that relate directly to the hypotheses in the study. Then follows an analysis of other cross-tabulations that seem allied to the hypotheses or which stand out as statistically significant. Occasionally, where a cross-tabulation seems of particular interest but which, nevertheless, only approaches significance, it is retained for presentation.

In the presentation and discussion of cross-tabulation data, the supporting tables show the relationships of interest, in terms of numbers obtained (rather than percentages), but they also indicate the chi-square, degree of freedom and level of significance (where the cut off point is .05). Because of the overall small population sample, actual response numbers are preferably cited in the ensuing discussions on the cross-tabulations, rather than percentages since utilization of the latter could possibly, perhaps unwittingly, lead to false inferences (conclusions). In order to avoid the body of this report becoming too cumbersome, most of the tables are placed in Appendix 4, while a more composite and comprehensive one related directly to the hypotheses is incorporated in the body of the text.

(a) The Hypotheses and the obtained Data:

Hypothesis 1.- The longer the immigrants have been in Canada the more diluted are their traditional beliefs and practices in Islam. Thus, length of time in Canada (Q 60) may be examined against the several variables from among which the following produce statistically significant relationships.

Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN): As observable in Table 1 (in Appendix 4), of 13 respondents in Canada less than 10 years, 9 (or about 70%) pray more than once a day. This proportion moves to 16 (or 75%) of the 20 people here between 10 to 19 years; and reduces to 7 (or 25%) of 28 who have been here over 20 years. There seems to be a curvilinear relationship with a peak for 10-19 years. Interestingly, too, of 20 people who pray less than once a day, 16 have been here over 20 years. Altogether, and in line with the hypothesis, it seems that extended length of time, and particularly in this case a period over 20 years, yields a significant diminution in incidence of daily prayers.

Zakat (Q 06): Table 2 shows that among 34 (i.e, 13 plus 21) people less than 20 years in Canada, 20 are regular and 14 irregular contributors. But among the 28 people over 20 years in Canada, only 7 are regular while 21 are irregular contributors. A curvilinear relationship is again noticeable. But again, there seems to be, in line with the hypothesis,

a significant watering down in the practice of the Islamic principle on zakat among respondents who have been here over 20 years.

Fasting (Q 07): Table 3 indicates that of 33 people less than 20 years in Canada, 27 (i.e. over 3/4 the group) keep over 1/2. Thus, length of time in Canada has a significant bearing on fasting: those over 20 years here tend to fast less and this also supports the hypothesis. But again, a curvilinear relationship, peaking at 10-19 years, is discernible.

Impact of Receiving Interest on Investment (Q 22): Table 4 indicates that of 34 respondents less than 20 years in Canada, 22 state it bothers them, whereas among 27 over 20 years in Canada, only 8 report it bothers them. Thus, on the impact of time the hypothesis, is again affirmed.

Alcoholic Consumption (Q 24 CAN): Table 5 indicates that of 34 people in Canada less than 20 years, 6 consume alcohol, and of 28 over 20 years in Canada, 19 do so.

Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN): Table 6 also indicates that of 34 people in Canada less than 20 years, 4 eat pork, and of 28 people in Canada over 20 years, 12 so do.

In summary, Hypothesis 1 is well borne out in that over time, and in this case over a period as long as 20 years, the adaptation/acclulturation/assimilation process shows

significant diminution in the important areas of daily prayers, zakat (alms), fasting, anxiety over interest from investment, alcoholic consumption, and the eating of pork. Where a curvilinear peaking is found in earlier years, an explanation may lie in the desire of immigrants to establish or affirm their religious practices but later yielding to strong environmental influences.

Hypothesis 2.- That the first and second generations in Canada will reveal a tendency to significant changes in religious behaviour from those of the immigrant settlers. Thus the status of immigrants, first generation and second generation respondents (Q 57) may be examined against several variables:

Daily Prayers (Q 02): Table 7 indicates that of 61 immigrants, 32 (i.e. over 1/2 the group) pray more than once a day. Of 14 first generation respondents, only 1 so does, and of 11 second generation respondents 8 do. While there is a distinct decline at the first generation, there is, however, an increased sensitivity to prayers at the second generation, which in this instance seems to be in line with hypothesis 5 (discussed below). This sensitivity may well be ascribed to an enhanced awareness of Islam in recent years throughout the world because of focussed attention on politico-religious issues in such Islamic countries as Iran, Iraq and Pakistan.

One might speculate that the first generation would be more concerned with procuring satisfaction of basic needs such as adequate housing and job, whereas the second generation, coming into a setting with basic needs fairly well established, could afford to devote more time and energy to the less tangible, and perhaps more refined aspect, of life which could well afford nurturing a religious zeal.

When, however, the first and second generation respondents, i.e. the Canadian-born Muslims in the sample, are together compared with the Trinidad-born Muslims (i.e., the immigrants) an obvious diminution in daily prayers unfolds, though only close to significant degree as seen in Table 8. Over half the Trinidad-born Muslims pray more than once a day but only 1/3 (i.e. 10 of 30) of the Canadian-born Muslims so do. Twenty of the Canadian-born Muslims pray less than once a day.

Problem Attending Daily Prayers (Q 03 DAL): Table 9 indicates that of 56 immigrants, 34 report difficulty. Of 13 first generation respondents, only 1 report difficulty (with 8 stating "not applicable" and 4 "other"). And, of 11 second generation respondents, none report difficulty with 2 stating "not applicable" and 6 "other"). Keeping in mind that "not applicable" and "other" can have various possible interpretations (e.g., respondents do not in practice follow

any religion or do not make any particular effort to perform the prayers), the results likely indicate that where problems are indicated, special effort is required in the Western world (e.g., interruption of a work schedule) for prayer time, especially for immigrants who in Trinidad likely had a workable design but must now struggle to readapt within a new cultural setting. Those of the second generation who report no problem, are probably individuals who from childhood were able in the Canadian culture to blend prayer facility with a vocational direction. Of course, a no-problem situation may also mean that the respondent is simply not involved in any daily prayers and therefore there is no associated difficulty.

Problem Attending Friday (Jumma) Prayers (Q 03 FRI):

Table 10 indicates that of 59 immigrants, 44 report difficulty and 7 claim no difficulty. Of 12 first generation respondents, 1 report difficulty, none claim no problem and 11 state "not applicable" or other. Of 10 second generation respondents, 1 report difficulty, 2 claim no problem and 7 state "other". There is again an obvious difference between immigrants and later generations in regard to problems associated with attendance at the Friday prayers.

Problem Attending Tarawee Prayers (Q 03 TAR):

Table 11 (Appendix 4) indicates a significant relationship. Of 55 immigrants, 34 report difficulty and 13 claim no difficulty.

Of 12 first generation respondents, 1 report difficulty, none claim "no problem" and 11 state "not applicable" or "other". Of 10 second generation respondents, 1 report difficulty, 2 claim "no problem" and 7 state "other". Once more an obvious difference unfolds between immigrants and later generations in regard to problems associated with attendance at Tarawee prayers.

Zakat (Q 06): Table 12 indicates that of 62 immigrants 26 are regular and 36 irregular contributors. But among 14 first generation respondents, only 2 are regular while 12 are irregular contributors. And of 11 second generation contributors, 8 are regular and 3 irregular contributors. Thus a decline in regular contributors is seen by the first generation, in line with the hypothesis. But interestingly, at the second generation a reversion to more regular contributors (proportionately) is manifest, once more suggesting a reversion effect which is in keeping with hypothesis 5.

Fasting (Q 07): Table 13 indicates that of 60 immigrants, 37 (i.e. over 1/2 the group) keep over 1/2 the fasts, whereas of 14 first generation respondents, none keeps over 1/2 the fasts, all stating they keep less than 1/2. But interestingly again, at the second generation level with 11 respondents, 8 keep more than 1/2 the fasts. Thus, while

there is a distinct change from the immigrants to the first generation as the hypothesis predicts, the second generation tends to show a reversion, or residual effect again, in line with hypothesis 5.

Impact on Receiving Interest on Investment (Q 22):

Table 14 indicates that of 61 immigrants, 29 (i.e. about 1/2 the group) affirm it bothers them to be receiving such interest. Of 14 first generation respondents, none finds it problematic (i.e. all 14 report they are not bothered by receiving such interest) thus affirming the hypothesis. But of 10 second generation respondents 6 report it bothers them, thus reinforcing the reversion effect once more, in line with hypothesis 5.

Purchase of Lottery Tickets (Q 2301): Table 15

indicates a relationship approaching significant level. Of 59 immigrants, 45 purchase lottery tickets and 14 do not. But of 13 first generation respondents, all 13 purchase such tickets, with none refraining. But by the second generation, of 11 respondents, while 6 admit to purchasing such tickets, 5 refrain. Thus, between the practice of the immigrants and that of the first generation, hypothesis 1 is again affirmed, and once more the reversion effect supports hypothesis 5.

Card Play For Money (Q 2302): Table 16 indicates that

of 49 immigrants, only 8 play cards and 41 do not. By the

first generation, the proportion is reversed: Of 10 respondents, 8 play cards and 2 do not. By the second generation 4 play cards and 5 do not. Once more hypothesis 1 is affirmed and the reversion effect is again seen with the second generation.

Horse-racing (Q 2303): Table 17 indicates with the numbers very much as obtained with card playing for money.

Other Games of Chance (Q 2304): Table 18 (Appendix 4) indicates a significant relationship, again with data very much as obtained with card playing for money.

Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN): Table 19 indicates that of 62 immigrants, 16 eat pork and 46 do not. But of 14 first generation respondents, as many as 13 eat pork with only one refraining. And, of 10 second generation respondents, 3 eat pork and 7 do not. Hypothesis 2 is again affirmed in this regard and the reversion effect is also observable here.

Arranged Marriages (Q 4501): Table 20 indicates that of 52 immigrants, 26 (i.e. 1/2 of the group) are in favor of arranged marriages. But none of 14 respondents of the first generation and none of 10 respondents in the second generation favor such marriages. While hypothesis 2 is again affirmed, it is not surprising that a reversion effect is not present, since the matter of arranged marriages is not actually an Islamic injunction, and can well yield to strong social pressure.

In summary, hypothesis 2 is also affirmed in that there is a significant difference between the immigrants and first generation respondents in the important areas of daily prayers, problems in association with Friday and Tarawee prayers, zakat (alms), fasting, purchase of lottery tickets, card playing for money, horse racing, other games of chance, eating pork and arranged marriages. In every one of those areas the Islamic practice has dwindled by the time of the first generation. But by the second generation some seem to revert toward the practice of the immigrants, perhaps because of an increased awareness of Islam in view of political dynamics in the modern world. This reversion is in keeping with hypothesis 5 (as indicated below).

It is interesting in regard to the first generation, Darsh, the Imam of the London Central Mosque makes a pronouncement about Muslims in England which seems in conformity with the data obtained here (though Darsh does not provide any objective data):

There are the young generation, who find a gap between themselves and their elders because education, freedom enjoyed by their class mates and the inability of their elders to transmit their cultural identity in an acceptable rational form.¹⁶

A reversion by the second generation was also

16. S.M. Darsh, Muslims in Europe (London, England: Ta Ha Publishers, 1980), p. 53.

noticeable among certain Muslims in France:

By the beginning of the 1980s, the majority of North Africans in France had been born in the host country. Among this "second generation", as they are called, a trend toward re-islamization became unmistakable, with community interest mostly upheld by the younger members. Youthful participation in religious rituals of prayer and fasting greatly increased, although this often represented a defiant mood rather than piety in the traditional sense. North Africans frequently express the view that "through identification with Islam, which is the true revolutionary power of the Third World, we gain self-confidence and the respect of our neighbours". Others put it more bluntly: "Without Islam we amount to nothing in France!" This pride in belonging to Islam has increased in the rest of the diaspora as well.¹⁷

Hypothesis 3.- The more educated Muslims show less adherence to traditional beliefs and practices in Islam. The same holds for professional as well as successful business people. Thus education level (Q 64), occupation (Q 65), and income (Q 40a), may, each in turn be examined against the following variables:

Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN): Table 21 indicates that respondents with university education perform fewer daily prayers than those with a non-university or elementary school education. Of 26 university educated people, 7 (i.e about 1/4 of the group) pray more than once a day. Of 45 non-university

17. C. Duran, "Islam in Modern Europe", Encyclopedia of Religion 7 (1987) 425.

educated, 21 (i.e. about 1/2 the group) so do. And of 15 elementary educated, 12 (i.e, about 3/4 the group) so do. The gradation of diminution in prayer from university level to elementary school education is confirmatory of hypothesis 3.

Problem Attending Friday (Jumma) Prayers (Q 03 FRI):

Table 22 indicates that of the respondents without a university background (a total of 58, i.e., 14 plus 44), 36 report problems, whereas of the 23 with a university education, 10 indicate problems. But it is interesting to note that the non-university educated respondents who are beyond the elementary school level, do resemble the university educated ones (23 of 44 as compared with 10 of 23 respectively). Altogether, however, the less educated seem to be the ones more devoted to their Friday prayer attendance and therefore report more problems. Obviously, living in a Western or Christian world where Friday is a regular work day, one can expect the devout Muslim to experience more difficulties in trying to carve a path to the Friday Prayer. Once more, this aspect of hypothesis 3 is confirmed.

Zakat (Q 06): Table 23 indicates a significant relationship that of 26 university educated people, only 5 contribute regularly and 21 do not. And, of 15 people limited to an elementary school education, 10 contribute regularly and 5 do not. Obviously, the higher the education the less

interest there seems to be in contributing zakat regularly, again affirming hypothesis 3.

Fasting (Q 07): Table 24 indicates that of 14 people with only an elementary education, 13 (i.e., almost all) keep more than 1/2 the fast, but farther up the educational level, the proportion drops to 26 of 46 non-university educated (i.e., about 1/2 that group) that keep over 1/2 the fast. And, at the university level, the proportion falls further, to 6 of 19 (i.e., about 1/3 that group). In other words, the less the education, the greater is the fasting. Perhaps those without much education probably have more time to devote to fasting. Hypothesis 3 is again affirmed.

Card Playing for Money (Q 2302): Table 25 indicates that of 23 university educated respondents, 12 (i.e., about 1/2 the group) play cards for money (gamble), and of 11 elementary educated respondents, none so do. The non-university respondents occupy an intermediate position in that 9 of 34 (i.e. about 1/4 the group) so gamble. Once more, the higher the education the more the indulgence in card playing for money, and hypothesis 3 obtains further confirmation.

Horse-racing (Q 2303): Table 26 indicates that of 24 university educated respondents, 14 (i.e over 1/2 the group), and of 36 non-university respondents 11 (i.e, a little less than 1/2 the group), and of 12 elementary educated respondents

only 1 claim participation in other games of chance. Thus, the greater the education the more the indulgence in horse racing, thus affirming this aspect of hypothesis 3.

Other Games of Chance (Q 2304): Table 27 indicates that of 24 university educated respondents, 14 (i.e., over 1/2 the group), and of 36 non-university respondents 11 (i.e., a little less than 1/2 the group), and of 12 elementary educated respondents only 1, claim participation in other games of chance. Thus, the greater the education, the more the indulgence in other games of chance, thus affirming this aspect of hypothesis 3.

Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN): Table 28 indicates that of 25 university educated respondents, 15 (i.e., over 1/2 the group), and of 46 non-university educated respondents 18 (i.e., less than 1/2 the group), and of 15 elementary educated respondents none, eat pork. Thus, the greater the education, the more the eating of pork, thus affirming this aspect of hypothesis 3.

Arranged Marriages (Q 4501): Table 29 indicates that of 23 university educated respondents, 16 reject the notion of arranged marriages. Of 38 non-university educated respondents, 29 do likewise. And, of 15 elementary educated respondents, only 1 reject such marriage. Thus, the less the education the greater the preference for arranged marriages, again affirming this aspect of hypothesis 3.

Finding own Marital Partner (Q 4502): Table 30 indicates that of 25 university educated respondents 22 (i.e., almost all of this group) indicate the preference of finding one's own marital partner. Similarly, of 44 non-university educated respondents, as many as 36 agree with the option. But, of 12 elementary educated respondents, only 2 so agree. Once more, therefore, hypothesis 3 gains credibility.

In summary, the greater the education level, the more is there a decrease in daily prayers, problems associated with daily prayers, zakat and fasting. But the greater is indulgence in card playing for money (gambling), horse racing, other games of chance, eating pork and the finding of one's own marital partner. All these findings confirm hypothesis 3 in the aspect of educational level.

It may be relevant to note that a study by Borhek¹⁸ showed that increased years of education weaken ethnic identification and community ties. And Reitz's¹⁹ overall review of several studies also reports that high levels of education over generations tend to establish contacts outside an ethnic community.

18. T. Borhek, "Ethnic-Group Cohesion", American Journal of Sociology 76 (1970) 33-46.

19. J.G. Reitz, "Immigrants, Their Descendants, and the Cohesion of Canada", in: R. Breton, J.G. Reitz and V.F. Valentine, eds. Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada (Quebec, Canada: The Institute for Research in Public Policy, 1980), p. 357.

Turning to occupational level in relation to dependent variables, the following cross-tabulations are conspicuous:

Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN): Table 31 shows that 9 of 16 students pray more than once a day. The ratio increases somewhat to 12 of 19 unemployed respondents (including housewives), but decreases to 21 of 53 professional people (including skilled and entrepreneurial respondents). While the differences do not attain significant level, the trend to fewer prayers by the professional category is obvious. Altogether, it seems the non-professionals are more inclined to pray (i.e., 9 plus 12, of 16 plus 19) than the professionals (i.e., 21 of 53). Again, of those who pray less than once a day, 25 of the 53 professionals so indicate (i.e., about 1/2 the group). But only 3 of the 19 unemployed (i.e., about 1/6 the group) and 6 of the 16 students (i.e., roughly 1/3 the group) pray less than once a day.

Resolution on Problematic Daily Prayers (Q 04): Table 32 indicates that while 25 (i.e., 7 plus 18) of 35 non-professional respondents (i.e., 16 plus 19) report they can manage the daily prayers despite difficulties, but only 26 of 51 professionals (i.e., about 1/2) so indicate. No doubt, the busy professional person is generally unlikely to honour the daily prayers as a priority activity, since in the Western world "time is money", and the daily prayers might be

postponed for some other time.

Zakat (Q 06 CAN): Table 33 indicates that of 16 students, 10 (i.e., over half the group) are regular contributors; 12 of 20 unemployed are such; but only 15 (i.e., less than 1/3) of 53 professionals contribute regularly. Therefore, more non-professionals (i.e., 22 of 36) than professionals are regular contributors.

Fasting (Q 07 CAN): Table 34 indicates that of 52 professionals, 22 (i.e., less than 1/2 the group) keep over 1/2 the fasts; and, of 19 unemployed, 16 (the majority) so do; and, of 16 students, 8 (i.e., 1/2 the group) hold to such.

Games of Chance (Q 2304): Table 35 indicates that of 14 students, 8 indulge in "Other games of chance", but only 1 of 15 unemployed so do. Interestingly, the professionals run a middle course, with 18 of 44 respondents indicating such. Understandably, the unemployed can hardly afford to spend money on games of chance. Professionals are probably much occupied with other matters, whereas students, of the three groups, can be seen as in the best position to take the gambling risk.

Alcohol Consumption (Q 24 CAN): Table 36 shows that of 53 professionals, a majority of 32 consume alcohol; but of 20 unemployed, only 4 (i.e., 1/5 the group) so do; and, of 16 students, 8 (i.e., 1/2 the group) consume alcohol. Obviously,

the unemployed can hardly afford to spend money on alcohol. Altogether, while over half the professionals indulge in alcohol, only 1/3 (i.e., 12 of 36) of the non-professionals so do.

Serve Alcohol to Guests (Q 25 CAN): Table 37 indicates that of 53 professionals, 30 (i.e., over 1/2) serve alcohol to guests, but only 2 of 20 unemployed, and 8 of 16 students so do. Thus, while over half the category of professionals serve alcohol, less than one-third (i.e., 10 of 36) non-professionals do likewise.

Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN): Table 38 indicates that a large proportion of professionals, 22 of 52, eat pork; while a much smaller proportion of the unemployed, 3 of 20, so do; and, the students occupy a middle course, with 8 of 16 (i.e., 1/2).

Interestingly, while the professionals are more prone to alcohol consumption than are students, they maintain a greater distance from eating pork. No doubt, among the professionals are many of the immigrants still able to hold a repulsion to pork consumption, but it seems the students are more susceptible to breaking this Islamic principle because of the social milieu at school and elsewhere. Further, in the business, commercial or professional world, it is well known that alcohol is more readily accessible than pork. Yet, in

the overall totals, it would seem that slightly more professionals (22 of 52) consume pork than non-professionals (11 of 36), with the proportion of unemployed (3 of 20) significantly lowering the ratio of non-professionals.

Eating Pork Served (Q 27): Table 39 indicates, as might be expected, that the results here are much the same as with the eating of pork (Q 26 CAN).

Checking Food Packages Against Pork (Q 2801): Table 40 shows, as might be anticipated, that less than half the professionals (i.e., 18 of 52) are concerned about checking ingredient listings on packages, whereas more than half the non-professionals (i.e., 7 plus 15, of 16 plus 19) check the listings.

Language of Conversation at Home (Q 38): Table 41 shows that of 53 professionals, 40 speak English at home, but only 9 of 20 unemployed, and a majority of 15 of 16 students so do. Thus, of 36 non-professionals (i.e., 20 plus 16), 24 speak English at home, which is less than found with the professionals. The conspicuously high figure of 15 among 16 students is not surprising in view of the surrounding English milieu socially, especially at school.

Read or Write French (Q 3902): Table 42 shows too, a high proportion of students (i.e., 14 of 16) speak or write French, followed by the professional group (with 21 of 53),

and lastly the unemployed (with only 1 of 20). Obviously, French being an official language in Canada, progress (economic or otherwise) would necessitate a command of that language, and especially so for the business echelon and the students.

Nuclear or Extended Family (Q 42): Table 43 indicates that of 15 students, 13 (i.e., much more than 1/2) prefer the nuclear family; while 25 of 49 professionals (i.e., about 1/2) are so inclined; and, only 4 of 20 unemployed indicate this preference. There is an obvious Western influence against the extended family, with the greatest impact on the students who, understandably, because of much educational propaganda on this particular concern, are the ones most likely to be modified by the Western exposure.

Arranged Marriages (Q 4501): Table 44 indicates that none of the 15 students are in favour of arranged marriages, but as many as 12 of 16 unemployed respondents prefer this form of marriage. Understandably, these latter people are less exposed to the Western milieu, while students, often with marriage on the horizon, are alert to the common behaviour (or preference) of the larger cultural setting. The professionals hold a middle course, with 14 of 41 favouring arranged marriages.

Reaction to Child Marrying Non-Muslim (Q 47): Table

45 indicates that of 16 students, 8 (i.e., 1/2) would approve of such a marriage, and only 14 of 51 professionals would so consent. But none of the 19 unemployed would agree to such a marriage.

Husband with Final Decision-Making Power (Q 5204):

Table 46 shows that while as many as 13 of 18 unemployed feel the husband has such final decision-making power, the proportion decreases to 21 of 50 professionals, and still less so to as few as 3 of 16 students. Once again, the Western attitude verging on equality between the sexes, seems to be having an important impact on the students.

Intoxicated (Q 6701): Table 47 indicates that while as many as 31 of 51 (i.e., over 1/2 the group) professionals have been intoxicated with alcohol, only 6 of 16 students (i.e., about 1/3 the group) have so been, and still less so among the unemployed with only 3 of 18 (i.e., 1/6 the group) so reporting.

Pornographic Movies (Q 6706) Table 48 indicates that a large proportion of professionals, 31 of 50, state they have viewed pornographic movies. The proportion is smaller among students, 7 of 15. And it is still less so among the unemployed, 4 of 18.

In summary, with regard to occupation, it appears in general that a greater proportion of the professional people

flout Islamic principles than is found with non-professionals, with more students than the unemployed also drifting away from the principles. The values compromised by the respondents in the broad category of professionals here, are much in the same direction as discerned with respondents of high education levels, and this is not surprising in that the more educated people are usually the high income earners.

Attention may now be turned to an examination of income (Q 40a) in relation to the variables:

Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN): Table 49 indicates that the greater the income, the fewer are the daily prayers. Of 19 people who earn \$40,000 or more, only 3 pray more than once a day, and 13 less than once a day. But, of 69 people making less than \$40,000 the majority of 39 pray more than once a day, and 21 less than once a day. Obviously, there is a negative correlation between incidence of daily prayers and income level. Perhaps the low income earners are more allied to tradition while the high income people, being able to afford greater exposure of themselves to the Canadian culture, become less traditional in their Islamic precepts. Once more, hypothesis 3 is here supported.

Zakat (Q 06): Table 50 indicates that of 19 respondents who earn \$40,000 or more, only 2 contribute regularly while 17 are irregular contributors. But, of 70

people who make less than \$40,000 half of these are regular contributors and the other half are irregular contributors. Obviously, those who are in the higher income bracket are less zealous as zakat contributors, and hypothesis 3 gains another measure of support.

Fasting (Q 07): Table 51 indicates that of 68 people who make less than \$40,000, more than half (i.e, 41) keep more than half the fasts. But, of 19 who earn more money, only about 1/4 (i.e, 5) so do. In other words, the greater the income, the less is the amount of fasting, and hypothesis 3 receives more confirmation.

Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN): Table 52 indicates that of 19 people earning \$40,000 or more, the majority of 13 eat pork, but of 68 people with a lower salary, only a minority of 20 so do. Thus, the greater the income the more the incidence of eating pork, and hypothesis 3 receives more support.

Arranged Marriages (Q 4501): Table 53 indicates a significant relationship. Of 18 respondents earning \$40,000 or more, only 2 are in favour of arranged marriages. But, of 57 respondents with a lower salary, 23 are in favor. Again, hypothesis 3 receives additional affirmation.

In summary, the higher the income level the less the daily prayers, zakat and fasting, but a greater eating of pork and a preference for arranged marriages unfold, thus lending

support to hypothesis 3.

It may at this point be relevant to recall a comment by Barclay who examined the extent of "the perpetuation of Muslim Tradition in the Canadian North" and said of successful businessmen or people with high incomes:

The stricter Muslims are those who are least assimilated to Canadian society. The most assimilated, who tend also to be more successful businessmen, find it difficult to follow the Muslim path in a land where full assimilation and chances of being accepted in the elite of society depend on engaging in certain practices which are contrary to Islamic teaching.²⁰

Hypothesis 4.- Despite adoption of several Western traits, some Trinidad Muslims in Canada, more so in the second generation, show a tendency to return to some basic Islamic principles. Confirmation of hypothesis 1, 2 and 3 already indicate significant changes in adherence to Islamic principles or customs, over length of time in Canada, and especially at the first generation. The second generation respondents also showed several changes, as were indicated, for instance, in Tables 8, 9, 10, 11, 20, (in Appendix 4). But as predicted by, and in keeping with, hypothesis 4, some of the second generation respondents tend to revert back (the reversion effect mentioned earlier) to some Islamic principles

20. H. Barclay, "The Perpetuation of Muslim Tradition in the Canadian North", Muslim World, 59 (1969) 68.

to a degree that would place them somewhere between the immigrants and the first generation in regard to these Islamic principles. This reversion effect is clearly demonstrated, and, as was noted previously, in such Tables as 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, (in Appendix 4).

The reversion, or residual effect, as already explained under hypothesis 2, may be viewed against a background of greater sensitivity to Islam in recent years throughout the world because of the increased attention to politico-religious issues in Islamic countries, and a universal interest in "roots".

Further, as Nagata²¹ has observed with a Greek community, many persons become more interested in their ethnic organizations only after they have established some security and integration in the host society. Thus ethnic community organizations in some cases may well allow a form of integration in Canadian society, and this secure integration in turn can promote greater interest in one's ethnic organizations. Richmond²² also claimed to have obtained data in support of such an interpretation. And Rosenberg and Jedwab, in studying the Jewish, Italian and Greek communities

21. J.A. Nagata, "Adaptation and Integration of Greek Working Class Immigrants in the City of Toronto, Canada: a Situational Approach", International Migration Review 4 (1969) 44-70.

22. A.H. Richmond, "Immigration and Pluralism in Canada", International Migration Review 4 (1969) 5-24.

in Montreal, report they can extend (complement) Breton's notion of institutional completeness in the observance that "ethnic communal and organizational development is itself a mode of participation in Canadian social, economic, and political life",²³ which in turn allows the state to support ethnic diversity.

Hypothesis 5.- That several Muslims have encountered prejudice on grounds of religion. Prejudice on skin colour also poses an incidental query: The data on this concern was mentioned earlier under the section, "The Questionnaire Item Responses", and more specifically under this sub-section "The Ummah (Community)", and may also be seen as responses to Q 30 and Q 31 in Appendix 2.

Citing the data here again, it is noticed that on Q 30, and in regard to skin colour, a mere 1.1% respondents point to non-Muslim teachers as prejudiced, and 4.4% to classmates, and 5.6% to workmates. No one reports playmates as prejudiced. Interestingly, 3.3% of respondents combine non-Muslim teachers and workmates as prejudiced. These small figures tend to rule out prejudice on skin colour.

But in regard to religion (still on Q 30), a

23. M.M. Rosenberg and J. Jedwab, "Institutional Completeness, Ethnic Organizational Style and the Role of the State: the Jewish, Italian and Greek Communities of Montreal", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 29 (1992) 267.

conspicuous 16.7% point to non-Muslim teachers as prejudiced; 2.2% to classmates and 3.3% to workmates. Again, there is no indication of playmates as prejudiced. The figure of 16.7% in reference to teachers can be alarming to Canadian Muslims in general though it may be a reflection of misunderstanding as to the nature of Islam, given the recent news headlines in regard to confusion, unrest and wars in the Middle East where the religion of Islam is often highlighted.

So far, it appears that hypothesis 5 in regard to skin colour is not substantiated, but the hypothesis is borne out in the matter of religion.

The absence of skin colour prejudice is interesting in that practically all Muslims from Trinidad are dark East Indians, with an original ancestry from Pakistan and India, or what was together known as India in the last century; and many Canadians are familiar with certain sporadic outbursts of violence in Canada (especially in Toronto) against "Pakis", i.e. East Indians from Pakistan. East Indians from India were often also so labelled since no racial difference could be discerned at first sight. And the racial features of Trinidad Muslims are also obviously much like those of Pakistanis.

The responses to Q 31 suggest that the religion of the respondents has not been an impediment in regard to obtaining housing, finding a job, making friends, relating in business

or social clubs. But, again, a conspicuous 11.9% of respondents report their religion as an impediment to "educational progress". The impediment, however, may not stem merely from a difference in religion but more particularly from basic assumptions about the Islamic faith. Whether the feeling of prejudice or impediment is reality-based, or imaginary in the sense that the respondents might have a projected expectation of such from people of other religions who are in authority, the degree of responses may well be of some alarm to Canadian Muslims generally, as well as to concerned non-Muslim Canadians, especially if the assimilation/acculturation process is to benefit all Canadians.

In summary, it seems that hypothesis 5 is confirmed in the aspect of religious prejudice, but this is in the educational setting and from non-Muslim teachers. Prejudice on skin colour is practically absent.

(b) Other Significant Data:-

Having addressed the particular hypotheses, attention may be directed to some other significant cross-tabulations that emerge and which, interestingly, can be said to provide further support for the hypotheses in their generalization.

When Country of birth, Trinidad or Canada (Q 56), is

taken as an independent variable (which is not unlike Q 57 relating to immigrants and first and second generations) the following changes are observed among dependent variables:

Problems attending daily prayers (Q 03 DAL): Table 54 shows that of 53 people claiming birth in Trinidad, 34 express difficulty in attending the prayers, while only 1 of 29 claiming birth in Canada state there is difficulty. Among the 29 born in Canada, 10 find the question not applicable to them, and 14 indicate "other", likely meaning in both instances that they do not practice the prayers and therefore find the question irrelevant to their situation.

Problem attending Friday (Jumma/prayers) (Q 03 FRI): Table 55 shows that of 57 Trinidad-born respondents, as many as 44 have problems and 7 do not. But, of 26 Canadian-born respondents, only 2 have problems and 2 do not.

Problem attending Tarawee prayers (Q 03 TAR): Table 56 shows that of 52 Trinidad-born respondents, as many as 34 have problems and 12 do not. But, of 26 Canadian-born respondents, only 2, have problems and 2 do not. Obviously more effort is expended by the Trinidad-born respondents to attend these various prayers. Very few Canadian-born respondents indicate problems, probably because very few bother to perform the prayers.

Fasting (Q 07 CAN): Table 57 indicates that of 57

Trinidad-born respondents, 38 (i.e., over half the group) keep over half the fasts, whereas of 22 Canadian-born, 8 (i.e. less than half) so do.

In brief, Trinidad-born Muslims report greater difficulty than Canadian-born Muslims in attending the various prayers: daily, Friday and Tarawee. It seems they are more zealous in the practice of this religious behavior. They also do more fasting.

When age group (Q 40) is taken as the independent variable, differences are also observed within the following variables:

Problem attending daily prayers (Q 03 DAL): Table 58 shows that of 13 people less than 18 years of age, none claim a problem attending daily prayers; but 30 of 58 people between the ages of 19 to 64 report difficulty; and 6 of 12 over 65 years also claim difficulty. Obviously the older respondents, in line with being immigrants (see Table 9) still imbued with devotion to religious practice, can be expected to report difficulty, while the younger respondents, with a dilution of religious values, are less involved in the daily prayers and therefore can proclaim no attendant difficulty. For these, prayers are likely of no concern. Indeed, Table 58 also shows that of the 13 people under the age of eighteen, 4 state "not applicable" and 6 "other".

Problem attending Friday prayers (Q 03 FRI): Table 59 also reveals that of 13 respondents under 18 years, only 1 reports problems, while 45 (i.e., 36 plus 10) so report among 71 (i.e., 58 plus 13) people over 65 years of age.

Problem attending Tarawee prayers (Q 03 TAR): Table 60 indicates that of a total of 66 people (i.e., 53 plus 13) over the age of 19, as many as 48 seem interested in the prayers. And of these, 35 report problems. On the other hand, of the 13 under 18 years, only 3 seem to have an interest in the prayers, with only 1 indicating a problem situation.

Zakat (Q 06): Table 61 shows that of 14 people under 18 years of age, 10 contribute zakat regularly, but only 20 of those between 19 and 64 years so do. And of 13 people over 65 years, 8 are regular contributors. The low figure for those between 19 and 64 years may at first seem surprising in view of the larger portion of respondents under 18 who contribute regularly. But it may be noteworthy that living in a country where tithe is also a pervasive Christian value, the young people may regard tithe contributions as a general expectation in life. As the same time, the older respondents (between 19 and 64 years) probably feel money to be a concrete necessity in a foreign environment in which they must carve out a new living.

In brief, the older the Muslims the more likely the adherence to the daily, Friday and Tarawee prayers, with an associated claim of difficulty attending the prayers. On the matter of zakat (alms) the young people, interestingly, seem more liberal.

At this point, while the impact of sexual differences was not an objective in this study, it may be interesting to note, particularly in the Western world where the Feminist Movement has become conspicuous, that the few female respondents even if underrepresented in the sample of respondents, do reveal some suggestive relationships with a number of variables. On the Quranic verse (4:34), on Q 53 that "Men are in charge of women", 11 of the 15 women (that is, 9 of 10 immigrant women, and 2 of 5 Canadian women) agree it does not deny equality of the sexes, and 3 of 5 Canadian born, remain uncertain as to its meaning. One might speculate that the 3 Canadian born women, though brought up in a Muslim home, likely became aware in their development of the constant societal cry about women equality issues and remained uncertain as to the traditional Islamic viewpoint that men hold a dominant role in being legally and morally responsible for the maintenance of the family. 4 immigrants, and no Canadian-born women, feel that men should have a final decision making power.

Again, of the 15 women, 10 keep over half the fast, and of these, 3 have been in Canada over 20 years, and 4 less than 10 years, while only 1 was born in Canada. 5 pray daily, and these include 1 of the first generation and 1 of the second generation, and they report there is generally no difficulty in attending prayers, perhaps because very few (2 only) have outside jobs and most are able to find time for prayers. In regard to receiving an interest in investment, 11 have bank savings account, and only 2 experience any anxiety over the interest. Only 2 eat pork and these are of the first Canadian generation. Only 1 immigrant woman and 1 first generation would offer alcohol to a guest.

Of the immigrant women, 8 contribute zakat regularly, while only 1 of the first generation and 1 of the second, do so. 14 of the 15 women have purchased lottery tickets, none have played cards for money, and none have attended horse-racing. 8 of the immigrant women prefer arranged marriages; but all the Canadian-born ones would advocate selection of one's own mate. All of the women speak English but 3 of the immigrants speak mainly Urdu at home. A close examination of these data in association with the female sex show a general conformity with the hypotheses of this research project, but certainly the numbers are too small to yield any definite information.

c) Summary of Salient Relationships. - While a survey of the order of this nature can often yield a vast array of numbers that can become bewildering, it may be sensible to draw together some of the more salient relationships, especially as they relate to the hypotheses under investigation, and to present these in a simple summary table. Table I - A (on the next page) provides such a summary.

While the aim at simplicity necessitates the omission of several interesting relationships from the table, a sufficient amount of significant data is presented, and such data can indicate at a glance confirmation of the various hypotheses.

Table 1-A: Summary of Some Salient Relationships in Line with the Hypotheses

Hypothesis	Variable	1st Gen.	2nd Gen.	3rd Gen.	4th Gen.	5th Gen.	6th Gen.	7th Gen.	8th Gen.	9th Gen.	10th Gen.	11th Gen.	12th Gen.	13th Gen.	14th Gen.	15th Gen.	16th Gen.	17th Gen.	18th Gen.	19th Gen.	20th Gen.		
Hypothesis 1: (Q 60): Long Time in Canada	Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Zakat (Q 06)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Fasting (Q 07)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Anxiety on Interest (Q 22)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Lottery Tickets (Q 2301)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Gambling: Cards (Q 2302)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Horse Racing (Q 2303)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Other Games (Q 2304)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Consumption Alcohol (Q 24 CAN)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
Hypothesis 2: (Q 57): Immigrants 1st Gen. 2nd Gen.	Arranged Marriages (Q 4501)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Partner (Q 4502)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Problems - Daily Prayers (Q 03 DAL)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Problem - Fri. Prayers (Q 03 FRI)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Problem - Tar. Prayers (Q 03 TAR)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Non-Muslim Teachers	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
	Hypothesis 3: Education: (Q 61): University Non-University Elementary	Professional (Q 65)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
		Non-Prof. (Q 65)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
		Income: (Q 40a): High	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
		Low	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
Hypothesis 4: Occupation: (Q 65): Professional Non-Prof.		High	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
		Low	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
		Hypothesis 5: (Q 30) Prejudice Skin Colour Religion	Prejudice	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
			Skin Colour	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
			Religion	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
			Problem - Tar. Prayers (Q 03 TAR)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
	Problem - Fri. Prayers (Q 03 FRI)		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
	Problem - Tar. Prayers (Q 03 TAR)		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
	Problem - Fri. Prayers (Q 03 FRI)		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
	Problem - Tar. Prayers (Q 03 TAR)		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
Problem - Fri. Prayers (Q 03 FRI)	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
Problem - Tar. Prayers (Q 03 TAR)	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		

Index: ↑ = Decreased; ↓ = Increased; H = High; M = Medium; L = Low; N.S. = Not Significant; S = Significant (Note: H, M and L are relative to one another)

3. Non-Respondents and Comments by Respondents

a) Non-Respondents.- The people who provided data for this survey constituted only a small percentage of those to whom the questionnaires were sent, yet the percentage might be considered to be at a generally expected level. The issue of the non-respondents can be of paramount importance in the extrapolation of results to them and to the population from which they were selected. As yet, there seems to be no workable device to increase the return rate substantially. In consideration of this shortcoming, the introductory note in the questionnaire asked recipients to return the questionnaire if they would not be completing it and to provide reasons if possible. But no blank questionnaire was returned.

One can only speculate about the reasons non-respondents do not cooperate. As generally guessed in surveys, perhaps some respondents were illiterate; some found the questions unclear or ambiguous; some felt completing the questionnaire might take too much time; some, despite the promise of anonymity, probably felt the answers to the questions would reveal their identity; some likely felt they could answer only some questions and not others and therefore could not be bothered at all by the questionnaire.

Perhaps a larger study with sufficient financial

resources might allow for adoption of some method of tracing non-respondents and obtaining their reasons for not responding to the questionnaire.

b) Comments by Respondents.- Only two respondents made any negative remarks, and they were simply: "Too long", and "Questions 40a and 67 should be deleted". Question 40a deals with income level, and question 67 elicits information on such behaviors as : "drunk"; "calypso or reggae dancing"; "premarital sex"; "extramarital sex"; "wearing a bikini in a public bathing place"; "viewed pornographic movies". Apparently the respondent felt that questions 40a and 67 were either too personal (apparently overlooking the anonymity of the questionnaire), or that Muslims should not be asked questions pertaining to immoral behaviour, the respondent probably not appreciating the fact that it is by such surveys or questions that empirical data may be obtained so that knowledge of practical behaviour can be discerned, which may well be a first step toward the implementation of corrective measures.

All the other comments are quite favourable and very supportive of the survey. In general, they tend to praise the survey effort, invoke blessings on the researcher for this kind of undertaking, and express a desire to see the results

of the study. Most of the comments may be cited:

"Bravo! We need to know about the Muslims in this country. Allah reward you!"

"Congrats on this effort - long overdue. Hope the results are shared with CMCC and others, school board, Gov't etc. And that Muslims respond in sufficient numbers."

I feel confident that the motivation for this survey is rooted in an urgent desire to do good. I pray that the information derived will administer to purposeful activities that will bring about relief to situations that are in dire need of assistance. May Almighty Allah grant His mercy, blessings and His guidance in this undertaking. Salaam.

"I hope the results are published for all to see. It sounds needed and important."

"Very interesting. How can I know your total results (outcome)?"

"Very interesting! I would like to know some of your results."

"May Allah bless your welcome work!"

"May Allah bless you in your effort!"

"Muslims need this kind of examination. Bless you! Best wishes!"

"Some more points can be included but they can make the questionnaire too long."

"Muslims should unite more. You might help. Best wishes!"

"For Jumma prayers, all Muslims should be given half a day. Your work can help in this awareness."

"I think Islam is gaining grounds in Canada."

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS

Clarification in the behaviour of the Trinidad Muslim respondents in the process of adaptation (integration or assimilation) to the Canadian society enhances an understanding of these Muslims and can contribute, as Qureshi and Qureshi¹ might say, to discourse on how the Muslim community constitutes itself in this Western society as well as how the religious identity and practices of its members manifest themselves in the adaptation process.

Clearly, the small number of respondents in this study, approached in a non-random manner, together with a lack of any practical means of follow-up contact with non-respondents, makes it obvious that the representativeness of the sample is unknowable.

However, this research endeavour can be useful as a pioneering guide in ascertaining the extent to which several Trinidad Muslims in Canada may be contacted by a survey questionnaire on the practice of their faith and the degree to which they would respond, especially in view of the fact that

1. R.B. Qureshi and S.M.M. Qureshi, "Pakistani Canadians: The Making of a Muslim Community", in Waugh, Abu-Laban and Qureshi, Muslim 127.

the Canadian government keeps no record of the number of these people in Canada and of the questions pertaining to matters that may be regarded as significant to such Muslims.

It is not inconceivable that as religious revivals sweep the world, and particularly so in the Muslim ummah (community), the Canadian government as well as the Canadian people on the whole, including Canadian Muslims in general, may wish now and in the future to learn more and more about this community, and not simply from armchair philosophizing or through the mass media, but more so through applied research. Factual information can help remove myth, prejudice and traditional misinterpretations.

While the hypotheses explored do certainly help provide systematic direction and structure in what might at first seem a nebulous area, there is also what might be called a fact-finding mission, though within a restricted and small sample of the population.

In the process of adjusting to the new cultural environment, the Trinidad Muslim respondents were affected in various ways and degrees by the new cultural values and outlook, and this understandably modified their views, aspirations and practices. The acquisition of cultural traits of the adopted nation, sometimes referred to as

acculturation², facilitates the assimilation process; that is, the absorption of the ethnic group into the larger adopted culture.³ But such a blending of the Trinidad Muslim respondents is certainly not there, and one may speak only of some degree of amalgamation⁴ within a Canadian population composed of diverse and incompletely fused⁵ ethnic elements.⁶

Interestingly, all respondents can be defined as Muslims, and almost all affirm concurrence with the basic doctrinal principals in Islam, such as belief in Allah and

2. A. A. Elkholy, The Arab Muslims in the United States: Religion and Assimilation (New Haven: College and University Press, 1966), p. 8.

3. S.N Eisenstadt, Absorption of Immigrants in Israel (London: Routledge and Kagan Parel Ltd., 1954), p. 17.

4. E.B. Reuter, "Amalgamation", Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 2 (1988) 16-17.

5. D. Glaser, "Dynamics of Ethnic Identification", American Sociological Review 23 (1959) 31-40.

6. At this point, a neat pattern of categorisations by Berry may be noted. Assimilation process: a group not wishing to maintain cultural distinctiveness, moves increasingly toward participation with (and eventual absorption into) the larger society. Separation: a group maintains its distinctiveness and does not participate within the larger society; and if so enforced by the cultural group, withdrawal exists. Deculturation: a group's culture is not maintained and there is no participation in the affairs of the dominant group. Integration: a group retains its cultural integrity and at the same times moves into an integral position within the larger society. J.W. Berry, "Multicultural Policy in Canada: a Social Psychological Analysis", Canadian Journal of Behavioural Sciences 16 (1984) 357.

Muhammad as His prophet, acknowledgement of the Quran as the word of God, acceptance of some or all of the Hadith. It appears that it is more on the practical aspects that differences, or rather, a "watering down" of Islamic behaviour, emerges. Elkholy⁷, too, in his study, had observed that materialistic traits are usually the first to yield to a dominant culture while ingrained values and beliefs tend to remain quite inelastic. And it is remarkable that all the hypotheses here are confirmed to a significant degree. While some compromise in religious practice was already present in Trinidad, the longer the immersion of the immigrants in the new Canadian cultural environment, the greater the dilution of the Islamic traditions (Hypothesis 1). The first generation after the immigrants also demonstrates such a direction (Hypothesis 2). And the greater the educational, income and occupational level of the respondents, the less is their practice of Islam (Hypothesis 3). And among some members of the next (or second) generation there is some reversion to earlier Islamic practices (Hypothesis 4). Finally, several Trinidad Muslims have encountered prejudice on account of their religion (Hypothesis 5).

These empirical data can have, in various ways, strong

7. A.A. Elkholy, Religion and Assimilation in Two Muslim Communities in America (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Princeton University, 1960), pp. 7-8.

implications especially for government policy formulation particularly in respect to the policy of multiculturalism, for Muslim leaders and the Ummah (community), for the confirmation of theoretical perspectives, and, for speculating on the changes in the behaviour of Muslims in this modern era. Each of these areas may be examined in turn.

1. Multiculturalism

In this connection, if language, sometimes referred to as the sine qua non of culture (Rocher⁸) may be selected as a criterion in relation to culture maintenance, it is relevant to recall that Pierre Elliot Trudeau, the former Prime Minister of Canada, announced in 1971 a new policy labelled "Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" as "the most sensible means of assuring multicultural freedom of Canadians"⁹ (as noted in the Review of the Literature).

While, indeed, the Muslims in Canada can claim, in general, cultural freedom, their offspring seem to be drifting

8. G. Rocher, "Les Ambiguités d'un Canada Bilingue et Multiculturel", in: Le Québec en Mutation (Montreal: Hurtubise, 1973).

9. M.R. Haque, Cultural Assimilation and Consumer Decision-Making Among Muslim Couples in Windsor, Ontario (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1978), p. 7.

away from their mother tongue of Urdu or Hindustani and increasingly into English, with, for example, an increasing adoption of English names, more home conversations and greetings in English, and even the Friday sermons taking on more of an English slant (than Arabic). It is noteworthy that the other official language of Canada, French, is also making inroads into the communication process among the younger generation.

No doubt, bilingualism, in the sense of one "heritage" language and one "official" language, may be additive by being instrumental toward increasing life opportunities (e.g., pleasure in travelling, commercial exchanges, attaining occupation advancement), it may also be subtractive in the loss of one's mother tongue and certain associations with it (e.g., the Urdu term for mother, "Amma Jaan", which is used by many Muslims in Trinidad, and which bears a strong connotation of respect in conjunction with endearment, being replaced more and more with "Mom"). There is report of a very strong negative correlation between knowledge and use of an official language and use of a heritage language, both within and across generations,¹⁰ (but it may be argued that learning an

10. J. de Vries, "Languages in Contact: a Review of Canadian Research", in: W.H. Coons, D.M. Taylor and M.A. Tremblay, eds. The Individual in Language and Society (Ottawa: Canada Council, 1977).

official language does not necessarily lead to loss of the heritage language since other acculturative changes may be responsible).

It is very likely that the Government of Canada, more particularly its Directorate of Multiculturalism, in attempting as well to promote language training in the third languages together with financial help to ethnic organizations to assist in the preservation of their culture, may find it helpfully informative to know that the sampled young Trinidad Muslims in Canada, and very likely young Muslims from other geographical regions, find not only their religious language (Arabic) dwindling in usage but that there is a serious need for makhtabs where the heritage languages may be fostered and other aspects of Muslim culture may be promoted, recognising at the same time that for the Muslims, Islam is not merely a religious aspect to life but a totally embracing way of life.

But opposing arguments exist. A 1987 editorial in The Times-Transcript, a popular daily newspaper of the city of Moncton in New Brunswick, remarks as follows:

Many Canadians say that it's a pity that when people come to Canada they couldn't be required formally to renounce all their former political, religious, linguistic or tribal allegiances and causes, determined to become Canadians ... The multiculturalism policies of the federal government initiated in the 1970's by the Trudeau Liberals, tend to perpetuate rather than sublimate the Old Country divisions and animosities. Those

policies may have been initially well-meant, but we suggest they were and are misguided. (There is, of course, a political vein to be mined in the ethnic vote. As is always the case where a bureaucracy takes root, there is now a vested interest among both politicians and bureaucrats, not to mention those ethnic leaders and organizations enjoying government handouts of taxpayers' monies, in preserving this new multicultural status quo) ... Newcomers are ... encouraged to excessively maintain their traditions and heritage ... This leads immigrants to a certain initial separateness, which makes it easier than ever for some unthinking Canadians to cater to their own prejudices. That, yet again in turn, reinforces the ghettoization, so that any degree of integration into Canadian society is slowed if not halted altogether ... Some consideration ought to be given to the whole policy of multiculturalism and whether it isn't likely in the long run to do more harm than good, being an unnecessary reinforcement of ethnicity to the detriment of an integrated and united Canada.¹¹

Similar criticism has come from John Porter¹² who feels that maintaining ethnic identity perpetuates ethnic stratification,¹³ multiculturalism serving only to keep particular groups in their subordinate place in the "vertical mosaic". Whether that has been so in the past or is so with

11. The Times-Transcript (Moncton, New Brunswick, Friday, July 31, 1987), p. 4.

12. J. Porter, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of a Multiethnic Society", in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 10 (1972) 193-205.

13. _____, "Ethnic Pluralism in Canadian Perspective", in N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, eds. Ethnicity: Theory and Practice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975).

some groups, Boyd et al¹⁴ suggest it is apparently no longer of much consequence.

But Reitz sees strong implications for "national unity" or societal cohesion:

External domination by British, and then American, interests contributes to the lack of a strong Canadian identity or a powerful, unifying national ideology ... The French-English conflict is not an isolated event ... The native peoples, though small in number, are an important presence in vast areas of Canadian territory. There have been various expressions of protest on the part of native peoples; they have articulated land claims and aboriginal rights, and nationalistic movements have emerged among them. The so-called "other" ethnic groups together comprise over 26% of the population. The presence of these groups has led to a "multicultural" movement and debates over appropriate public policies, a heated controversy over the revision of the Immigration Act, and the occurrence of racial violence in some cities"¹⁵

Obviously the relationships between ethnic groups are important for the cohesion of a society (-"the ability of members of a society to get along together"¹⁶)

14. M. Boyd, J. Goyder, F. Jones, H. McRoberts, P. Pineo, and J. Porter, "Status Attainment in Canada: Findings of the Canadian Mobility Study", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 18 (1981) 657-673.

15. J.G. Reitz, "Immigrants, Their Descendants, and the Cohesion of Canada", in: R. Breton, J.G. Reitz and V.F. Valentine, eds. Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada (Quebec, Canada: The Institute for Research in Public Policy, 1980), p. 1-2.

16. Reitz, "Immigrants" 33.

Breton, Reitz and Valentine¹⁷ report there are people from over forty different ethnic origins in Canada. The groups vary in size, culture, race, socio-economic achievement and period of immigration to Canada.

While these ethnic communities may have, in varying degrees, institutions parallel to those of the British and French, they are always limited in terms of the number and diversity of the institutions involved, and in terms of their actual or potential political autonomy. Reitz remarks: "Compared to problems posed by French-English relations in Canada, any impact of the so-called 'other' ethnic groups on societal cohesion seems insignificant"¹⁸

A national study by Pineo¹⁹ on how the English and French Canadians view the "social standing" of a variety of groups, indicated a definite existence of ethnic-status inequality in Canada. The British and French Canadians have the highest status. Other Europeans, particularly East (Ukrainians, Scandinavians, Poles, Dutch) and South Europeans (Italians, Greeks, Portuguese) have lower status, and racial

17. Breton, Reitz and Valentine, Cultural Boundaries 8.

18. Reitz, "Immigrants" 331.

19. P.C. Pineo, "The Social Standing of Ethnic and Racial Groupings", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 14 (1977) 147-157.

minorities (Japanese, Chinese, West Indians, East Indians, and Blacks) have the lowest status. The very low status of non-whites, especially those of East Indian and West Indian Black descent, seems a matter of increasing, serious concern because of the rapid expansion in the size of these groups in recent years. In parallel, there is increasing evidence of open hostility toward these groups. A few years ago, Canadians of East Indian and Pakistani origins seemed to have replaced West Indian Black as the primary targets (as noted in the mass media²⁰.)

Interracial difficulties in Canada are much in line with reports from other North Atlantic countries: "they warn that Canadian experiences in race relations may not be unlike those in other countries".²¹ The status of inequality suggests that "racism and ethnocentrism are there beneath the surface and are far from dead in Canada today."

Indeed, Moghaddam and Taylor²² report that while many ethnic groups show strong support for heritage culture maintenance, at least one visible minority group, a sample of women from India experienced psychological ambivalence towards

20. Reitz, "Immigrants" 353.

21. Reitz, "Immigrants" 354.

22. F.M. Moghaddam and D.M. Taylor, "The Meaning of Multiculturalism For Visible Minority Immigrant Women", Canadian Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 19 (1987) 121-136.

the general issue of heritage culture maintenance because of what was claimed to be discrimination and social isolation reported by the women. And, as would be obvious to Canadians, it is almost impossible at first glance to distinguish a woman from India from a Muslim woman who comes from Trinidad.

In an extensive and recent (1991) study in Canada, Grandin and Brinkerhoff²³ asked the question: "Does Religiosity Encourage Racial and Ethnic Intolerance?" In their research, "a significant negative relationship was found between an intrinsic religious orientation and social distance". The media, they also noted, often reported on ethnic intolerance ranging, for example, from an appeal to the Supreme Court by alleged anti-semite James Keegstra to the circulation of a petition to prevent Sikhs from wearing turbans in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The authors recognized however, that ethnic intolerance might not be ascribable to religious differences only. Apart from differences in skin colour, new immigrants might be perceived as competing for scarce resources including jobs and placement in university.

A number of other studies indicate a clear preference by certain groups for some form of integration while avoiding

23. Elaine Grandin and M.B. Brinkerhoff, "Does Religiosity Encourage Racial and Ethnic Intolerance?" Canadian Ethnic Studies, 23 (1991) 32-47.

total assimilation.²⁴ For example, it is reported²⁵ that the Grand Council of the James Bay Cree Indians seeks to maintain a functioning native nation within the legal and economic systems of Quebec and Canada. Some groups such as Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors, as Reitz²⁶ has pointed out, are so eager to pursue their own very distinct life-styles they form isolated communities in rural areas. Increased contact within a religious institution may well reduce contact on the outside because of social pressure and limited energies. Driedger and Peters²⁷ also found that strong ethnic identification is related to "social distance" (isolation) from other groups. And a study of Greek Canadians reports a strong rejection of the assimilation option with an equally strong desire to maintain the heritage culture in Canada.²⁸

24. J.W. Berry and R.C. Annis, "Acculturative Stress: the Role of Ecology, Culture and Differentiation", Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 5 (1974), 382-406.

25. J.W. Berry, R.M. Wintrob, P.S. Sindell and T.A. Marshinney, "Psychological Adaptation to Culture Change Among the James Bay Cree", Naturaliste Canadien, 109 (1982) 965-975.

26. Reitz, "Immigrants" 355.

27. L. Driedger and J. Peters, "Identity and Social Distance: Towards Understanding Simmel's 'The Stranger'", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. 14 (1977) 158-173.

28. W.E. Lambert, L. Mermegis, and D.M. Taylor, "Greek Canadians' Attitudes Towards Own Group and Other Canadian Ethnic Groups, a Test of the Multiculturalism Hypothesis", Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 18 (1986) 35-51.

The marginality of a minority group, which marginality may be viewed as sharing to a significant degree some aspects of the dominant culture and without full participation, can generate a self-consciousness that can be anxiety-provoking as the individual member sees himself or herself as part of two groups but not belonging whole-heartedly to any one. There may be moments when such a person experiences a subjective or private fear of being unaccepted in any of the groups.

While the pull to the larger dominant culture may be viewed with apprehension by Muslim leaders who would be alarmed at the loss of Islamic principles, certain other people who regard the process of acculturation or assimilation as eventually or ultimately inevitable, might view the move with approval.

Again, from the opposing view point, one might wonder if the policy of multiculturalism might lock citizens of minority ethnic origin in their existing social and economic positions, reserving the top of the heap for its traditional occupants, who are mostly British in origin.²⁹ Still more, it might be asked, is it likely that some politicians might exploit multiculturalism for partisan ends, pitting one group against another. Still more, the policy could be distorted to

29. "A Multicultural Society". The Royal Bank of Canada Monthly Letter, 59 (1978) 3.

advance the evils it was designed to eliminate. A former British Columbia cabinet minister of West Indian birth, Rosemary Brown, warned: "Multiculturalism should not, and must not, be a situation where ethnic groups maintain their cultural identity because they are alienated, isolated, oppressed, ostracized, categorized or manipulated on account of a particular cultural background".³⁰

Whatever direction unfolds, it would seem obvious that if the various heritage languages or ethnic cultures do not find a sufficient degree of support in the policy of multiculturalism, these languages and cultures could well dwindle and disappear. In fact, there is other empirical evidence demonstrating mere minimal language maintenance among many groups.³¹ Perhaps something less than full-scale cultural maintenance may be the only possible practical reality. And this, indeed seems to be the direction in which the Trinidad Muslim respondents may be heading, at least in the present state of affairs. The data in this research project may therefore be instructive to government policy makers at all levels.

At the same time, contemporary Canadians may well be seen as the beneficiaries of a world of cultural inspiration.

30. Royal Bank, "Multicultural" 3.

31. Royal Bank, "Multicultural" 3.

More than many may realize, they have incorporated important practices of other cultures into their own way of life. This shows in their clothing, housing, furnishings, pastimes, and cuisine. Much of the richness of Canada's multicultural society gleams through colorfully packaged food stuff from a host of nations. There is tea from China, shortbread from Scotland, canned salsifis from Belgium, couscous from Morocco, taco from Mexico, feta cheese from Greece. There is also caribana from Trinidad (an annual calypso event with steelband music, street parade and food cooked Trinidad Indian style, in Toronto). The Canadian taste is now so broad and diffuse that it is not surprising when some Canadians lament the lack of a distinctive national culture of their own. In a sense, the diffusion of, and amenability to, the unfamiliar may be regarded as integral in Canadian culture. At the same time, new demographic patterns can present a challenge to Canadians in a quest for unity. Can such a loosely-knit patchwork of ethnic groups ever hold together in a common course? It is now likely that there is no turning back to the homogeneity of the American-style "melting pot". Reitz,³² in reviewing a number of studies, reports that the majority of Canadians tend to support multiculturalism even though the general population or particular ethnic groups themselves may not be quite aware

32. Reitz, "Immigrants" 384.

of the meaning of the concept. The desire among ethnic groups to assert their distinctive identities has only grown stronger in recent years³³ (and, this seems to be emerging in the second-generation Trinidad Muslims as well). Canadians are now likely at the point where they must come to terms with their nation's multicultural or multiethnic character if they are to survive as a cohesive working democracy. To achieve this, individual Canadians may need to show they are capable of rising above antagonistic tribalism which has always blighted the human condition. They must prove the unlikely proposition that there can be unity in diversity. In so doing, they may also prove that there are such things as enlightenment and human progress left in this world.

2. Religious Leaders and the Ummah (Community)

The encroachment on the consumption of alcohol, the eating of pork and hot dogs, indulgence in games of chance and extramarital sex, preference for the nuclear family, and the decrease in fasting and prayer, are readily discernible. Such compromising in the practice and tradition of the religion bears a strong message for Muslim leaders in regard to their community and certain important people therein. The very

33. Royal Bank, "Multicultural" 3.

people who are in influential positions that could facilitate upkeep of the religion, are the ones who seem to flout the practical aspect of the religion. Such are those who are university educated, professionals, high-salaried people and those who have been in Canada for a considerable length of time. What then is the implication here? Is the religion to be conceived of as archaic or irrelevant in their otherwise "progressive" behaviour, or are there overriding economic incentives which for practical expediency relegate the religion to a secondary order? As Maslow's theory (on hierarchy of needs)³⁴ might predict, immediate concrete gains (e.g., economic or job benefits) may postpone the exercise of values felt as intangible and virtuous at the moment. Indeed, the overwhelming motivation that prompted Trinidad Muslims to come to Canada was one of economics, the hope of better job opportunities. And this is consistent with a report by Renard who states, "Immigrants with whom I have spoken, have indicated frankly that they came to improve their economic lot ..."³⁵ It is recalled, too, that Elkholy³⁶ reported his findings that in Toledo, U.S.A., Muslims owned 127 of the 420

34. A. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper, 1954).

35. J. Renard, "Understanding the World of Islam", America 11 (1979) 208.

36. Elkholy, Arab 21.

bars in that city, in addition to owning liquour stores, carry-out businesses, and restaurants with liquour licenses. He remarked: "It has become well known in and around Toledo that the city's liquour business is almost monopolised by the Muslims".³⁷ Such a report must prove alarming to conscientious Muslim leaders who could well profit by knowledge of the behaviours of members of the community, so that corrective measures may be adopted. Missionaries, in particular, who would be concerned about the image Muslims, as ambassadors of Islam, present to the West, may wish to consider methods that can develop and fortify a more realistic picture of genuine Muslims and Islam, even if efforts can only be regional and sporadic. As was noted earlier, in 1987 a group of energetic and concerned Muslims caused the government of Ontario to consider a review of "The Cemeteries Act" and "The Funeral Services Act", in the hope of incorporating the needs of Islamic practice and tradition.³⁸ Indeed, in concerted efforts Muslims may do well to be cognizant of their doctrinal concept of brotherhood, a term also found in other faiths but which is very clearly indicated in the Quran: "And the believers, both men and women are the protectors of one another" (9:7), and "All believers are but brethren" (10:49).

37. Elkholy, Arab 21.

38. Islam Canada, 13 (1987), 4.

It is interesting that Canadian structural ideology allows ethnic minorities to maintain their heritage and identity:

The Canadian constitution makes no distinction on the basis of race, ethnic origin, colour or creed. Religious and other fundamental rights are fully guaranteed.³⁹

Indeed, Canadian society contains certain values in common with Islam, such as a quest for education, general productiveness, democracy, and a high regard for fairness and peace. Freedom in general, another social value in Canada, is, no doubt, highly appreciated by all immigrants. Discrimination, which is prohibited by the Canadian Bill of Rights, may, however, show itself in certain personal form. It is not to be forgotten that Canadian policies and structures were developed essentially within a Christian framework. D. Hamdani, a government economist and author of three important articles on the Muslim community in Canada, feels that discrimination may be understood from the view that, "Canadian society was organized for a Christian community which leaves it unequipped to deal with Islamic

39. D. Hamdani, "Muslims in the Canadian Mosaic", Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, 5 (1979) 7.

tradition".⁴⁰ For instance, the five daily prayers and that of Friday (at noon) cannot fit in with the Christian Sunday (the Lord's day of rest). The Muslim cannot leave work or school to attend prayers and refraining from the prayers risks losing ties with the religious community. Stemming from such conflict, a national campaign was launched in 1991 by the Canadian Society of Muslims (in Toronto) in the attempt to persuade the government to accept "the Muslim Family Law". In a special issue the Society states:

"As Muslims and Canadians, we care about justice, equality, fairness, rights, freedom, order, opportunity, good government, peace, and harmony. As Canadians and Muslims, we care about the importance of having the sort of framework which is going to provide a spectrum of degrees of freedom, as well as constraints, which will permit all the people of Canada to pursue their individual dreams, goals and interests."⁴¹

Apart from approaches by special legislation, if the Trinidad Muslims (to the extent they may be gauged by the restricted sample of respondents) are to revive their vitality, the young generation in particular may have to be

40. A.E. Yousif, The Maintenance of Islamic Identity in Canadian Society: Religious Observance, Psychological Influences, and Institutional Completeness of the Muslim Community in the Canadian National Capital Region. Unpublished Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1992, p. 16, citing an excerpt for an interview with D. Hamdani, Nov. 22, 1988.

41. Canadian Society of Muslims, Newsletter, 2 (1991) 2.

viewed more seriously. More public (e.g., in the schools) and community facilities may have to be geared toward transcending religious beliefs, behaviour and experiences. Is it yet too early to consider provisions for the performance of daily and Friday prayers at schools and places of work; the provision of hallal foods in schools, hospitals and places of work? Land for building places of worship and burial grounds may need the goodwill and understanding of those in a position to help.

In regions where the Trinidad Muslims are very few, such Muslims can associate with those of other countries for joint action in relation to government policies. For example, community centres may be sought so Muslims can meet, hold ceremonies according to their religious tradition and provide a focal point for both young and old. In regard to schools, as another instance, measures can be implemented for the teaching of Islam to both the majority and Muslim children. Prayer times can be allowed for students and Muslim teachers. The Muslim community itself can develop more places of worship and facilities for Quranic teachings, establish recreation centres for young Muslims to meet one another, counsel mothers (the great socialising force of children) in coping with a non-Muslim environment, hold regular youth camps for boys and girls (perhaps separately but allowing at times for healthy acquaintance so that the developing youth does not marry non-

Muslims to whom they may be more exposed), provide books on Islam especially those conveying a genuine appreciation of Islam in the Western environment, and grant scholarships to teachers for training in teaching Islam in schools. More research could be sponsored to obtain more empirical information about the Muslims, their demographic characteristics, and their needs in the Western world. If governmental institutions are to react favourably with financial and other help the best appeal in the first instance may be through data-based awareness. Statistical information can help determine priorities and resource allocation.

3. Confirmation of Theoretical Perspectives

The data obtained in this research project are fully in accord, as anticipated, with social learning theory⁴² which claims that religious experience and behaviour could be expected to change under pressure by the surrounding dominant culture. The forces of assimilation tend to encroach or erode the forces of religiosity, and this may be seen in the battlefield of generations. If there are no ethnic institutions such, for example, as mosques or schools, the

42. A. Bandura, Social Learning Theory (Englewoods Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1977).

erosion may remain unchecked and can be disastrous for the minority group. Obviously, the data here lends credence to the theory. And the Trinidad Muslims in Canada, while having some organizations of their own (e.g., "Trinidad Muslims in Montreal") or are allied to other Muslim groups (e.g., "Toronto and Region Islamic Congregation"), are able to hold themselves from total absorption into the dominant culture.

Further, as Gordon's multivariate theory⁴³ on assimilation would predict in the circumstances, the Trinidad Muslims, at least the respondents in this research project, do show important "structural" integration in certain dimensions of the dominant culture, as maybe seen in socio-economic or occupational areas, and yet are able to maintain significant distance in much of their religious and personal life (e.g., beliefs, considerable fasting, quest for makhtabs and Muslim burial ground). The structural integration necessitating some sort of compromise in religious behaviour as well as some kind of appeasement of the larger society, allows for survival. Basic needs resurface, as Maslow's theory (on hierarchy of values) would suggest.

Even the favourable regression at the second

43. M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

generation would be anticipated by sociological theory,⁴⁴ given a recent increase in international awareness of Islam, the general search for "roots" and the gradual establishment of ethnic, or rather religious, organizations in the community.

The overall findings are such as might be predicted by Breton's concept of institutional completeness. The early immigrants and the struggling first generation of Muslims, without an anchoring point in the form, for example, of a mosque, could be regarded as having been left adrift. Familiar resources might appear, initially, to be very scarce. There was a lack of "institutional completeness", a phrase explained by Breton as "the ability of the ethnic community in the receiving society to attract the immigrant into its social boundaries".⁴⁵ But more recently, as mosques and schools were established the direction in terms of institutional completeness was being affirmed as was the gradual formation of cohesive regional Muslim communities, and several second-generation Muslims could feel a renewal in their religious fervour and practices. It was in 1973, for instance, that construction of the first Ottawa mosque was started, with

44. Elkholy, Arab 186.

45. R. Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", American Journal of Sociology, 70 (1964) 208.

financial support provided by the Muslim community in Ottawa. And, that mosque appears to facilitate successfully three major functions for the local community: it serves as a religious institution, it is a social organization, and it provides an educational resource. Thus the mosque has the capacity to attract new immigrants into the existing Muslim community and it serves as a medium whereby new Muslim immigrants can more easily adapt to the Canadian society. As Herberg, too, explained, institutional completeness can be understood as "the extent to which an ethnic group in a particular locale possesses organizations developed by or for members of that ethnoculture".⁴⁶ In particular, the mosque and school, as well as other ethnic associations, developed by and for members to the ethnic community, contribute to institutional completeness and consequently to Islamic identity.

Again, as Breton so cogently puts it:

Religious institutions have the greatest effect in keeping the immigrant's personal associations within the boundaries of the ethnic community ... The weight of the religious institutions can be attributed to the dominant role they hold in the community. Churches are very frequently the centre of a number of activities; associations are formed and collective activities are organized under

46. E. Herberg, Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions (Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Canada, 1989), p. 208.

the influence of their support ... The degree of institutional completeness of an immigrant's ethnic community is one of the main factors determining the direction of the change of his personal relations.⁴⁷

It may be relevant to note as well that apart from their religion of Islam and a skin colour that is generally dark, the Muslim respondents from Trinidad, like Canadians, do speak English, and this common denominator can promote a direction away from institutional completeness. Breton⁴⁸ observed that ethnic language, skin color and particular religion are prominent features toward institutional completeness. In his extensive study, he reported that a difference in language was associated with a high degree of institutional completeness. The mobility potential of the immigrant is reduced by the different language and the person is more confined to his or her ethnic group. Further, that confinement would be enhanced where the members of the ethnic group would be mainly manual workers or people with a low level of resources.

It is therefore not surprising that the Muslim immigrants, usually unskilled in occupation, would wish to band together, but as they moved up the income ladder they encountered more opportunities to cross boundaries with the

47. Breton, "Institutional Completeness", 200-202.

48. Breton, "Institutional Completeness" 204-205.

English language as a medium. Dilution in adherence to their religion could be expected. Yet, interestingly, the same wealthy individuals would be willing to contribute financially toward construction of a mosque or establishment of a Muslim school in order to ensure that their children, the next generation, or the Muslim ummah in general, can become imbued with Islamic doctrines. Nevertheless, as Breton, theorizes, "even a high degree of institutional completeness will not prevent some integration into the native community". And, with a speculative challenge reminiscent of P. van den Berghe,⁴⁹ he provides some food for thought:

With time - and it may be quite long - the ethnic organizations will themselves disappear or lose their ethnic identity, completing the life-cycle of the community.⁵⁰

4. Changes and Modernity

With regard to the resulting changes reflected by the group of respondents in this research project, it may be asked whether or not there is any peculiarity or idiosyncrasy about

49. "... how similar the basic repertoire of human behavior is across cultures, and it can thus be read as a ringing reaffirmation of the unity of mankind and of the trivialities of 'racial' differences", in P. van den Berghe, The Ethnic Phenomenon (New York, N.Y.: Elsevier, 1981), p. x.

50. Breton "Institutional Completeness" 205.

Canada that brings about such changes. Or, are the changes ascribable generally to universal dynamics in cultural interactions that seem to call, for example, for changes in socio-political outlook in order to be progressive in this modern era? As van den Berghe has pointed out, cultures in contact inevitably "borrow" from one another and the borrowing becomes, reciprocal, "so that all of the world's cultures are to a greater or lesser degree, composite, growths of heterogeneous origins".⁵¹ The minority group, no matter its strong ideology, perceives advantages in the exchanges:

Subordinate minorities, however, are under constant pressure to acculturate, because becoming like the dominant group almost invariably confers social advantages. The whole history of the spread of religions and languages, for instance, is best understood not in terms of ideology, conviction or natural superiority of one language or religion over another, but in simple utilitarian terms. However they might rationalize their actions, people generally convert or learn new languages if they perceive some advantages. It often pays to learn the ways of the rich, the powerful and the numerous; in the process one becomes like them and, by that token, often becomes more acceptable to them.⁵²

The assimilation process, with some exceptional groups, may require an unforeseeable, long time because of the

51. P. van den Berghe, The Ethnic Phenomenon (New York, N.Y.: Elsevier, 1981), p. 215.

52. van den Berghe, Ethnic 215.

extent of their ethnic institutional infrastructures, as Breton might say in an analysis of the "religious, social, economic, professional, recreational, arts, cultural, governance, political, health and social services paralleling the wider community organization".⁵³ Certain additional comments by van den Berghe are worth noting:

There are of course, a number of exceptions. Some groups, usually religious zealots, like the Chassidic Jews, the Amish of Pennsylvania and others, managed to retain their separate ethnic identity and to resist, indeed, actively to reject, both acculturation and assimilation. Even these groups have "lost" many of their members to "the world", but they have succeeded in surviving as separate microethnies, even under unfavourable circumstances. Their methods of doing so are nearly identical in all cases. They have attempted to recreate a territorial base by encapsulating themselves in an urban ghetto or in a contiguous rural area. They impose a stern discipline (usually religiously based) on their members. They strictly enforce endogamy (again often scripturally based) by ostracizing those who marry outsiders. They minimize and stigmatize all contacts with the outside world which is defined as corrupt and inferior. And they cultivate a fierce sense of their own superiority: only they know how to live right and do right."⁵⁴

Few ethnic minorities hold such a degree of "institutional completeness". Many of those features,

53. C.J. Jaenen, "Multiculturalism in the Canadian Context", in: I. Svanberg, ed. Ethnicity, Minorities and Cultural Encounters (Upsala, Sweden: Upsala University, 1991), p. 57, describing R. Breton's "institutional completeness".

54. van den Berghe, Ethnic 216.

however, were observable among the Muslims in Trinidad. But, in Canada, as Jaenen has reported, "Canadian society appears to be less religious with each passing decade". In looking at Canadians of Scandinavian origin, for example, he notes that:

In 1931 about two-thirds were members of the Lutheran church but in 1981 just one-third were Lutherans. They appear to have assimilated by leaving their traditional religious affiliation for either the United Church (25%) or for no religion at all.⁵⁵

While Canada is liberal in its policy on multiculturalism to allow for promotion of ethnic or particular cultural identity, it does not seem in itself responsible or singular for the changes that manifest themselves in the Muslim religious practices. The data in the present study, though based on a very limited sample of respondents are not unique. Comparisons with other studies suggest a general modernizing influence, or more so an effect of Western development, on Islam, particularly where Muslims are in a minority situation.

In an overall report on Muslims in America, Barbara Bilgé reports in The Encyclopedia of Religion (1987) that:

Among the professionals are many nominal Muslims who accept the unity of God and Muhammad as his prophet, but they rarely pray, fast inconsistently during Ramadan, drink moderately, and eat pork on occasion. Women dress like their wealthy suburban

55. Jaenen, "Multiculturalism" 57.

American counterparts, and families allow their daughters to date.⁵⁶

In a study indicating similar observations, Darsh, the Imam of the London Central Mosque, declares, "The basic issues affecting the Muslim community in England are nearly the same everywhere in the continent".⁵⁷ In Israel as well, Al-Haj in researching the effect of modernization on Muslims Arabs in a town, claimed to have found "broad socioeconomic change and the mass infusion of Western culture". The extended kinship structure and patrilineage ties tended to diminish and break down. Modern attitudes in social, political and economic behaviours were also said to be obvious.⁵⁸

Donohue and Esposito remark that the world has witnessed the rise and fall of vast empires and civilizations, and Islamic civilization has been astonishing in speed and breadth of development as well as in its rich cultural heritage.⁵⁹ However, in this 20th century, in this "global

56. Barbara J. Bilg , "Islam in the Americas", Encyclopedia of Religion 7 (1987) 430.

57. S.M. Darsh, Muslims in Europe (London, England: Ta Ha Publishers, 1980), p. 5.

58. M. Al-Haj, "the Changing Arab Kinship Structure: the Effect of Modernization in an Urban Community", Economic Development and Cultural Change 36 (1988) 237-258.

59. J. Donohue and J. Esposito, Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1982).

village", one may indeed wonder about the ability of Islam to withstand the political, social and economic demands of modern times. The research data here show significant change in several traditional behaviours. And, in certain Muslim countries serious consideration is given to the question and feasibility of separating religion and state. Turkey, quite notably, has effected this separation, and the notion of "secularization of thought" has been gaining grounds. N. Berkes has remarked:

A steady trend toward secularization in traditional institutions is a feature of Muslim societies facing the impact of modern civilization. The Muslim people have different origins ... still, one cannot avoid noting certain similarities in their experiences and social change. The disparity between the new and the old is perhaps to be found nowhere so clearly as in the lives of these people ... There are cleavages in almost every department of life - in ideas, in institutions, between generations ... Such a condition of flux is an unmistakable sign of internal change in the value system of a society; and this change is unavoidably followed by some degree of secularization. The process is universal, but ... the acceptance of a secular outlook on religious, political, social and cultural matters is far from universal. That such an outlook is warranted or even relevant under the present conditions of flux is far from being generally recognized, let alone accepted.⁶⁰

Indeed, there have been significant attempts by

60. N. Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (Montreal, Canada: McGill University Press, 1964), p. 3.

Muslims, in various parts of the world to reorganize and revive the Islamic banner and those may be readily traced back to the collapse, as recently as 1924, of the Ottoman Caliphate by Mustapha Kamal Ataturk, the Turkish Republic leader. Two years earlier the Caliph had been shorn of all temporal power. Since that date there has been no Caliph to preside over the Muslim world, although the title has been offered to various rulers.

In modern times, certain Turkish nationalists, together with Allama Iqbal (the great Indian nationalist leader revered in Pakistan as the ideologue of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India) have voiced the view that the Caliphate should be vested in the elected legislature of each independent Muslim country.⁶¹ Appeal is made to Ibn Khaldun, the great Muslim historian, in defence of such a view. Apparently Khaldun permits the recognition of different Caliphs in different countries. A despotic universal Caliphate may be impractical and unwise in this age of democracy and nationalism. It is claimed that if Islam is to survive, it must adjust itself to these new forces. In practice, however, the Caliphate has not yet been invested in a national legislature.

61. M. Nazir-Ali, Islam: a Christian Perspective (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1983).

Iqbal, following Shah Waliullah of Delhi (who died in 1773), held that a prophet does not reveal eternal and all-embracing principles by incarnating them in a particular people. But, says Iqbal, such an application is peculiar to the particular people and need not necessarily be enforced upon future generations and upon different cultures. He singles out especially the inappropriateness of enforcing the traditional penal code of Islam in modern times. Thus many Muslim scholars⁶² of a liberal viewpoint would argue that while the moral teaching of the Quran is eternally binding, the specific punishments set out in it are culturally determined and not valid for all ages. But in the Jamaat-i-Islam movement, founded in Pakistan in 1941 by Abul Ala Maudoodi (who died in 1979) insisted that the Shariah (Islamic law) must remain supreme. It rejected the view of liberal theologians and jurists that certain Quranic and prophetic injunctions were only for a particular cultural situation and not necessarily other cultures and at different times. The Shariah must be enforced rigidly, even to the penalty for

62. Among important Muslim scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries, urging a liberal viewpoint (emphasizing an adaptation of Islamic laws or the spirit of the law to modern times and needs) are: Jamaluddin Afghani (1839-1897), Shaikh Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), Ameer Ali Syed. Those with a socialist trend include Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938), Ubaidullah Sindhi (d. 1944), Abdul Hakim, Khalid Muhammad Khalid and H. Mintjes.

apostasy. Apostasy is punishable not because of repudiation of one's faith since there is no compulsion in religion (Quran 2:256) but because it is treason against the community of Islam which is not only a faith but a socio-political entity as well.

When the elected prime minister, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, was seen as taking the country to the left, there was strong reaction from religious parties, including the Jamaat. This precipitated an army coup and Bhutto was executed "for conspiracy to murder". In Pakistan, the Jamaat has been trying to steer the country to strict Islamic orthodoxy. It has fought a relentless battle against various Muslim "sects", especially against the Ahmadiyya until in 1974 when the Ahmadis were formally declared non-Muslim by Parliament. Pakistan is struggling to hold a strict Islamic orthodoxy and it looks to Saudi Arabia as a model for legal and social reform. Under Zia ul Haq an effort was made to implement Shariah courts, but the Muslim electorate has rejected the leadership of Jamaat-i-Islam, and the present government is no longer following that policy.

Pakistan and Iran are dramatic examples of the trend toward traditional fundamentalism. The revolution against the Shah of Iran was led by conservative Shi'ite religious leaders who felt the Shah and his government were catering to interest of the Western world and rejecting traditional Islamic

principles.⁶³ The Ayatullahs of Iran are Shiite doctors of religious law who believe they are guardians of the community and have a duty to stop the community from sliding into secularism and Westernization, which they equate with unbelief and immorality.

Several current Islamic scholars have also become concerned, even enraged, about the dwindling of Islamic values under the notion of modernization. The mere title of several recent books attest to the confrontation between traditional Islam and the modern world: for example, S.H. Nasr's Islam and the Plight of Modern Man; A.K. Brohi's Islam in the Modern World; B. Tibi's The Crisis of Modern Islam. In the Preface to a collection of essays, Maryam Jameelah writes:

... in order to warn ... of the fatal pit falls of modernization ... that to copy the West ... will only aggravate the predicament ... in addition to creating numerous new troubles exported by the West under the slogan of "modernity". The adoption of Western culture and values by increasing multitudes of Muslims is the greatest menace to the survival of the Islamic way of life ... It is for us no less than a question of life and death!⁶⁴

Also in reacting to secularization, Darsh, the Imam at

63. M.E. Salla, "Islamic Fundamentalism: its Consequences for the West", Islam and the Modern Age 22 (1991) 22-46.

64. Maryam Jameelah, Islam and Western Society: a Refutation of the Modern Way of Life (Lahore, Pakistan: Mohammed Yusuf Khan, 1984).

the London Central Mosque, states he is not in favour of the Wahhabi Movement (Salafiyyah School) which advocates a return to early Muslim life in Mecca and Medina and which rejects "the cultural richness of Mediaval Islam".⁶⁵

Darsh calls for "The True Islamic Response", which does not allow for a separation between religion and other aspects of life: "Ruling is only for God" (Quran, 12:40). The connection between the social system and the set of beliefs governing it, or the social system and its ideology, Darsh points out, covers all aspects of life, the economic system, the political system, the ethical system, and, in fact, all human activities on earth. Every ideology follows man wherever he is, in the factory, in his home, in his office and at his entertainment. "It gets into his blood and is reflected in all situation, otherwise he is a traitor, an enemy of the system"⁶⁶

A saving grace, notes, Darsh, is that in being imbued with one's faith and coming in contact with other faiths, the latter contact can well enhance one's own faith. Education, and cooperation with others, become especially important where Muslims are in a minority.

In an attempt to be reassuring about such an event as

65. Darsh, Muslims 12.

66. Darsh, Muslims 18-20.

occurred in Turkey, Darsh cites a Quranic verse:

Distress and affliction befell them and they were shaken violently, so that the Messenger and those who believed with him said, "When will the help of God come? Now surely, God's help is nigh (2:214).

In the West, or more specifically in the U.S.A, where the universal secularization trend is felt by an increasing number of prominent Muslim intellectuals, there is a counteraction with the theme of "Islamicization of thought", the umbrella heading for a variety of annual conferences among Muslim leaders (mainly academicians) in confronting the secularization challenge.⁶⁷ In recent years, directors of the International Institute of Islamic Thought in Herdon, VA (U.S.A.) have been sending out invitations to Muslims leaders in Trinidad and Canada to attend their congresses in order to rescue Islam from the modernizing influence and to restore its pristine traditional form. (It may be noted that certain other ethnic groups have been reasserting themselves conspicuously. Sharon Koehn has observed: "the role of ethnicity as a mobilizing force appears to be escalating ...

67. As examples in the U.S.A. of energetic individuals and organizations, the following may be cited: Dr. Syyid M. Syeed, Director Academic Outreach, International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herdon, VA; Dr. Omar Kasule, Regional Representative in the Americas, International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, Washington, D.C. In Trinidad, Haji M.K. Hosein who manages the Islamic Missionaries Guild is also an avid Islamic revivalist.

The emergence of a nationalist Sikh movement during the 1980s is one example ...⁶⁸).

What then is the future outlook? Of course, much depends on the person of whom the question is asked. With man's inability to discern the future, one may wish to abide by a faith position (e.g., that the future rests with God; only he knows; and "God knows best"⁶⁹). While on the one hand it can easily be said that changes in religious adherence are certainly obvious among the Muslims in general and in the small sample studied here, there are signs of renewed zeal and dedication toward reorganization and revival. It may be relevant to recall some statements by Maulana Kemal Hydai who in a local 1990 Trinidad newspaper article proclaimed:

Religion is not a philosophy or dogma always to be altered by changing trends or social outlook; it is rather a powerful social force that guides human attitudes along correct lines for the benefit of the communal welfare ... Muslims do not adapt Islam to suit the age and time, rather they demonstrate a way to adapt modern trends to Islam and to adapt modern research in providing Islam as a

68. Sharon E. Koehn, "Ethnic Emergence and Modernization: the Sikh Case", Canadian Ethnic Studies 33 (1991) 95.

69. S.H. Nasr, Traditional Islam in the Modern World (London England: KPI, 1986).

universal religion for all of mankind.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, as N. Berkes has pointed out, changes and cleavages are to be found universally in every department of the Muslim's life today (in ideas, institutions, between generations) even though this is "far from being recognized, let alone accepted".⁷¹ Changes are on-going, even if at times unwittingly selective in terms of what is felt to be important or useful. It may be contributory, at least as "food for thought", to keep in mind in the present state of awareness, van den Berghe's astute and challenging observation, after recognizing the biological commonality of mankind, that the history of religions reveals changes based not on any natural superiority but on utilitarian terms.⁷² What, for instance, happened to the ban on alcohol in the days of Prohibition? Why is there an increasing number of stores open on Sundays (the Lord's Day, a day of rest)? Why are so many alcohol outlets in Toledo, Ohio, owned by Muslims? Why do many Trinidad Muslims in Canada buy lottery tickets, eat pork or consume alcohol? Where are the deeply ingrained religious values that promise the ultimate in meaning and purpose in life?

70. M.M.K. Hydal, "Religious Experience of the East Indian: a Muslim Viewpoint," in: Indian Arrival Day Supplement, of the Sunday Guardian, (May 27, 1990), p. 30.

71. Berkes, Development 3.

72. van den Berghe, Ethnic 215.

CHAPTER VI

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

1. Limitations

It can be readily acknowledged that the data obtained in this exploratory research endeavour are restricted. The non-random population sample cannot be considered representative of Trinidad Muslims in Canada,¹ the questionnaires having been sent to focal points for distribution to people who, it might be said, had a vested interest in their religion, in that they belonged to a Muslim group and took time to attend to the questionnaire. It may be argued that at present it may well be impossible to obtain a random sample of the Trinidad Muslims in Canada. And, as noted earlier, it is reasonable to suggest that many well-assimilated Muslims, scattered and living among non-Muslim

1. To illustrate the limitation on generalization, suppose, for instance, there are 500 Trinidad Muslims in Montreal, and 100 of them belong to an association from which 30 attend to the questionnaire, it would be difficult to generalize from the 30 volunteers to the 500 as the sample would be biased in terms of those who belong to the association and completed the questionnaire. And, it might be argued that the 400 who do not belong to the association are likely more adapted, more acculturated or more assimilated in the Canadian society.

Canadians, likely do not belong to any Muslim organizations or mosque communities to which the questionnaires were sent. Such people remained unreachable. Among the reachable Muslims those who responded were obviously literate. Further, 90 respondents may be considered a small number of subjects. And, within a very limited budget, no attempt could be made to follow up non-respondents. Altogether, therefore, the findings from this study cannot be projected with any degree of confidence to the universe of Trinidad Muslims in Canada. The data, however, could be said to yield some directional guidelines, leads and insight into current behaviours of some Trinidad Muslims in Canada.

The answers provided reflect those respondents who took the time to complete the questionnaire and can be considered an indication of present status, subject to further study.

As perhaps the first research of its kind into that Muslim community, the pioneering attempt has yielded some useful considerations for future researchers in this area, and these are indicated in the following section.

2. Future Research

In the execution of this research project, a number of

short-comings or practical difficulties became apparent, and an indication of these can sharpen the design and focus of any similar future project. At the same time, the project was heuristic in generating a host of possible avenues for future research.

(a) Practical difficulties. - The following concerns may be pin pointed:

- A few respondents filled out some areas of the questionnaire in a rather cavalier fashion. For example, on Q 04 a respondent indicated he combines his prayers at the end of the day, yet he says he stays at work and says his prayers quietly and inconspicuously, thus subparts 2 and 3 of Q 04 are ticked off, whereas only one of these was to be signalled. A similar difficulty occurred with Q 08 where only the greatest difficulty associated with fasting was to be indicated, but a few respondents ticked off two items. Again, on Q 11, in regard to meeting fellow-Muslims, subitems 1, 2 and 3 were chosen, instead of one only, by a few respondents. Such confounding answers could be relegated, as was done here, into the category of "Other". This, unfortunately, tends at times to vary the overall total of respondents in the meaningful categories, e.g., instead of a total of 90, a lower figure of, say, 88, may appear (two having been shunted to a meaningless category of "Other"). Though the statements (or questions) on

the questionnaire may be clear to most people, perhaps underlining or the use of italics or capital letters for emphasizing the need for extra care in certain areas, may help alleviate the difficulties mentioned. At the same time, where two responses to a question are indicated by a respondent when only one might prove sufficient it is likely that the respondent felt both answers were in some way related to that person's situation. Such responding suggests that future, similar research may benefit by allowing for such combination of responses.

- Apart from distinguishing clearly questions requiring only one answer (among alternatives), it would be helpful to make more explicit that certain questions may hold a series of discrete items, not necessarily of the same dimension but each of which call for a response.

- In a question such as Q 06, in regard to contributing zakat (alms) regularly or occasionally, certain words such as "regularly" may need to be made more explicit for clearer understanding, objectivity, and statistical purposes. "Regularly", for example, could be presented as "once a week", "once a month" or "once a year".

- On the miscellaneous category of "Other", some useful qualitative responses may be deciphered if that category is broken down to: "I do not understand the

question"; "The question does not apply to me"; or "Other (please specify or explain)".

- As mentioned earlier in presentation of the incidence of responses, when the sample population is small, it would be sensible to ensure that the categories of answers are brought down to a minimum. With too many categories, there may be too few cases per cell, thus making it difficult to test any statement unless the categories are later collapsed, as was done here.

- While the current project, as an exploratory quest, involved more questions than are actually utilised in the analysis, the extraneous questions (e.g., Q 68) can be eliminated from a similar future project.

- What may sometimes appear as a large number of "missing" responses can at first glance seem puzzling until it is realized that Canadian-born respondents were not expected to indicate a response in instances where the question asked respondents to indicate their religious practices when they lived in Trinidad (for comparative purposes). Thus, those who did not answer (e.g Q 24) were not actually missing. To avoid possible confusion in the view of an outside observer, future questions can be addressed specifically to Trinidad-born respondents, and separately to Canadian-born respondents.

(b) Future Research Possibilities. - Apart from the fact

that all future research projects involving human subjects should obtain approval from any Ethics Committee where such or a similar committee is present, a number of research hunches or questions can be suggested and these may be listed as follows:

- Given a large sample of available Muslims, of Trinidad ancestry or otherwise, what is the possible influence of intra-religious sectarian differences in the pattern of religious change in a new social and religious environment?

- What is the role of such factors as geographical location or size of the local Muslim community? While some Muslims perceive a conflict between assimilating entirely, or remaining Muslims, others think synthesis is possible by adapting in some ways, and retaining other aspects of their traditional faith. The process of synthesis seems to be going on throughout the Muslim world, although it is experienced most acutely in areas where Muslims are a minority.

- On the question of the policy on multiculturalism in Canada, it would seem that long-term programmatic research would be appropriate and meaningful not only to the Trinidad Muslims but for all ethnic groups in Canada. In this regard, the involvement of psychologists in policy-related research may be noted. Berry has well remarked:

We are likely to agree that all policies with a human component, be they exclusively so (such as multiculturalism) or partially so

(such as mineral resource development in the Arctic), could benefit from attention by psychologists. We have been trained to obtain reliable and valid data from individuals (by observation, interviewing, testing, etc.), we have established methodological and statistical procedures, and we have learned to question, to analyse, to make inferences, and to develop theory. These constitute a pattern of interests and expertise which is not matched by any other discipline, and it is an expertise which is unquestionably relevant to policy research.²

Interestingly, Burnet,³ in a consideration of several immigrant groups, emphasizes "ethnicity" rather than "culture" as the realistic focus of the policy. And Burnet asks "whether the policy intends to encourage the maintenance of numerous and full-scale cultural systems (as implied in the term multiculturalism), or whether it is designed to be supportive of some lesser phenomenon (such as various aspects of ethnicity which are derived from a full cultural system),"⁴ in that most groups lack their own social and political institutions, and own ancestral language, as well as some groups having very few numbers. Recently, Roberts and

2. J.W. Berry, "Multicultural Policy in Canada: a Social Psychological Analysis", Canadian Journal of Behavioral Sciences 16 (1984) 368.

3. J. Burnet, "The Policy of Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework: an Interpretation", in: A. Wolfgang, ed. Education of Immigrant Students (Toronto: OISE, 1975).

4. Burnet, "Policy" 355.

Clifton⁵ have suggested "symbolic ethnicity" (i.e., ethnic identity and other phenomena with psychological qualities) as the realistic domain of multiculturalism policy. While such considerations are at the fore front of deliberations, future research data and study may help concretise policies and suggest needed revisions. In the mean time, local and federal governments, religious leaders and the Muslim population may wish to keep abreast of developments. As Burnet has stated, "If the policy is to remain vital, it must not be based on untested assumptions and political pressures. It must be based on a growing body of sound research and sophisticated theory".⁶

- Again, it is noted that the policy on multiculturalism seeks to improve intergroup harmony by encouraging all ethnic groups in Canada to develop themselves as vital communities, and by further encouraging their mutual interaction and sharing; the explicit assumption is that such group development will lead to a personal and collective sense of confidence, and this in turn will lead to greater ethnic tolerance. Such an assumption is heuristic in the many useful

5. L.W. Roberts and R.A. Clifton, "Exploring the Ideology of Canadian Multiculturalism", Canadian Public Policy 8 (1982) 88-94.

6. Berry, "Multicultural" 353.

hypotheses it can generate.

- Future research may explore the attitude of an ethnic group that has experienced prejudice or discrimination while attempting to maintain its heritage culture. Would the group be inclined to maintain only certain specific aspects of its heritage culture? Would networks and self-perception of the group be helpful in the policy of multiculturalism?

- Berry⁷ has reported that O'Bryan et al noted aspects of cognition are important in the assimilation process, and the question of "How do you think of yourself?" could be useful (e.g., Trinidadian, Trinidadian-Canadian, or Canadian?). Waugh has warned: "It would be an error to consider immigrant Islam as merely the transferral of a creed to a North American environment. We must also consider how the Islamic immigrant perceives his past and how he understands it to inform his new situation."⁸

- Do Muslim immigrants in a small Muslim community tend to overlook "intrasectarian" differences, and if so, why? Does it stem from a realization of a threat by the surrounding Christianity? A weakness in religious instruction and

7. Berry, "Multicultural" 259.

8. E.H. Waugh, "Muslim Leadership and the Shaping of the Umma: Classical Traditional Religious Tension in the North American Setting", in Waugh, Abu-Laban and Qureshi, Muslim 13.

practice? A need to support one another in a general, total way of life despite some differences? Does the need to feel secure, close and comfortable vis-a-vis a large surrounding community cause the minority community to view internal differences as petty with preference for respect of fellow believers? At what stage do differences reappear? And what are the consequences? Further, are immigrants who find themselves in a large Muslim community slower or quicker to compromise their Islamic principles? Or, are the individuals who are scattered among a variety of non-Muslim residents and perhaps buffeted around emotionally and otherwise, by a multitude of Canadian perspectives, more apt to be readily assimilated?

- How do Trinidad Muslims relate to other religious groups in Canada?

- What processes strengthen ethnic or religious groups identity? Which minority groups maintain their original ethnic characteristics and which become distant from their origins?

- What contributions are the Trinidad Muslims making to Canadian society. For example, the Trinidad Muslim, Muzrudeen Khan, a physician living in Ottawa, recently produced a textbook on Cardiology that is now used in several medical schools across Canada.

- While innumerable amounts of data may be collected by survey questionnaires, interpretations of these can be more meaningful if combined with more in-depth information from interviews with some of the respondents. For instance, a respondent may be asked why in Canada he keeps fewer fasts or contributes less zakat (alms) than he or she did in Trinidad. Reasons for changes, as provided by the Muslims themselves, may prove very helpful in interpretations.

- Apart from the obvious desire of a sufficient budget to engage a large sample of subjects, personal visits by the researcher to each Muslim Community, particularly where a sizeable number of Trinidad Muslims might be expected to be present, could likely stimulate stronger vested interests on the part of respondents in the hope of a greater rate of returned questionnaires.

- No doubt, participant observation by the researcher(s) can also prove very informative.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The current investigation sought to obtain information through a mailed questionnaire on various issues and problems encountered by a non-random set of Muslims of Trinidad ancestry in transition as they settle into the Canadian environment. Predicated on social learning theory it was felt that these Muslims have been undergoing important changes in some of their religious values and practices because of the surrounding dominant culture.

Six hundred questionnaires were sent to the leaders of 44 Muslim associations across Canada for distribution to Muslims of Trinidad ancestry. Ninety completed questionnaires were returned and these constituted the data base. The computer approach was through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS/PC+), an integrated system of computer programs for use in exploratory studies and analyses of social data. The data were reviewed mainly along two levels: (a) one-way frequency distributions, and (b) cross tabulations (with chi-square analyses).

The results indicate there is a core of non-negotiable elements which are held firm. For example: all respondents claim belief in the oneness of God and Muhammed as His prophet (- the testimony of faith that defines the Muslim); the Quran is the revealed word of God to Muhammad; acceptance of the

Quran and some or all of the Hadith; there is life after death; angels exist; and that Christianity and Judaism are also acceptable to God.

At the same time, several aspects of their religious practices appear negotiable, perhaps for survival or simply getting along in the larger society. The frequency distribution of responses indicates, for example, that the socio-cultural environment in Canada tends to hinder the exercise of some basic injunctions such as praying five times a day, attending congregational prayers on Fridays (with alternative measures having to be adopted such as praying after work and holding the jumma prayers on Sunday), fasting during Ramadan from dawn to sunset (with lengthy daylight hours), all of which are more difficult than experienced in Trinidad.

At significant levels are the eating of pork, drinking of intoxicating beverages, indulging in games of chance, and holding financial accounts that pay an interest (usury). Political or governmental agencies may find it of interest to note concerns related to finding suitable education for children (including facilities for the imparting of Islamic instruction, and learning of the Arabic and Urdu or Hindustani languages), obtaining proper burial sites, avoiding religious and racial prejudices. Also problematic are efforts geared at maintaining the extended family with parents and elders held

in high respect. There is a disenchantment with the practice of arranged marriages, with a preference for pre-marital mixing of the sexes, dating and one's own mate selection. The appeal of skimpy clothes, calypso dancing, pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs are also noteworthy. Respondents, while regarding themselves as less religious than their parents, see themselves as definitely more religious than their children, an obvious decline over generations.

The cross-tabulations indicate that while the immigrants from Trinidad tended over time to modify their religious tradition and practices, their Canadian-born children (i.e., the next generation), caught between two cultures and no doubt experiencing tension between minority-majority cultures as they live in the culture of their parents at home but experience a different one in school, the neighbourhood and through the media, were influenced further by the dominant culture in their attitudes to religion and related issues and practices.

Further, among the Trinidad Muslim respondents in Canada, the overall watering down in Islamic traditions and practices seems more prevalent among those respondents who are university educated, are professionals, and have high salaries, as predicted by the tested hypotheses which are thereby confirmed. Such respondents, for example, compromise significantly their daily, Friday and Ramadhan prayers. They

are given to eating pork, consuming alcoholic beverages, indulging in games of chance and preferring the nuclear family.

It is noteworthy, too, that by the second generation born in Canada, there is a swing-back (reversion) to enhanced involvement in their religion; and while interesting in itself, it seems to suggest a hope of rescuing and developing their ethnic identity and religiosity.

While the Muslim community constitutes a mere minority in Canada, their problems and practices, however, are surely not of mere academic interest; they are issues of vital significance, affecting the daily lives of human beings. The pioneering assessment here, not only enhances current knowledge with empirical facts in an otherwise nebulous or guessing area, but it promotes interfaith understanding and may have important implications for government policy formulation, especially in the multicultural society of Canada. Muslim leaders can also discern the impact of Canadian life on the dilution of religious observances among members of their religious community in the possibility of organizing measures to provide and foster the religious values and ethnicity of such Muslims of Trinidad ancestry that were studied here.

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APPENDIX 1 - A

A COPY OF LETTER SENT TO LEADERS
OF MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS

Dept. of Religious Studies,
University of Ottawa,
Ottawa, ont., K1N 6N5,
20th March, 1988.

Dear Sir:

Assalaam-O-Alaikum (Peace Be Unto You)! For my doctoral thesis in Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa, I am conducting an important research project concerning Muslims from Trinidad (West Indies) who are settling or have settled in Canada.

If in your organization or jamaat there are Muslims of Trinidad ancestry, whether they are new, or came sometime ago, to Canada, or were born here of Muslim parents of Trinidad ancestry, please ask them each to fill out one of the enclosed survey questionnaires and to mail same in one of the enclosed stamped envelopes.

The questionnaires should be filled out individually and privately (- one questionnaire per person) even though the person's name is not required. Please remember that the persons to whom the questionnaires are given for completion must be Muslims from Trinidad or descendants of Muslims from Trinidad.

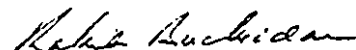
Should more questionnaires be required than are enclosed here, please let me know and I shall be glad to send you as many as you may wish.

I hope the questionnaires will be filled out soon and returned to me as quickly as possible.

please convey my sincere appreciation and thanks to all those who undertake to complete and mail in a questionnaire.

I thank you very kindly for your attention and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,



Rakib Buckridan.

Phone: (613) 235-6283

APPENDIX 1 - B

A COPY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE SURVEY

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

Department of
Religious Studies

A LETTER TO EXPLAIN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am conducting at the University of Ottawa, an important study on Trinidad Muslims who have settled or are settling in Canada. I am endeavouring to obtain information on the issues and problems you encounter in transition as you adapt to the Canadian environment, and for this I seek your assistance. It is hoped you will fill out this questionnaire and return it promptly in the enclosed stamped envelope.

An assessment of your views not only enhances current knowledge and promotes interfaith understanding, but it may also have important implications for government policy formulation and enhanced assimilation of Trinidad Muslims in a multicultural Canadian society. Hopefully, as well, your Canadian neighbours can arrive at a better appreciation of Islam and Trinidad Muslims.

In various parts of the questionnaire, some questions may seem very personal (e.g., your Islamic "sect", age, education, salary). Answers to these are necessary in order to make the other questions meaningful. But you are assured of total anonymity with regard to your answers. Indeed, your name is not asked for at all. It will be appreciated if as many adult members of your family who can fill out a questionnaire on their own, so do. Additional questionnaires may be obtained through your association leader or imam, or by contacting the undersigned.

If for some reason you do not wish to participate, or even if you answer only a few questions, please return the questionnaire. Any reasons you can provide will be welcome.

Your personal attention to this important questionnaire is very much appreciated.

Dr. R. Buckridan
Dept. of Religious Studies
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ont.
K1N 6N5

Questionnaire for Trinidad Muslims in Canada

Here is an example of the proper way to complete the questionnaire. Mark with a cross "X" the box which corresponds to the answer of your choice. Thus, if you are not a student at present, you would mark the box for "No" in the following question -

Are you a student?

- Yes
- No

Again, if you were born in Trinidad and are now living in Canada, this might be indicated as:

- | | In
Canada | In
Trinidad |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Born | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Now living | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Note: - If by mistake you mark a box you do not wish to have as your answer, just encircle it and mark the box you prefer.

- Read each question fully since some questions may require more than one answer.
- Try to be spontaneous without spending too much time over the questions.
- It is recognised that a questionnaire form may be limiting in the expression of your opinions and ideas. Therefore some blank spaces are left at the end of the booklet for further comments.

----- oOo -----

One more note: - As you can understand, it is difficult to formulate a questionnaire that would be quite comprehensible or suitable to all respondents. Thus you will frequently encounter the term, "Other", among a list of answers to be chosen in responding to certain questions. This provides an answer category in case none of the other answers indicated fit your individual situation. For example, if you were born of Trinidad parents but you never lived in Trinidad, and the particular question seeks information about the time the respondent lived in Trinidad, then you may mark off "Other" since the remaining answers in the question may not apply to you. If you mark off "Other" and wish to indicate anything specific in that line, please so do.

----- oOo -----

1) Indicate which ones among the following fit in with your beliefs:

- There is only one God and Muhammad is His prophet
- Muhammad is the very last prophet (the seal of prophet)
- There have been other prophets since Muhammad
- The Quran is the revealed words of God to Muhammad
- The Quran, and some or all of the Hadith, are acceptable to me
- I do not accept the Hadith
- I believe in the existence of angels
- There is life after death (e.g., in a heaven or hell)
- Only Islam is acceptable to God
- Christianity and Judaism are acceptable to God
- All religions are acceptable to God
- Though born in a Muslim family and participating in various religious rites, I seriously doubt the existence of God

2) Number of times you pray now and before coming to Canada:

	In Canada	In Trinidad
Five times a day almost regularly	1	1
One to four times a day	2	2
Once a week	3	3
A few, occasional times a year	4	4
Never	5	5
Other	6	6

3) Do you find in Canada a greater problem in attending the five daily prayers, the Jumma (Friday) prayer, and Tarawee namaz (nightly prayers during the month of Ramadan), than in Trinidad?

	The daily prayers	Friday prayers	Tarawee namaz
Yes (greater problem in Canada)	1	1	1
No	2	2	2
Not applicable to me	3	3	3
Other	4	4	4

4) If in Canada you wish to pray five times a day and have difficulty in so doing (e.g., for reason of work) what do you do about it?

I insist, and take time out to perform the five prayers	1
Combine the prayers at the end of the day (or end of work time)	2
Stay at work (or other preoccupation) and say the prayers quietly and inconspicuously	3
The situation does not apply to me (e.g., no desire to say those prayers)	4
Other	5

5) If hindered in Canada from attending Jumma namaz (Friday prayers), what do you do about it?

Somehow I am able to make my way to the Friday prayers	1
Hold the prayer on a Sunday	2
Or, on some other day (than Sunday)	3
The situation does not apply to me (e.g., no desire to say the prayer)	4
Other	5

6) In regard to \dots (tithe or alms to assist the poor):

	In Canada	When you lived in Trinidad
I contribute regularly	1	1
I contribute occasionally	2	2
I never contribute	3	3
Other	4	4

7) Number of days you fast in Ramadan:

	In Canada	When you lived in Trinidad
The entire month	1	1
Over half of it	2	2
A few days	3	3
None	4	4
Other	5	5

8) Indicate in the first column the difficulty you most associate with fasting during Ramadan in Canada. And in the second column indicate the 2nd ranking difficulty:

	Most difficult	2nd ranking difficulty
Predawn to sunset is too long a period	1	1
Interference with business and social obligations	2	2
School expects children to bring their lunches .	3	3
Fasting interferes with efficiency at work	4	4
Difficulty breaking fast while at work	5	5
Threat to my health	6	6
Other	7	7

9) If you have performed the Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca), was it

From Trinidad	1
From Canada	2
Both	3
Other	4

10) How do you rate yourself generally on religiousness compared with your father, mother, and children (if any).

	My father	My mother	My children
I feel myself more religious than	1	1	1
I feel myself less religious than	2	2	2
Unsure if more, or less, religious than .	3	3	3

11) How have you met, or go about meeting, fellow-Muslims in Canada? From the following, indicate the one route that you feel applies most to your experience:

At the mosque	1
At Muslim festivals (e.g., Eid celebration)	2
At other Muslim families	3
Through the telephone directory	4
Other	5

12) Without consulting with anyone, can you name up to two Muslim organizations in Canada?

- 1. _____ (1)
- 2. _____ (2)

13) Similarly, can you name up to two Muslim organizations in the Caribbean

- 1. _____ (1)
- 2. _____ (2)

14) Without consulting anyone else, please state to what Islamic organizations the following abbreviations refer? If unable, mark off box under "Don't know".

- CMEC _____ (1)
- FIA _____ (2)
- MSA _____ (3)

Don't know

15) From among the following, indicate which ones apply to you. Do you feel the Islamic revolution in Iran

- Has caused heightened awareness of Islam in you? (1)
- Has encouraged you to practise Islam more? (2)
- Has discouraged you from drinking alcoholic beverages or using drugs (if you did these before)? (3)
- None of the above (4)
- Other (5)

16) Indicate which of the following is closest to your interpretation of jihad (or holy war):

- Fight unbelievers with physical war so Islam can spread (1)
- An internal personal and spiritual struggle within one's self as one develops to higher enlightenment toward God (2)
- Other (3)

17) Of the various Islamic "sects" (schools of thought) which do you feel you are most inclined to:

- Sunnis (1)
- Shiites (2)
- Ahmadis (Qadian or Bahwah community) (3)
- Ahmadis (Lahori society)..... (4)
- Other..... (5)

18) Are you:

- Single (1)
- Married, by civil rites only (2)
- Married, by civil and religious rites (3)
- Living common-law (4)
- Separated (5)
- Divorced (6)
- A widow (7)
- A widower (8)
- Other (9)

- 19) In regards to Muslim schools receiving government support,
- | | Yes | No | Other |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| There are such schools in Trinidad | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| There are such schools in your Canadian community | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

- 20) Compared to Trinidad, it seems more difficult in Canada for young people
- | | Yes | No | Other |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| To attend makhtabs (places at which they can learn about Islam) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| To obtain Arabic lessons | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

- 21) Do you find in Canada that young Muslims
- | | Yes | No | Other |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Increasingly address their parents as "Mom" and "Dad" which carry less respect than terms used in Trinidad | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Increasingly tend to have, or to adopt, Western names (e.g., Dennis), or Westernised names (e.g., Moe or Mike for Mohammed)? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Increasingly greet other Muslims with "Mellow" or such, rather than with "Assalaam-O-Alaikum"? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

- 22) If you have a bank account or other investment that pays an interest on your financial outlay, does it bother you to receive such interest, and to what extent?
- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Yes; it bothers me a great deal | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Yes; it bothers me a little | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| No; it does not bother me at all | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |

- 23) Do you participate in any of the following:
- | | Yes | No |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Purchase of lottery tickets (e.g., 6/49, Provincial) . | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Card playing for money (gambling) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Horse-racing | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Other games of chance | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| No (I do not participate in games of chance) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

- 24) Compare your consumption of alcoholic beverages in Canada and in Trinidad.
- | | In Canada | In Trinidad |
|--------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Often | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Occasionally | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Never | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |

- 25) Do you serve alcoholic drinks to your guests?
- | | In Canada | In Trinidad |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Yes; but only if they are non-Muslims | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Yes; whether Muslims or not | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Not at all | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |

26) Compare your eating of pork (meat of the pig) in Canada and in Trinidad.

	In Canada	In Trinidad
Often	1	1
Occasionally	2	2
Never	3	3
Other	4	1

27) If a Canadian friend invited you for dinner and served pork dishes, would you

Eat the pork	1
Make an excuse and not eat it	2
Flatly refuse to eat it	3
Other	4

28) Do you find it a problem in Canada

	Yes	No	Other
In having to check ingredients printed on food packages so as to avoid pork ..	1	2	3
That you have more difficulty than in Trinidad in obtaining hallal meat	1	2	3
That in a Chinese (or similar) restaurant you have to be very careful that what you order is not cooked in a pork or wine sauce	1	2	3
Other	1	2	3

29) If you attend a large, elegant, social dinner with people of different religions present and a Christian minister pronounces the blessing (grace) on the food with the call on Jesus Christ as God (e.g., "through Jesus Christ, our Lord"), would you

Go on to eat the food?	1
Flatly not eat it because the name of another God (than Allah) has been invoked on it?	2
Quietly disclaim the Christian blessing and say instead your own private prayer and eat the food?	3
Other	4

30) If you or your children encountered prejudice in Canada, on account of your religion or skin color, would the prejudice mainly come from:

	On religion	On skin color
Non-Muslim teachers	1	1
Classmates	2	2
Play mates	3	3
Work mates	4	4
Other	5	5

- 31) Has your religion in Canada been an impediment in
- | | Yes | No |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Obtaining housing | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Finding a job | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Making friends | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Educational progress | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Business relations | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Social clubs | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

- 32) If you ever feel like switching to another religion, would the appeal in the other religion be that
- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| It is better organized | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| It seems more successful materially and can help you better in time of need | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| It makes more sense to you | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| It has less bickering and internal struggling | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Though born a Muslim, you know more about the other religion than of Islam | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |

- 33) If you belong, or belonged, to a religious organization in your community, would you name it:
- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| In Canada | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| In Trinidad | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| None in Canada | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| None in Trinidad | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

- 34) If you belong to a Muslim group in Canada, select two top benefits, from the following list, that you feel you expect to derive from being in the group, and rank them as 1st and 2nd.
- | | 1st | 2nd |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| General emotional support and companionship | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Help and advice when I am in difficulty (such as illness, death of a family member) | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Social interaction and stimulation | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| I gain more materially (e.g., food) than I give | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| It pleases me to give more to the group than I get in return from the group | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| Enhancement of my Islamic faith and spiritual upliftment | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |

- 35) If you subscribe to any Islamic newspaper, magazine or journal would you please name them:
-
-

36) Can you name the mosque or prayer place that you generally attend or attended:

- In Canada _____ 1
- In Trinidad _____ 2
- None in Canada 3
- None in Trinidad 4
- Other 5

37) Compare the language of your religious services (e.g., Friday sermon) in Trinidad and Canada and indicate your present-day preference.

	Trinidad	Canada	Present preference
Almost entirely in Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Almost entirely in English	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Part Arabic, with generous English translation	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4

38) What language do you use in conversation at home?

- Mainly Urdu or Hindustani (with very little or no English) ... 1
- Mainly English (with very little or no Urdu or Hindustani) ... 2
- Only English 3
- Both English, and Urdu (or Hindustani) 4
- Other 5

39) Do you:

- Speak French 1
- Read or write French 2
- Have any children in (or who went through) a French immersion school 3
- Feel it advisable to learn French to be a good Canadian citizen 4
- Have children who speak English and French (but not Arabic or Urdu) 5
- Have children who speak English and Arabic or Urdu, but not French 6

40) What is your age?

- 18 years or less 1
- 19 to 25 years 2
- 26 to 39 years 3
- 40 to 64 years 4
- 65 or over 5

40a) What is your income (in Canadian dollars) per year? (Remember your answer remains anonymous).

- Over \$100,000..... 1
- Between \$80,000 and \$100,000 2
- Between \$40,000 and \$80,000..... 3
- Between \$20,000 and \$40,000 4
- Between \$12,000 and \$20,000 5
- Less than \$12,000..... 6

41) If ever married, at what age were you married? Or, if married more than once, age at first marriage:

- 14 years or less 1
- 15 to 18 2
- 19 to 22 3
- 23 to 30 4
- 31 to 40 5
- Over 41 6
- Other 7

42) If you had the choice, would you prefer

- A nuclear family (husband, wife and children) 1
- An extended family (may include 2 generations, e.g., grandparents, other relatives) 2
- To remain single throughout life 3
- To be in a common-law relationship 4
- Other 5

43) Indicate from among the following, as many as seem correct to you:

- In Canada, there is a shift to smaller Muslim family units ... 1
- In Trinidad there were more Muslim marriages among relatives than in Canada 2
- It is more problematic for young Muslims to find marital partners in Canada than in Trinidad 3
- Muslim weddings in Trinidad often lasted several days whereas in Canada they are rarely more than a one-day celebration 4

44) From among the following, indicate a first and a second preference.

- | An East Indian Muslim of Trinidad descent marrying | 1st preference | 2nd preference |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| An East Indian Muslim of Trinidad descent .. | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| An East Indian Muslim from any part of the world | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| A white Muslim from Canada or any part of the world | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| A non-Muslim (East Indian or white) so long as they claim they love each other | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

45) Are you in favour of:

- | | Yes | No | Other |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Arranged marriages (arranged by parents or guardians) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| People finding their own marital partners (rather than arranged marriages) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Muslim girls of Trinidad descent returning to their Caribbean area to find a marital partner | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

- 46) Has any member of your family converted to another religion?
- Yes; in Canada (To what religion? _____) 1
- Yes; in Trinidad (To what religion? _____) 2
- No 3
- Other 4
- 47) If a child of your wishes to marry a non-Muslim, what would be your reaction:
- Simply tolerate the situation (with quiet disapproval) :..... 1
- Express disapproval 2
- Disown the child 3
- Allow it on condition the non-Muslim becomes a Muslim 4
- Allow it on condition the children be raised as Muslims 5
- Accept the situation whole-heartedly 6
- Other (e.g., do not know) 7
- 48) Is there any interfaith (mixed) marriage in your family?
- Yes; it happened in Canada (with what religion? _____) 1
- Yes; in Trinidad (With what religion? _____) 2
- No 3
- Other 4
- 49) If there is an interfaith marriage(s) by any member(s) of your family, is there any agreement as to the faith(s) in which the children will be raised?
- Yes; In what faith(s)? _____ 1
- No 2
- Other 3
- 50) Do you or your family celebrate
- | | Yes | No | Other |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| The Prophet's birthday | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Idu'l-Fitr (Eid) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Idu'l-Azha (Baqarah-'Id) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Christmas | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| New Year's Eve | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Thanksgiving | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Carnival (or Caribana, etc., with dancing to steel band music) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
- 51) Does it bother you that Muslims of different countries stick to their own people and do not manifest a wider unity, so that following a service, for example, they quickly go back to their own national (or ethnic) group?
- Yes; it bothers me 1
- Yes; but I do the same thing 2
- No; it does not bother me 3
- Other 4

52) What is your opinion on the following statements: Yes No Other

- In general, a wife should cook and look after household affairs; the husband should be the main breadwinner 1 2 3
- Where the wife works outside, the husband should share in the housework 1 2 3
- Where the wife works outside, that's her problem; she should still carry the full load of housework 1 2 3
- In family affairs, the husband ought to have the final decision-making power 1 2 3

53) About the Quranic verse that reads: "Men are in charge of women, because Allah has made the men to excel the women, and because men spend of their property for the support of women" (4:34), do you

- | | Yes | No | Other |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Agree that this denies equality of the sexes? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Agree it does not deny equality of the sexes? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Feel uncertain as to its meaning on equality or inequality of the sexes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

54) Indicate which ones, among the following, apply to your situation or that of other Trinidad Muslims you know:

- | | Yes | No | Other |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| In general, Muslim children are less obedient to their parents in Canada than in Trinidad ... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| In general, Muslim children in Canada are more obedient to their parents than are non-Muslim children | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Some Muslim girls, isolated from boys outside of school hours, or while at camp, dislike such separation | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Muslim youth in Canada have a conflict trying to maintain Islamic values and being pulled to alcohol, marijuana and other drugs | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| An increasing number of Muslim youth consume pork hot dogs | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Muslim teenagers are less interested in Islam than their parents were as teenagers | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| I feel that young Muslims who reject alcohol and the drug scene would earn greater respect from young non-Muslims | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| I feel that young Muslims who reject alcohol and the drug scene would be rejected by young non-Muslims | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| I approve of the Western mode of dancing (the two sexes dancing together) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| I think my parents would approve of such dancing | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

55) Are you:

- The husband in the family 1
- The wife in the family 2
- The main breadwinner in the family 3
- A son in the family 4
- A daughter in the family 5
- A male living with relatives or friends 6
- A female living with relatives or friends 7
- A male living alone 8
- A female living alone 9

56) What is your country of birth?

- Trinidad 1
- Canada 2
- U.S.A. 3
- Born elsewhere but my formative years were in Trinidad .. 4
- Other 5

57) Which of the following applies to you:

- As an adult you migrated from Trinidad to Canada 1
- As a child you accompanied your parent(s) or guardian(s) from Trinidad to Canada 2
- You were born in Canada of parent(s) who as adults migrated from Trinidad 3
- You were born in Canada of parent(s) who were children when they migrated from Trinidad 4
- You were born in Canada of parent(s) who were born in Canada but whose parents migrated from Trinidad 5
- Other 6

58) In regard to citizenship and race, are you

- Native of Canada (i.e. born in Canada) 1
- Naturalized Canadian citizen 2
- Landed immigrant 3
- Visitor 4
- Visitor in process of becoming a landed immigrant or citizen 5
- East Indian 6
- Black 7
- White 8
- Mixed race 9
- Other (race) 10

59) From the following, choose the one consideration you feel was strongest in your decision to migrate to Canada:

- Better job opportunity in Canada 1
- To escape tight economic conditions in Trinidad 2
- Unhappy with the political situation in Trinidad 3
- To be freer to practise your religion 4
- To be with important relatives who migrated to Canada 5
- To further your education 6
- Other 7

60) If not born in Canada, how long have you been in Canada?

- Less than 5 years 1
- 5 to 9 years 2
- 10 to 14 years 3
- 15 to 19 years 4
- 20 to 24 years 5
- 25 to 29 years 6
- 30 to 34 years 7
- 34 or more years 8

61) In what province are you located?

- Newfoundland and Labrador 1
- Prince Edward Island 2
- Nova Scotia 3
- New Brunswick 4
- Quebec 5
- Ontario 6
- Manitoba 7
- Saskatchewan 8
- Alberta 9
- British Columbia 10
- North-West Territories 11
- Other 12

62) How often have you revisited Trinidad?

- Never 1
- 1 to 4 times 2
- 5 to 9 times 3
- 10 or more times 4

63) In regard to a Muslim burial area,

- | | Yes | No | Other |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Was there one in your Trinidad community? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Is there one in your Canadian community? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

64) What level of education was completed by you, your mother and your father?

	You	Mother	Father
No formal education	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Primary (Elementary) School	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
High School, Trad. School	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Community College, Technical School, Junior College	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
University, Post-graduate Studies	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6

65) What is your main occupation?

Student	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Farmer, fisherman, forestry worker	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Professional, big businessman, manager, senior civil servant	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Entrepreneur, civil servant, clerk	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Skilled worker (e.g., machinist, plumber, electrician)	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
Labourer	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
Housewife	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 9

66) Compare the spending of leisure time.

	In Canada		In Trinidad	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
At home with the family	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Visiting friends or relatives	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
At a social club	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Watching East Indian movies	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Watching other movies	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Entertaining with musical instrument	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Entertaining with singing	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Volunteer (helping needy, community)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

67) The items in this question may sound too personal. But please feel free not to answer them if you so wish. (Remember, however, your name is not required and you can mail in the questionnaire anonymously).

Have you:	Yes	No
Ever been drunk	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Participated in calypso or reggae dancing	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Ever been involved in premarital sex	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
If married, ever been involved in extramarital sex	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
If female, ever worn a bikini at a bathing place (publicly)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Ever viewed pornographic movies	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

APPENDIX 2

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS
(OR FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES)

APPENDIX 2

Percentage of Responses to Questionnaire Items
(or Frequency Distribution of Responses)

1) Indicate which ones among the following fit in with your beliefs:

	X
There is only one God and Muhammad is His prophet	(1) 98.9
Muhammad is the very last prophet (the seal of prophet)	(2) 85.6
There have been other prophets since Muhammad	(3) 17.8
The Quran is the revealed words of God to Muhammad	(4) 97.8
The Quran, and some or all of the Hadith, are acceptable to me	(5) 90.0
I do not accept the Hadith	(6) 5.6
I believe in the existence of angels	(7) 81.1
There is life after death (e.g., in a heaven or hell)	(8) 91.1
Only Islam is acceptable to God	(9) 21.1
Christianity and Judaism are acceptable to God	(10) 75.3
All religions are acceptable to God	(11) 82.2
Though born in a Muslim family and participating in various religious rites, I seriously doubt the existence of God	(12) 5.3

2) Number of times you pray now and before coming to Canada:

	In Canada		In Trinidad
Five times a day almost regularly	(1)	20.2	(1) 22.2
One to four times a day	(2)	26.7	(2) 24.4
Once a week	(3)	13.3	(3) 6.7
A few, occasional times a year	(4)	34.8	(4) 8.9
Never	(5)	0.0	(5) 0.0
Other	(6)	4.4	(6) 4.4
		(1.1)	(33.3)

3) Do you find in Canada a greater problem in attending the five daily prayers, the Jumma (Friday) prayer, and Tarawee namaz (nightly prayers during the month of Ramadan), than in Trinidad?

	The daily prayers		Friday prayers		Tarawee namaz
Yes (greater problems in Canada)	(1)	40.0	(1)	52.2	(1) 40.0
No	(2)	17.8	(2)	10.0	(2) 16.7
Not applicable to me	(3)	13.3	(3)	10.0	(3) 10.0
Other	(4)	21.1	(4)	21.1	(4) 21.1
		(7.8)		(6.7)	(12.2)

4) If in Canada you wish to pray five times a day and have difficulty in so doing (e.g., for reason of work) what do you do about it?

I insist, and take time out to perform the five prayers	(1)	22.2
Combine the prayers at the end of the day (or end of work time)	(2)	22.2
Stay at work (or other preoccupation) and say the prayers quietly and inconspicuously	(3)	11.1
The situation does not apply to me (e.g., no desire to say those prayers)	(4)	17.8
Other	(5)	21.1
	2 & 3	1.1
		(4.4)

5) If hindered in Canada from attending Jumma namaz (Friday prayers), what do you do about it?

Somehow I am able to make my way to the Friday prayers	(1)	33.3
Hold the prayer on a Sunday	(2)	28.9
Or, on some other day (than Sunday)	(3)	11.1
The situation does not apply to me (e.g., no desire to say the prayer)	(4)	8.9
Other	(5)	11.1
		(6.7)

6) In regard to zakat (tithe or alms to assist the poor):

	In Canada		When you lived in Trinidad
I contribute regularly	(1)	38.9	(1) 42.2
I contribute occasionally	(2)	31.1	(2) 16.7
I never contribute	(3)	26.7	(3) 2.2
Other	(4)	33.3	(4) 4.4
			(34.4)

7) Number of days you fast in Ramadan:

	In Canada	When you lived in Trinidad
The entire month	[1] 36.7	[1] 46.7
Over half of it	[2] 14.4	[2] 8.9
A few days	[3] 31.1	[3] 6.7
None	[4] 13.3	[4] 2.2
Other	[5] 2.2	[5] 3.3
	(2.2)	(32.2)

8) Indicate in the first column the difficulty you most associate with fasting during Ramadan in Canada. And in the second column indicate the 2nd ranking difficulty:

	Most difficult	2nd ranking difficulty
Predawn to sunset it too long a period	[1] 43.3	[1] 23.3
Interference with business and social obligations	[2] 14.4	[2] 18.9
School expects children to bring their lunch	[3] 0.0	[3] 2.2
Fasting interferes with efficiency at work	[4] 4.4	[4] 7.8
Difficulty breaking fast while at work	[5] 6.7	[5] 4.4
Threat to my health	[6] 10.0	[6] 14.4
Other	[7] 11.1	[7] 10.0
	1 & 5	1.1
	(8.9)	(18.9)

9) If you have performed the Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) was it

From Trinidad	[1] 23.3
From Canada	[2] 5.6
Both	[3] 2.2
Other	[4] 14.4
	(54.4)

10) How do you rate yourself generally on religiousness compared with your father, mother, and children (if any):

	My father	My mother	My children
I feel myself more religious than	[1] 20.0	[1] 16.7	[1] 52.2
I feel myself less religious than	[2] 61.1	[2] 62.2	[2] 1.1
Unsure if more, or less, religious than	[3] 16.7	[3] 17.8	[3] 8.9
	(2.2)	(3.3)	(37.8)

11) How have you met, or go about meeting, fellow-Muslims in Canada? From the following, indicate the one route that you feel applies most to your experience:

At the mosque	[1] 21.1
At Muslim festivals (e.g., Eid celebration).....	[2] 14.4
At other Muslim families	[3] 51.1
Through the telephone directory	[4] 0.0
Other	[5] 4.4
	1 & 2
	2 & 3
	1 & 3
	1, 2 & 3

- 12) Without consulting with anyone, can you name up to two Muslim organizations in Canada?
- | | | | |
|---------|------------|-----------|----------|
| 1. | Yes
(1) | No
(2) | 75.6 Yes |
| 2. | (1) | (2) | 56.7 Yes |
- 13) Similarly, can you name up to two Muslim organizations in the Caribbean?
- | | | | |
|---------|------------|-----------|----------|
| 1. | Yes
(1) | No
(2) | 78.9 Yes |
| 2. | (1) | (2) | 71.1 Yes |
- 14) Without consulting anyone else, please state to what Islamic organizations the following abbreviations refer? If unable, mark off box under "Don't know".
- | | | | |
|------------|------------|-----------|----------|
| CMCC | Yes
(1) | No
(2) | 18.9 Yes |
| FIA | (1) | (2) | 34.4 Yes |
| MSA | (1) | (2) | 35.6 Yes |
- 15) From among the following, indicate which ones apply to you. Do you feel the Islamic revolution in Iran
- | | | |
|---|----------|-------|
| Has caused heightened awareness of Islam in you? | (1) | 35.6 |
| Has encouraged you to practise Islam more? | (2) | 16.7 |
| Has discouraged you from drinking alcoholic beverages or using drugs (if you did these before)? | (3) | 1.1 |
| None of the above | (4) | 53.3 |
| Other | (5) | 4.4 |
| | 1 & 2 | 3.3 |
| | 1 & 5 | 1.1 |
| | 1, 2 & 5 | 3.3 |
| | | (1.1) |
- 16) Indicate which one of the following is closest to your interpretation of jihad (or holy war):
- | | | |
|--|-----|-------|
| Fight unbelievers with physical war so Islam can spread | (1) | 25.6 |
| An internal personal and spiritual struggle within one's self as one develops to higher enlightenment toward God | (2) | 62.2 |
| Other | (3) | 10.0 |
| | | (2.2) |
- 17) Of the various Islamic "sects" (schools of thought) which do you feel you are most inclined to:
- | | | |
|--|-----|-------|
| Sunnis | (1) | 70.0 |
| Shiites | (2) | 8.8 |
| Ahmadis (Qadian or Rabwah community) | (3) | 0.0 |
| Ahmadis (Lahori society) | (4) | 6.7 |
| Other | (5) | 16.7 |
| | | (2.2) |
- 18) Are you:
- | | | |
|---|-----|------|
| Single | (1) | 26.7 |
| Married, by civil rites only | (2) | 4.4 |
| Married, by civil and religious rites | (3) | 55.6 |
| Living common-law | (4) | 2.2 |
| Separated | (5) | 3.3 |
| Divorced | (6) | 3.3 |
| A widow | (7) | 2.2 |
| A widower | (8) | 0.0 |
| Other | (9) | 2.2 |

19) In regards to Muslim schools receiving government support,							
	Yes	No	Other				
There are such schools in Trinidad	[1] 74.4	[2] 2.2	[3] 8.9				(14.4)
There are such schools in your Canadian community	[1] 11.1	[2] 77.8	[3] 8.9				(2.2)
20) Compared to Trinidad, it seems more difficult in Canada for young people							
	Yes	No	Other				
To attend makhtabs (places at which they can learn about Islam)	[1] 71.1	[2] 13.3	[3] 13.3				(2.2)
To obtain Arabic Lessons	[1] 68.9	[2] 14.4	[3] 14.4				(2.2)
21) Do you find in Canada that young Muslims							
	Yes	No	Other				
Increasingly address their parents as "Mom" and "Dad" which carry less respect than terms used in Trinidad	[1] 77.8	[2] 17.8	[3] 1.1				(3.3)
Increasingly tend to have, or to adopt, Western names (e.g., Dennis), or Westernised names (e.g., Moe or Mike for Mohammed)?	[1] 84.4	[2] 10.0	[3] 2.2				(3.3)
Increasingly greet other Muslims with "Hello" or such, rather than with "Assalaam-O-Alaikum"?	[1] 84.4	[2] 10.0	[3] 1.1				(4.4)
22) If you have a bank account or other investment that pays an interest on your financial outlay, does it bother you to receive such interest, and to what extent?							
Yes; it bothers me a great deal			[1] 12.2				
Yes; it bothers me a little			[2] 27.8				
No; it does not bother me at all			[3] 53.3				
Other			[4] 3.3				(3.3)
23) Do you participate in any of the following:							
	Yes	No					
Purchase of lottery tickets (e.g. 6/49 Provincial) ..	[1] 73.3	[2] 21.1					(5.6)
Card playing for money (gambling)	[1] 23.3	[2] 53.3					(23.3)
Horse-racing	[1] 24.4	[2] 54.4					(21.1)
Other games of chance	[1] 30.0	[2] 51.1					(18.9)
No (I do not participate in games of chance)	[1] 8.9	[2] 17.8					(73.3)
Other	[1] 2.2	[2] 3.3					(94.4)
24) Compare your consumption of alcoholic beverages in Canada and in Trinidad.							
	In Canada	In Trinidad					
Often	[1] 10.0	[2] 1.1					
Occasionally	[1] 38.9	[2] 14.4					
Never	[1] 46.7	[2] 47.8					
Other	[1] 3.3	[2] 2.2					
	(1.1)	(34.4)					
25) Do you serve alcoholic drinks to your guests?							
	In Canada	In Trinidad					
Yes, but only if they are non-Muslims	[1] 14.4	[2] 4.4					
Yes; whether Muslims or not	[1] 30.0	[2] 2.2					
Not at all	[1] 48.9	[2] 55.6					
Other	[1] 5.6	[2] 2.2					
	(1.1)	(35.6)					

26) Compare your eating of pork (meat of the pig) in Canada and in Trinidad.

	In Canada		In Trinidad	
Often	(1)	1.1	(2)	0.0
Occasionally	(1)	35.6	(2)	2.2
Never	(1)	57.8	(2)	62.2
Other	(1)	3.3	(2)	2.2
		(2.2)		(33.3)

27) If a Canadian friend invited you for dinner and served pork dishes, would you

Eat the pork	(1)	36.7
Make an excuse and not eat it	(2)	17.6
Flatly refuse to eat it	(3)	38.9
Other	(4)	4.4
		(2.2)

28) Do you find it a problem in Canada

	Yes		No		Other	
In having to check ingredients printed on food packages so as to avoid pork	(1)	44.4	(2)	52.2	(3)	0.0 (3.3)
That you have more difficulty than in Trinidad in obtaining hallal meat	(1)	45.6	(2)	20.0	(3)	26.7 (7.8)
That in a Chinese (or similar) restaurant you have to be very careful that what you order is not cooked in a pork or wine sauce	(1)	51.1	(2)	37.8	(3)	3.3 (7.8)
Other	(1)	0.0	(2)	0.0	(3)	4.4 (95.6)

29) If you attend a large, elegant, social dinner with people of different religions present and a Christian minister pronounces the blessing (grace) on the food with the call on Jesus Christ as God (e.g., "through Jesus Christ, our Lord"), would you

Go on to eat the food	(1)	41.1
Flatly not eat it because the name of another God (than Allah) has been invoked on it?	(2)	12.2
Quietly disclaim the Christian blessing and say instead your own private prayer and eat the food?	(3)	37.8
Other	(4)	4.4
		1 & 4 1.1
		2 & 3 1.1
		(2.2)

30) If you or your children encountered prejudice in Canada, on account of your religion or skin color, would the prejudice mainly come from:

	On religion		On skin color	
Non-Muslim teachers	(1)	16.7	(1)	1.1
Classmates	(2)	2.2	(2)	4.4
Play mates	(3)	0.0	(2)	0.0
Work mates	(4)	3.3	(2)	5.6
Other	(5)	18.9	(5)	18.9
		(58.9)		(64.4)
	1 - 4	0.0		3.3
	2 - 4	0.0		1.1
	1 & 4	0.0		1.1

31) Has your religion in Canada been an impediment in	Yes	No		
Obtaining housing	[1]	1.1	[2]	88.9 (10.0)
Finding a job	[1]	6.7	[2]	85.6 (7.8)
Making friends	[1]	8.9	[2]	81.1 (10.0)
Educational progress	[1]	18.9	[2]	71.1 (10.0)
Business relations	[1]	2.2	[2]	85.6 (12.2)
Social clubs	[1]	4.4	[2]	81.1 (14.4)
Other	[1]	0.0	[2]	28.9 (71.1)
32) If you ever feel like switching to another religion would the appeal in the other religion be that				
It is better organized			[1]	4.4
It seems more successful materially and can help you better in time of need			[2]	5.6
It makes more sense to you			[3]	0.0
It has less bickering and internal struggling			[4]	3.3
Though born a Muslim, you know more about the other religion than of Islam			[5]	2.2
Other			[6]	30.0
			1 & 2	1.1
				(53.3)
33) If you belong, or belonged, to a religious organization in your community, would you name it:				
In Canada			[1]	23.3
In Trinidad			[2]	7.8
None in Canada			[3]	1.1
None in Trinidad			[4]	0.0
Other			[5]	7.8
			1 & 2	40.0
			1 & 4	1.1
			3 & 4	1.1
				(17.8)
34) If you belonged to a Muslim group in Canada, select two top benefits, from the following list, that you feel you expect to derive from being in the group, and rank them as 1st or 2nd.				
General emotional support and companionship	1st	2nd		
Help and advice when I am in difficulty (such as illness, death of a family member)	[1]	8.9	[1]	21.1
Social interaction and stimulation	[2]	31.1	[2]	10.0
I gain more materially (e.g., food) than I give ...	[3]	6.7	[3]	15.6
It pleases me to give more to the group than I get in return from the group	[4]	0.0	[4]	1.1
Enhancement of my Islamic faith and spiritual upliftment	[5]	6.7	[5]	6.7
Other	[6]	25.6	[6]	21.1
	[7]	12.2	[7]	11.1
		(8.9)		(13.1)
35) If you subscribe to any Islamic newspaper, magazine or journal would you please name them:				

				10.0

36) Can you name the mosque or prayer place that you generally attend or attended:

In Canada	(1)	20.0
In Trinidad	(2)	2.2
None in Canada	(3)	2.2
None in Trinidad	(4)	0.0
Other	(5)	52.1
		(23.3)

37) Compare the language of your religious services (e.g., Friday sermon) in Trinidad and Canada and indicate your present-day preference.

	Trinidad	Canada	Present preference
Almost entirely in Arabic	(1) 10.0	(1) 42.2	(1) 0.0
Almost entirely in English	(2) 5.6	(2) 5.6	(2) 4.4
Part Arabic, with generous English translation	(3) 48.9	(3) 42.2	(3) 77.8
Other	(4) 3.3	(4) 2.2	(4) 2.2
	(32.2)	(7.8)	(15.6)

38) What language do you use in conversation at home?

Mainly Urdu or Hindustani (with very little or no English)	(1)	23.3
Mainly English (with very little or no Urdu or Hindustani)	(2)	17.8
Only English	(3)	53.3
Both English, and Urdu (or Hindustani)	(4)	3.3
Other	(5)	2.2

39) Do you:

	Yes	No
Speak French	(1)	(2) 17.8 Yes
Read or write French	(1)	(2) 40.0 Yes
Have any children in (or who went through) a French immersion school	(1)	(2) 13.3 Yes
Feel it advisable to learn French to be a good Canadian citizen	(1)	(2) 22.2 Yes
Have children who speak English and French (but not Arabic or Urdu)	(1)	(2) 31.1 Yes
Have children who speak English and Arabic or Urdu, but not French	(1)	(2) 5.6 Yes

40) What is your age?

18 year or less	(1)	15.6
19 to 25 years	(2)	12.2
26 to 39 years	(3)	24.4
40 to 64 years	(4)	33.3
65 or over	(5)	14.4

40a) What is your income (in Canadian dollars) per year? Remember your answer remains anonymous).

Over \$100,00	(1)	4.4
Between \$80,000 and \$100,00	(2)	6.7
Between \$40,000 and \$80,000	(3)	10.0
Between \$20,000 and \$40,000	(4)	36.7
Between \$12,000 and \$20,000	(5)	16.7
Less than \$12,000	(6)	24.4
		(1.1)

- 41) If ever married, at what age were you married? Or if married more than once, age at first marriage:
- | | | |
|------------------------|-----|--------|
| 14 years or less | (1) | 5.6 |
| 15 to 18 | (2) | 24.4 |
| 19 to 22 | (3) | 14.4 |
| 23 to 30 | (4) | 23.3 |
| 31 to 40 | (5) | 5.6 |
| Over 41 | (6) | 0.0 |
| | | (18.9) |
- 42) If you had the choice, would you prefer
- | | | |
|---|-----|-------|
| A nuclear family (husband, wife and children) | (1) | 46.7 |
| An extended family (may include 2 generations, e.g., grandparents, other relatives) | (2) | 46.7 |
| To remain single throughout life | (3) | 0.0 |
| To be in a common-law relationship | (4) | 0.0 |
| Other | (5) | 3.3 |
| | | (3.3) |
- 43) Indicate from among the following, as many as seem correct to you
- | | Yes | No | |
|---|-----|-----|----------|
| In Canada, there is a shift to smaller Muslim family units .. | (1) | (2) | 88.9 Yes |
| In Trinidad there were more Muslim marriages among relatives than in Canada | (1) | (2) | 86.7 Yes |
| It is more problematic for young Muslims to find marital partners in Canada than in Trinidad | (1) | (2) | 87.8 Yes |
| Muslim weddings in Trinidad often lasted several days whereas in Canada they are rarely more than a one-day celebration | (1) | (2) | 83.3 Yes |
- 44) From among the following, indicate a first and second preference.
An East Indian Muslim of Trinidad descent marrying
- | | 1st preference | 2nd preference | |
|--|----------------|----------------|-------|
| An East Indian Muslim of Trinidad decent | (1) | 67.8 (2) | 2.2 |
| An East Indian Muslim from any part of the world | (1) | 4.4 (2) | 54.4 |
| A white Muslim from Canada or any part of the world | (1) | 15.6 (2) | 10.0 |
| A non-Muslim (East Indian or white) as long as they claim they love each other | (1) | 3.3 (2) | 13.3 |
| Other | (1) | 5.6 (2) | 11.1 |
| | | (3.3) | (8.9) |
- 45) Are you in favour of:
- | | Yes | No | Other | |
|--|-----|----------|----------|-------------|
| Arranged marriages (arranged by parents or guardians) | (1) | 28.9 (2) | 51.1 (3) | 4.4 (15.6) |
| People finding their own marital partners (rather than arranged marriages) | (1) | 67.8 (2) | 20.0 (3) | 3.3 (8.9) |
| Muslim girls of Trinidad descent returning to their Caribbean area to find a marital partner | (1) | 23.3 (2) | 51.1 (3) | 11.1 (14.4) |

- 46) Has any member of your family converted to another religion?
- | | | |
|--|-----|-------|
| Yes; in Canada (To what religion? _____)..... | (1) | 3.3 |
| Yes; in Trinidad (To what religion? _____) | (2) | 2.2 |
| No | (3) | 86.7 |
| Other | (4) | 4.4 |
| | | (3.3) |
- 47) If a child of yours wishes to marry a non-Muslim, what would be your reaction:
- | | | |
|---|-----|-------|
| Simply tolerate the situation (with quiet disapproval) | (1) | 7.8 |
| Express disapproval | (2) | 24.4 |
| Disown the child | (3) | 0.0 |
| Allow it on condition the non-Muslim becomes a Muslim | (4) | 24.4 |
| Allow it on condition the children be raised as Muslims | (5) | 5.6 |
| Accept the situation whole-heartedly | (6) | 24.4 |
| Other (e.g., do not know) | (7) | 8.9 |
| | | (4.4) |
- 48) Is there any interfaith (mixed) marriage in your family?
- | | | |
|--|-----|-------|
| Yes; it happened in Canada (With what religion? _____) | (1) | 7.8 |
| Yes; in Trinidad (With what religion? _____) | (2) | 8.9 |
| No | (3) | 64.4 |
| Other | (4) | 10.0 |
| | | (8.9) |
- 49) If there is an interfaith marriage(s) by any member(s) of your family, is there any agreement as to the faith(s) in which the children will be raised?
- | | | |
|---|-----|--------|
| Yes; In what faith(s) _____ | (1) | 10.0 |
| No | (2) | 8.9 |
| Other | (3) | 11.1 |
| | | (70.0) |
- 50) Do you or your family celebrate
- | | Yes | No | Other | |
|--|----------|----------|---------|--------|
| The Prophet's birthday | (1) 61.1 | (2) 12.2 | (3) 1.1 | (25.6) |
| Idul-Fitr (Eid) | (1) 96.7 | (2) 1.1 | (3) 0.0 | (2.2) |
| Idul-Azha (Baqarah-'Id) | (1) 81.1 | (2) 4.4 | (3) 0.0 | (14.4) |
| Christmas | (1) 78.9 | (2) 12.2 | (3) 1.1 | (7.8) |
| New Year's Eve | (1) 58.9 | (2) 27.8 | (3) 0.0 | (13.3) |
| Thanksgiving | (1) 61.1 | (2) 20.0 | (3) 1.1 | (17.8) |
| Carnival (or Caribana, etc., with dancing to steel band music) | (1) 43.3 | (2) 34.4 | (3) 2.2 | (20.0) |
- 51) Does it bother you that Muslims of different countries stick to their own people and do not manifest a wider unity, so that following a service, for example, they quickly go back to their own national (or ethnic) group?
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Yes; it bothers me | (1) | 41.1 |
| Yes; but I do the same thing | (2) | 16.7 |
| No; it does not bother me | (3) | 33.3 |
| Other | (4) | 5.6 |
| | | (3.3) |

52) What is your opinion on the following statements:	Yes	No	Other			
In general, a wife should cook and look after household affairs; the husband should be the main breadwinner	[1] 63.3	[2] 16.7	[3] 15.6			(4.4)
Where the wife works outside, the husband should share in the housework.....	[1] 91.1	[2] 1.1	[3] 2.2			(5.6)
Where the wife works outside, that's her problem; she should still carry the full load of housework	[1] 0.0	[2] 80.0	[3] 4.4			(15.6)
In family affairs, the husband ought to have the final decision-making power	[1] 41.1	[2] 34.4	[3] 18.9			(5.6)
53) About the Quranic verse that reads: "Men are in charge of women, because Allah has made the men to excel the women, and because men spend of their property for the support of women" (4:34), do you:	Yes	No	Other			
Agree that this denies equality of the sexes? .	[1] 34.4	[2] 13.3	[3] 4.4			(47.8)
Agree it does not deny equality of the sexes? .	[1] 42.2	[2] 2.2	[3] 4.4			(51.1)
Feel uncertain as to its meaning on equality or inequality of the sexes	[1] 18.9	[2] 2.2	[3] 4.4			(74.4)
Other	[1] 1.1	[2] 0.0	[3] 4.4			(94.4)
54) Indicate which ones, among the following, apply to your situation or that of other Trinidad Muslims you know:	Yes	No	Other			
In general, Muslim children are less obedient to their parents in Canada than in Trinidad	[1] 81.1	[2] 14.1	[3] 3.3			(1.1)
In general, Muslim children in Canada are more obedient to their parents than are non-Muslims children	[1] 87.8	[2] 5.6	[3] 2.2			(4.4)
Some Muslim girls, isolated from boys outside of school hours, or while at camp, dislike such separation	[1] 73.3	[2] 2.2	[3] 17.6			(6.7)
Muslim youth in Canada have a conflict trying to maintain Islamic values and being pulled to alcohol, marijuana and other drugs	[1] 82.2	[2] 6.7	[3] 7.8			(3.3)
An increasing number of Muslim youth consume pork hot dogs	[1] 80.0	[2] 4.4	[3] 7.8			(7.8)
Muslim teenagers are less interested in Islam than their parents were as teenagers	[1] 85.6	[2] 6.7	[3] 4.4			(3.3)
I feel that young Muslims who reject alcohol and the drug scene would earn greater respect from young non-Muslims	[1] 91.1	[2] 1.1	[3] 5.6			(2.2)
I feel that young Muslims who reject alcohol and the drug scene would be rejected by young non-Muslims	[1] 28.9	[2] 55.6	[3] 11.1			(4.4)
I approve of the Western mode of dancing (the two sexes dancing together)	[1] 48.9	[2] 43.3	[3] 6.7			(1.1)
I think my parents would approve of such dancing	[1] 30.0	[2] 58.9	[3] 7.8			(3.3)

55) Are you:		
The husband in the family	[1]	33.3
The wife in the family	[2]	13.3
The main breadwinner in the family	[3]	2.2
A son in the family	[4]	13.3
A daughter in the family	[5]	10.0
A male living with relatives or friends	[6]	1.1
A female living with relatives or friends	[7]	4.4
A male living alone	[8]	4.4
A female living alone	[9]	1.1
Other	[10]	15.5
		(1.1)
56) What is your country of birth?		
Trinidad	[1]	65.6
Canada	[2]	33.3
U.S.A.	[3]	0.0
Born elsewhere but my formative years in Trinidad	[4]	0.0
Other	[5]	0.0
		(1.1)
57) Which of the following applies to you:		
As an adult you migrated from Trinidad to Canada	[1]	55.6
As a child you accompanied your parent(s) or guardian(s) from Trinidad to Canada	[2]	12.2
You were born in Canada of parent(s) who as adults migrated from Trinidad	[3]	13.3
You were born in Canada of parent(s) who were children when they migrated from Trinidad	[4]	2.2
You were born in Canada of parent(s) who were born in Canada but whose parents migrated from Trinidad	[5]	12.2
Other	[6]	3.3
		(1.1)
58) In regard to citizenship and race, are you		
Native of Canada (i.e., born in Canada)	[1]	27.8
Naturalized Canadian citizen	[2]	40.0
Landed immigrant	[3]	8.9
Visitor	[4]	0.0
Visitor in process of becoming a landed immigrant or citizen	[5]	1.1
East Indian	[6]	0.0
Black	[7]	0.0
White	[8]	0.0
Mixed race	[9]	0.0
Other (race)	[10]	0.0
		Combination [11] 22.1

59) From the following, choose the one consideration you feel was strongest in your decision to migrate to Canada:							
Better job opportunity in Canada	(1)	12.2					
To escape tight economic conditions in Trinidad	(2)	8.9					
Unhappy with the political situation in Trinidad	(3)	3.3					
To be freer to practise your religion	(4)	0.0					
To be with important relatives who migrated to Canada	(5)	23.3					
To further your education	(6)	8.9					
Other	(7)	18.8					
		(24.4)					
60) If not born in Canada, how long have you been in Canada?							
Less than 5 years	(1)	6.7					
5 to 9 years	(2)	7.8					
10 to 14 years	(3)	13.3					
15 to 19 years	(4)	10.0					
20 to 24 years	(5)	14.4					
25 to 29 years	(6)	11.1					
30 to 34 years	(7)	4.4					
34 or more years	(8)	1.1					
		(31.1)					
61) In what province are you located?							
Newfoundland and Labrador	(1)	3.3					
Prince Edward Island	(2)	1.1					
Nova Scotia	(3)	0.0					
New Brunswick	(4)	2.2					
Quebec	(5)	23.3					
Ontario	(6)	50.0					
Manitoba	(7)	4.4					
Saskatchewan	(8)	5.6					
Alberta	(9)	4.4					
British Columbia	(10)	3.3					
North-West Territories	(11)	1.1					
Other	(12)	0.0					
		(1.1)					
62) How often have you revisited Trinidad?							
Never	(1)	6.7					
1 to 4 times	(2)	55.6					
5 to 9 times	(3)	25.6					
10 or more times	(4)	10.0					
		(2.2)					
63) In regard to a Muslim burial area,							
	Yes		No	Other			
Was there one in your Trinidad community?	(1)	68.9	(2)	1.1	(3)	7.8	(22.2)
Is there one in your Canadian community?	(1)	24.4	(2)	67.8	(3)	3.3	(4.4)

64) What level of education was completed by you, your mother and your father

	You	Mother	Father
No formal education	{1} 5.6	{1} 35.6	{1} 21.1
Primary (Elementary) School	{2} 11.1	{2} 37.8	{2} 50.0
High School, Trade School	{3} 26.7	{3} 16.7	{3} 8.9
Community College, Technical School, Junior College	{4} 24.4	{4} 4.4	{4} 5.6
University, Post-Graduate Studies ..	{5} 28.9	{5} 1.1	{5} 10.0
Other.....	{6} 0.0	{6} 1.1	{6} 1.1
	(3.3)	(3.5)	(3.3)

65) What is your main occupation?

Student	{1} 17.8
Unemployed	{2} 4.4
Farmer, fisherman, forestry worker	{3} 1.1
Professional, big businessman, manager, senior civil servant ..	{4} 28.9
Entrepreneur, civil servant, clerk	{5} 14.4
Skilled worker (e.g., machinist, plumber, electrician)	{6} 15.6
Labourer	{7} 5.6
Housewife	{8} 5.6
Other	{9} 5.6
	(1.1)

66) Compare the spending of leisure time.

	In Canada		In Trinidad	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
At home with the family	{1} 86.7	{2}	{1} 47.8	{2}
Visiting friends or relatives	{1} 77.8	{2}	{1} 53.3	{2}
At a social club	{1} 24.4	{2}	{1} 5.6	{2}
Watching East Indian movies	{1} 40.0	{2}	{1} 41.1	{2}
Watching other movies	{1} 56.7	{2}	{1} 26.7	{2}
Entertaining with musical instrument ..	{1} 10.0	{2}	{1} 2.2	{2}
Entertaining with singing	{1} 6.7	{2}	{1} 7.8	{2}
Volunteer (helping needy, community) ..	{1} 13.3	{2}	{1} 12.2	{2}
Other	{1} 5.6	{2}	{1} 2.2	{2}

67) The items in this question may sound too personal. But please feel free not to answer them if you so wish. (Remember, however, your name is not required and you can mail in the questionnaire anonymously).
Have you:

	Yes	No
Ever been drunk	{1} 45.6	{2} 48.9 (5.6)
Participated in calypso and reggae dancing	{1} 57.8	{2} 37.8 (4.4)
Ever been involved in premarital sex	{1} 42.2	{2} 52.2 (5.6)
If married, ever been involved in extramarital sex ..	{1} 25.6	{2} 46.7 (27.8)
If female, ever worn a bikini at a bathing place (publicly)	{1} 10.0	{2} 20.0 (70.0)
Ever viewed pornographic movies	{1} 46.7	{2} 45.6 (7.8)

APPENDIX 3

COLLAPSED CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES

APPENDIX 3

Collapsed Categories

In the following tabulations, the new coding numbers (resulting from the collapsing of categories) are indicated, followed immediately by a brief descriptive title where deemed helpful, and, in brackets, the items subsumed by the new code or title, and the total percentage of categorised items. Only those questions that necessitated a collapsing of categories are indicated below.

Q 02 CAN in regard to incidence of daily prayers in Canada: 1, More than once a day (five times; one to four: 46.7%); 2, Once a week (once: 13.3%); 3, Less than once a week (a few, occasional times a year; never; other: 38.9%).

Q 02 TRN in regard to incidence of daily prayers in Trinidad: 1, More than once a day (five times; one to four: 46.7%); 2, Once a week (once: 6.7%); 3, Less than once a week (a few, occasional times a year; never; other: 33.3%).

Q 04 in regard to difficulty with daily prayers: 1, Attend daily prayers (insist on prayers; combine prayers at end of work; say prayers inconspicuously at work: 56.7%); 2, No daily prayers (situation inapplicable; other: 38.9%).

Q 05 in regard to jumma (Friday) prayers: 1, Attend jumma (Friday) prayers (able to attend; hold prayers on Sunday;

some other day: 73.3%); 2, No jumma (Friday) prayers (situation inapplicable; other: 20.0%).

Q 06 CAN in regard to zakat (alms) in Canada: 1, zakat regularly (regular; other: 42.2%); 2, Zakat irregular (contribute occasionally; never contribute: 57.8%).

Q 06 TRN in regard to zakat (alms) in Trinidad: 1, zakat regularly (regular; other: 46.7%); 2, zakat irregular (contribute occasionally; never contribute: 18.9%).

Q 07 CAN in regard to fasting in Canada: 1, Over half (entire month; over half: 51.1%); 2, less than half (a few days; none; other: 46.7%).

Q 07 TRN in regard to fasting in Trinidad: 1, Over half (entire month; over half: 55.6%); 2, Less than half (a few days; none; other: 12.2%).

Q 11 in regard to meeting fellow Muslims: 1. Other Muslim Families (other Muslims families: 51.1%); 2, External to families (mosque; Muslim festivals; telephone directory; other: 48.8%).

Q 15 in regard to impact of Islamic revolution in Iran: 1, Heightened awareness of Islam (heightened awareness of Islam: 35.6%); 2, Increased Islamic practices (practice Islam more; discouraged alcoholic and drug consumption: 17.8%); 3, No impact (none of the above; other: 37.4%).

Q 17 in regard to Islamic "sects": 1, Sunnis (Sunnis: 70%); 2, Others (Shiites, Ahmadis Rabwah; Ahmadis Lahori; Other: 27.8%).

Q 18 in regard to marital status: 1, Couple (married by civil rites only; married by Civil and religious rites; living common-law: 64.4%); 2, Single (single; separated; divorced; widow; widower; other: 35.6%).

Q 22 in regard to investment paying an interest: 1, Bothers (a great deal; a little: 40.0%); 2, Does not bother (not bother at all; other: 56.7%).

Q 24 CAN in regard to consumption of alcoholic beverages in Canada: 1, Alcohol consumption (often, occasionally: 48.9%); 2, No alcohol consumption (never; other: 50.0%).

Q 24 TRN in regard to consumption of alcoholic beverages in Trinidad: 1, Alcohol consumption (often; occasionally: 15.6%); 2, No alcohol consumption (never, other: 50.0%).

Q 25 CAN in regard to serving alcohol in Canada: 1, Serve alcohol (serve non-Muslims; Muslims or not: 44.4%); 2, Not serve alcohol (not at all; other: 55.1%).

Q 25 TRN in regard to serving alcohol in Trinidad: 1, Serve alcohol (serve non-Muslims; Muslims or not: 6.7%); 2, Not serve alcohol (not at all; other: 57.8%).

Q 26 CAN in regard to eating pork in Canada: 1, Eat pork (often; occasionally: 36.7%); 2, Not eat pork (never; other: 61.1%).

Q 26 TRN in regard to eating pork in Trinidad: 1, Eat pork (often; occasionally: 2.2%); 2, Not eat pork (never; other: 64.4%).

Q 27 in regard to eating pork served: 1, Eat pork (eat the pork: 36.7%); 2, Not eat pork (make excuse, flatly refuse, other: 61.1%).

Q 29 in regard to Christian minister's blessing on food: 1, Eat food (eat food, disclaim blessing and eat food: 80%); 2, Not eat food (flatly not eat because another God invoked, other: 17.8%).

Q 30 REL in regard to prejudice encounter on account of religion: 1, non-Muslim teachers (non-Muslim teachers: 16.7%); 2, Mates (classmates, playmates, work mates, other: 24.4%).

Q 30 COL in regard to prejudice encountered on account of skin colour: 1, non-Muslim teachers (non-Muslim teachers: 1.1%); 2, Mates (classmates, playmates, work mates, other: 34.4%).

Q 3401 in regard to first benefit in belonging to a Muslim group: 1, Material gain (emotional support and companionship, help and advice in difficulty, social

interaction and stimulation, gain more materially: 46.7%); 2, Altruism (give more than receive: 6.7%); 3, Faith enhancement (enhancement of Islamic faith: 25.6%); 4, Other (other: 12.2%).

Q 3402 in regard to second benefit in belonging to a Muslim group: 1, Material gain (emotional support and companionship, help and advice in difficulty, social interaction and stimulation, gain more materially: 47.8%); 2, Altruism (give more than receive: 6.7%); 3, Faith enhancement (enhancement of Islamic faith: 21.1%); 4, Other (other: 11.1%).

Q 38 in regard to language of conversation at home: 1, Urdu (mainly Urdu, English and Urdu: 27.8%); English (mainly English, only English: 72.2%).

Q 40 in regard to age groups: 1, Under 18 years (18 years or less: 15.6%); 2, 19 to 64 years (19 to 25, 26 to 39, 40 to 64: 70.0%); 3, 65 and over (65 or over: 14.4%).

Q 40a in regard to income group: 1, Over \$40,000 (over \$100,000; \$80,000 to \$100,000; \$40,000 to \$80,000: 21.1%); 2, Less than \$40,000 (\$20,000 to \$40,000; \$12,00 to \$20,000; less than \$12,000: 77.8%).

Q 41 in regard to married first time: 1, Under 19 years (14 years or less, 15 to 18: 30.0%); 2, 19 and over (19 to 22; 23 to 30; 31 to 40; over 41: 43.3%).

Q 44 in regard to East Indian marrying, first choice: 1, East Indian Muslim (East Indian Muslim of Trinidad descent, East Indian Muslim from anywhere: 72.2%); 2, White Muslim (White Muslim from anywhere: 15.6%); 3, Non-Muslim but in love (non-Muslim, Indian or white, but in love; other: 8.9%).

Q 44 in regard to East Indian marrying, second choice: 1, East Indian Muslim (East Indian Muslim of Trinidad descent, East Indian Muslim from anywhere: 56.7%); 2, White Muslim (white Muslim from anywhere: 10.0%); 3, Non-Muslim but in love (non-Muslim, Indian or white, but in love; other: 24.4%).

Q 47 in regard to reaction to child marrying non-Muslim: 1, Disapproval (tolerate with quiet disapproval; express disapproval; disown child: 37.8%); 2, Conditional (non-Muslim becomes Muslim; children raised as Muslims: 33.3%); 3, Accept (accept whole-heartedly: 24.4%).

Q 55 in regard to sex: 1, Males (husband; son; male living with relatives or friends; male living alone: 52.2%).; 2, Females (wife; daughter; female living with relatives or friends; female living alone: 28.9%).

Q 56 in regard to country of birth: 1, Trinidad (Trinidad: 65.6%); 2, Canada (Canada: 33.3%).

Q 57 in regard to generation: 1, Immigrants (adult migrated from Trinidad; as child to Canada: 68.9%); 2, First generation (born in Canada from adult immigrants, born in

Canada from parents who migrated as children: 15.6%); 3, Second generation (born of parents who were born in Canada: 12.2%).

Q 58 in regard to citizenship: 1, Born in Canada (born Canada: 27.8%); 2, Not born in Canada (naturalized Canadian citizen; landed immigrant: 70.0%).

Q 59 in regard to strongest motivation to migrate to Canada: 1, Economics (better job opportunity; escape tight economics: 21.1%); 2, Politics (political situation in Trinidad: 3.3%); 3, Relatives (to be with important relatives in Canada: 23.3%); 4, Education (to further education: 8.9%); 5, Combination (other: 18.9%).

Q 60 in regard to length of time in Canada: 1, Less than 10 years (less than 5 years; 5 to 9 years: 14.4%); 2, 10 to 19 years (10 to 14 years; 15 to 19 years: 23.3%); 3, Over 20 years (20 to 24 years; 25 to 29 years; 30 to 34 years; 34 or more years 31%).

Q 61 in regard to province of residence: 1, Ontario (Ontario: 50.0%); 2, Quebec (Quebec: 23.3%); 3, Rest of Canada (Newfoundland and Labrador; Prince Edward Island; Nova Scotia; New Brunswick; Manitoba; Saskatchewan; Alberta; British Columbia; North West Territories: 24.4%).

Q 62 in regard to visits to Trinidad: 1, Never (never: 6.7%); 2, 1 to 4 times (1 to 4: 55.6%); 3, 5 or more (5 to 9;

10 or more: 35.6%).

Q 64 YOU in regard to level of education completed by self: 1, Elementary (elementary: 16.7%); 2, Non-University (high school, trade school, community college, technical school, junior colleges: 51.1%); 3, University (university: 28.9%).

Q 64 MOTHER in regard to level of education completed by mother: 1, Elementary (elementary: 74.4%); 2, Non-University (high school, trade school, community college, technical school, junior college: 21.1%); 3, University (university 1.1%).

Q 64 FATHER in regard to level of education completed by father: 1, Elementary (elementary: 72.2%); 2, Non-University (high school, trade school, community college, technical school, junior college: 14.4%); 3, University (university: 10.0%).

Q 65 in regard to main occupation: 1, Student (17.8%); 2, Unemployed (housewife, unemployed, other: 27.6%); 3 Professional (professional, big businessman, manager, senior civil servant, entrepreneur, skilled worker: 58.9%).

APPENDIX 4

CROSS-TABULATIONS OF RESPONSES

Table 1

Length of Time in Canada (Q 60) by Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN)

	<u>Length of Time in Canada (in Years)</u>			
<u>Daily Prayers</u>	<u>< 10</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>> 20</u>	<u>Total</u>
> 1 a Day	9	16	7	32
Once a Week	1	3	5	9
< 1 a Week	3	1	16	20
<hr/> Total	13	20	28	61
<hr/>				
Chi Sq. = 18.39	d.f. = 4	level of signif. = .001		

Table 2

Length of Time in Canada (Q 60) by Zakat (Q 06 CAN)

<u>Length of Time in Canada (in years)</u>				
<u>Zakat</u>	<u>< 10</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>> 20</u>	<u>Total</u>
Regularly	7	13	7	27
Not Regularly	6	8	21	35
Total	13	21	28	62

Chi Sq. = 7.36 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .025

Table 3

Length of Time in Canada (Q 60) by Fasting (Q 07 CAN)

<u>Length of Time in Canada (in years)</u>				
<u>Fasting</u>	<u>< 10</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>> 20</u>	<u>Total</u>
> .5	9	18	11	38
< .5	3	3	17	23
Total	12	21	28	61

Chi Sq. = 12.04 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .002

Table 4

Length of Time in Canada (Q 60) by Impact of Receiving
Interest (Q 22)

<u>Length of Time in Canada (in years)</u>				
<u>Receiving Interest</u>	<u>< 10</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>> 20</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bothers	9	13	8	30
Not Bothers	4	8	19	31
Total	13	21	27	61

Chi sq. = 7.58 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .023

Table 5

Length of Time in Canada (Q 60) by Alcoholic Consumption
(Q 24 CAN)

<u>Alcoholic Consumption</u>	<u>Length of Time in Canada (in years)</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>< 10</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>> 20</u>	
Alcohol	3	3	19	25
No Alcohol	10	18	9	37
Total	13	21	28	62
Chi Sq. = 16.34	d.f. = 2	level of signif. = .000		

Table 6

Length of Time in Canada (Q 60) by Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN)

	<u>Length of Time in Canada (in years)</u>			
<u>Eating Pork</u>	<u>< 10</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>> 20</u>	<u>Total</u>
Eat Pork	2	2	12	16
No Pork	11	19	16	46
Total	13	21	28	62

Chi Sq. = 7.90 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .019

Table 7

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN)

<u>Daily Prayers</u>	<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Other</u>	
> 1 a Day	32	1	8	1	42
Once a Week	9	3	0	0	12
< 1 a Week	20	10	3	1	34
Total	61	14	11	2	88
Chi Sq. = 13.88	d.f. = 6	level of signif. = .031			

Table 8

Trinidad or Canada Born (Q 56) by Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN)

<u>Daily Prayers</u>	<u>Trinidad Born</u>	<u>Canada Born</u>	<u>Total</u>
> 1 a Day	31	10	41
Once a Week	9	3	12
< 1 a Week	18	17	35
Total	58	30	88

Chi Sq. = 5.42 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .066

Table 9

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Problems Daily Prayers
(Q 03 DAL)

<u>Problems Daily P.</u>	<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Other</u>	
Yes	34	1	0	1	36
No	13	0	3	0	16
Not Applicable	2	8	2	0	12
Other	7	4	6	1	18
Total	56	13	11	2	88
Chi Sq. = 49.39	d.f. = 9	level of signif. = .000			

Table 10

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Problems Friday Prayers
(Q 03 FRI)

<u>Problems Friday P.</u>	<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Other</u>	
Yes	44	1	1	1	47
No	7	0	2	0	9
Not Applicable	2	7	0	0	9
Other	6	4	7	1	18
Total	59	12	10	2	83
Chi Sq. = 59.65	d.f. = 9	level of signif. = .000			

Table 11

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Problems Tarawee Prayers
(Q 03 TAR)

<u>Problem Tarawee P</u>	<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen</u>	<u>Other</u>	
Yes	34	1	1	0	36
No	13	0	2	0	15
Not Applicable	2	7	0	0	9
Other	6	4	7	1	18
<u>Total</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>78</u>
Chi Sq. = 56.19	d.f. = 9	level of signif. = .000			

Table 12

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Zakat (Q 06 CAN)

<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				
<u>Zakat</u>	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Regularly	26	2	8	36
Non Regularly	36	12	3	51
Total	62	14	11	87
Chi Sq. = 8.70	d.f. = 2	level of signif. = .013		

Table 13

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Fasting (Q 07 CAN)

<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				
<u>Fasting</u>	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Total</u>
> .5	37	0	8	45
< .5	23	14	3	40
Total	60	14	11	85

Chi Sq. = 19.32 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .000

Table 14

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Impact of Receiving
Interest (Q 22)

<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				
<u>Receiving Interest</u>	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bothers	29	0	6	35
Not Bothers	32	14	4	50
Total	61	14	10	85

Chi Sq. = 12.28 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .002

Table 15

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Purchase Lottery Tickets
(Q 2301)

<u>Lottery Tickets</u>	<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Other</u>	
Yes	45	13	6	1	65
No	14	0	5	0	19
Total	59	13	11	1	84
Chi Sq. = 7.41	d.f. = 3	level of signif. = .060			

Table 16

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Card Playing (Q 2302)

<u>Card Playing</u>	<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	
Yes	8	8	4	20
No	41	2	5	48
Total	49	10	9	68
Chi Sq. = 17.35 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .000				

Table 17

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Horse Racing (Q 2303)

<u>Horse Racing</u>	<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>			
	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	10	7	4	21
No	41	3	5	49
Total	51	10	9	70
Chi Sq. = 11.14 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .004				

Table 18

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Other Games of Chance
(Q 2304)

<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				
<u>Other Games</u>	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	10	12	4	26
No	40	1	5	46
Total	50	13	9	72

Chi Sq. = 23.70 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .000

Table 19

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN)

<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>				
<u>Eating Pork</u>	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Eat Pork	16	13	3	32
No Pork	46	1	7	54
Total	62	14	10	86

Chi Sq. = 22.23 d.f. = 23 level of signif. = .000

Table 20

Immigrants and Generations (Q 57) by Arranged Marriages
(Q 4501)

<u>Arranged Marriages</u>	<u>Immigrants and Generations</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Immi.</u>	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	
Yes	26	0	0	26
No	22	14	10	46
Other	4	0	0	4
Total	52	14	10	76
Chi Sq. = 22.88 d.f. = 4 level of signif. = .000				

Table 21

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN)

<u>Daily Prayers</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
> 1 a Day	12	21	7	40
Once a Day	1	10	1	12
< 1 a Day	2	14	18	34
<u>Total</u>	15	45	26	86
Chi Sq. = 19.65	d.f. = 4	level of signif. = .001		

Table 22

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Problems Friday Prayers
(Q 03 FRI)

<u>Problems Friday P.</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
Yes	13	23	10	46
No	0	7	1	8
Not Applicable	0	4	5	9
Other	1	10	7	18
Total	14	44	23	81
Chi Sq. = 13.99 d.f. = .0298 level of signif. = .030				

Table 23

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Zakat (Q 06 CAN)

<u>Zakat</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
Regularly	10	20	5	35
Not Regularly	5	26	21	52
Total	15	46	26	87
Chi Sq. = 9.33	d.f. = 2	level of signif. = .009		

Table 24

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Fasting (Q 07 CAN)

<u>Fasting</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
> .5	13	26	6	45
< .5	1	20	19	40
<u>Total</u>	14	46	25	85
Chi Sq. = 17.60 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .000				

Table 25

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Card Playing (Q 2302)

<u>Card Playing</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
Yes	0	9	12	21
No	11	25	11	47
Total	11	34	23	68
Chi. Sq. = 10.11 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .006				

Table 26

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Horse Racing (Q 2303)

<u>Horse Racing</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
Yes	0	9	13	22
No	11	26	11	48
Total	11	35	24	70
Chi Sq. = 11.33 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .004				

Table 27

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Other Games of Chance (Q 2304)

<u>Other Games</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
Yes	1	11	14	26
No	11	25	10	46
Total	12	36	24	72
Chi Sq. = 9.63 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .008				

Table 28

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN)

<u>Eating Pork</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
Eat Pork	0	18	15	33
No Pork	15	28	10	53
<u>Total</u>	15	46	25	86
Chi Sq. = 14.30 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .000				

Table 29

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Arranged Marriages (Q 4501)

<u>Arranged Marriages</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
Yes	13	8	5	26
No	1	29	16	46
Other	1	1	2	4
<u>Total</u>	15	38	23	76
Chi Sq. = 25.17	d.f. = 4	level of signif. = .000		

Table 30

Education Level (Q 64 YOU) by Finding Own Marital Partner
(Q 4502)

<u>Own Partner</u>	<u>Education Level</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Elemen- tary</u>	<u>Non- Univ.</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	
Yes	2	36	22	60
No	9	7	2	18
Other	1	1	1	3
Total	12	44	25	81
Chi Sq. = 25.40 d.f. = 4 level of signif. = .000				

Table 31

Occupation (Q 65) by Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN)

<u>Daily Prayers</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
> 1 a Day	9	12	21	42
Once a Day	1	4	7	12
< 1 a Day	6	3	25	34
Total	16	19	53	88
Chi Sq. = 6.91	d.f. = 4	level of signif. = .141		

Table 32

Occupation (Q 65) by Holding Daily Prayers (Q 04)

<u>Holding Prayers</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Prayers	7	18	26	51
No Prayers	9	1	25	35
Total	16	19	51	86
Chi Sq. = 12.95	d.f. = 2	level of signif. = .002		

Table 33

Occupation (Q 65) by Zakat (Q 06 CAN)

<u>Zakat</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Regularly	10	12	15	37
Not Regularly	6	8	38	52
Total	16	20	53	89
Chi Sq. = 9.52 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .009				

Table 34

Occupation (Q 65) by Fasting (Q 07 CAN)

<u>Fasting</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
> .5	8	16	22	46
< .5	8	3	30	
Total	16	19	52	87
Chi Sq. = 9.87 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .007				

Table 35

Occupation (Q 65) by Other Games of Chance (Q 2304)

<u>Other Games</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Yes	8	1	18	27
No	6	14	26	46
Total	14	15	44	73
Chi Sq. = 8.65 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .013				

Table 36

Occupation (Q 65) by Alcoholic Consumption (Q 24 CAN)

<u>Alcoholic Consumption</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Alcohol	8	4	32	44
No Alcohol	8	16	21	45
Total	16	20	53	89
Chi Sq. = 12.9	d.f. = 2	level of signif. = .002		

Table 37

Occupation (Q 65) by Serving Alcohol to Guests (Q 25 CAN)

<u>Serving Alcohol</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Serve	8	2	30	40
Not Serve	8	18	23	49
Total	16	20	53	89
Chi Sq. = 12.95 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .002				

Table 38

Occupation (Q 65) by Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN)

<u>Eating Pork</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Eat Pork	8	3	22	33
No Pork	8	17	30	55
<u>Total</u>	16	20	52	88
Chi Sq. = 5.89 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .052				

Table 39

Occupation (Q 65) by Eating Pork Served (Q 27)

<u>Eating Pork Served</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Eat Pork	8	3	22	33
Not Eat	8	17	30	55
Total	16	20	52	88
Chi Sq. = 5.89	d.f. = 2	level of signif. = .052		

Table 40

Occupation (Q 65) by Checking Food Ingredients (Q 2801)

<u>Checking Ingredients</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Yes	7	15	18	40
No	9	4	34	47
Total	16	19	52	87
Chi Sq. = 11.05 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .004				

Table 41

Occupation (Q 65) by Language of Conversation at Home (Q 38)

<u>Home Language</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Urdu	1	11	13	25
English	15	9	40	64
Total	16	20	53	89
Chi Sq. = 11.28	d.f. = 2	level of signif. = .004		

Table 42

Occupation (Q 65) by Read or Write French (Q 3902)

<u>Read or Write French</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Yes	14	1	21	36
No	2	19	32	53
Total	16	20	53	89
Chi Sq. = 25.15 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .000				

Table 43

Occupation (Q 65) by Nuclear or Extended Family (Q 42)

<u>Family Preferred</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Nuclear	13	4	25	42
Extended	2	16	24	42
<u>Total</u>	15	20	49	84
Chi Sq. = 15.28 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .001				

Table 44

Occupation (Q 65) by Arranged Marriages (Q 4501)

<u>Arranged Marriages</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Yes	0	12	14	26
No	15	4	27	46
Total	15	16	41	72
Chi Sq. = 19.04 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .000				

Table 45

Occupation (Q 65) by Offspring Marrying Non-Muslim (Q 47)

<u>Reaction</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Disapprove	5	12	17	34
Approve	8	0	1	22
Conditional (Spouse converted)	3	7	20	30
<u>Total</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>86</u>
Chi Sq. = 13.60 d.f. = 4 level of signif. = .009				

Table 46

Occupation (Q 65) by Husband's Final Decision-Making
Power (Q 5204)

<u>Husband's Power</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Yes	3	13	21	37
No	11	3	16	30
Other	2	2	13	17
Total	16	18	50	84
Chi Sq. = 14.56 d.f. = 4 level of signif. = .006				

Table 47

Occupation (Q 65) by Ever Been Intoxicated (Q 6701)

<u>Intoxicated</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Yes	6	4	31	41
No	10	14	20	44
Total	16	18	51	85
Chi Sq. = 8.83 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .012				

Table 48

Occupation (Q 65) by Viewing Pornographic Movies (Q 6706)

<u>Viewed Pornography</u>	<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Stu- dent</u>	<u>Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Profes- sional</u>	
Yes	7	4	31	42
No	8	14	19	41
Total	15	18	50	83
Chi Sq. = 8.49 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .014				

Table 49

Income (Q 40a) by Daily Prayers (Q 02 CAN)

<u>Daily Prayers</u>	<u>Income</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>\$40,000 & Over</u>	<u>< \$40,000</u>	
> 1 a Day	3	39	42
Once a Day	3	9	12
< 1 a Day	13	21	34
<u>Total</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>88</u>
Chi Sq. = 10.83	d.f. = 2	level of signif. = .005	

Table 50

Income (Q 40a) by Zakat (Q 06 CAN)

<u>Zakat</u>	<u>Income</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>\$40,000 & Over</u>	<u>< \$40,000</u>	
Regularly	2	35	37
Not Regularly	17	35	52
Total	19	70	89
Chi Sq. = 8.03	d.f. = 1	level of signif. = .005	

Table 51

Income (Q 40a) by Fasting (Q 07 CAN)

<u>Fasting</u>	<u>Income</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>\$40,000 & Over</u>	<u>< \$40,000</u>	
> .5	5	41	46
< .5	14	27	41
<u>Total</u>	19	68	87
Chi Sq. = 5.58 d.f. = 1 level of signif. = .018			

Table 52

Income (Q 40a) by Eating Pork (Q 26 CAN)

<u>Eating Pork</u>	<u>Income</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>\$40,000 & Over</u>	<u>< \$40,000</u>	
Eat Pork	13	20	33
No Pork	6	48	54
<u>Total</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>87</u>
Chi Sq. = 8.013	d.f. = 1	level of signif. = .005	

Table 53

Income (Q 40a) by Arranged Marriages (Q 4501)

<u>Arranged Marriages</u>	<u>Income</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>\$40,000 & Over</u>	<u>< \$40,000</u>	
Yes	2	23	25
No	14	32	46
Other	2	2	4
<u>Total</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>75</u>
Chi Sq. = 6.04	d.f. = .0489	level of signif. = .049	

Table 54

Country of Birth (Q 56) by Problems Daily Prayers (Q 03 DAL)

<u>Problems Daily P.</u>	<u>Country of Birth</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Trinidad</u>	<u>Carada</u>	
Yes	34	1	35
No	12	4	16
Not Applicable	2	10	12
Other	5	14	19
Total	53	29	82
Chi Sq. = 41.22 d.f. = 3 level of signif. = .000			

Table 55

Country of Birth (Q 56) by Problems Friday Prayers (Q 03 FRI)

<u>Problems Friday P.</u>	<u>Country of Birth</u>		
	<u>Trinidad</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	44	2	46
No	7	2	9
Not Applicable	2	7	9
Other	4	15	19
<u>Total</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>83</u>
Chi Sq. = 44.96 d.f. = 3 level of signif. = .000			

Table 56

Country of Birth (Q 56) by Problems Tarawee Prayers (Q 03 TAR)

<u>Problems Tarawee P.</u>	<u>Country of Birth</u>		
	<u>Trinidad</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	34	2	36
No	12	2	14
Not Applicable	2	7	9
Other	4	15	19
Total	52	26	78
Chi Sq. = 40.57 d.f. = 3 level of signif.= .000			

Table 57

Country of Birth (Q 56) by Fasting (Q 07 CAN)

<u>Fasting</u>	<u>Country of Birth</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Trinidad</u>	<u>Canada</u>	
> .5	38	8	48
< .5	19	22	41
Total	57	30	87
Chi Sq. = 11.06 d.f. = 1 level of signif. = .001			

Table 58

Age Group (Q 40) by Problems of Daily Prayers (Q 03 DAL)

<u>Problems Daily P.</u>	<u>Age Group</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>< 18 Years</u>	<u>19-64 Years</u>	<u>65 and Over</u>	
Yes	0	30	6	36
No	3	9	4	16
Not Applicable	4	8	0	12
Other	6	11	2	19
Total	13	58	12	83
Chi Sq. = 16.26 d.f. = 6 level of signif. = .012				

Table 59

Age Group (Q 40) by Problems Friday Prayers (Q 03 FRI)

<u>Problems Friday P.</u>	<u>Age Group</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>< 18 Years</u>	<u>19-64 Years</u>	<u>65 and Over</u>	
Yes	1	36	10	47
No	2	5	2	9
Not Applicable	3	6	0	9
Other	7	11	1	19
Total	13	58	13	84
Chi Sq. = 18.07 d.f. = 6 level of signif. = .001				

Table 60

Age Group (Q 40) by Problems Tarawee Prayers (Q 03 TAR)

<u>Problems Tarawee P.</u>	<u>Age Group</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>< 18 Years</u>	<u>19-64 Years</u>	<u>65 and Over</u>	
Yes	1	25	10	36
No	2	11	2	15
Not Applicable	3	6	0	9
Other	7	11	1	19
Total	13	53	13	79
Chi Sq. = 16.72 d.f. = 6 level of signif. = .010				

Table 61

Age Group (Q 40) by Zakat (Q 06)

<u>Zakat</u>	<u>Age Group</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>< 18 Years</u>	<u>19-64 Years</u>	<u>65 and Over</u>	
Regularly	10	20	8	38
Not Regularly	4	43	5	52
Total	14	69	13	90
Chi Sq. = 9.71 d.f. = 2 level of signif. = .008				