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Master of Arts - Religious Studies
Thesis

Indonesian Muslims in Canada: Religion, Ethnicity and Identity

Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
to fulfil the requirements of the Master of Arts degree
at the University of Ottawa

By: Kristin McLaren
Student ID number: 1640941

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Abstract

Indonesian Muslims are a new immigrant group to Canada. Small numbers of Indonesians began immigrating to this country in the second half of the twentieth century. Upon arrival in Canada, Indonesian Muslim immigrants are confronted with new boundaries that challenge existing notions of identity and force them to re-interpret their sense of place in their world.

This thesis project explores religion, ethnicity and identity among a group of Indonesians in the Ottawa area. Through the use of historical and sociological methods, this paper examines the negotiation of human, physical, historical and cosmic boundaries as Indonesians adapt their identity to suit the Canadian situation.

The Indonesian experience is examined in the context of Canadian history, the history of Muslim communities in Canada, and Indonesian history. Questionnaires were distributed and interviews conducted among members of the Indonesian community in the Ottawa area to investigate attachment to Indonesian heritage, ethnic community attachment, Islamic observance, and the community's relationship with other Canadian Muslims and with Canadian society in general.

The experiences of this group provide new insights into inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations in Canadian society.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This work investigates the related concepts of religion, ethnicity and identity within the Canadian context. My aim in writing about the Indonesian experience is to examine, from the perspective of religion, how one small immigrant group negotiates identity in the Canadian context. I hope that this study of an Indonesian Muslim community in the Ottawa area will contribute to an understanding of Canada's diverse ethnic and religious history, and provide some insight into inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations in Canadian society.

Indonesian immigrants come from a vast archipelago that, like Canada, is culturally and religiously diverse. They are a new immigrant group in this country, most having arrived in the second half of the twentieth century. Very little is known about the make-up of the Indonesian community in Canada, as the population is very small. According to 1996 census figures, there are 8700 people of Indonesian ethnic origin in this country.[1] There are no statistics available on their religious affiliation; however it is highly likely that the vast majority of Indonesian Canadians are Muslim.[2]

As of yet, little has been written about Indonesian Muslims in Canada. Scholars of Canadian religious history have focused almost exclusively on Christians; and most

[1] Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, "Population by Ethnic Origin (188) and Sex(3)," 93F0026XDB96001.

[2] Of the people that I have met through my research in the Ottawa area, around eighty percent are Muslim. In Indonesia, Muslims make up eighty seven percent of the nation's population.

studies on Muslims in Canada do not even mention Indonesians. In my view, it is important to include a study of the Indonesian Muslim community in the discussion of religion and ethnicity in Canada, as an understanding of the experiences of this group can provide new insight into Canadian history from the perspective of a marginal group.

Religion, Ethnicity and Identity: Theories and concepts

Throughout people's lives, and in the immigrant situation in particular, people are confronted with boundaries that challenge existing notions of identity and force new interpretations of their place in the world. These challenges to identity perpetuate the religious process of negotiating boundaries of meaning.

Four main characteristics of religion will be emphasized for the purposes of this paper. First, religion is a *process*. Second, this process involves the quest for *identity*. Third, through religion we discover, construct and negotiate *boundaries*. And fourth, our *relationships* with people, things, and spaces other than ourselves are defined by religion.[3]

Religion as a process

Charles Long suggests that "religion is the continual quest for the meaning of human existence."[4] As the boundaries that surround us are constantly changing, our sense of identity is constantly being re-examined. As we encounter new situations and circumstances change, we find meaning and stability through the religious process.[5]

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[3] For a more detailed discussion of religion from this perspective, see Jennifer Reid, Myth, Symbol and Colonial Encounter. (Ottawa, 1995), pp.14-18. Also see Sam Gill, Native American Religious Action: A Performance Approach to Religion. (Columbia, South Carolina, 1987), pp. 152-153.

[4] Charles H. Long, Significations: Signs, Symbols and Images in the Interpretation of Religion. (Phladelphia, 1986), p. 145.

[5] Hans Mol, Identity and the Sacred. (Oxford, 1976), pp. 37-38, 262-263.

Religion and identity

Hans Mol describes religion as the sacralization of identity. He suggests that identity is a "stable niche" amidst chaos, and that religion searches out that stable niche and makes it sacred.[6] Identity is the means by which we orient ourselves in time and space, and it provides a frame of meaning for our lives.[7] In this way, identity is directly related to religion. The negotiation of identity, then, must be understood as a religious process.[8]

Religion and boundaries

Religion is the process of discovering and constructing limits and boundaries. We confront boundaries in cosmic, physical and human forms.[9] We negotiate boundaries in relation to other people, and according to how we locate ourselves in space and time.[10]

The ways in which individuals and groups perceive themselves in relation to others, as well as how individuals and groups are perceived by others profoundly influence human identity.[11]

Often, other people impose limitations upon how individuals and groups are

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[6] Mol, Identity, p. 65.

[7] Mol, p. 63. Charles Taylor, Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity. (Cambridge, 1989), p. 30.

[8] Jennifer Reid, "A Society Made by History: The Mythic Source of Identity in Canada," Canadian Review of American Studies. Vol. 27, no. 1 (1997), p. 2.

[9] Jennifer Reid, Myth, Symbol and Colonial Encounter, pp. 14-18.

[10] Catherine L. Albanese, America: Religions and Religion. (Belmont, CA, 1981), p. 5; Reid, Myth, pp.15-32.

[11] For a discussion of the important role other people play in the constructions of identity see Charles Taylor, Sources of the Self and Jennifer Reid, Myth, Symbol and Colonial Encounter.

defined. For marginalized groups, the "other" is ever-present and often imposes its definitions upon them. Minority groups are thus well aware of the role of other human beings in the formation of their own identities. Dominant groups, on the other hand, often have no looming "other" to make them aware of the crucial role other human beings play in the construction of identity.

Human beings are constantly looking to their ontological and historical origins to assert their place in history. In the formation of identity, humans shape and create their culture and history so as to give their lives meaning.[12] Place is also integral to our conception of origins; as Beldan Lane points out, we anchor our meanings in place.[13] A sense of home is essential to our conceptions of where we come from.

Religion and relationships

The religious process begins in the encounter with the "other." Through this encounter, we define our sense of meaning in relation to that which is different from ourselves. Religion dictates how people will relate with each other, with their environment and with the universe.[14]

Ethnicity and religion

Religion and ethnicity are two intimately related concepts. Ethnicity often becomes strongly emphasized as a result of confrontation with how others define a group and how a group defines itself in any new context. Ethnicity can be an important aspect

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[12] Sam Gill, Native American Religious Action. p. 153.

[13] cited in Reid, Myth, Symbol and Colonial Encounter, p. 23, note 26.

[14] see Charles Long, Significations, p. 47; Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest. (Ottawa, 1995), p.21; Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures. (New York, 1973), p.123.

of identity. As the negotiation of identity is a religious process, it follows that the formation of ethnicity is also a religious process. It is therefore important to study ethnicity from the perspective of religion.

Ethnicity is negotiated in relation to a group's origins and environment, and in relation to other people. Leo Driedger has outlined some important factors of ethnic identification that illustrate how ethnicity is formed in relation to boundaries. These include:

1. identification with historical symbols (knowledge of origins and pride in heritage),

2. identification with ethnic culture. (This includes maintaining the ethnic language, religious practice, endogamy, and in-group friends),

3. identification with ecological territory,

4. identification with ideology (anything that provides a purpose and impetus for values),

5. identification with ethnic institutions (these can be religious, educational, political, or economic). [15]

These symbols of ethnic identity are religious in nature. Identification with historical symbols, territory and ideology, as well as the maintenance of ethnic language and traditional religious practice can indicate how a group perceives and relates to its

[15] See Leo Driedger, The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity. (Toronto, 1989). Driedger has mostly been concerned with the maintenance of ethnicity. He implies that the concept is a concrete, objective entity. More recent scholarship emphasizes the constructed nature of ethnicity, as a concept which is constantly changing, and means different things to different people. Despite the fact that Driedger's approach is dated, the factors outlined above are useful in understanding ethnic identification. Other authors such as Rita M. Bienvenue, Jay E. Goldstein and Jeffrey Reitz also refer to similar defining factors in describing ethnic groups.

origins. Identification with ethnic institutions and the choice of marriage partners and friends help to define a group's relations with other people. These factors of ethnic identification are related to the religious process of negotiating cosmic, physical and human boundaries.

For ethnic groups in Canada, religious identity is often interchangeable with notions of cultural or ethnic identity. It is impossible to completely separate religious and ethnic identity.[16] Therefore, ethnicity must be understood from a religious perspective.

Sociological Theories of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a commonly used but rarely defined term. Ethnicity refers to a type of group identification that is culturally constructed and subjective. [17] It is also historically determined and subject to global influences. Max Weber did not like to use the term because of it many ambiguities, but his definition has been very influential nonetheless. According to Weber, ethnic groups are, "those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or of both, or because of memories of colonisation or migration."[18]

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[16] Gabriel Partos, "Religion and Nationalism in the Balkans: A Deadly Combination?" in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds. Religion, Ethnicity and Self-Identity: Nations in Turmoil. (Hanover, NH, 1997), pp.89-124; Warren Kalbach and Madeline Richard, "Ethno-Religious Identity and Acculturation," in Shiva S. Halli, Frank Travato and Leo Driedger, eds. Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations. (Ottawa, 1990), p. 197; Kivisto, "Religion and the New Immigrants," in William H. Swatos, Jr., ed. A Future for Religion? New Paradigms for Social Analysis. (Newbury Park, Calif.,1993), pp. 92-108; John Rex, "Religion and Ethnicity in the Metropolis," in Rohit Barot, ed. Religion and Ethnicity: Minorities and Social Change in the Metropolis. (Kampen, The Netherlands, 1993), p. 19.

[17] K. N. D. Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity." Altreitalie, vol. 3 (1990), p.38; Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex, eds. The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration. (Cambridge, UK, 1997), p. 4.

[18] cited in Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex, eds., The Ethnicity Reader, p. 2.

In North America, there has been a long-standing debate between assimilationist and pluralist perspectives in describing ethnicity. Many important Canadian ethnicity scholars[19] have been preoccupied with this debate, and this has led many of these theorists to reify ethnicity as a fixed concept, in contrast to Weber's view that ethnicity is subjective and constructed. They suggest that groups retain their ethnic identities in spite of assimilating influences in the host society. This can be true to some extent, but the suggestion that ethnic identity is "maintained" ignores the fact that ethnic identity is constantly being re-invented. Ethnic groups are not homogenous, static entities, and cannot be described using fixed categories. The assimilationist and pluralist perspectives do not account for grey areas in the experience of ethnic communities that go beyond the loss or maintenance of an unchanging ethnic identity. Ethnic communities are never monolithic; there are many ambiguities in ethnic identifications.

The debate over whether ethnicity is situationally constructed or a primordial identity has also tended to obscure a clear understanding of the concept. Ethnic boundaries are not fixed, nor are they completely constructed in specific situations.[20] John Rex suggests that identifiable reference points exist which provide internal unity to

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[19] see Leo Dreidger, The Ethnic Factor; Driedger, Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities. (Toronto, 1996); Jeffrey Reitz, The Survival of Ethnic Groups. (Toronto, 1980); Rita M. Bienvenue and Jay E. Goldstein, eds. Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada, Second edition. (Toronto, 1985).

[20] For an overview of the debate, see John Rex, Ethnic Minorities in the Modern Nation State. (New York, 1996), pp. 99-100. On the dual nature of ethnic groups also see Montserratt Guiberneau and John Rex, eds. The Ethnicity Reader; Danielle Juteau-Lee, "La production de l'ethnicité ou la part réelle de l'idéel." Sociologie et Sociétés, vol. 15, no. 2, October (1983), pp. 39-54; N. Gerald Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab. (Delhi, 1989); K.N.D. Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity,"; and Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, Ethnography and the Historical Imagination. (Boulder, Co, 1992).

ethnic groups.[21] The process of self-definition is never-ending for human beings, and thus, ethnic groups are constantly rethinking and restating what their identity means.[22]

Ethnic membership is not entirely involuntary; it is very subjective. The sources of ethnic group cohesion can be collective, individual or external. Membership is dependent upon an individual's self-identification with a group, the group's claims of membership, and the outer society's categorizations of who belongs in the group.[23]

Often ethnic identity is imposed upon groups of people. At the same time, many individuals and groups consciously choose to assert their ethnic heritage in specific historical situations.[24]

International factors shape ethnic identities. Ethnic communities have an impact upon their host society as well as upon their society of origin and the world. People are constantly creating new forms of ethnic identity as they are affected by, and in turn influence, the world around them.

The post-modern trend to de-essentialize ethnicity as well as more traditional sociological perspectives which view ethnicity as a fixed concept tend to ignore the important impact of history upon ethnic identity. It is important to understand the ethnic experience in its historical context.

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[21] Rex, Ethnic Minorities, pp. 105-106.

[22] Verne Dusenbery, "Of Singh Sabhas, Siri Singh Sahibs, and Sikh Scholars: Sikh Discourse from North America in the 1970s," in Barrier and Dusenbery, The Sikh Diaspora, p. 111.

[23] Edward Herberg, Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions. (Scarborough, 1989), pp. 3-4.

[24] Alice Higman Reich, "Ethnicity as a Cultural System," in John H. Morgan, ed. Understanding Religion and Culture: Anthropological and Theological Perspectives. (Washington, 1979), p. 196.

K.N.D. Conzen and an inter-disciplinary group of historians and sociologists assert that,

> Ethnicity is to be understood as a cultural construction accomplished over historical time. Ethnic groups in modern settings are constantly recreating themselves, and ethnicity is constantly being reinvented in response to changing realities both within the group and the host society.[25]

Ethnicity is neither entirely constructed according to specific situations, nor is it static or completely objective. Ethnic groups are shaped by their historical past, which is reinterpreted in light of their present situation.

There is little discussion of religion in most of the sociological literature on ethnicity. However, there are some sociologists who have recently begun to acknowledge the intimate relationship between ethnicity and religion. Some of these theorists view religion as one dimension of ethnicity.[26] However, this sociological perspective often fails to acknowledge that the religious process of negotiating identity is at the root of ethnicity. Religion cannot be subsumed under ethnicity. Ethnicity is one manifestation of the religious process of negotiating identity.

Background: Religion And Ethnicity In Canada

Canada is a regionally diverse, bilingual and multicultural nation with a

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[25] K.N.D. Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity," p. 38. Also see Etienne Balibar (trans. J. Swenson), "Culture and Identity (Working Notes)"in Rajchman, ed. The Identity in Question. (New York, 1995), pp.173-196.

[26] Warren Kalbach and Madeline Richard suggest that ethnic groups must be understood in terms of their "ethno-religious character." Kalbach and Richard, "Ethno-Religious Identity and Acculturation," in Shiva S. Halli, Frank Travato and Leo Driedger, eds. Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations. (Ottawa, 1990), p.197. Peter Kivisto uses the term "religioethnic groups" to describe the intimate relationship between religion and ethnicity among recent immigrants to North America. Kivisto, "Religion and the New Immigrants," in William H. Swatos, Jr., ed. A Future for Religion? New Paradigms for Social Analysis. (Newbury Park, Calif.,1993), pp. 92-108. Also see John Rex, "Religion and Ethnicity in the Metropolis," in Rohit Barot, ed. Religion and Ethnicity: Minorities and Social Change in the Metropolis. (Kampen, The Netherlands, 1993), p. 19.

heterogeneous history. From colonial contact to the arrival of newer immigrant groups and up to the present day, different groups of people have had to rethink their sense of meaning and place in relation to the many peoples they have encountered in Canada. Dominant groups have historically made attempts to transplant their cultures of origin in this new land, and this has resulted in the marginalization of smaller groups who do not fit into their frame of meaning. These marginalized groups have, throughout this nation's history, made various attempts to assert their presence and negotiate meaningful lives as one community among many in this multifarious nation.

The history of religion in Canada has been characterized by attempts to deal with diversity, with varying degrees of success. The first Canadian settlers attempted to build this country upon European-Christian foundations. Early missionaries were not only purveyors of the gospel, but also agents of European civilization, and it became obvious that Christianity and culture were inextricably linked.[27] Conflict came about not only as a result of differences between Native peoples and these colonizers, but also because of dissension among the colonizers themselves. Traditional tensions between the British and the French were carried over onto Canadian territory, and these tensions were magnified with the competition for conversions between the Catholic French and the

[27] For a discussion of the symbiotic relationship between religion and culture in different periods of Canadian history see Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest. (Ottawa, 1995); Choquette, "French Catholicism Comes to the Americas," in Charles H. Lippy, Robert Choquette and Stafford Poole, Christianity Comes to the Americas: 1492-1776. (New York, 1992); John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires. (Toronto, 1988); and Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era. Revised edition. (Burlington, 1988).

Protestant British. Old-world loyalties prevented the French and English cultures in Canada from relating to each other in a meaningful fashion, thus perpetuating the divide between the two Canadas.[28]

Roman Catholicism was the badge of French-Canadian identity during the colonial era in Canada, although this identity was expressed in different ways by different groups of francophones. The English-speaking population was more religiously diverse, but Protestantism in its various forms was strongly associated with British identity. Irish and Scottish Catholics, present in Newfoundland, Acadia and Ontario in the latter half of the eighteenth century, were a marginalized group. They were discriminated against because they adhered to the religion of the French. These Roman Catholics still felt they had more in common with their British compatriots because strong ethnic and liturgical differences prevented them from identifying with the French who held the same faith.

With the diversity of religious expression among Canada's small population, there were not enough members of the clergy to satisfy all the people's needs. As a result, lay people began to take on an important leadership role in establishing their own congregations and providing much-needed social services to the spread-out population. Protestant, Jewish and even Catholic lay people made important efforts to ensure the viability of their religious communities.

In nineteenth century Ontario, a strong ecumenical movement prevailed in the Christian churches. With the pending establishment of the new Dominion of Canada, the ideal of a uniformly Christian country that would mirror the British homeland became

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[28] Jennifer Reid, "A Society Made by History: The Mythic Source of Identity in Canada," Canadian Review of American Studies. Vol. 27, no.1 (1997), pp.4-8.

popular. Many Christian citizens of the Dominion dreamed of establishing God's reign from sea to sea. Missionaries held to this ideal as they moved westward to spread the good news, and to promote government acculturation policy.

Canada would be far from uniform, however. As the nation developed, diversity came to be its major feature. Apart from British and French Christians, the Jewish presence in the country had been strengthening since the eighteenth century. Black loyalists were present in Canada since the late eighteenth century. Unwelcome in white churches, Blacks took the initiative to establish many of their own unique congregations. By the late nineteenth century there was an influx of European immigrants invited by the government to populate the Northwest. These communities made efforts to establish separate ethnic religious congregations.

By the late nineteenth century, new immigrants from all corners of the globe began to arrive in Canada. Chinese, Japanese and South Asians in British Columbia were faced with harsh discrimination by the dominant British Canadian population who perceived them as a threat to cultural uniformity. The Asians reacted by establishing their own separate and independent ethnic and religious communities.

Doukhobors, Hutterites and Mennonites have flourished in Canada, as they have been encouraged to maintain a strong sense of ethnic identity and to establish their own ethnic religious communities.

In the Red River colony, one of the most culturally and religiously diverse regions of Canada by the late nineteenth century, ethnic tensions culminated in the Riel rebellions. Louis Riel introduced a uniquely Canadian New World religion that asserted a strong sense of identity for oppressed citizens and accounted for the ethnic diversity of

Canadian society.[29] Riel's rebellions and his subsequent mistreatment at the hands of British Canadians mobilized a monumental movement among Métis and aboriginal peoples against British dominance and sparked a resurgence in French-Canadian nationalism. Through the Riel rebellions, marginalized groups asserted their presence to the Canadian establishment and declared that people on the margins of society could not be ignored in this multicultural nation.

In the 1960s, with the abolishment of the quota system, immigration to Canada exploded. As ethnic populations began to diversify, religious communities often divided along ethnic lines.

Faced with the challenges of integrating into a strongly British-dominated society, new immigrants to Canada negotiated new interpretations of their place in the world. These groups have been encouraged to look to their cultural origins for meaning, but at the same time their identity has changed in relation to their new environment and the diverse people who surround them. Ethnic and religious groups in Canada have had to reconcile their original sense of meaning and place in the world with the new boundaries they have confronted in Canadian society.

The historical tradition of maintaining old world loyalties among the British and French was perpetuated in modern times with the introduction of the official government policy of multiculturalism in 1971. This policy seeks to promote the diversity of cultures in this country, which has commonly been viewed as an "ethnic mosaic" in contrast to the American "melting pot." Critics of multiculturalism argue that this policy emphasizes only superficial aspects of culture and promotes differences rather than brings people

[29] Reid, "A Society Made by History," p. 11.

together. As Neil Bissoondath points out, multiculturalism rests on two faulty assumptions: that 'culture' can be transplanted, and that those who come to Canada wish to transport their culture of origin.[30]

In this diverse society, cultural purity is an impossible goal. Throughout Canadian history, diverse cultures have come together and changed through mutual influence. As a result of the interaction among various groups of people, our identities as Canadians are constantly being re-interpreted and re-invented. The history of Canada has many different threads that are woven together to make up one common story.

Before I can begin to relate the results of my ethnographic research among Indonesian Muslims in the Ottawa area, it is important to situate this group within an historical context. Following a discussion of the methodological approach to this study in the next chapter, I will give a brief overview of the history of the Muslim community in Canada, in which Indonesians are playing an increasingly important role. The subsequent chapter is a background on the history of Indonesian society, and will hopefully provide the reader with an understanding of some of the cultural influences on the Indonesian community in Canada. Following this, I will give a description of the Indonesian Muslim community in the Ottawa area.

Throughout this work, I will examine the related concepts of religion, ethnicity and identity in various contexts. Three important factors in the negotiation of identity will be highlighted. I will discuss Canadian, Muslim, Indonesian, and Indonesian-Muslim-Canadian identity in terms of people's conceptions of origins and history.

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[30] Neil Bissoondath, "No place like home," New Internationalist. (September, 1998), p. 20.

Secondly, the role that landscape and a sense of place play in providing meaning will also be highlighted. Lastly, I will place a particular emphasis on the negotiation of identity in relation to other people. Relationships among various groups of people in Canadian society are an important focus of this research.

Chapter Two

Research Methodology

Combining History and Sociology

As Charles Taylor points out, "an instantaneous snapshot misses a great deal."[1] Thus, a purely sociological study of the Indonesian community in Canada could not claim to describe this community completely. However, I would argue that a lot can be understood about this community if an instantaneous sociological snapshot is taken and explained in the context of history.

The Indonesian community is new to Canada, and as of yet, nothing has been written to describe these peoples' unique experiences in this country. For this introductory study, I chose to use sociological methods to gain some information on the current community. This information will be presented in the context of Indonesian and Canadian history.

Aims of the sociological research

Research was conducted among members of the Indonesian[2] community in the Ottawa area with the aim of investigating religious and ethnic aspects of Indonesian identity in the Canadian context. Conclusions were based on self-reports of attitudes, behaviours and opinions pertaining to attachment to Indonesian ethnic heritage, Indonesian community relations, Islamic observance and relations with the overall

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[1] Charles Taylor, Sources of the Self, p. 498.

[2] I use the term "Indonesian" in its ethnic sense to describe people of Indonesian ethnic heritage living in Canada.

Canadian and Muslim Canadian communities. Non-Muslims were included in the study for comparison purposes, but the focus of the research was on the majority Muslim population of Indonesians in Canada. As the population of non-Muslim Indonesians in Canada is fairly small, I was only able to meet a small number of non-Muslims; thus, only limited comparisons were possible. The sociological research is descriptive and exploratory, and by no means exhaustive. It is intended to be understood in the context of the chapters on Canadian and Indonesian history.

Research methods

A triangulation approach was used in the research. Quantitative and qualitative approaches were combined, using surveys, semi-structured interviews, and some participant observation.[3] The survey provided some general factual and attitudinal information on a cross-section of the Indonesian population in the Ottawa area. The information gained from the survey influenced the choice of themes for the semi-structured interviews. In these informal interviews, participants discussed religious and ethnic identity, relationships, and their experiences in Canada. They explained some of their attitudes and opinions in more detail than on the questionnaire. Interviewing is advantageous in that it allows respondents to share their thoughts and experiences in their own words, rather than in the words of the researcher.[4]

At first I had hoped to include a literature review of documents such as local

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[3] Earl Babbie and Shulamit Reinharz provide useful discussions concerning the advantages of combining methods. See Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, Fourth Edition. (Belmont, California, 1986), pp. 232-233; Shulamit Reinharz, Feminist Methods in Social Research. (New York, 1992), pp.197-213. Ted Palys also offers an excellent introductory discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of each method. Palys, Research Decisions: Quantitative and Qualitative Perspectives. (Toronto, 1992).

[4] Reinharz, p. 19.

newsletters produced by the Indonesian community and constitutions of local organizations. However, after consulting many community leaders, I was unable to find any such documents. As the community in the Ottawa area is quite small and still very young, it is likely that there are few written documents produced by this group.

Research procedure

I began making contacts through friends in the local community and Indonesian exchange students at the University of Ottawa in the summer of 1998. At this stage I engaged in some exploratory research on the community and consulted with many Indonesians when formulating the questionnaire. Through conversations with community members, I gained some insight into important issues affecting Indonesian identity. In addition, friends of mine, in particular Firman Ridwan and his wife Nelda Rahayu, helped me to translate the questionnaire into Bahasa Indonesia.[5] By the fall of 1998, I had met some male and female leaders of informal community organizations[6] who introduced me to acquaintances of theirs. In January 1999, I attended an *Idul Fitri*[7] celebration at the Embassy of Indonesia where I met more community members.

The research proposal was approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Ottawa Faculty of Arts in January, 1999. All respondents gave their informed consent before participating in the research. I clearly explained the purpose of my research, and what was required of respondents. The consent forms and questionnaires were translated

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[5] Bahasa Indonesia is the official language of Indonesia.

[6] The men's organization called IMASI is for Indonesian Muslims, and the women's group is a loose organization of Indonesian women of all faiths. In addition, I met with one Indonesian woman who was an organizer of an Islamic women's group for people of all ethnic groups.

[7] *Idul Fitri* is the Islamic celebration at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan. In some transliterations of Arabic, it is spelled "*Eid-al-Fitr*."

into Bahasa Indonesia and English in order to ensure that all information was perfectly clear.[8]

Respondents willing to be interviewed were asked to write their name and telephone number on the last page of the questionnaire, which was stored separately from the rest of the form. It was made clear that all information would be kept completely confidential, and that respondents were not obliged to leave me their name and telephone number.

All completed questionnaires and consent forms were submitted directly to me, either by mail or in person. I was the only person who knew the identity of the respondents.

I met with interview participants at a convenient time and place for them. Interviewees were made aware of the purpose of the interview, and were asked for their consent to tape record the discussion. The interview cassettes were stored in a secure area and were destroyed after the research was completed. I asked for permission to use quotes from all the interviews, and assured the participants of anonymity. Participants were shown a draft copy of the research and were asked to inform me if they felt I misinterpreted their comments.

The Sample, Questionnaire Distribution and Conduct of the Interviews

The research was conducted among adults within the Indonesian ethnic community, including permanent and non-permanent residents of Canada. I aimed to interview as many Muslim participants as possible. Originally, my intent was to focus the research solely on the first-generation Indonesians in Canada because I did not think

[8] See appendix for the questionnaire, interview schedule, project description and consent forms.

that there was a significant population of adult second-generation Indonesians. I was surprised to meet some adult children of immigrants while distributing the questionnaires, and decided to ask some of these people if they would participate in the interview process.

Names of potential survey participants were obtained by word of mouth. Because of the small size of the Indonesian community in the Ottawa area, I did not obtain a large enough number of contact names to choose respondents randomly.[9] I contacted all first-generation Indonesian adults whose names were suggested to me. A complete list of names for Indonesians in the Ottawa area was not available at the Embassy of Indonesia; however, the staff at the embassy was gracious in providing me with the names of people who were on their mailing list. Many of the people I contacted also provided names of others in the community who are not in close contact with the embassy. Most respondents in the survey do remain in fairly close contact with the embassy and participate in local organizations that are associated with the embassy

In most cases, I initially called potential respondents to set up a meeting in person so that I could bring them the questionnaire and consent form. Most respondents completed the questionnaire while I was present, and I administered the questionnaire to some people. It was useful to meet with the respondents so we could converse about various issues touched on in the survey. Other respondents mailed their surveys back to me in the self-addressed stamped envelope that was provided, and some others gave me their questionnaire in person when I returned to pick it up. Some questionnaires were

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[9] As Ted Palys points out, a random sample is rarely achieved and, under certain circumstances, "convenience" and purposive sampling can be quite useful. Palys, Research Decisions.

administered by telephone and via email. In addition, a small number of questionnaires were mailed to people with whom it was too difficult to set up a meeting. In some cases, I was only able to meet with one family member who gave questionnaires to other family members to mail back to me in separate envelopes. I made use of many methods to contact the population, so as to ensure that as many people as possible filled out the questionnaires.

I was able to personally meet most of the participants in this study. Many people invited me into their homes and shared their experiences with me over a meal. During conversations with the participants I was able to gain a more profound understanding of how religion and ethnicity influence the lives of Indonesians in Canada.

The revised survey was distributed to forty-seven community members, and forty-two people returned completed surveys to me.[10] Most of the respondents were permanent residents, but some non-permanent residents also filled out the questionnaire. Twenty-five men and seventeen women were surveyed. The vast majority of participants in the research were ethnic Indonesian Muslims, but there were also small numbers of Christian, Hindu and Buddhist respondents. Data from the non-Muslim respondents was used in comparison with the Muslims to measure attachment to Indonesian heritage and integration into the general Indonesian community.

Many respondents agreed to be interviewed. Six men and seven women were chosen for the interviews. The respondents chosen for the interviews closely matched the

[10] An additional questionnaire was distributed to one Canadian-born person of Indonesian descent. As the rest of the respondents to the questionnaire were immigrants, I did not include this survey in the questionnaire sample. This person was interviewed at a later date, and information from the interviews with the Canadian-born group are included in a separate section.

distribution for length of time in Canada among Muslim respondents to the questionnaire. Also, the interview participants' scores were close to the average scores on the scales of Attachment to Indonesian heritage, Relationship with Muslims, Indonesian community attachment, and Islamic observance.[11]

Although I had originally planned to interview only respondents to the original questionnaire (as I believed that I had made as many contacts as I could in the community through the original questionnaire sample), interview participants provided me with some more contacts who were not included in the original survey. I was glad to meet more participants, and decided to interview three second-generation Indonesians and one other first-generation respondent who had not filled out questionnaires. The interview sample was therefore more diverse than the original questionnaire sample.

All of the interviewees were very polite and accommodating. Many offered names and telephone numbers of their Indonesian friends whom I could interview. Although I had originally proposed that the interview would take one hour, most respondents were very generous with their time, and spoke with me for longer than this. Often, we met in people's homes, where families discussed some of the questions together. Some respondents preferred to meet in restaurants or coffee shops, and one interview was conducted over the telephone.

It was preferable and more convenient for some families to do the interview together. In Indonesian culture the basic unit of society is the family, and so, many families wanted to discuss the interview questions as a group. Everyone was given equal opportunity to speak and answer questions.

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[11] See the section on "The Survey Instrument" for a description of these scales.

The Survey Instrument

The questionnaire was pre-tested on six people, three males and three females, who represented a cross-section of the Indonesian Muslim community in terms of occupation and length of stay in Canada. Members of this pre-test group were very helpful in identifying possible points of confusion and minor difficulties in the translation of the questionnaires.

Questions assessed attachment to Indonesian heritage, Indonesian community relations, Islamic observance and the relationship with the Canadian Muslim community. Earl Babbie's section "Guidelines for asking questions" provided some good suggestions for formulating particular queries.[12] For some questions on attitudes and opinions I made use of a modified Lickert scale.[13] Many questions were formulated based on Leo Driedger's factors of ethnic identity maintenance and Jeffrey Reitz' theories of ethnic cohesion.[14] The theories of these authors are useful in the practical sense, although their approaches to ethnicity are somewhat dated.

The first part of the questionnaire (see appendix for the questionnaire) touched on the general background of the respondents. They were asked what region of Indonesia they were from, their reasons for coming to Canada, and length of time in Canada. In section B, questions touched on language maintenance. The next section included questions about attachment to Indonesian heritage and national identity. Section D dealt

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[12] Babbie, The Practice of Social Research. pp. 127-133.

[13] As described in Babbie, p. 375.

[14] Leo Driedger, The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity. (Toronto, 1989); Jeffrey Reitz, The Survival of Ethnic Groups. (Toronto: 1980).

with involvement in the ethnic community. Some of the questions in sections C and D were inspired by Reitz' 1980 Survey of Non-Official Language Groups.[15] The next section on religion asked about relations with the Canadian Muslim community and observance of Islamic practices. The final section of the questionnaire provided some general demographic information about the respondents.

Questionnaire data was analyzed using SPSS version 7.5 for Windows.

Four indices were created to measure attachment to Indonesian heritage, attachment to the Indonesian community, Islamic observance, and relationship with the Canadian Muslim community. These new variables were created by adding the values of responses to several questions, and placing the new values on a modified Lickert scale of one to seven depending on the totals and the combinations and permutations of responses that made up the totals.

The Attachment to Indonesian Heritage scale combined responses for the re-coded National identity, Celebration of Indonesian independence day and Importance of independence day variables.[16] The values for the variables were summed. A total of 3 indicated a "very high" rating on attachment to Indonesian heritage, and a total of 4 was "high." Totals of 5 and 6 were "somewhat high," except if the response for either one of the National identity or Importance of independence day variables was the lowest possible value (4). In this case, the Indonesian heritage variable was given the value of "moderate." Any combination of values totalling 7 was also "moderate," and any

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[15] "Survey of Non-Official Language Groups", Reitz, The Survival of Ethnic Groups, appendix E.

[16] See appendix for the code book. The National identity and Importance of independence day variables were re-coded on a scale of one to four, with 1 being the highest and 4 the lowest. For the Celebration variable, a "yes" response was coded as "1" and a "no" response was re-coded as "3."

combination totalling 8 or 9 was "somewhat low." A total of 10 was considered "low" and 11 was classified as "very low." The values for attachment to Indonesian heritage were then re-coded and placed on a scale of one to seven. Totals in the "very high" category were coded as "1"; totals in the "high" category were coded as "2"; "somewhat high" was coded as "3"; "moderate" was coded as "4"; "somewhat low" as "5"; and "low" as "6." There were no totals in the "very low" category, but had there been any, these would have been coded as "7."

The Indonesian Community Attachment scale was created by combining responses for National identity, Number of closest Indonesian friends, and re-coded values for the following variables: Time spent with Indonesians, Membership in Indonesian organizations and Ethnicity of spouse.[17] The values for the variables were summed. For unmarried respondents, the Ethnicity of spouse variable was omitted from the calculation. The total of the remaining four variables was then calculated (with a maximum total of 15) and then put on a scale of 1 to 18 (maximum total of all five variables). A total of 5 was categorized as "very high"; totals of 6 and 7 were "high"; totals of 8, 9 and 10 were "somewhat high"; 11, 12 and 13 were "moderate"; 14, 15 and 16 were "somewhat low." There were no totals of more than 16. The totals for attachment to the Indonesian community were then re-coded and placed on a scale of one

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[17] For the Membership variable, a "yes" response was coded as "1", a "no" response was coded as "4", and a "not applicable" response (not a member of any organizations at all) was coded as "3". For the Time spent with Indonesians variable, a response of "every day" was coded as "1;" "several times a month" was coded as "2;" responses of "a few times a month" and "once a month or less" were coded as "3;" and "once a year or less" was coded as "4". For the Ethnicity of spouse variable, if the respondent's spouse was Indonesian, this was coded as "1;" if the respondent's spouse was not Indonesian, this was coded as "3". Responses of "not married" were treated as missing values. The values for these newly re-coded variables now corresponded to the other variables on a scale of one to four, with "1" as "high" and "4" as "low".

to seven. Totals in the "very high" category were coded as "1"; totals in the "high" category were coded as "2"; "somewhat high" was coded as "3"; "moderate" was coded as "4"; and "somewhat low" as "5." Had there been totals in the "low" category, they would have been coded as "6" while totals in the "very low" category would have been coded as "7."

The new variable measuring overall Islamic observance combined responses for the Fasting and Daily prayer variables, and re-coded responses for Religious identity and Adherence to dietary restrictions.[18] The variable for Friday prayer was not incorporated into the Islamic observance variable because this prayer is not required of women. As almost all male respondents pray every week, the Friday prayer variable would have had little effect on the overall measure of Islamic observance. The values for all four variables were then summed to measure the degree of Islamic observance. A total of 4 indicated a "very high" rating on Islamic observance. Five indicated "high" observance. A total of 6 or 7 could be "somewhat high" or "moderate" depending on the combination of values that made up the total. A "moderate" to "low" response (of 3 or 4) on any one of the fasting, *halal* (food restrictions) or daily prayer variables was automatically placed in the "moderate" category on the Islamic observance scale. Any combination of "2"s

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[18] Variables were re-coded so that their values corresponded to a scale of one to four. A value of "1" indicated "very high" or "high;" "2" was "somewhat high;" "3" was "moderate to low;" and a value of "4" was "very low." For the Religious identity variable, any response that included identification as a Muslim (Muslim, Muslim-Indonesian or Indonesian Muslim) was coded as "1," and identification as "Indonesian" was coded as "2." The halal variable was re-coded so that eating only halal food and eliminating pork and alcohol were both coded as "1." (see note 18b) A response of "sometimes eat pork and alcohol" was given the value of "3," and "never observe food restrictions" was coded as "4."

18b At least one well-respected Canadian imam suggests that it is acceptable not to follow halal regulations in Canada and other non-Muslim countries because halal food is not widely available. For the purposes of this study, Muslims who eat only halal food and Muslims who eliminate pork and alcohol are both considered to be equally observant, as they both strictly follow different interpretations of Islamic regulations. (Informal interviews with various members of the local Indonesian community, February 1999).

and "1"s totalling 6 or 7 was rated as "somewhat high." A total of 8 or 9 was categorized as "moderate." There were no totals of more than 9. The totals for Islamic observance were then re-coded and placed on a scale of one to seven. Totals in the "very high" category were coded as "1"; totals in the "high" category were coded as "2"; "somewhat high" was coded as "3"; and "moderate" was coded as "4." Had there been totals in the "somewhat low" category, they would have been coded as "5," while totals in the "low" category would have been coded as "6" and totals in the "very low" category would have been coded as "7."

The Relationship with the Canadian Muslim community scale was created by combining values for the variables, Perceived acceptance by non-Indonesian Muslims, Perceived friendliness of non-Indonesian Muslims, and re-coded values of the following variables: Religious identity, and Number of non-Indonesian Muslim friends.[19] The responses for each of the four variables were then summed, and a total of 4 was considered "very high", while a total of 5 was "high." A total of 6 or 7 could be "somewhat high" or "moderate" depending on the combination of values that made up the total. If any one of the Religious identity, Acceptance, Perceived friendliness or Number of friends variables had the value 3 or 4, and the total of all variables was 6 or 7, then the score was "moderate" on the Relationship with Canadian Muslims scale. Any other

[19] For the Religious identity variable, identification as a Muslim or Muslim Indonesian was coded as "1", identification as "Indonesian Muslim" was coded as "2" and "Indonesian" was coded as "3". For the Muslim friends variable, responses of "most of my Muslim friends are not Indonesian" and "have many non-Indonesian Muslim friends" were coded as "1"; "some non-Indonesian Muslim friends" was coded as "2"; and "no non-Indonesian Muslim friends" was coded as "4". These variables were comparable on a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 as "high" and 4 as "low."

combination of 2's and 1's totalling 6 or 7 was coded as "somewhat high." A total of 8 was classified as "moderate." There were no totals of more than 8. The totals for Relationship with Canadian Muslims were then re-coded and placed on a scale of one to seven. Totals in the "very high" category were coded as "1"; totals in the "high" category were coded as "2"; "somewhat high" was coded as "3"; and "moderate" was coded as "4." Had there been totals in the "somewhat low" category, they would have been coded as "5," while totals in the "low" category they would have been coded as "6" and totals in the "very low" category would have been coded as "7."

There were some minor problems with the questionnaire that came to light after it had been distributed to some respondents. Question four asked how long respondents had been in Canada. Because of a typo on most questionnaires, there were two overlapping categories for time periods. Two of the categories were "four to ten years" and "ten to twenty years." As I had met personally with most respondents, and was able to contact people to verify the information, I was able to change the responses to fit in either the "four to ten year" category or the "eleven to twenty year" category.

There was a small number of missing responses to a variety of questions. The non-responses were not associated with any particular question. In the calculation of frequencies, the non-responses were included in the totals; for the cross-tabulations, non-responses were not included.

Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (see appendix) was a starting point for most conversations, but the list of questions rarely determined the overall course of the

interview. I modified some of the original questions throughout the interview process. The questions asked and the order in which they were asked depended on the interview respondent and on what information s/he wanted to convey. In some cases, I only asked one question from the interview schedule, and this started a conversation that went in a different direction than originally anticipated, but was still very useful in the research.

Sociological methodology was used to describe the experience of the current Indonesian community in Canada. The experiences of this community can best be understood if the results of the ethnographic research are taken in the context of Canadian and Indonesian history. Therefore, in the next two chapters I will provide some historical background that will help to elucidate the results of the ethnographic investigation.

Chapter Three

Religion, Ethnicity and Identity among Muslims in Canada

Despite adherence to the same religion, Canadian Muslims are an ethnically, linguistically and culturally diverse group with origins in all corners of the globe. When Muslims from various backgrounds come together in Canada, Islam's diverse forms become startlingly obvious. It becomes a challenge to agree on a single definition of Islam to apply to all Muslims. Islamic identity means many different things to many different people.

This chapter is about Muslim identity in Canada, and the changes in the forms this identity takes. Although Canadian Muslims do not constitute an ethnic group, I will approach this investigation of Muslim identity using the same framework I have used in approaching ethnic identity. I use this approach because, for many Muslims, Islam, like ethnicity or culture, is an all-encompassing way of life.

Muslim Immigration to Canada

Muslims have lived in Canada since at least 1898.[1] Early immigrants were mostly male Lebanese blue-collar workers, who came with the intention of making money in Canada and returning home with their fortunes. Many of these immigrants could not afford the trip back home, or established ties here that prevented them from leaving.

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[1] According to Yvonne Yazbeck-Haddad, the earliest documented Muslim immigrant arrived in 1898. Canadian census data recorded 13 Muslims in 1871, but according to the 1881 and 1891 census data, there were no Muslims in the country. Yazbeck-Haddad suggests that these Muslims could have travelled to the United States or gone back to Lebanon. Yvonne Yazbeck-Haddad, "Muslims in Canada: A Preliminary Study," in Harold Coward and Leslie Kawamura, eds. Religion and Ethnicity. (Waterloo, 1978), p.71.

From 1911 to 1951, there was a slow growth of the community, with immigrants arriving from Syria, Morocco and Turkey. Most of these new Canadians were single males, though some had wives and families in their homelands. These people faced harsh discrimination from Canadian society and had to struggle to survive. The community was slow to establish itself. Muslims celebrated a landmark year in 1938 when a community near Edmonton established its first mosque.

A second wave of Muslim immigration began after the Second World War. By 1951, there were between two and three thousand Muslims in the country.[2] By the late 1950's, more and more mosques, Islamic centres and Muslim associations came to be established. Immigrants came from a diversity of countries, including Lebanon, the Palestine region, Egypt and Eastern Europe. Some of these migrants still hoped to return home, but many came with their families to establish residence here. A number of these second-wave immigrants were political refugees.

After the quota-system on immigration was abolished in the late 1960s, educated Muslim professionals and intellectuals were encouraged to immigrate to Canada. Also, large numbers of refugees, many with origins in the Indian sub-continent, came to Canada fleeing discrimination in Britain and East Africa. Groups of Muslims also arrived from Egypt, Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine, South Africa, Trinidad, Fiji, Mauritius,

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[2] Baha Abu-Laban, "The Canadian Muslim Community: The Need for a New Survival Strategy," in Earle H. Waugh, Baha Abu-Laban, and Regula B. Qureshi, eds. The Muslim Community in North America. (Edmonton, 1983), pp. 76, 77.

Guyana, Syria, Morocco, Iraq, and all over the Muslim world. Immigration from Indonesia peaked during the 1970s.[3]

According to Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, Muslim immigration to Canada can be divided into three major waves.[4] She refers to the immigrants who arrived prior to World War II as the Pioneer families. A second wave of immigrants, who arrived after World War II, are described as the Transitional group. The most recent wave, which began after immigration restrictions were loosened in the late 1960s, is made up of what Abu-Laban refers to as Differentiated families.

Immigrant Muslims now have many children who were either born in Canada or came here at an early age. It is a challenge for the children of immigrants to integrate their Canadian and Islamic identities in a meaningful way.

By 1991, there were over 250 000 Muslims in Canada.[5] Most live in major centres in Ontario, Quebec and Alberta. Most Muslims in Canada are very new immigrants, the bulk of the population having arrived in the 1960's from over sixty different countries. About a quarter of Canadian Muslims were born in Canada.[6]

A number of Muslim sects are represented in Canada. The overwhelming majority of Muslims are Sunni. There are also many Shi'a's, most from Iran and the Indian sub-contintent. There are also small numbers of Druze, Alawis, and Qadyanis in

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[3] Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, "Immigrant Population by Place of Birth (260A) and Sex."

[4] Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, "Family and Religion among Muslim Immigrants and their Descendants," in Earle H. Waugh, Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, and Regula Burcjhardt Qureshi, eds. Muslim Families in North America. (Edmonton, 1991), pp. 13-20.

[5] 1991 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, Ottawa.

[6] Yvonne Yazbeck-Haddad, "Islam," in The Canadian Encyclopedia, vol. 2 (Edmonton, 1981), pp.1097, 1098.

Canada, as well as Sufis and Black Muslims. The following discussion focuses on the dominant and diverse Sunni population. For the purposes of this paper, the terms Islam and Muslims refer specifically to the Sunni tradition.

Islam – The Way of Life

The Prophet Muhammad sought to reform the religious life of his fellow Arabs in the seventh-century CE by founding the Islamic religion. Muslims believe that Muhammad received revelations from God which were later recorded in the *Qur'an*, the sacred book of Islam. In 632 CE, after the pilgrimage to Mecca, and Muhammad's death soon after, Islam came to be established as a religion in Arabia.[7]

Muhammad, God's messenger, is believed to be the seal of the Abrahamic prophets, and serves as the model for human life.[8] The *Hadith* includes sayings and actions of the Prophet, and is intended to complement the *Qur'an* as an example of model human behaviour. In addition, *ijtihad*, (analogical interpretation), as well as *ijma* (consensus of the community), are important sources of law when rules are not clearly described in the Qur'an or the Sunna.[9]

The word *Islam* means total submission to Allah and adherence to His will.[10] Islam is intended to be a total way of life for Muslims. It is often interpreted as an all-embracing religious tradition that gives meaning to all aspects of life, and governs both

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[7] John L. Esposito, Islam: The Straight Path. (New York, 1988), p. 13.

[8] John Renard, In the Footsteps of Muhammad: Understanding the Islamic Experience, (Malwah, New Jersey, 1992), p. 7; John L. Esposito, Islam, p.14.

[9] John Esposito, Islam, pp. 79-84.

[10] Esposito, p.15.

spiritual and temporal affairs.[11] Religion and society are inter-related in such a way in Islam that Western concepts of separate sacred and secular realms cannot be applied, and Islam must be viewed as encompassing more than religion.

Five pillars characterize Islam. These are: *Shahadah* (the profession of faith in the one God); *Salah* (prayer; Muslims are required to pray five times each day); *Zakat* (alms giving); *Sawm* (fasting during the lunar month of *Ramadan*); *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca, made at least once in a lifetime, given sufficient means and good health).[12]

Although many Muslims tend to emphasize the uniformity of Islam as one divinely ordained tradition, Muslims interpret the religion in different ways.[13] Various cultural aspects often come to be associated with Islam. Specific cultural influences cannot be removed from the religion, and so Islam takes on many forms in different regions.

The reformist tradition, which had its beginnings in Arab regions late in the seventeenth century, has been very influential all over the Islamic world. This movement came about as a reaction against cultic Sufi practice and divisions among schools of law. Islamic reformists emphasize the supremacy of the Qur'an and Hadith, individual judgement and moral responsibility, as well as a commitment to a universal Muslim society.[14]

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[11] Esposito, pp. 163, 169

[12] John Renard, Seven Doors to Islam: Spirituality and the Religious Life of Muslims. (Berkeley, 1996), p. 37; Esposito, pp. 90-94; Ahmad F. Yousif, Muslims in Canada: A Question of Identity. (Ottawa, 1993), chapter 1

[13] Esposito, p. vii.

[14] Ira M. Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies. (Cambridge, UK, 1988), pp. 257-58, 557-570.

In the nineteenth century, reformism was adapted to respond to the impact of colonialism and Western imperialism on Muslim society. Reformists looked for ways to reassert Islamic pride in the face of near cultural devastation. They succeeded in adapting Islam to the changing world around them while, at the same time, adhering to Islamic tradition.[15]

In the contemporary era, many Muslim societies have come under the influence of Islamic modernism. This movement has adapted political, social and economic ideals prevalent in the West to the Islamic way of life. Muslim modernists oppose the Westernization of Islamic society and believe that through contemporary political and social developments, Muslims are reviving long neglected Islamic ideals and values.[16]

The 1970s saw a resurgence in Islamic pride and reformist influences accompanied by the economic development and rise in power in many Islamic countries. Muslims all over the world found new pride in traditional Islamic values and asserted their identification with Islam through visible codes of behaviour.[17]

Islam and Ethnicity

The Islamic community in Canada does not constitute one ethnic group because Muslims vary in national and geographic origin, mother tongue, race, and heritage.[18] On the other hand, they do share a common religion that aims to be a total way of life, and has a profound effect on culture. They also share minority status in a largely Christian

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[15] Esposito, Islam, pp. 116-119; Lapidus, p. 568.

[16] Esposito, Islam, pp. 181, 182; Renard, Seven Doors, pp. 116-117; Lapidus, pp. 560-561.

[17] McIrvin Abu-Laban, "Family and Religion," p. 22.

[18] Yvonne Yazbeck-Haddad, "Muslims in Canada," pp. 80-81.

country where their religion is often misunderstood and seen in a negative light. Frequently, the common reaction of Muslims against discrimination brings them together as one group.[19]

Peter Kivisto uses the term "religioethnic groups" to describe groups that are both religious and ethnic in nature.[20] As Islam does not sanction division, and Muslim leaders are making a concerted effort to stress unity among Muslims, it is my view that Muslims in Canada constitute a "religioethnic group." In this chapter, I will apply some theories of ethnicity in describing this religious and cultural group.

Muslims in Canada are constantly creating new forms of ethno-religious identity and negotiating their place in Canadian society and the world. Muslims are not fully assimilating into the dominant culture in Canada, nor are they amalgamating into a "melting pot." They do not constitute an unchanging, fixed group in accordance with a pluralist mosaic model. Instead, Canadian Muslims assert their attachment to Islam, while re-interpreting Islamic traditions and adapting them to the Canadian environment, neogtiating new and unique forms of Muslim Canadian identity.

Factors affecting Muslim Identity in Canada

Raymond Breton has suggested that a strong institutional network is essential in promoting attachment to ethnic identity.[21] Leo Driedger proposes that ethno-cultural

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[19] McIrvin Abu-Laban, "Family and Religion," pp.6, 27.

[20] Peter Kivisto uses this term to emphasize that many immigrant groups in North America have both religious and ethnic characteristics. "Religion and the New Immigrants," in William H. Swatos, Jr., ed. A Future for Religion? New Paradigms for Social Analysis. (Newbury Park, Calif., 1993), p. 98.

[21] Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants." American Journal of Sociology, vol. 70 (1964), pp. 193-205.

identity can be evaluated on the basis of a multiplicity of factors, including language use, religious practice, endogamy, choice of in-group friends, and use of ethnic media.[22] In addition to these factors, Driedger emphasizes that ethnic attachment is also strengthened through identification with historical symbols, as well as identification with charismatic leadership. In the following study of Muslims in Canada, I will investigate Muslim "ethnicity" with reference to Breton and Driedger's ethnic identification factors.

It is, without a doubt, a challenge to assert a strong sense of Islamic identity in Canada where the overwhelming majority of the population is of Christian ancestry. Since the time of the Crusades, anti-Muslim sentiment has been deeply ingrained in Western society. Muslims are often stereotyped in North American society as "fundamentalists" or "Arab terrorists." Despite this fact, Muslims in Canada are working to overcome this negative image, and retain a positive attachment to Islamic religious and cultural identity.

Institutional identification

Institutions such as mosques, Islamic schools, and Muslim associations allow for Muslims to make formal affiliations with their community, and in this way, strengthen existing the bonds within the *ummah* (community of believers).[23]

The most important institution that helps to promote a strong sense of Muslim identity in Canada is the mosque. According to Daood Hamdani, "The mosques – now found in almost every major city – are not only the symbols of the fervency of (Muslim)

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[22] Leo Driedger, Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities. (Toronto, 1996), p. 130.

[23] Ahmad Yousif applies Breton's notion of institutional completeness to evaluate the Muslim community in the Ottawa area. Yousif, Muslims in Canada, chapter 3.

faith but also important socializing agents and transmitters of cultural values."[24]

The word mosque (*masjid*) means place of prostration or prayer. In the Islamic world, the mosque has never had an exclusively religious function. Aside from its role as a room for prayer, the mosque also functioned as a gathering place for the community.[25] In Canada, the role of the mosque is changing. It is becoming the central organizational institution for the religious community, housing a variety of social and community activities. In addition, women are more involved in organizing mosque activities, such as "Sunday school" and fund-raising efforts.[26]

Many Canadian mosques are built differently than in traditional Islamic societies. Often mosques in Canada have a meeting room in the basement, and an apartment for the *imam* (religious leader)[27] attached or located nearby. Many mosques provide "Sunday school" language and religion classes for children. Because Sunday is a day of rest in Canada, community prayer and discussion of Islamic teachings are often held on this day, as well as on Friday, the Islamic holy day.[28] Mosques in Canada are taking on a role that is similar to Christian churches.

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[24] Daood Hassan Hamdani, "Muslims in the Canadian Mosaic." Journal: Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, vol. 5 (1984), p. 14.

[25] David Waines, An Introduction to Islam. (Cambridge, UK, 1996), p. 196.

[26] Yvonne Yazbeck-Haddad, "Muslims in Canada," pp. 82, 83. For further discussion on the changing role of the mosque in a Canadian city, see Sheila McDonough, "The Muslims of Montreal," in Yvonne Yazbeck-Haddad and Jane Idleman Smith, eds. Muslim Communities in North America. (Albany, NY, 1994), pp. 317-334.

[27] In its strictest sense, Imam means only prayer leader, but the imam also has a role as a community leader. See below for the changing role of imams in Canada.

[28] Asghar Fathi, "Mass Media and a Moslem Immigrant Community in Canada." Anthropologica, vol. 15 (1973), p. 202.

In general, mosques contribute to the cohesiveness of the Muslim ummah. However, in some cities, where the large number of Muslims allows for the construction of more than one mosque, different ethnic allegiances tend to go to different mosques. As Baha Abu-Laban has observed, groups tend to congregate according to ethnic identity after the prayer services.[29]

In Ottawa, for example, the community is beginning to grow, and separate ethnic associations are being established outside of the multi-cultural Ottawa Muslim Association. This ethnic differentiation is likely encouraged by practical considerations. It is easy to lose oneself in a community such as Ottawa's where there are approximately 30 000 Muslims.[30] It is easier to organize a smaller society with people who speak the same language.[31]

Cultural identification

With the diversity of cultural backgrounds among Muslims in Canada, it is impossible to identify one all-encompassing cultural identity for the Muslim community. However, Muslim leaders often emphasize a general culture that is Islamic in nature; this promotes a common sense of religioethnic identity among Muslims. Cultural identification is essential to ethnic attachment. Language, religion, endogamy, in-group friends, and ethnic media are all factors that contribute to the perpetuation of culture.

In Canada, language has always been tied to the heart of religion. A famous

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[29] Baha Abu-Laban, "The Canadian Muslim Community," p. 87.

[30] According to estimates of members of the community.

[31] Interview with an Indonesian Muslim family, July 13, 1999.

expression of French-Canadian Catholics has always been, "Qui perd sa langue, perd sa foi."[32] Arabic is the language of Islam all over the world. Every Muslim is expected to learn classical Arabic in order to understand the Qur'an, and to recite the five daily prayers.

Muslim communities in Canada emphasize the importance of learning basic Arabic, and language classes are commonly offered at the mosques. But, English and French have also become official languages for communication among the linguistically diverse Muslims. The Qur'an has been translated into these languages, and often preachers give sermons in English. Many Muslims whose ancestral language is not Arabic, French or English also hope to pass on their own language to their children.

The important role religious practice plays in fostering a strong sense of Islamic identity cannot be over-emphasized. The Canadian lifestyle provides many sources of temptation that could call into question some of Islam's strict rules of behaviour. The Muslim's commitment is tested daily in Canadian society.[33]

One of the five pillars of Islam requires that Muslims pray five times per day. Muslims in Canada are given no reminder of prayer times, and therefore must be conscientious not to miss their required prayers. Another pillar of Islam instructs that Muslims fast from sunrise to sundown during the month of Ramadan. The length of summer days in North America poses a particular challenge when Ramadan occurs in the

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[32] David Goa, "Secularization among Ethnic Communities in Western Canada," in Coward and Kawamura, Religion and Ethnicity. (1978), p. 8.

[33] Yazbeck-Haddad, "Muslims in Canada," p. 80.

summer time. Canadian Muslims sometimes have to fast for up to eighteen hours in this situation. In addition, most employers are unaware of Islamic customs, and do not make concessions for Muslims who are fasting.

Islamic dietary restrictions are quite strict when compared with common Canadian eating habits. Pork, a forbidden food for Muslims, is popular in Canada, and pork products are often used to prepare many common foods.[34] In addition, some Muslims who eat only *halal* meat have difficulty finding meat that is slaughtered and prepared in the approved manner. Alcohol is also forbidden as a beverage, and some Muslims find it challenging to abstain when social drinking is a common and acceptable practice in Canada. Differences in interpretation of these dietary laws often induce debates within the Muslim community (and communities) that affect the meaning of Islam in peoples' lives.

Other points of disagreement in the interpretation of laws come as a result of the Canadian banking system, which is based on the accumulation of interest. Islamic law forbids usury, but there are different interpretations as to what this constitutes.

Canadian laws concerning divorce and inheritance also differ greatly from Islamic laws, and are interpreted in many ways by different Muslim groups.

Some Muslim groups enforce rules for proper Islamic dress. There are a variety of interpretations concerning the Islamic dress code among Muslims in Canada. For many Muslim women, the *hijab* (traditional Islamic head-covering) is a symbol of pride in

[34] In 1975, some cheese producers were using pork enzymes in processing cheese. See Yazbeck-Haddad, "Muslims in Canada," p. 78.

Islamic identity. It is also viewed negatively, for the most part, by Canadian society. Women who wear the hijab often face hostility and discrimination.[35]

The practice of endogamy is another important factor essential to continuity in cultural identification. Muslim communities in Canada place a strong emphasis on endogamy. According to Islamic teaching, women must marry within Islam, and men, though allowed to marry Christians or Jews, are also encouraged to marry endogamously.

The emphasis on endogamy has not always been successful however, because mixed marriage poses a major threat to Islamic identity. Descendants of Pioneer and Transitional immigrants (those who arrived prior to 1968) show a high rate of intermarriage, particularly among the men.[36] Inter-marriage with non-Muslims is more common than marriage between Muslims from different ethnic backgrounds.[37] However, as Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban argues, endogamy is becoming more common among the descendants of differentiated immigrants because there is now more community strength and support, as well as a strong enough numeric base to encourage the practice.[38]

Friendships within the Muslim umma reinforce the Islamic way of life. Muslims in Canada have always been successful in making ties outside of their communities. However, in the past it has often been a challenge to develop many close friendships within the umma because the population was very small and spread out. As the Muslim

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[35] see Homa Hoodfar, "The Veil in Their Minds and On Our Heads: The Persistence of Colonial Images of Muslim Women," Resources for Feminist Research. vol. 22, no. 3/4 (1993), pp. 5-18.

[36] Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, "Family and Religion," p. 30.

[37] Yazbeck-Haddad, "Muslims in Canada," p.81.

[38] Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, "Family and Religion," p. 30.

population grows, particularly in the bigger Canadian cities, Muslims now have strong community networks and are able to form important in-group friendships.

Peer pressure from non-Muslims, especially among teens, has, in the past, caused some Muslims to turn away from their Islamic heritage. But now, the children of differentiated Muslim immigrants have more Muslim friends than ever before. Adults also have a larger pool of Muslim peers. These friendships help to reinforce a strong sense of Islamic identity.[39]

Exposure to mass media has an increasingly strong influence on ethnicity. Many Muslims in Canada have access to Islamic television and radio programs from around the world. As a study by Asghar Fathi has shown, exposure to Islamic mass media helps to legitimize Islamic culture, produces and reinforces solidarity, acts as an agent of socialization, and encourages cohesion and community spirit.[40]

Canadian Islamic media highlight aspects of the Islamic message that suit the Canadian context. For example, some television programs emphasize the unity of all humankind despite cultural diversity.[41] In Canadian plural society, Muslims attempt to transcend cultural differences and focus on similarities.

With the recent advances in communication technology, Canadian Muslims can retain close ties with their ancestral homelands, and, in this way, Islamic codes of

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[39] McIrvin Abu-Laban, pp. 25-26.

[40] Asghar Fathi, "Mass Media," pp.218-220.

[41] Interview with one Canadian Muslim of Indonesian descent. July 26, 1999.

conduct are reinforced. Via the telephone, the internet, and facilitated global travel, Canadian Muslims gain a sense of solidarity with Muslims around the world.[42]

Identification with history and values

Contact with the Islamic world familiarizes Muslims with their history, and reinforces pride in the Islamic tradition. Identification with a group's history is essential to ethnic and cultural identification.

Many Islamic schools have been established in Canada to teach the history of Islam and of the Muslim people. These schools have served to instil a sense of pride in Islamic heritage among Canadian Muslims.

Recently, many Canadian Muslims have been greatly affected by reformist tendencies in Islam. The most recent wave of Muslim immigrants, who arrived from Islamic countries in the 1970s and after, have spread reformist attitudes among the established Muslim community in Canada. The reform movement has encouraged a resurgence in Islamic pride among Canadian Muslims.[43]

The Islamic reformers have introduced a new vision of Islam to Canada. Many women and men have returned to wearing traditional Islamic dress as a source of pride in their Islamic heritage. A number of women choose to wear the hijab as a badge of Muslim identity. Reformist Muslims have encouraged the increased visibility of Islam, and help to promote Islamic pride in Canada.

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[42] Zohra Hussaini, Muslims in the Canadian Mosaic: Socio-Cultural and Economic Links with their Countries of Origin. (Edmonton, 1990), pp. 70, 71.; also see McIrvin Abu-Laban, "Family and Religion," p. 25

[43] McIrvin Abu-Laban, pp. 27-30.

There is a wide diversity of approaches to the Islamic lifestyle in Canada. Some Muslims have chosen to ignore their Islamic roots in order to assimilate more fully into Canadian society. Others assert strict Islamic codes of conduct in opposition to the "corrupt" Western culture. However, most Canadian Muslims find themselves between the two extremes, negotiating a sense of Canadian Islamic identity that is unique to this environment.

Though Muslims in Canada do not necessarily espouse a completely negative view of Western society, many are wary of some Western cultural influences. Although most Muslims appreciate the democracy and religious freedom allowed in Canada, many feel that individual freedom is over-emphasized.[44] Muslims believe that there should be greater emphasis on the individual's responsibility to God, society and family through the enforcement of stricter moral codes of conduct. Some Muslims find that the moral standards of Canadian society are lacking.

The family is very important in Islam, and it serves to maintain adherence to the moral regulations of the religion. Many Muslim families make attempts to differentiate themselves from what they perceive as the North American "family at risk."[45] On the whole, most Muslim families are closer than Canadian families. In the Muslim world, the family is often perceived as the basic unit of society, whereas, in Canada, the individual is seen as the core of society.

With a large number of Canadian women working outside the home, many Muslims feel that more and more women are ignoring their traditional role as the

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[44] Yousif, Muslims in Canada, p.16.

[45] McIrvin Abu-Laban, "Family and Religion," p.26.

caretakers of the family. Husbands are perceived as too weak by some, while children do not accord enough respect to their parents. In addition, the aged are perceived as ignored and abandoned by Canadian society when they should be respected and cared for.[46]

Many Muslims attribute the problems with drug and alcohol abuse, as well as sexual promiscuity and crime among youths to a lack of moral guidance from the Canadian family. The desire to avoid the moral pitfalls of Canadian society provides an impetus for Muslims to adhere to Islamic traditions,[47] and encourages pride in Islamic heritage.

Canadian Muslims take an active interest in the well-being of Canadian society, and some feel that they can help to set an example for higher moral standards in this country. As Earle Waugh suggests, "Muslims have sought to contribute to the social order, by espousing North American culture yet maintaining a certain distance from it."[48] As respect for differences and personal choice are integral to Islam, most Muslims do not actively promote their moral values to others.[49] An oft-cited excerpt from the Qur'an is Sura 109, "The Disbelievers." This Sura acknowledges that all people will never follow

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[46] McIrvin Abu-Laban, p.26.

[47] Ilyas Ba-Yunus, "Muslims in North America: Mate Selection as an Indicator of Change," in Muslim Families in North America. (Edmonton, 1991), pp. 233-234.

[48] Earle Waugh, "North America and the Adaptation of the Muslim Tradition: Religion, Ethnicity and the Family," in Waugh, McIrvin Abu-Laban and Qureshi, eds. Muslim Families in North America. (1991), p. 75.

[49] Interview with one Canadian Muslim of Indonesian descent. July 19, 1999.

the same path, and calls for acceptance of this fact: "to you is your religion, and to me is my religion."

Muslims in Canada are continually renegotiating their identities in relation to other Muslims and other Canadians. They are influenced by a variety of mutually inter-dependent approaches to Islamic life in Canada. This diversity among Muslims accounts for the dynamic nature of Islam in Canada.

Leadership

Communities need strong leadership to promote ethnic (or religioethnic) attachment. As Islam does not have a centralized base of authority, or an organized hierarchy, it is rare for Muslims to rally behind a single leader. There are few North American institutions that provide training for imams and Islamic scholars. Because of this lack of trained Canadian Muslim leaders, many Middle Eastern countries have provided much-needed financial resources to send imams to Canada. This has sometimes created divisions within the Islamic community.

Some Arab imams emphasize their own forms of Islam as the only true and pure version of the religion. Non-Arab Muslims object to this disregard of their own interpretations of the religion, and often feel alienated from the Islamic leadership. In addition, some newly arrived imams make no concessions for the Western lifestyle, and are seen as out of touch with the Muslim Canadian way of life. Often this serves to alienate second- and third-generation Muslims from the Islamic community.[50]

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[50] Earle Waugh, "Muslim Leadership and the Shaping of the Umma: Classical Tradition and Religious Tension in the North American Setting," in Waugh, Abu-Laban and Qureshi, eds. The Muslim Community in North America. (Edmonton, 1983), p. 20.

Islamic leaders maintain the goal of uniting Muslims under one theology that transcends nationalism.[51] But, as some imams only accept their own cultural forms of Islam as valid, this goal proves unattainable. It is a monumental challenge for the community to develop a single Islamic identity as distinct from any individual ethnic group. Canadian Muslims are coming to terms with the fact that it is difficult to divorce Islam from its cultural components. It is impossible to agree on one version of Islam that is true and authentic for all Muslims.

Imams in Canada are often given strong leadership roles by Canadian society. In the Sunni tradition, the imam is simply the prayer leader, though his role can be extended to community leader. There is no clergy in Islam; all Muslims are individually responsible for following the teachings. But in Canada, imams are treated like priests, Rabbis or ministers. They have taken on a new role, often as mediator between the Islamic community and Canadian society.[52]

Because there were so few imams in the early days to establish mosques in Canada, lay people took charge of their establishment. Many mosques have elected executive committees, which is a new occurrence in Canada. These committees are often put in place to avoid domination by any particular individual or group.[53]

Charismatic leadership among Muslims in Canada has often come from groups of people who took up the challenge of establishing community organizations. Many of

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[51] Yazbeck-Haddad, "Muslims in Canada," pp. 85-86.

[52] Earle Waugh, "Muslim Leadership," p. 74.

[53] Sheila McDonough, "Muslims of Montreal," p. 320.

these organizations have served to promote solidarity among the diverse Muslim groups in this country. These organizations usually aim to promote Islam within the Muslim community and to improve relations with Canadian society in general. For example, some objectives of the Ottawa Muslim Association include teaching the fundamental and moral principles of Islam, publishing and distributing literature pertaining to Islamic issues, and helping immigrants to integrate into the Canadian society and the Ottawa Muslim community. The Association aims to "strengthen the fraternal bonds and brotherly relations among Muslims" and to "promote communication and understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims."[54] There are a number of Islamic organizations in Canada; these include Islamic student associations, regional associations, and ethnic organizations. These groups have an important influence on Canadian Islamic life.

Conclusion

Muslims in Canada are creating new forms of identity to suit the Canadian environment. Most Muslims are not totally assimilating into the dominant Canadian lifestyle, nor do they remain separate from the rest of society. Instead, Canada's diverse Muslim population is changing as Canada itself changes. Muslims in Canada are making attempts to reach out to their fellow Canadians and to adapt Islamic tradition to the Canadian environment, while at the same time retaining strong ties to Islam and all that it

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[54] Ottawa Muslim Association, Constitution and By-Laws of the Ottawa Muslim Association, revised 1988, in Ahmad Yousif, The Maintenance of Islamic Identity in the Canadian Society: Religious Observance, Psychosocial Influences, and Institutional Completeness of the Muslim Community in the National Capital Region. PhD dissertation, University of Ottawa (1991).

encompasses. The Muslim community constitutes an important feature of Canada's diverse religious and cultural landscape.

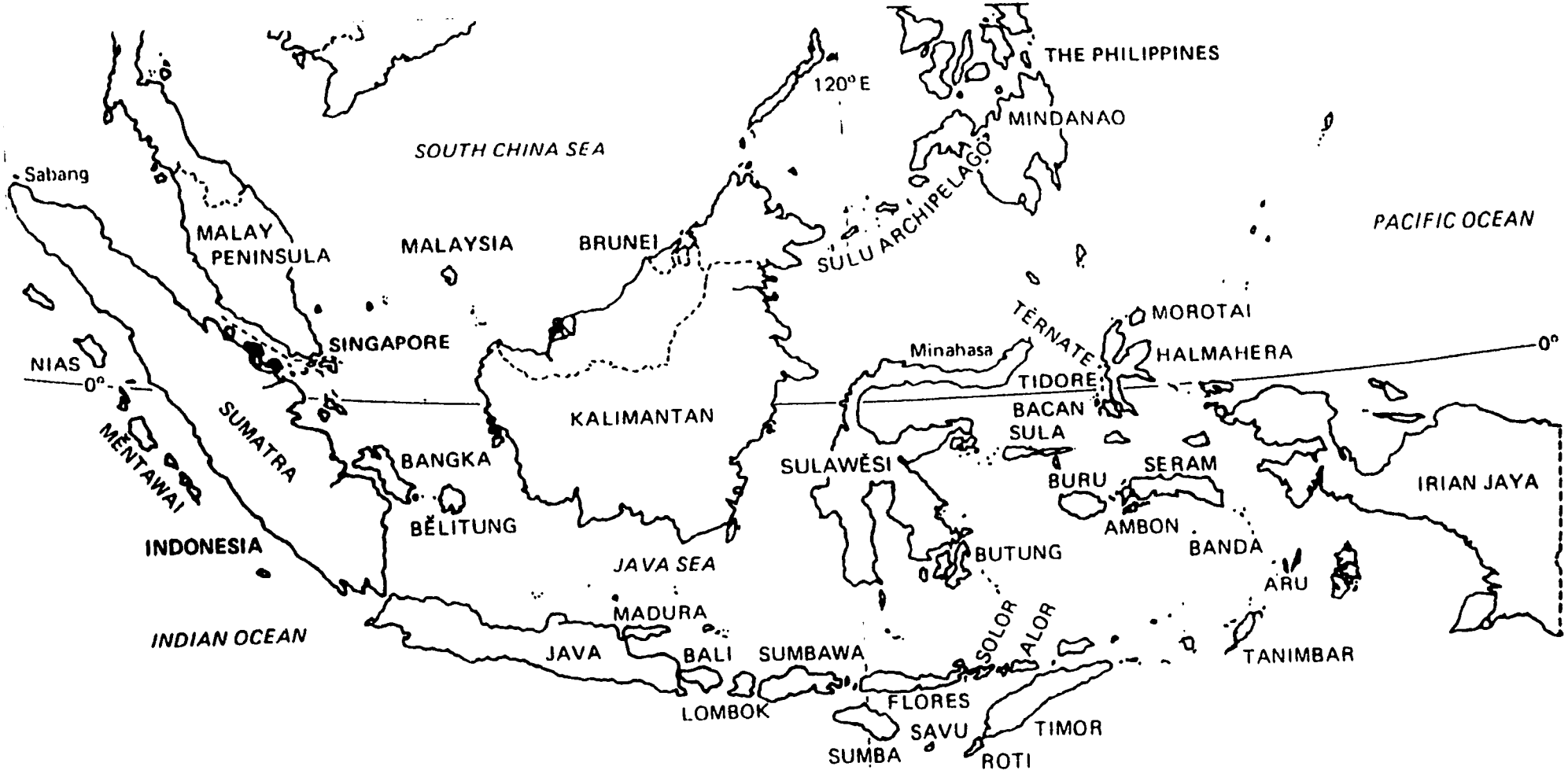
Chapter Four

Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Indonesia

Indonesian migrants have travelled across the world to arrive in Canada. They come from a country that is culturally and religiously diverse despite the fact that eighty-seven percent of the 200 million inhabitants are at least nominally Muslim. Indonesia boasts the largest Muslim population in the world. The Indonesian archipelago is situated between two oceans and two continents. It comprises over 13 000 islands and a myriad of cultures and religious traditions. The lands that make up present-day Indonesia have been host to people from all corners of the globe. Colonists and traders from India, China, Arab countries, Portugal, the Netherlands and Japan have all impacted upon the emergence of one Indonesian nation uniting a number of island cultures. The complex religious traditions of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity have all had different impacts on the population, and these major religions have been layered over top of local religions to create unique and diverse religious forms. There are over 300 ethnic groups and over 250 regional languages and dialects are spoken in the country.[1] As a result of this great cultural and religious diversity, the construction of a unitary Indonesian identity has always been, and continues to be, a complex process that is in a constant state of flux.

Traditional myth, perpetuated by the nationalist élite, traces the roots of the modern state back to the Majapahit Hindu-Buddhist empire in Java. This kingdom,

[1] Canadian International Development Agency, Indonésie, esquisse de pays. Catalogue number E94-29/1-1. (1989, 1994).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MENTAWAI
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SULAWESI
BURU
SERAM
IRIAN JAYA
BELITUNG
AMBON
INDONESIA
BUTUNG
BANDA
JAVA SEA
ARU
MADURA
SOLOR
ALOR
INDIAN OCEAN
JAVA
BALI
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which was established in the late 13th century CE and declined in the 15th century, had a vast trading network that encompassed the entire archipelago of modern-day Indonesia.[2]

In reality, Indonesia is in many ways only a recent creation. This group of islands, linked by trade for many centuries, did not begin to express a common national identity until this century. The term Indonesia is actually Greek in origin. It is derived from the words *Indos* (India) and *nesos* (island). The term was coined and popularized by European ethnologists.[3]

Javanese tradition has always been dominant in the Indonesian nation. Over half of the country's inhabitants live on the island of Java, and the Javanese ethnic group comprises forty-five percent of the entire population. The Sundanese, who live in western Java, are the next largest single ethnic group, representing fourteen percent of the population.[4]

The East Indies up to the Thirteenth Century CE

The islands which comprise modern-day Indonesia have been populated for over a million years, and the diverse cultures of the archipelago have long been established. Around the first century CE, the region became active in trade. By the second century CE, traders from India and China arrived in search of spices.[5]

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[2] J.S. Furnivall, Netherlands India. Second Edition. (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 9-14. Suharto's New Order government promoted Majapahit as a model for their ideology of "unity in diversity", and justified the inclusion of far-flung islands in the political makeup of Indonesia by comparing the borders of present-day Indonesia with the Majapahit empire. For a discussion of the parallels between Majapahit and present-day Indonesia, see Ailsa Zainu'ddin, A Short History of Indonesia. (Melbourne, 1988), pp. 50-51.

[3] Ali Sastroamijoyo (C. L. M. Penders, ed.) Milestones on my Journey: The Memoirs of Ali Sastroamijoyo, Indonesian Patriot and Political Leader. (St. Lucia, Australia, 1979), p. 27.

[4] Indonesian government statistics, 1990; "Background Notes: Indonesia," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, United States Department of State, October, 1998.

[5] Zainu'ddin, Short History, p. 45.

For the most part, Chinese traders did not ally themselves with the Indies people. On the other hand, many Indian traders settled on the north coast of Java and married into Javanese aristocratic families.[6] These settlements grew into colonies, and Indian Hindu-Buddhist culture came to be introduced into Javanese society. Members of the Javanese royalty likely hoped to increase their own power and further legitimize their rule by emulating the rich and respected Indian Brahmans.[7] In this way, Indian traditions were easily assimilated into the existing Javanese culture.

As Hindu traditions were layered over Javanese structures, traditional ways were reinterpreted. According to Javanese tradition, power has always been viewed as innate in certain individuals. These individuals were often mystics, and were perceived as having the ability to blend contrasting elements within themselves. Rulers who could absorb aspects of a variety of traditions personified the unity of society.[8]

Wayang shadow plays, introduced in the second century, show a blend of Indian and Javanese traditions. These plays can be Javanese interpretations of Ramayana and Mahabharata, but they also tell the stories of the great kingdoms of pre-colonial Java. The performances are usually accompanied by a ritual feast in the Javanese tradition.[9] Within the wayang stories there are often many contradictions. According to Clifford Geertz, these contradictions represent a criticism of commonly accepted ways, and a

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[6] Furnivall, Netherlands India, pp. 7,8; Zainu'ddin, p. 35.

[7] Zainu'ddin, p. 36; Ira M. Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies. (Cambridge, UK, 1988), p. 468.

[8] Benedict Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," in Claire Holt et al, eds. Culture and Politics in Indonesia. (Ithaca, NY, 1972), pp. 8, 15, 22.

[9] Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java. (Glencoe, Illinois, 1960), p. 268.

reminder that no one worldview is completely adequate.[10] In this way, Javanese shadow plays perpetuate openness to diversity in this society.

Around 450 CE, the kingdom of Sriwijaya, a coastal Buddhist trading empire, was established at Palembang, Sumatra. By the twelfth century, Sriwijaya'a trading empire began to decline with the establishment of the Majapahit kingdom on Java.[11] Majapahit was an agrarian-based kingdom which expanded to dominate the Indonesian archipelago through trade. It is remembered as the most famous of all Javanese kingdoms. Majapahit was a plural society where Javanese tradition coincided with Buddhism and Hinduism. [12]

In Javanese culture, the kingdom was a hierarchically-structured society based around the centre of power in the palace. The king's court and capital represented a concentration of potency and order. The rest of society was based upon this model with a gradual decline in strength toward the periphery. The kingdom has been described as a mandala[13] with the capital city as the sun and the country its halo.[14]

The Advent of Islam

By the late thirteenth-century, Islam was introduced into South East Asia by Arab and Indian traders. Migrating merchants and mystics were influential in spreading Islam

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[10] Geertz, The Religion of Java, p. 277; also see Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures. (New York, 1973), p. 140.

[11] Zainu'ddin, Short History, p. 49.

[12] Zainu'ddin, pp. 50,51; Furnivall, Netherlands India, p.9.

[13] Moertono, cited in Anderson, "The Idea of Power," pp. 30-31.

[14] Prapanca, court poet of Majapahit, cited in Geertz, Islam Observed. (New York, 1968), pp. 36-37.

throughout the kingdoms on some of the major islands. By the sixteenth century, it became the dominant religion of what came to be known as the Indonesian islands.

Merchants and Sufi missionaries were present in Sumatra from 1282. And at least one Muslim community had been established on Sumatra by 1292.[15] The conversion process was slow as many regions in the Indonesian archipelago had strong and long-established cultural and religious traditions.

Traders in the coastal regions were the first to adopt Islam. Ailsa Zainu'ddin suggests that because of Islam's emphasis on individual responsibility and a world-wide community of believers, the religion was well-suited to trading communities.[16]

Islam did not begin to spread to the Indonesian interior until late in the fifteenth century. There is little evidence to suggest how Islam began to take hold, but it was likely a peaceful process. Sufi mystics likely had a strong influence on members of the Majapahit royal court in Java, and Islam was then disseminated from the centres of power in the kingdoms.[17]

Islamic structures were layered on top of already established Javanese Hindu-Buddhist frameworks. Freshly converted to Islam, rulers increased their claims to power as "shadows of God on earth." The Islamic concept of *keramat* (holiness or supernatural power attached to outstanding individuals) was easily blended into existing Javanese notions of power.[18] Islamic practices such as fasting and ritual cleansing were also easily

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[15] Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies, p. 469.

[16] Zainu'ddin, Short History, p. 57.

[17] M. C. Ricklefs, A History of Modern Indonesia: c. 1300 to the present. (Bloomington, Indiana, 1981), p. 12. Also see Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies; and Zainu'ddin, Short History, p. 58.

[18] Zainudd'in, pp. 60-61.

integrated into Javanese culture, where these traditions had long been established.[19]

In the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese conquered Malacca (in what is now Malaysia), a former Islamic stronghold. This capture encouraged the spread of Islam into the outer Indies as Muslim teachers and missionaries migrated to Northern Sumatra, South Sulawesi(Celebes), Java, the Molucca islands and Borneo.[20]

Aceh, in northern Sumatra, became a new stronghold for Islam. A Sultanate was established here which became the main rival to the Portuguese throughout the sixteenth century.[21]

Muslim traders changed their route to the spice islands to avoid Malacca, and travelled through the Sunda straits to the west of Java instead. Many settled in Java, and converted the people of Banten, a kingdom in west-central Java that encompassed what is now Jakarta.[22]

The Majapahit empire also came under Muslim control. It is likely that many of the élite fled to Bali, where Hindu influences have been very strong to this day.[23] The Islamic kingdom of Mataram came to be established near where Jogyakarta is today, in the agrarian heartland of Java. This soon became the most powerful empire in Java.

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[19] Interview with a Canadian who was born in Java. July 22 (1999).

[20] Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies, p. 470; Leonard Y. Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, vol. 15 (1984), pp. 27, 31, 32.

[21] Lapidus, p. 471.

[22] Furnivall, Netherlands India, p. 18.

[23] Javanese texts dating back to the Majapahit empire have been found in Bali, but the reliability of these sources has been disputed. See Ricklefs, History of Modern Indonesia, p.16. However, Bali is culturally quite similar to Old Java, and so it is highly likely that a migration from Majapahit did occur.

According to traditional myth, nine saints (*wali sanga*) are responsible for spreading Islam through Java. Sunan Kalijaga is the most revered of the saints. He is said to have been the son of an important royal officer of the great Hindu-Buddhist kingdom, Majapahit. He left the kingdom and converted to Islam. The story of his conversion does not involve learning the doctrines of Islam, but instead he is said to have become Muslim through self-discipline and meditation. In fact, Kalijaga had never even seen the Qur'an or learned how to perform Islamic prayers when he became Muslim. After his conversion, he moved to Mataram and was responsible for the rise of this kingdom and the conversion of its people to Islam. As Clifford Geertz points out, Kalijaga's life represents the bridge between the two Javanese civilizations represented by Majapahit and Mataram.[24]

Islam was assimilated into the existing Javanese structures. The *wali sanga* came to be credited for the development and perpetuation of ancient Javanese cultural traditions that pre-dated them, such as the *wayang* plays and the *gamelan* orchestra.[25] The tomb sites of these Muslim saints are symbolically and magically significant for the Javanese people, who often make pilgrimages to their graves.[26]

As M.C. Ricklefs suggests, it would be wrong to assume that Islam had little impact on Java and was only adopted at a superficial level. He points out that the practice of the religion altered some fundamental customs, such as the adoption of

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[24] Geertz, Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia. (New Haven, 1968), pp. 25-29.

[25] Anderson, "The Idea of Power," p. 58.

[26] Sartono Kartodirdjo, "Agrarian Radicalism in Java," in Claire Holt et al., eds. Culture and Politics in Indonesia. (1972), p. 80.

circumcision rites and the introduction of burial rituals in place of cremation.[27] Javanese adopted Islamic practices to varying degrees. Members of the ruling élite, as well as the poorest peasants, held most strongly to their Javanese traditions and adapted only some of the aspects of the religion that could be incorporated into their Javanese way of life. Traders, merchants, and other members of the upper middle classes more readily adopted an Islamic outlook. Islam had an important impact on Java and was integrated into traditional structures in the region in a unique way.

During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese made attempts to compete with Islamic missionaries but were largely unsuccessful. Roman Catholicism did not take root in the archipelago, except in the some parts of the Moluccas (islands around Ambon) and Flores islands where Hinduism and Islam had not spread.[28] It is highly probable that Christianity's influence was not very significant because the Christians were not as tolerant of local traditions as the Muslims seemed to be.

The Dutch Empire in the East Indies

By the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company took over control of the spice trade, and expanded its territory over most of the archipelago. Dutch traders arrived in 1596 and successfully challenged the Portuguese. They established a colony in the Moluccas and by 1605 they had taken control of the strategic port of Ambon as well as the island of Tidore. In 1619 they founded Batavia (later re-named Jakarta). With the consolidation and subsequent strengthening of their trading empire with the founding of

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[27] Ricklefs, History of Modern Indonesia, p. 13.

[28] Furnivall, Netherlands India, pp. 17-18.

the Dutch East India Company in 1602, the Dutch soon controlled all trade in the region.[29]

By 1660, the Dutch had captured Makassar on Celebes (now known as Sulawesi), and although Aceh remained an independent Islamic state until the end of the seventeenth century, the Dutch controlled much of the trade in tin from that region. The Dutch also monopolized the pepper trade from the Minangkabau kingdom on Sumatra and controlled trade on Celebes, in the Moluccas and on Borneo.[30]

This monopoly was achieved through military conflict, and the Dutch suffered great losses before they could boast control over the spice trade. As an added disappointment, the European demand for spices began to decline just as the Dutch came to dominate the market. In order to survive, the Dutch East India Company had to look for other profitable commodities in the archipelago. They began a policy of forced cultivation among the Javanese peasants. The Dutch made large profits from this exploitation of Indonesian commodities and crops.[31]

On Java, the Dutch conquered Mataram in 1629. They supported Mataram in conflicts with its rival empire, Banten, in exchange for a trading monopoly and territorial control. As Mataram became more and more powerful, the Dutch partitioned the empire into two kingdoms: Surakarta and Jogyakarta. This "divide and rule" policy assured the Dutch of firm control in the region. In conflicts between *adat* (traditional) and *santri*

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[29] Eric R. Wolf, Europe and the People without History. (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 237-239; Zainudd'in, pp. 77-80.

[30] Furnivall, Netherlands India, pp. 31-32; Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies, p.473.

[31] Wolf, Europe, p.239; Furnivall, Netherlands India, p. 43.

(purist Islamic) leaders, the Dutch supported the *adat* princes, who were, for the most part, Muslim in name only. With the support of the Dutch, the *adat* leaders became less dependent on public consent and, thus, corruption became prevalent.[32]

Even under Dutch rule, Christianity was never a strong religious force in the East Indies. When the Dutch East India Company first arrived on the archipelago, they were more intent on profit than conversion to Christianity. In addition, in the early years of Dutch economic control they maintained a policy of indirect rule. They had little contact with the Indonesian people, and did not exert a direct cultural or religious influence.[33] The trading port of Ambon, already Catholic before the defeat of the Portuguese, was the only conquest for the Dutch Reformed Church until the nineteenth century.[34]

In 1800 the Dutch government took over the East India Company's holdings. For the early part of the nineteenth-century, the colonial government focused its attention mainly on Java and the area around Sumatra. It wasn't until 1910 that most of the regions comprising modern-day Indonesia were brought directly under Dutch rule.[35]

Missionary fervour heightened in the Netherlands in the late eighteenth century with the creation of the Dutch Missionary Association in 1797.[36] The Dutch government was cautious about missionary activity in the East Indies because it felt that the majority Muslim population posed a threat to Dutch authority, and did not want to risk provoking

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[32] Furnivall, Netherlands India, p. 44; C.R. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire. (London, 1965), p. 235.

[33] Furnivall, pp. 34, 60.

[34] K. S. Latourette, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age. Vol. 3: The Nineteenth Century Outside Europe. (New York, 1961), p. 425.

[35] Ricklefs, History of Modern Indonesia, p. 125.

[36] Furnivall, Netherlands India, p. 219.

the people's anger. In 1814, missions were permitted to proselytize in the smaller outer islands that had been largely unaffected by Islam.[37] By the middle of the century, the Dutch and other European mission organizations had established churches in Sulawesi, Timor, Ternate and upland Sumatra.[38] In 1851, missionaries were sent to Java, but they only achieved a small number of conversions. They were successful in establishing mission schools which were the forerunner of the Dutch government's secular school system.[39]

The Dutch were wise to tread lightly on Muslim ground. Islam had become a strong unifying force against Dutch rule in many regions. The East Indies people rose up against the Dutch in the Java War (1825-1830), and the Aceh War (1873-1908). In both of these rebellions, Islam was the main vehicle of opposition to Dutch authority.[40] Islam continued to play an important role in opposition to outside authority, and it was an especially influential force in the beginning stages of the Indonesian Nationalist movement.

Indonesian Nationalism

In the early twentieth century, the desire for self-government became prevalent among the Indonesian population. Between 1911 and 1917, there were nine localized uprisings against the Dutch in the eastern Indonesian islands; there were also nine

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[37] Furnivall, pp. 380, 381; Latourette, Christianity, vol. 3, p. 425.

[38] Latourette, pp. 354-357.

[39] Latourette, pp. 425-426.

[40] M. Nasir Tamara, Indonesia in the Wake of Islam. (Kuala Lumpur, 1986), p. 12; Zainu'ddin, Short History, pp. 127-132, 134-137.

rebellions in Sumatra and five in Borneo (Kalimantan).[41] During this time, an Indonesian national consciousness began to awaken among the Western-educated Javanese and some people from other islands. The Dutch inadvertently contributed to this sense of national unity in three ways: through the establishment of one central government authority; through the spread of the Malay language through the peninsula; and through their interest in the common history of the group of islands known as Indonesia.[42] As before, Islam was a common bond among most Indonesians in opposition to the Dutch. *Hajjis* (returning pilgrims from Mecca) spread reformist principles throughout many parts of Sumatra, which strengthened the attachment to Islam on this island.[43] Javanese society displayed Islamic influences, but held onto traditional Hindu-Javanese conceptions of political organization. However, the Islamic identity of old order Javanese leaders served to reinforce their legitimacy among their Muslim followers. Thus, the Islamic gloss over traditional structures of political order allowed Javanese society to define its opposition to Dutch rule while retaining a strong traditional state culture.[44]

A wide variety of nationalist organizations, Islamic and non-Islamic, began to emerge throughout Java in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1908, the Budi-Utomo (Glorious Endeavour) was founded as the first Javanese cultural association for Western-educated middle and upper classes dedicated to the revival of traditional

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[41] Zainudd'in, p. 178.

[42] Zainudd'in, pp. 170, 183.

[43] Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies, p. 479.

[44] Lapidus, p. 482.

Javanese culture in opposition to Dutch influence.[45] Sarekat Islam was founded in 1912 to support Indonesian traders against Chinese competition and in political opposition to the Dutch. Muhammadiyah, also founded in 1912, was formed by *Hajji Santris* who had been influenced by reformist movements in Arabia. Some members of Budi-Utomo also joined Muhammadiyah. Numerous other Islamic political organizations soon began to emerge throughout Indonesia, and strengthened Muslim resistance to Dutch rule.[46] Muhammadiyah had branches in Sumatra, and Muhammad Hatta, Indonesia's first vice-president, was a member.[47] Budi-Utomo founded a youth wing in Java in 1915, and soon youth movements flourished throughout the country. The Western-educated youth were very influential in raising nationalist fervour.

In July, 1927, Sukarno founded what came to be known as the Indonesian Nationalist party. This party made use of Islamic and Javanese cultural symbols to legitimate its nationalist goals.[48] Sukarno was the son of a Javanese school teacher and his mother was Balinese. Throughout his youth, Sukarno associated with leaders of the Sarekat Islam and Budi-Utomo. He was greatly influenced by the Javanese wayang performances, which he said reminded him of Indonesia's former greatness.[49] He also

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[45] Ricklefs, History of Modern Indonesia, pp. 156-157; Lapidus, p. 759.

[46] Zainu'ddin, Short History, pp. 174-178; Lapidus, pp.761-763.

[47] William H. Frederick and Robert L. Warden, eds., Indonesia: A Country Study. (Lanham, Maryland, 1994), p. 36.

[48] *Wayang* shadow puppet plays were used by members of the Nationalist Party to spread their political message. See Ali Sastroamijoyo (Penders, ed.) Milestones on My Journey. (1979) p.99. Nationalist ideals were also based on the Javanese principle of *gotong royong* (mutual self-help). Frederick and Warden, eds. Indonesia: A Country Study, p.37.

[49] Zainu'ddin, Short History, p. 199.

hoped to revive the Javanese principle of *gotong royong* (begun as a community tradition of sharing agricultural tasks among Javanese farmers).

Sukarno was a charismatic leader with wide appeal in Indonesia. Because he was Javanese, he was able to gain the support of the majority, and because his mother was Balinese he could also sympathize with the outer islands. As a Muslim, Sukarno stood for unity throughout the country.

Sukarno's ideal Indonesia was a country in which the diverse cultures and religions could blend together as one. His goal for the nation, as outlined in the Pancasila (five principles) was "unity in diversity." He represented this blend in his own person. He claimed that he himself was "a meeting place of all trends and ideologies." He said, "I have blended, blended, and blended them until finally they became the present Sukarno."[50] When he came to power in 1945, he established the Nas-A-Kom government, which was a blend of Nationalism, Religion (*agama*) and Communism.[51] As Benedict Anderson has observed, this unity in opposites is integral to traditional Javanese culture.[52]

On August 17, 1945, Sukarno proclaimed Indonesia's independence. This came about after three years of Japanese occupation during the Second World War. The Japanese inadvertently played a key role in the success of the Indonesian nationalist movement. They destroyed the Dutch colonial empire and trained Indonesian soldiers to

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[50] cited in, Clifford Geertz, "The Politics of Meaning," in Claire Holt et al, eds. Culture and Politics in Indonesia. (Ithaca, NY, 1972), pp. 321-322. With this statement, Sukarno shows that he is the ideal Javanese leader. The ideal leader is *Sembada* (whole); he absorbs all within himself. Benedict Anderson, "The Idea of Power," p. 15.

[51] Zainu'ddin, Short History, p. 254.

[52] Benedict Anderson, "The Idea of Power," p. 14.

help them fight the Dutch. The nationalists worked with the Japanese, but they too had their own agenda. The Japanese worked to rally Muslim support for themselves against the Dutch, and in the process, Islamic leaders gained more power.[53] After Japan's surrender at the end of the war, Indonesia emerged an independent nation.

The newly emergent nation of Indonesia was far from unified. Outside the central province of Java, few Indonesians felt attached to this newly created nation.[54] There was also a strong faction within the government that pushed for increased autonomy of the provinces.[55] In addition, many purist Muslims were becoming tired of the concessions they had to make in order to unify the religiously diverse nation.

Sukarno introduced *Pancasila* (from the Sanskrit for "five principles") as the state ideology and it has remained an important part of government rhetoric up until the present day. The five principles of *Pancasila* are: "Belief in the one and only God"; "just and civilized humanity"; "national unity"; "guided democracy"; and "social justice." Pancasila blends strong Javanese cultural elements with Islamic influences. Sukarno suggested that the five principles could be condensed into the Javanese tradition of *gotong royong*, which is loosely translated as "mutual self-help," or as Clifford Geertz describes it, "the collective bearing of all burdens."[56] This tradition is rooted in a strong emphasis on community, where the ideal is to help oneself through helping others. The

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[53] M. Nasir Tamara, Indonesia in the Wake of Islam, p. 16; Karl D. Jackson, Traditional Authority, Islam and Rebellion: A study of Indonesian political behaviour. (Berkeley, 1980), p. 2.

[54] Sastroamijoyo, Milestones, pp. 108, 121.

[55] Sastroamijoyo, p. 217.

[56] Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, p. 225.

symbolism of the number five matches the five pillars of Islam and the five hero characters of Javanese *wayang* shadow plays.[57]

Suharto came to power in 1965 after an attempted coup by the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). Suharto was a general in the Indonesian army who moved up quickly through the ranks to gain a great deal of power. He was born in a Javanese village, and holds strongly to the Javanese syncretic tradition, mixing Islam and traditional mystic beliefs.

In the aftermath of the coup attempt, Suharto commanded his troops to kill around half a million or more known and suspected communists.[58] A prototypical Javanese leader, President Suharto went to great lengths to hide any signs of internal conflict. He used the army in attempts to squash dissent in the outlying provinces of East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya. It was essential that differences be covered over in order to maintain the Javanese values of unity and consensus.[59] Until the 1980s, Suharto was held in high esteem by the majority of Indonesians.[60] He was powerful in the traditional Javanese sense, because power was naturally occurring in him.[61]

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[57] Zainu'ddin, Short History, p. 243.

[58] The exact number of deaths in unknown. CIA figures from mid-1966 estimated that anywhere between 250 000 and 500 000 alleged PKI members had been killed. Official Indonesian figures released in the mid-1970s were 450 000 to 500 000 dead. Mark T. Berger, "Old State and new empire in Indonesia: debating the rise and decline of Suharto's New Order," Third World Quarterly. Vol. 18, No 2. (1997), p. 333. Other scholars make estimates of closer to 1 million killed. See Hamish McDonald, Suharto's Indonesia. (Blackham, Australia, 1980), p.53, and Clifford Geertz, "The Politics of Meaning," p. 23.

[59] Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java, pp. 369- 71; Nathan Keyfitz, "The Asian road to Democracy," Society (Nov/Dec, 1998), p. 71.

[60] Mark T. Berger, "Old state and new empire in Indonesia," (1997), pp. 321-361.

[61] Keyfitz, "The Asian Road to Democracy," p. 72; Anderson, "The Idea of Power," pp.7-8, 17.

During the Suharto era, many people in the outer islands resented the centralization of power and wealth in Jakarta and were seriously harmed when Suharto's military crushed their protests. Inhabitants of the outer islands often saw no reason to remain loyal to a culturally Javanese, constructed republic. The outer islands have distinct traditions, myths and histories, and it has always been difficult for them to find much meaning in the Java-centric Indonesian national identity.

East Timor, for example, was forced into union with Indonesia after Suharto's government invaded in 1975.[62] East Timorese have a radically different history from the rest of Indonesia, as they were colonized by the Portuguese, and the majority of the population is Roman Catholic. In addition, the people of East Timor are racially and ethnically distinct from most other Indonesians.

Aceh, the stronghold of purist and sometimes extremist Islam, and Irian Jaya, which is racially and religiously Melanesian, are two other regions that have long felt alienated from the central Indonesian authority. For many years, the Indonesian government sent military operations into these regions to crush any rebellion movements.[63] Now, after the demise of Suharto, many of the atrocities committed in these provinces are coming to the surface, and independence movements are stronger than ever.

The outer islands were expected by the Indonesian government to assimilate into the unified Indonesian nation. But Indonesian unity has never been a natural situation,

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[62] Jill Jolliffe, East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism. (St. Lucia, Australia, 1978), p. 262.

[63] For general information on a special forces invasion of Aceh, see "Digging up Indonesia's Past," The Economist, Sept. 12, 1998, p. 41.

and assimilation never occurred. Ethnic and religious clashes have also been prevalent throughout Indonesian history. These conflicts have been brought out into the open since the economic crisis, but the historical roots of these tensions run very deep.

It has always taken a strong leader to hold Indonesia together, and now with Suharto's demise, the future of a united Indonesia is uncertain.

The Role of Islam in Modern-Day Indonesia

When Sukarno declared his presidency in 1945, perhaps the only challenge to his authority came from some of his fellow Muslims. *Santri* Muslims in Java and Islamic reformists in Sumatra and other islands were disappointed that Sukarno did not establish an Islamic state. They also opposed his compromises on state ideology embodied in the *Pancasila* principles.

The main issues taken into consideration in trying to create an Indonesian constitution were the country's diversity and the role of Islam in the republic. Sukarno's constitutional committee included Islamic nationalists as well as influential Javanese leaders. This consultative committee decided that the establishment of Islamic rule would not be able to safeguard the interests of minorities. Members felt that "the ideals of an Islamic state are not in accordance with a unitary state, which we have all so passionately longed for." The new nation was to have a "lofty moral base" but was not to be associated with any particular religion.[64]

The Indonesian government did promote Islam through the Ministry of Religion, present since the founding of the nation. The creation of the ministry served as an attempt

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[64] Supomo, a Javanese member of the constitutional committee, cited in Amyn B. Sajoo, Pluralism in "Old Societies and New States": Emerging ASEAN Contexts. (Pasir Panjang, Singapore, 1994), p. 33.

at compromise with Muslims over the creation of an Islamic state. Although the department gave support to the five official religions in the country (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism), its framework has been Islamic. The first goal of the ministry was to promote the Pancasila principle of "Belief in the One and Only God," and the department has always stimulated and supported Muslim practices, activities and celebrations.[65]

In certain regions of Sumatra and other outer islands, where there was a strong population of purist Muslims, the Ministry of Religion did not satisfy the desire for the establishment of Islamic rule.[66]

In Java, most Muslims were fairly conciliatory toward other religions, but there was a strong minority who promoted the ideal of an Islamic nation. The *Darul Islam* (from the Arabic for "House of Islam") guerilla rebellions launched in 1947 represent an extremist objection to Sukarno's plural state. The goal of these rebellions was to free the *ummah* (Islamic community) from rule by infidels. To achieve this goal, they waged a "holy war" on the government that lasted fifteen years and resulted in 40 000 deaths.[67]

Interestingly, many of participants in this movement were only nominally Muslim. Little effort was made to indoctrinate Javanese villagers, who made up the bulk of the soldiers, into a pure form of Islam.[68] The leader of the movement, Kartusuwiryo,

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[65] B. J. Boland, The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia. (The Hague, 1971), p. 188.

[66] Howard Federspiel. Deepening Faith and Strengthening Behaviour; Indonesian Muslims Studies of Qur'an and Hadith. (1987), p. 21.

[67] For a detailed account of these rebellions, see Karl D. Jackson, Traditional Authority.

[68] Jackson, pp. 16-17.

espoused a mystical mindset and represented the unique Javanese blend of Islamic beliefs within a Hindu-Buddhist framework.[69]

Under Suharto, who officially came to power in 1965, reformist Muslims and supporters of an Islamic state continued to challenge government authority. Although Suharto is officially Muslim, his overt espousal of Javanese mystic traditions continued to arouse Islamic protest.

Under Suharto, overtly Islamic political parties were not allowed. Religion could not be the basis for the formation of any party; the only authorized ideology was *Pancasila*. M. Nasir Tamara suggests that because Muslims have not been allowed to express themselves politically, some may have felt powerless and have resorted to violence as what they believe to be their only recourse.[70] However, recourse to violence among Muslims has only been sporadic in the past four decades in Indonesia.

Christian-Muslim rivalry has deep historical roots, but has rarely resulted in violence. Tolerance of Christianity has usually been the norm among Muslims. The majority Muslims have long felt threatened by Christians who were privileged under the Dutch. And Christian churches have often been criticized for aggressive proselytization and enticing villagers into Christianity by offering food and goods in exchange.[71] In addition, many Muslims have felt that the national government made too many concessions to Christians in keeping Islam out of politics. Christians, on the other hand, feel threatened by Islamic influence in the nation. Conflicts between Christians and

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[69] Jackson, pp. 22-23.

[70] Tamara, Indonesia in the Wake of Islam, pp. 15-18.

[71] Sajoo, Pluralism, p. 41; interview with an Indonesian-born Canadian Muslim. July 22 (1999).

Muslims have recently been in the news.[72] These can be associated with the tense atmosphere surrounding moves for democratic reforms.

Non-violent reformist and modernist movements have recently been very popular among Indonesian Muslims. Islam has been playing a stronger and stronger role in Indonesia, despite the fact that Indonesia is not often recognized as a "seriously" Muslim country. As Wilfred Cantwell Smith points out, the role of Islam in contemporary Indonesia has yet to be noticed. He suggests that by ignoring Indonesian Islam, scholars and other Muslims miss "something distinctive and fascinating and potentially very rich."[73]

B. J. Boland suggests that studies of Indonesia have focused too much on *abangan* (nominal Muslims) as the norm and ignored the important influence of the *santri*. He points out that within every religious community the number of strong practitioners is fairly limited, but they still have an important influence.[74] Clifford Geertz, who introduced the *abangan-santri* distinction to the academic world, has changed his perception of Indonesian Islam since returning to Java in 1985. Whereas in his 1960 work, The Religion of Java, Geertz emphasized the strong influence of *abangan* Islam, upon return to Indonesia in the 1980s, he remarked that the younger generation of

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[72] Over 250 died in Maluku this past spring after several months of clashes between Christians and Muslims. "Will the army defend or defeat Indonesia's new democracy?" The Economist. April 10 (1999), p. 39. This past April Indonesia's largest mosque was bombed in Jakarta and soon after a nearby cathedral was set on fire. "The wild bunch," The Economist. April 24 (1999), p. 39.

[73] Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Islam in Modern History. (Princeton, 1957), p. 295.

[74] B. J. Boland, The Struggle of Islam, p. 4.

abangan Muslims were now becoming *santri*.[75] M. Nasir Tamara suggests that a "back to Islam" movement has been gaining momentum among Javanese youth since the 1980s.[76] It has been estimated that around 56% of the Javanese population is *santri*, while 44% are *abangan*.[77] Indonesians remain true to the core of Islam while asserting their unique Islamic identity.[78]

As the world Muslim community becomes closer, Indonesian pride in its Islamic heritage has been on the increase. The main goal at present for Islam is to propagate pure Islamic traditions to fellow Muslims, especially to the most syncretic villagers. The Islamic state is a distant goal for many members of Muslim organizations; it is believed that this state will form naturally in the distant future after the nation's attachment to Islam is strengthened.

While Indonesian Islam may be getting stronger, it remains unique. Javanese mystical and cultural influences can never be removed from Islam on this island. There is no such thing as "pure" Islam in any country, and Indonesia is certainly no exception.

Conclusion

Despite the long history of the cultures and traditions on the archipelago, the Indonesian nation is still very young. Religious pluralism has always been a reality, but

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[75] "Islam and the warrior-king in the Indonesian shadow play," The Economist. December 14 (1985), p. 35.

[76] Tamara, Indonesia in the Wake of Islam, pp. 5-9. For a discussion of Islamic resurgence among youth in Eastern Indonesia, see Christian Kiem, "Re-Islamization among Muslim Youth in Ternate Town, Eastern Indonesia." Sojourn, vol. 8, no. 1 (1993), pp. 92-127.

[77] Interview with a Canadian of Indonesian descent, July 22, (1999).

[78] One example of Indonesia's unique approach to Islam is the prayer call. In Indonesia, this lasts for up to seven minutes and is a flowery song pleasing to local ears. In Arab countries, the prayer call is much shorter, and "more practical," lasting only up to two minutes. Interview with an Indonesian-born Canadian Muslim. July, 22 (1999).

Indonesians have only recently been faced with the challenge of bringing these diverse traditions together under one central authority. Javanese traditions, Hinduism and Islam have been important historical forces. These traditions continue to be re-interpreted and their role in Indonesian life changes over time. Over the course of the twentieth century, Islam has played an important role in uniting Indonesians; most people take great pride in their Islamic identity. The Indonesian people have shown great respect for their cultural and religious diversity for thousands of years, and this situation of tolerance and unity in diversity continues in this plural society.

Indonesia has long been faced with the challenge of building meaningful relationships among its diverse peoples. Indonesians arriving in Canada bring with them an appreciation for differences. Because of this, Indonesian immigrants can make an important contribution to Canadian society by providing a model for bridging the differences that keep Canadians of various backgrounds apart.

Chapter Five

Religion, Ethnicity and Identity among Indonesian Muslims in Canada

In this chapter, I will present the results of ethnographic research among members of the Indonesian community in Ottawa. After providing some statistical and socio-demographic information on the community, I will discuss the information gained from questionnaires and interviews concerning ethnic identity and heritage, and the importance of Islam. In addition, I will discuss the community's relations with each other, with other Muslims, and with other Canadians. Comparisons will be made based on gender and the length of time spent in Canada. In the last section, I will discuss the results of research among the descendants of Indonesian immigrants to Canada.

Statistical Background on the Indonesian Community

In the second half of the twentieth century, a small number of Indonesians began to immigrate to Canada. In 1996, there were approximately 8700 people of Indonesian ethnic origin living in Canada.[1] There are 9300 Indonesian-born people now living in Canada.[2] Just over half of the Indonesians in Canada are women. Over 80% of immigrants from Indonesia came to Canada after 1961, with Indonesian immigration peaking during the 1970s.[3]

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[1] 54% of respondents of Indonesian ethnic origin (single and multiple responses) are female, while 46% are male. Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, "Population by Ethnic Origin (188) and Sex(3)," 93F0026XDB96001.

[2] This includes immigrants and non-permanent residents. Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, "Immigrants and Non-permanent Residents (3) by Place of Birth(260A)," N02_0411.

[3] 25% of the population immigrated between 1971 and 1980. Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, "Immigrant Population by Place of Birth (260A) and Sex(3)," N03_0411.

Ottawa-Hull has the fourth largest population of Indonesians in Canada with a community of approximately 375 people.[4] The first Indonesian to immigrate to Ottawa arrived in 1955, and worked at the Indonesian embassy while attending university.

The Indonesians in Ottawa are part of a transient community made up in large part of embassy staff and university students. Some students and embassy staff choose to stay in Canada, but many return to Indonesia. The Embassy of Indonesia is the focal point of this small community, and many participate in embassy-sponsored events. There is a small number of people who are not in contact with the embassy.

Socio-demographic information on the Sample

The Indonesians surveyed include prominent community members, their families and acquaintances, and some exchange students. All of the respondents are first-generation immigrants or non-permanent residents. Just over 50% of respondents who indicated their citizenship status on the questionnaire[5] are landed immigrants, and 15% are Canadian citizens. Non-permanent residents (including mostly students, some embassy staff and their spouses) represent just over 30% of respondents.

The single most important reason for coming to Canada was for education. Forty-eight percent of respondents included education in a list of reasons for moving to this country. The next most important reasons for coming were to join family and job transfer.[6]

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[4] Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, "Population by Ethnic Origin (188) and Sex(3)," 93F0026XDB96001.

[5] 5% of respondents did not reply to question 5 ("What is your citizenship status in Canada?") on the survey.

[6] See question 3, Questionnaire, Appendix.

The Indonesians are a fairly new community in Canada. Approximately one-third of those surveyed[7] have lived in Canada for less than four years. Nineteen percent have been here for four to ten years, while approximately thirty-six percent have lived in Canada for eleven to twenty years. Twelve percent have been here for more than twenty years. Survey respondents represent a newer community of immigrants than the Canadian census indicates.

Non-permanent residents represent 71% of those who have lived here for less than four years, 46% of the four to ten years group, and under 7% of the 11-20 year group. Non-permanent residents include students, Indonesian government officials and visitors. All of the respondents who have lived in Canada for more than twenty years are permanent residents (including landed immigrants and citizens).

Comparisons showed that permanent and non-pennanent residents responded similarly to survey questions. The length of time spent in Canada, or the period of arrival in this country, were more significant factors in influencing responses.

There is a significantly higher percentage of female permanent residents than male. Approximately 93% of female respondents are permanent residents compared with only 56% of males, the remaining males being largely exchange students and embassy staff who retain non-permanent status.

The Indonesians are a fairly young group. Over sixty percent of respondents are between 25 and 44 years old, while approximately 27% are between the ages of 45 and 64. About 5% are between the ages of 18 and 24, and 7% are over 65. The women in the survey are younger then the men.

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[7] Out of a total of 42 respondents.

Most of the Indonesians surveyed are university-educated and many have white-collar jobs. Some students (mostly post-graduate) were included in the sample. Just over half of the women (56%) are homemakers; administrative positions are the second most popular occupation for women.

The Indonesian population is spread out among many different neighbourhoods in the Ottawa area. Some live near the Embassy of Indonesia and the main mosque. One family I spoke with lives in a co-operative for Muslims. However, most of the community lives in various parts of the city.

Most respondents are from the island of Java in Indonesia. The majority grew up in Jakarta, Central Java or East Java. Before coming to Canada, approximately 86% of respondents spent most of their lives in Java[7], while approximately 12% lived in the outer islands of Indonesia.[8] About 2% spent most of their lives outside Indonesia before coming to Canada. Indonesia is a regionally and culturally diverse country, and the dominant Javanese culture has often overpowered other regional expressions of identity. Attitudes expressed in this survey represent an overwhelmingly Javanese perspective.

Seventy-eight percent of survey respondents are Muslim, while approximately 12% are Christian, 7% Hindu and less than 3% Buddhist. While a very large number of both men and women are Muslim, there is a higher percentage of Christians among the

[7] Respondents from Java represent the provinces of West Java, East Java, Jakarta, Central Java and Yogyakarta.

[8] Over half the population of present-day Indonesia lives on Java. As of last year, 107 million people out of the total Indonesian population of 201 million lived on Java. "Background Notes: Indonesia," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, United States Department of State (October, 1998). Internet address: www.state.gov/www/background_notes/indonesia_1098_bgn.html

women than the men. Nearly 20% of women in the sample are Christian, compared with 8% of the men. No Hindu or Buddhist women were surveyed.

All of the Christian respondents are permanent residents, while approximately 72% of Muslims are permanent residents. All the Buddhists and Hindus surveyed are foreign students. The Muslims in the survey have lived the longest in Canada; two-thirds of them have lived in Canada for 11 to 20 years, and all the respondents who have lived here for more than 20 years are Muslim.

A significant minority of respondents plan to remain in Canada in the future. Almost 40% of all respondents (including non-permanent residents) plan on living in Canada ten years from now. Over 25% plan on moving back to Indonesia, and about the same percentage do not know where they would like to live ten years from now. Seven percent (mostly embassy staff) indicated that they would like to live in another country besides Canada or Indonesia.

Many of the Indonesians[9] have young children who were born in Canada or brought here while young. The fact that many Indonesians start families here likely encourages an attachment to Canada, even if the parents are not permanent residents.

Attachment to Indonesian Heritage

Indonesia is a very diverse country with many cultural traditions. Because of this, it is difficult to ascertain one common Indonesian identity. However, the research participants did identify with some aspects of a common Indonesian heritage. Being

[9] I use the term "Indonesian" in its ethnic sense to describe Canadians of Indonesian ethnic origin as well as ethnic Indonesians who are not permanent residents or Canadian citizens.

Indonesian means different things to people from different parts of the country; however, survey respondents expressed an attachment to similar values.

Around 88% of respondents had a "somewhat high," "high," or "very high" score on the scale of attachment to Indonesian heritage.[10] Muslims are slightly more attached to their Indonesian heritage than non-Muslims. Ninety percent of Muslims scored "very high," "high," or "somewhat high" on the scale while 78% of non-Muslims had "high" or "somewhat high" scores. No non-Muslims ranked "very high" on the attachment to Indonesian heritage scale. Christians are slightly less attached to their Indonesian heritage than respondents of other faiths.

Differences in responses according to gender and length of time in Canada for this and other variables will be discussed later.

Indonesians surveyed retain a strong sense of Indonesian national identity, one component of the attachment to Indonesian heritage scale. Over 60% of questionnaire respondents identified themselves as "Indonesian," while less than 25% identified as "Indonesian-Canadian." The remaining respondents identified as "other",[11] "Canadian-Indonesian" or "Canadian."

Most of the interviewees expressed a strong identification with Indonesia, if only because they can express themselves best in the Indonesian language and they understand

[10] For a description of this composite variable, see chapter two, "Research Methodology," pp. 24-25.

[11] Respondents who checked the "other" category described themselves as "Muslim" or "Canadian-Indonesian-Chinese"

the culture. One respondent's assertion, "Indonesia is a part of me. It is my mother land,"[12] represents the feelings of many respondents.

Some respondents retain strong ties to their regional identities from within Indonesia. Approximately 76% of respondents still speak their local language. One Javanese woman interviewed indicated that she missed speaking her local language, because it reminded her of her family. "It feels good to hear just one word."[13] In response to the survey question concerning the relative importance of national and regional identities[14], approximately 64% of respondents identified as Indonesian first and 24% felt that both their national Indonesian and regional identities were equally important. As the sample is overwhelmingly made up of people of Javanese heritage, these statistics do not adequately represent the regional differences. Further analysis shows that Javanese respondents tend to identify with Indonesian national identity more than respondents from the outer islands. Forty percent of outer islanders rank their regional identity as first and foremost, compared with under 3% of Javanese. However, some Javanese are resentful that a pan-Indonesian culture has been forced upon them, and instead prefer to assert their own distinct Javanese heritage.

Regional differences have little effect on overall attachment to Indonesian heritage, as the vast majority of respondents from all regions were ranked highly ("very high," "high," or "somewhat high") on this scale.

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[12] Interview, July 10, 1999.

[13] Interview, July 16, 1999.

[14] Question 15, Questionnaire, Appendix.

Indonesian Independence Day is an important holiday for Indonesians in the Ottawa area. The celebration of Independence Day is another component of the attachment to Indonesian heritage variable. Approximately 90% celebrated Independence Day last year, and over 50% consider the holiday to be "very important." Over 25% consider the holiday to be "somewhat important."

The principles of the Indonesian state ideology *Pancasila* also influence the lives of Indonesian-Canadians, although some respondents are disillusioned with *Pancasila*, saying that the Indonesian government does not put these principles into practice. Approximately 50% feel that Pancasila has had a very strong influence on their lives, while 1/3 feel that its influence has been somewhat strong. The most important principle of Pancasila to Indonesian-Canadians in the Ottawa area is the belief in God; over 80% of respondents ranked this as the most important.

Some dearly held Indonesian values include community closeness and concern for others, family values and respect for elders. Many interview respondents feel that the Indonesian concept of *gotong royong* (helping oneself through helping others) is important to them, and represents the important values of sharing with others and taking care of neighbours. Indonesians have close families and it is important that children show respect for their parents. Respect for others and especially older people is another value that many interviewees appreciate about their Indonesian culture.

Indonesian Community Relations

Indonesians surveyed are members of a somewhat close-knit ethnic community. "We're very close with each other," suggests one participant.[15] Most respondents had a "somewhat high" or "high" score on the scale of attachment to the Indonesian community.[16] However, only 2% of respondents ranked "very high." Fourteen percent were "moderately" attached to their ethnic community, and 7% were given a "somewhat low" score.

Most people know their fellow Indonesians fairly well. Some people feel it is the language that brings them together. And, although the community may only meet once in a while, respondents indicated that they look forward to community gatherings.

Religious affiliation has no bearing on community relations, as there is a similar distribution of rankings on the community relations scale among members of all religious groups.

Endogamy and in-group friends

The Indonesian community in Canada is highly endogamous. Over 75% of married respondents wed other Indonesians. Around 90% of respondents are married, and all of the Muslims are either married or widowed. Inter-religious marriage is not at all common as over 90% of Muslims are married to other Muslims and none of the Christians or Hindus in the survey are married to Muslims.

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[15] Interview, July 13, 1999.

[16] See chapter two, pp. 25-26, for a description of the Attachment to Indonesian community variable.

A high percentage of respondents are close friends with other Indonesians. Approximately 60% of those surveyed indicated that out of their three closest friends, all are Indonesian. Over half of those surveyed are members of Indonesian organizations. And over 70% get together with other Indonesians (non-family members) a few times a month or more.

Region and Community Ties

Respondents of Javanese heritage are closer to the Indonesian community than those from other regions of Indonesia. Sixty percent of respondents from the outer islands had "moderate" or "somewhat low" scores on the community attachment scale, while over 80% of Javanese had scores of "somewhat high" or higher.

Islamic Observance

The Indonesian Muslims surveyed are generally very observant of Islam. In total, over 75% had scores in the high ranges on the scale of Islamic observance,[17] and over half of the respondents scored "very high" on the scale. No one had a score of lower than "moderate."

Maintenance of Islamic Observance

Most of the Muslims surveyed were highly observant of Islam before coming to Canada, and maintain these high levels of observance in this country. A small number of respondents have become slightly more observant of Islam in Canada, while a similarly small number has become less observant.

Approximately 96% of those who observed the Ramadan fast in Indonesia also

[17] See chapter two, pp. 26-27, for a description of the Islamic observance variable.

fast in Canada. Seventy percent of those who prayed regularly in Indonesia also pray regularly in Canada. All of the males who performed Friday prayer in Indonesia also pray every Friday at mosques in Canada. In addition, all of the respondents who eliminated pork and alcohol from their diets in Indonesia also eliminate these foods in Canada.

The Meaning of Islam for Indonesians

Many of the Indonesians surveyed see the Qur'an as playing an important role as a guide for everyday life. Reformist influences are evident. "The Qur'an talks about how to relate with the universe. How to relate with people, with trees, with all the universe. It is all in *al Qur'an*; we have the guidance there."[18]

It is important to most Indonesian Muslims to have an Islamic attitude in everything they do. They incorporate Islamic teachings in their dealings with other people in all aspects of life. The Qur'an sets out the guidelines for treating others respectfully. Many respondents emphasize the importance of asking for guidance from and being thankful to a higher power, and all indicate that the belief in the one God is the most fundamental aspect of Islam. They point out that proper intentions and good actions make a good Muslim.

Interview participants highlight the importance of having respect for all religions. This attitude is based on passages from the Qur'an such as Sura 109, verse 6: "to you is your religion, to me is my religion," and Sura 2, verse 256: "there shall be no compulsion in religion..." In addition, many Indonesian Muslims feel that it is important to

[18] Interview, July 13, 1999.

acknowledge the commonalities among the three "religions of the book," and acknowledge the wisdom of all the prophets. They feel that we should work together despite our differences and learn from each other.

Indonesians are continually striving to improve their Islamic practice. They are sometimes critical of their observance of Islam. Some chastise themselves for being too lazy to go to the mosque. Others feel that the Indonesian community, and sometimes they as individuals, should be stronger Muslims. Some are optimistic, however, that their mindfulness is improving with age. This humble attitude is prevalent in the Indonesian approach to Islam and in the respect for differences.

Relationship with the Canadian Muslim Community

The Indonesian Muslims surveyed display a relatively close relationship with the Muslim community in Canada. More than seventy percent of respondents had scores in the high range on the Relationship with the Canadian Muslim community scale.[19] There was a fairly even distribution among most of the ratings. Around twenty-five percent had a "moderate" score, and no one scored lower than "moderate."

About two-thirds of the Indonesians surveyed find other Muslims to be "very accepting" of their Islamic practice. The perceived acceptance of non-Indonesian Muslims is one component of the overall relationship with Muslims scale. Twelve percent find that other Muslims are "somewhat accepting" of their Islamic practice, while approximately 15% find non-Indonesian Muslims to be "neutral" in their acceptance.

[19] See chapter two, pp.27-28, for a description of the Relationship with Canadian Muslims variable.

The fact that Indonesian Muslims feel that they are largely accepted by the Muslim community in Canada was surprising to me because Indonesian Muslims have often been looked down upon by Muslims from other parts of the Islamic world. The perception of Indonesian Muslims has traditionally been that they are not very serious practitioners of the religion. Perhaps this perception is changing in Canada. However, most of the Indonesians I have met do not like to criticize others and have an optimistic view of most situations. Perhaps the Indonesian respondents to the survey did not want to appear overly critical and thus gave more positive responses than negative ones to the questions about their perceptions of others.

All of the respondents indicated that non-Indonesian Muslims are friendly towards them. Perceived friendliness of non-Indonesian Muslims is another component of the relationship variable. Approximately 70% of respondents feel that other Muslims are "very friendly," and 27% find them to be "somewhat friendly."

In addition, Indonesian Muslims retain some friendships with other Canadian Muslims. The number of non-Indonesian Muslim friends is another component of the relationship variable. About 40% have many non-Indonesian Muslim friends while over 45% have some Muslim friends outside their ethnic community. Just over 10% of respondents have no non-Indonesian Muslim friends.

Indonesians pray together as an ethnic group more often than they pray with Muslims from other groups. Over half of respondents pray with their families and/or other Indonesians, while less than 25% indicated that they pray with some non-Indonesian Muslims.

About two-thirds of the interview participants are involved with the Ottawa Muslim Association. Many want to take part in more association activities and criticize themselves for not participating enough. The Muslim umma is an important source of inspiration for many of the Indonesian Muslims surveyed. As one respondent told me: "I get excited when I see other Muslims ... just knowing that someone else has that feeling or that belief. And when they say 'Assalamu 'alaikum' to me it means so much more than 'hello.'"[20] Most feel that they learn from other Muslims in the community.

The umma is like an extended family for many of the Indonesians. They refer to other Muslims as their brothers and sisters, and point out that they are often welcomed by other Muslims as part of their family. This sense of closeness depends on the individual, of course. A minority of respondents do not associate at all with the Muslim community. Also, the Indonesians are quick to point out that not all Muslims are good people with whom they would want to associate.

In general, it is the most highly observant Muslims who also tend to have closer relationships with the Canadian Islamic community.

Islam and culture

Living in Canada where the Islamic community is very diverse, Indonesian Muslims often become aware of the different cultural influences in Islam. One woman points out:

> After I came here, I found out that some of the culture is not Islamic culture, that it's Indonesian culture. When you are here, you meet a lot of Muslims from all different parts of the world. Then you know what is typically Indonesian and what is really Islamic.[21]

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[20] Interview, July 9, 1999.

[21] Interview, July 13, 1999.

Many people talk about trying to rid themselves of "cultural baggage" in the practise of Islam.[22]

A small number of interview respondents resent the overwhelming Arab influence in Islam, and resent being identified with Arab cultural forms of the religion. Others look up to the Arabs, saying they are more bold than the Indonesians in the practise of the faith. Whatever their attitude toward Arabs, Indonesians are highly aware of the differences between their ethnic community and the Arab community.

The Indonesians surveyed appreciate the different cultural backgrounds of the Muslim community in Canada. Many feel that they can learn a lot from the cultural diversity. They "treat it like a blessing" that people from all over the world, and from all different backgrounds come together because of Islam.[23] The Indonesians interviewed are very accepting of slight cultural variations in prayer practice, because they feel that "differences don't matter... as long as you follow the main rules of the religion."[24]

Islam transcends culture and provides deeply rooted guidelines for living. It is the reference point people can go back to in spite of cultural differences. As one respondent suggests, when there are cultural differences, "we come back to the [Islamic] guidelines and sort things out ... The customs may be different but [we're all Muslims.]"[25]

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[22] Interviews, July 9 and July 13, 1999.

[23] Interview, July 13, 1999.

[24] Interview, July 12, 1999.

[25] Interview, July 13, 1999.

Many respondents indicate that Indonesian cultural values are hard to distinguish from Islamic values. "A lot of the [Indonesian] culture fits with Islam ...[like] the tradition of helping others..."[26] and "respect for older people ... Islam is very much in tune with those types of [Indonesian] values."[27]

Gender and Ethnic and Religious Identity

Indonesian Heritage and Gender

Men and women both scored highly on attachment to Indonesian heritage. Over 60% of respondents of both genders were given scores of "very high" or "high" on the attachment to ethnic heritage scale (see Appendix VI, Table IIA). But, while both genders identify with their ethnic heritage, men are slightly more attached to the Indonesian heritage than women (see Table IA).

Gender and Community Ties

Male and female respondents are both generally attached to their Indonesian community. Men scored slightly higher than women did on the community attachment scale, with 80% of males rating in the high range on the scale and 75% of females in the high range (see Tables IB and IIB).

Women are more likely to have more close friends who are Indonesian than men, however. Over 87% of female respondents indicated that two-thirds or more of their closest friends are Indonesian, while 68% of males responded similarly.

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[26] Interview, July 19, 1999.

[27] Interview, July 9, 1999.

In addition, women are more involved in the organized Indonesian community, with over 60% membership in local Indonesian organizations. Just over half of men are members of local ethnic organizations.

Men, on the other hand, spend more time with other Indonesians. 80% of men meet with other Indonesians a few times per month or more, while less than 70% of women meet regularly with other Indonesians.

In addition, the men surveyed are more endogamous than women. Of married respondents, over 90% of men married other Indonesians while fewer than 75% of women married within their ethnic group.

Gender and Islamic Observance

Both men and women are highly observant Muslims. Most respondents from both groups had "high" or "very high" scores on the scale of Islamic observance. A significantly higher percentage of men than women had a "very high" score on the scale. Around 20% of respondents from both gender groups had "moderate" scores on the scale of Islamic observance (see Table IIC).

There is little difference in the observance of the Ramadan fast between the genders, although men and women do differ slightly in observance of halal restrictions. Of those men who ate only halal food in Indonesia, approximately 75% eat only halal in Canada as well. Women are less consistent than men are when it comes to this practice. About 40% of women who observed halal restrictions in Indonesia observe them in Canada.

Both groups showed a high rate of observance for prayer practise in Indonesia and Canada. Around 1/3 of females who always prayed in Indonesia always pray in Canada.

In contrast, those Indonesian women who prayed only sometimes in their home country now pray more in Canada. The increases in prayer practice offset the decreases for women, whereas men showed no significant change in practice between Indonesia and Canada.

Friday prayer is not a requirement for women and many are unable to go, or feel uncomfortable attending mosque. Although the results of the comparison of Friday prayer patterns in Indonesia and Canada are not entirely conclusive, female practice of Friday prayer has been generally low in both countries. For women, there is a similar crossover pattern as in the case of daily prayers for changes in Friday prayer practice when comparing Indonesia and Canada. Many women who practised Friday prayer in Indonesia pray less in Canada. In contrast, those women who never performed Friday prayer in Indonesia are praying more frequently at the mosque in Canada.

In general, male Muslims are slightly more observant than women, though both groups are very observant (see Table IC). Men's Islamic practice does not change in Canada, whereas some aspects of the women's practice do change.

Gender and Relationship with non-Indonesian Muslims

Men and women both have close relationships with non-Indonesian Muslims (see Tables ID and IID). The only indicator where slight gender differences are evident is in the number of non-Indonesian Muslim friends. Approximately 60% of women have only "some" other Canadian Muslim friends while almost the same percentage of men have "many" non-Indonesian Muslim friends. In contrast, less than 10% of women have no non-Indonesian Muslim friends, while over 15% of men have no other Canadian Muslim friends.

Women have often been seen as transmitters of ethnic culture and religion. As Danielle Juteau points out, mothers "ethnicize" their children by transmitting human and cultural values.[28] In the case of the Indonesians, women are no more closely tied to their culture than men. In fact, women are slightly less attached to their ethnic heritage and community than men are. In addition, although Islamic values are of equal importance to women as they are to men, women are not as externally observant of Islam as the men surveyed. Women are not more religious than men in the Indonesian case.

Length of Time in Canada and Ethnic and Religious Identity

For some respondents, the length of time spent in Canada, and the period of immigration[29] affect certain aspects of Indonesian Muslim identity. For others, the length of time and period of immigration have little effect upon identity.

Length of time in Canada and attachment to Indonesian heritage

The length of time spent in Canada does not strongly affect attachment to ethnic heritage. Groups from all periods of immigration scored in the high ranges on the Attachment to Indonesian heritage scale, although those who have lived in Canada for more than ten years had lower scores (see Table IIIA). All of those who have been in Canada for ten years or less had "very high," "high," or "somewhat high" scores on attachment to Indonesian heritage. Approximately 70% of immigrants from the 11-20 year group scored in the high range, and 80% of respondents who have lived here for more than twenty years also had "very high," "high," or "somewhat high" scores (see

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[28] Danielle Juteau-Lee, "La Production de l'ethnicité ou la part réelle de l'idéel," Sociologie et Sociétés, vol. 15, number 2. (1989), pp. 46, 48, 50.

[29] Period of immigration means the time of arrival in Canada. Permanent and non-permanent residents are both included in this designation.

Table IVA).

Length of Time in Canada and Community Ties

Indonesian community relations are not significantly influenced by the length of time in Canada. Attachment to the community is consistently high for groups from all periods of immigration, but there is a slight decline over time (see Tables IIIB and IVB). More than 85% of respondents who have lived in Canada for less than ten years had "very high," "high," or "somewhat high" scores on the community attachment scale. Approximately 70% of the 11-20 year group had scores in the higher ranges, and 60% of respondents who have been here over 20 years also scored highly.

Time spent with Indonesians, one component of the compound ethnic community attachment variable, does not vary uniformly with the length of time in Canada; there are differences according to period of immigration. Respondents who came to Canada between 11 and 20 years ago associate with other Indonesians the most. Those who arrived less than 4 years ago are next highest, with over 75% of respondents in this group meeting other Indonesians a few times per month or more. Sixty percent of those who moved to Canada over twenty years ago get together with other Indonesians on a fairly regular basis. While respondents in the 4-10 year group associate with other Indonesians the least.

Another component on the scale of community attachment is membership in Indonesian organizations. Indonesians who have been in Canada for the least amount of time are less likely to belong to Indonesian organizations. This is perhaps due to the fact that most from this group are non-permanent residents and have less to gain in the long

term from joining any organizations while in Canada. In fact, this group has the highest percentage of respondents who are not members of any local organizations. Among respondents who have been settled in Canada for more than four years, a large number are members of Indonesian community organizations.

Respondents in this study may display a higher degree of involvement in community organizations than the general Indonesian community due to the large number who are associated with the embassy, which sponsors many of the local Indonesian organizations.

Indonesian friendships, another component of the compound community attachment variable, are not significantly influenced by the length of time in Canada, although there is a slight decline in the number of close Indonesian friends over time. Eighty-six percent of respondents who have lived in Canada for less than 4 years indicated that over two-thirds of their closest friends are Indonesian, while 60% of respondents who have lived in Canada for more than twenty years indicated that more than two-thirds of their closest friends are Indonesian.

Time in Canada and Islamic observance

Prayer practices, one component of the Islamic observance scale, are not affected by the amount of time spent in Canada. Observance of halal restrictions and observance of the Ramadan fast, the other components of the scale, decline slightly according to the amount of time spent in Canada. As a result of these minor changes in fasting practises, overall Islamic observance is slightly influenced by the length of time spent in Canada.

Age and period of immigration are other factors that affect Islamic observance. Over the past twenty years in Indonesia, a movement to revive Islam began among the

university-educated youth. Islamic pride continues to be very strong among university students in Canada as well; all of the respondents in the under twenty-four age group had very high scores on the Islamic observance scale. Islamic pride is also strong among other members of the Indonesian Muslim community. Some middle-aged interview participants who did not attend university in Indonesia have suggested that they are becoming stronger Muslims as they get older. Eighty-five percent of the 45-64 year age group had scores in the high ranges on the Islamic observance scale, while three-quarters of the 25-44 year age group had similarly high scores. Indonesians who emigrated to Canada before the Islamic revival twenty years ago are generally less observant of Islam. Most of the members of this immigrant group are over 65 years old now. Sixty percent of respondents in the over 65 year age group had moderate scores on the scale of Islamic observance.

The most recent immigrants to Canada maintain the highest levels of Islamic observance. Ninety percent of respondents who moved to Canada less than four years ago had scores in the high ranges ("somewhat high," "high," or "very high") on the scale of Islamic observance (see Table IVC). Those who immigrated between 11 and 20 years ago are also highly observant. Most respondents who arrived in Canada over twenty years ago are, not surprisingly, only moderately observant of Islam (see Tables IIIC and IVC). Oddly, it is the members of the 4-10 year immigrant cohort who have the lowest levels of Islamic observance. Further demographic analysis of this group provides a possible explanation. Over half of the respondents in this group are women, and the women surveyed are generally less observant of Islam than men. Also, most respondents in the 4-10 year group are between the ages of 25 and 44, with a large number in their

thirties. The respondents are between university age and middle age. Thus, they are not affected by the strong pride in Islam prevalent among university students, and they have not yet reached an age where, as some respondents have reported, Islam becomes more important to them.

Survey respondents are consistently high in the practice of daily prayer no matter how long they have lived in Canada or when they arrived.[30] Almost all men perform Friday prayer regardless of the length of time spent in Canada. A minority of male respondents who have lived in Canada for between four and ten years do not pray at the mosque every week, but these respondents also did not pray every week before they came to Canada.

Time in Canada and Relationship with the Canadian Muslim Community

Highly observant Muslims who have been in Canada for a long time tend to be closest with the Canadian Islamic community. The most religiously observant groups (those who arrived in Canada less than 4 years ago and those who moved here between 11 and 20 years ago) have the closest relationship with non-Indonesian Muslims (see Tables IIID and IVD). Respondents who have been here for more than twenty years also display a close relationship with other Muslims despite the fact that they are less observant of Islam. Because members of this group have lived in Canada for so long, they have been able to get to know their fellow Muslims in this country. Respondents who have lived in Canada for 4-10 years display the weakest relationship with non-Indonesian Muslims; their mean scores on the relationship scale were moderate. This

[30] The slight decreases in observance offset the slight increases for women. See previous section on gender.

group is also the least observant of Islam. They do not display a strong desire to be part of the Islamic community in Canada, and because they have not lived in Canada for very long, they have not had much opportunity to get to know their fellow Muslims.

The perception of non-Indonesian Muslims is relatively positive among all groups surveyed. But, respondents in the 11 to 20 year group express a more positive evaluation of non-Indonesian Muslims than the other Indonesians. For example, all the respondents in this category considered other Muslims to be "very friendly" compared to less than 70% of respondents from other groups. The remaining respondents from other immigrant groups considered non-Indonesian Muslims to be "somewhat friendly." In addition, all respondents from the 11 to 20 year group found other Canadian Muslims to be either "very accepting" or "somewhat accepting" of their Islamic practice, while a small number of respondents from other immigrant groups had neutral or negative perceptions of the attitude of non-Indonesian Muslims toward them. Respondents who have been in Canada the longest also have more non-Indonesian Muslim friends than other groups.

Indonesians retain strong ethnic and religious ties in Canada. Respondents who have been in Canada the longest are slightly less attached to their Indonesian heritage and ethnic community than those who have lived here for less time. In contrast, Indonesians who have lived in Canada for a long time retain strong ties to the Canadian Muslim community. Islamic observance does not increase or decrease in a direct relationship with the amount of time spent in Canada. Islamic practise is influenced by a number of factors, such as age, gender and period of emigration from Indonesia.

In Canada, religious and ethnic aspects of identity remain strong among Indonesians. At the same time, this group finds new sources of identity in the Canadian context.

Comparing Aspects of Ethnic and Religious Identity

Indonesian Muslims retain an attachment to their Indonesian heritage and close ties to their ethnic group.

Most Muslims had "somewhat high," "high," or "very high" scores on both the scales of attachment to Indonesian heritage and Islamic observance. In a small number of cases, strong attachment to Indonesian heritage can be associated with only moderate levels of Islamic observance. (Twenty percent of Muslims who are highly attached to their Indonesian heritage scored moderately on Islamic observance).

Two thirds of Muslims surveyed had "somewhat high," "high," or "very high" scores on both the scales of attachment to the Indonesian community and Islamic observance. Among those who scored "very high" on Islamic observance, approximately 70% scored "somewhat high" on attachment to the ethnic community.

The most observant Muslims, while still retaining strong ethnic ties, are slightly less attached to their ethnic heritage and community than less observant Muslims.

Almost 60% of respondents had scores of "very high, " "high," or "somewhat high" on both the attachment to Indonesian community and relationship with the Canadian Muslim community scales. The Indonesians surveyed reach out as a close-knit ethnic group to other Muslim groups in Canada. They are involved in both their ethnic and religious communities.

Islamic and ethnic identities are not at odds with each other, and instead co-exist for Indonesian Muslims in Canada.

Canadian Identity

Similarities not differences

Although many respondents did acknowledge some cultural and religious differences between Indonesia and Canada, most interviewees were more interested in discussing what we all had in common as humans. Many of the research participants suggest that differences are only a result of circumstances, and that, below the surface, there is no difference between an Indonesian and a Canadian.[31]

Some are critical of Canadian multicultural policy for perpetuating differences. One respondent suggested, "I think people make too much of differences. People are the same."[32] On the other hand, many respondents support multicultural policy because it allows them to freely express their cultural and religious identity.

Appreciation for Canadian culture

Participants in the research all display a high level of tolerance for the Canadian way of life. Although some accepted Canadian practices go against Indonesian values (like homosexuality and pre-marital sex), most Indonesians avoid passing judgment or criticizing Canadian society. Respondents cite Sura 109, "to you is your religion, and to me is my religion," as the directive on open-mindedness.

Many respondents have pointed out that Canadians are very respectful of their ways, and are very polite. They suggest that they have had no problems in practising

[31] Interviews, July 12 and July 26, 1999.

[32] Interview, July 26, 1999.

their religion in Canada. Also, many of the interview participants appreciate the freedom they have in Canada. However, some fear that individual liberties can go too far in this country, allowing for an individual's selfish desires to overtake the needs of the community. Some feel that societal restrictions in such places as Indonesia can encourage concern for others, placing limits on individual desires, and putting the good of the community first.

Respondents are appreciative of the economic advantages in Canada. They feel it is easy to be successful here. Many of the Indonesians surveyed also respect the Canadian value of individuality:

> I think people here are braver and ... more willing to stand out and be different. In Indonesia everyone wants to be the same. I guess they're afraid of being confrontational. But here you learn from grade one or grade two to express yourself. You write in your journal everyday; you learn to respect other people and respect differences. That's what they teach you here.[33]

Integrating into Canadian society

It is important to the Indonesian respondents that they participate in Canadian society. Many expressed their desire to belong and felt it was important to adapt to the Canadian environment. Most Indonesians interviewed associate regularly with their neighbours, and participate in Canadian holidays such as Canada Day and Thanksgiving; some have even celebrated Christmas with their Canadian friends and family.

Many participants also indicated that it was important for them to make a contribution to Canadian society. Some perform various volunteer activities such as donating blood and some have been members of community organizations such as

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[33] Interview, July 13, 1999.

Kiwanis and school advisory committees. As one respondent asserts, the concept of exchange is important: "we try to contribute whatever we can ... you can't just take and take, you have to give something back."[34]

Respondents who have been here the longest suggest that their Canadian identity is very important to them. They feel that they are fully Canadian.

Discrimination and misunderstandings

> The impression of Islam here is that it is Arab terrorism. That's completely not true. Terrorism has nothing to do with religion. And conversion is not part of our faith. These are misinterpretations.[35]

Indonesians recognize that they are faced with the challenge of being an ethnic minority within a religious minority. Not only do they encounter negative stereotypes of Islam, but they are often not even accepted as Muslims. Some Muslims have a negative impression of Islam in Indonesia, or they have never even heard of the country at all. Most Canadians do not know that Indonesia is a Muslim country, let alone that it has the largest population of Muslims in the world. However, many respondents see a positive side to their predicament. They acknowledge that some people do know about Indonesia, and have a great respect for Indonesians as Muslims. Also, some feel that being a minority makes it easier to be respectful of differences and to recognize injustices in society.

Second Generation Indonesian-Canadians

The second-generation Indonesians interviewed display an appreciation for Indonesian culture and values, but feel that their Islamic identity takes precedence over

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[34] Interview, July 13, 1999.

[35] Interview, July 26, 1999.

the culture. The interview respondents indicate that their parent's Indonesian background has influenced them and is part of who they are. However, many of the Canadian-raised children of Indonesians embrace more purely religious Islamic values. Canadian values also have a strong influence.

Not one of the second-generation Indonesians I interviewed feels especially attached to the Indonesian community in Canada. They often go with their parents to embassy functions, but are put off by the formality of the gatherings.

All of the interview respondents are involved with the larger Muslim community, on the other hand. Cultural identity comes second to Islamic identity. One respondent asserted, "I'm Muslim first. I respect a lot of things in Canadian and Indonesian cultures, but first and foremost is my Islam."[36] Both of the women that I spoke to wear the hijab, and feel that it is a symbol of pride in their Islamic identity.

The Canadians of Indonesian descent see it as the role of the second generation to bring the culturally diverse Muslim community back to the fundamentals of Islam. As one respondent pointed out:

> I think people in my generation are trying to iron out all of these cultural aspects that really are not Islamic, and trying to get back to the essence ... to the fundamentals of Islam ... The people who grew up here [are] really getting back to what Islam is all about.[37]

Writing in 1955, Will Herberg suggested that third-generation American immigrants bring about a revival in religious identification and focus less on their

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[36] Interview, July 9, 1999.

[37] Interview, July 9, 1999.

ancestral culture.[38] Perhaps the children of Indonesian immigrants in Canada represent an acceleration of this process.

Respondents emphasized the influence of Indonesian family values on their lives, and indicate that they aspire to show such respect for others and treat their neighbours in the same way as is common in Indonesian society. However, the Canadian value of individuality is also important to them.

Although the people I interviewed grew up in Canada, some still do not feel that they are entirely accepted by Canadian society. They point out that people often ask them where they are from, not expecting them to have been born in Canada. One respondent feels that Canadian society puts limits on what he can do. He can not identify with the people he sees in the media. Another participant is disappointed that in Canadian society "we focus on what distinguishes us rather than what pulls us together."[39]

Discussion

Indonesians in Canada incorporate many different influences in defining their identity in the Canadian context.

Indonesian heritage is important to this community, and they adapt certain cultural symbols that are meaningful for their lives in Canada. Indonesian values such as respect for others, modesty, and family and community closeness are important to the community. Indonesians continue to use their national language and feel a nostalgic

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[38] Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew, An Essay in American Religious Sociology. Revised edition. (Garden City, New York:1960).

[39] Interview, July 9, 1999.

attachment to their regional languages as well. The embassy is an important institution that serves to remind Indonesians of their roots and keeps the community in close contact.

Indonesian Muslims also are attached to their Islamic heritage. Identification with Islam changes in the Canadian context because of the vast diversity of the Canadian Muslim community. The Canadian experience often promotes pride in Islamic identity, and Canadian-born Muslims work to strengthen Islamic identity even more.

Islamic teachings highlighting the importance of respecting differences are emphasized as Indonesian Muslims adapt to the Canadian multicultural environment. In Canada, Indonesians express their Islam differently than in Indonesia. For example, many women wear the hijab in Canada, as a symbol of modesty and also as a badge of Islamic identity. In Indonesia, most women do not wear the hijab, although more and more women are putting on the veil in Indonesia as well. Indonesians in Canada sometimes give their children Islamic names instead of, or along with, Indonesian and Canadian ones. Arabic phrases and greetings are very meaningful to many Indonesian Muslims in Canada. For example, the greeting "assalamu 'alaikum" symbolizes the kinship of the Muslim community.[40] Many Indonesians feel that it is important to maintain close ties with the Muslim umma.

Canadian influences are also important in the negotiation of Indonesian Muslim identity in Canada. As Rias Khan points out, "immigrants come here to be Canadians; to

[40] However, Arabic phrases have little meaning for at least one interview participant. This respondent much prefers to make use of the Canadian terms 'goodbye' and 'hello' than Arabic phrases. Interview, July 22, 1999.

be productive and contributing members of their chosen society."[41] It is important to Indonesians to maintain ties to their cultural and religious heritage, and they adapt these identities to the Canadian situation. People born in Indonesia and their children are Canadians in their own unique way.

Some important symbols of Canadian identity for ethnic Indonesians include individuality, freedom and respect for differences. Many Indonesians give their children Canadian names to represent the ties to Canada.

The Indonesian tradition of unity in diversity is easily adapted to Canadian plural society. In keeping with this tradition, Indonesian Muslims in Canada feel that the Indonesian, Muslim and Canadian aspects of their identity are all important to who they are in this place and time. As one respondent points out,

> each [of my Canadian, Islamic and Indonesian identities] has its own 'role' for me. I think that they're all blended together in everything that I do. I can't really separate which is more important than the other one. Because I am in Canada, and I'm also Muslim, and I'm also Indonesian.[42]

Indonesians value Canadian diversity while putting a strong emphasis on the similarities among peoples. They negotiate their identities in relation to the other people around them, and adapt traditions to the Canadian environment. In this way, Indonesians provide a model for how people in Canada can learn from each other and come together in spite of differences.

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[41] Cited in Neil Bissoondath, "No place like home." New Internationalist. (September, 1998), p. 21.

[42] Interview, July 16, 1999.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This work has focused on the religious process of identity negotiation within the Canadian context. I have used a combination of historical and sociological methods to investigate how Indonesian immigrants to Canada put down roots in this country, find a sense of place and form meaningful relationships with other Muslims and other Canadians.

In the introduction I discussed the complex relationship between religion and ethnicity. Because we discover, negotiate and create meaning for our lives through religion, the negotiation of ethnic identity is a religious process. Throughout Canadian history, it has often been difficult to distinguish between religious and ethnic identity. For many groups in Canada, including Muslim communities, culture and religion are closely related.

It has been a constant challenge in Canada for ethno-religious groups to bridge the gaps that have kept them separate from other Canadians. New immigrants to Canada have been encouraged to maintain differences rather than assert a common Canadian identity. Despite this, the experience of marginalized groups has proven that the transfer of ethnic identity as an intact entity from one place to another does not happen. Cultural, ethnic and religious identity is constantly being re-negotiated in the Canadian context. Immigrants to Canada retain ties to their cultural heritage while, at the same time, they form new relationships in Canadian society that affect who they become.

People negotiate identity in relation to cosmic, physical and human boundaries. These boundaries are constantly changing. For Muslims in Canada, the fundamental beliefs of Islam remain an important reference point, while traditions are redefined to suit the Canadian context. As the physical landscape that surrounds these people changes, religious practise is also modified. Muslims identify with Canada as their home, while at the same time they have roots all over the globe. As Muslims meet people with different worldviews, they find ways to include these people in their frame of meaning and work to create relationships with them.

Indonesians, who represent a small but important part of the Muslim community, also negotiate changing cosmic, physical and human boundaries in the Canadian context. Indonesians' Islamic and cultural heritage comes to be understood in a new light as they encounter Muslims from all over the world with radically different histories. Indonesians redefine their sense of place as they settle into their new Canadian home. As they meet their brothers and sisters from all over the Islamic world, Indonesians also must come to terms with the fact that they not only have roots in Indonesia, but that they also have ties to a widespread international community. Indonesians redefine who they are as they interact with their fellow Muslim and Canadian neighbours.

Ethnic and religious identity is in a constant state of transition as Indonesians adapt to the Canadian context. Indonesian community and family values influence the lives of Indonesians in Canada. The acceptance of diversity, which is very important in Indonesia, also applies in the Canadian situation. Members of the Indonesian community retain close relations, and Indonesian traditions are reinforced through influential institutions such as the embassy. Indonesian heritage and ethnic identity play an

important role in the lives of Indonesians in Canada, but at the same time, Indonesians go beyond ethnicity in defining who they are in the Canadian situation.

Indonesians find an important sense of meaning in their religion. Islam has played an important role throughout Indonesian history, and has often served to unite the Indonesian people in spite of their diversity. Indonesian Islam is unique and the expression of the religion is constantly changing as Indonesians adapt to different historical situations. Indonesian Muslims in Canada are very observant of Islamic practise and they have established close ties with the larger Muslim community in this country. Indonesians can play an influential role in helping other Muslims to adapt their religious traditions to the changing Canadian context.

In Canada, Indonesians blend aspects of their Islamic and ethnic identities together at the same time as they assert a Canadian sense of self. Indonesians who make their home in Canada demonstrate an appreciation for Canadian values, and incorporate these values into their own framework. They participate in Canadian society and feel that they can learn from their Canadian neighbours who come from a variety of backgrounds.

Despite differences among the Canadian people, Indonesians in Canada place an important emphasis on our similarities. The Indonesian experience in Canada shows that Canadians from a diversity of backgrounds can learn from each other while living and working together. In fact, the experience of Indonesians in this country shows that Canadians must develop meaningful relationships with each other as we work together to establish new Canadian traditions, reinterpret old ones, and form an authentic Canadian identity.

Appendix I

Project Description and Consent Form
(Bahasa Indonesia di belakang)

Project: Indonesian Identity in the Canadian Context

Researcher: Kristin McLaren
MA student in Religious Studies, University of Ottawa
46-255 Stewart Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6K3
(613) 241-2578

Supervisor: Professor Robert Choquette, Ph.D.
Department of Classics and Religious Studies
University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5
(613) 562-5800, ext. 1170

My name is Kristin McLaren and I am a Masters student in Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa. As part of my thesis research, I am learning about Indonesian religion and culture. I would like to perform research within your community in order to learn more about your experiences as Indonesians living in Canada. As far as I know, nothing has been written about the Indonesian experience in Canada. I would like to ask for your help so that I can write something about your community to share with other Canadians.

This research project is conducted as part of the requirements for the Masters degree in Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa. The results of this research will be used in my thesis which may subsequently be published in the form of articles or a monograph.

The goal of this project is to investigate Indonesian religious and cultural identity in its various forms within the Canadian context. I am conducting research among members of the Indonesian community in the Ottawa area to learn more about your religion and culture. I hope that you would be kind enough to fill out the enclosed questionnaire. The questionnaire contains questions about language use, attachment to Indonesian heritage, involvement in the Indonesian and Muslim communities, religious practice and national identity. The questionnaires are written in both Bahasa Indonesia and English, and you can choose the language you would like to use.

Everything you write on the questionnaire form will remain completely confidential. I will not show your questionnaire to anyone, and I will not use anyone's name when reporting my findings. All of your answers will be kept completely confidential. Any page that contains your name or signature will be kept separate from the questionnaire so that your answers cannot be identified. The signed consent forms and completed questionnaires will be stored separately in secure places so as to ensure confidentiality. Only the researcher and the research supervisor will have access to the questionnaires.

The University of Ottawa requires that anyone who participates in this research sign a consent form. If you would like to fill out a questionnaire, please read and sign this consent form.

On the last page of the questionnaire, I ask anyone who would be willing to participate in an interview to please leave their name and telephone number. You do not have to do an interview if you agree to fill out the questionnaire. But, if you do agree to be interviewed after filling out the survey, I may contact you after I have had a chance to review all the questionnaires.

You may refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time without risk of prejudice or reprisal. No compensation will be given for participation in this project. This project involves no physical risk.

I welcome any of your questions, input or suggestions. A summary of my findings will be available by April, and you can call me if you would like to know how my research is progressing. My phone number is at the top of this form, and on the last page of the questionnaire. If you would be willing, I would be interested to have your feedback on my results and to hear about what you think is most important to discuss in my final results, so as to be sure that I describe your community accurately.

Any questions or concerns about the ethical performance of the research may be addressed to the Secretary of the University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/o School of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5; telephone: (613) 564-4297.

Thank you for your time.

Researcher's signature : _____

Please sign one form and return it to me in person or mail it to me with the completed questionnaire if you have received a stamped envelope. You may keep the second copy for yourself.

Agreement:

I have received a copy of this form and I agree to the conditions stated above:

Participant's signature : _____

Date : _____

Appendix II

Interview Consent Form

Project: Indonesian Identity in the Canadian Context

Researcher: Kristin McLaren
MA student in Religious Studies, University of Ottawa
46-255 Stewart Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6K3
(613) 241-2578

Supervisor: Professor Robert Choquette, Ph.D.
Department of Classics and Religious Studies
University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5
(613) 562-5800, ext. 1170

Thank you for scheduling an interview with me. I would like to ask you some questions about the importance of Muslim and Indonesian identity to you, and about your relationship with the Indonesian community, the Muslim community and the Canadian community in general. Also, I would be interested to hear about any of your experiences in Canada you would like to share with me. I think the interview should take about an hour, but that time is flexible depending on your schedule.

I would like to take notes by hand and make a back-up tape recording so that I can be sure to be accurate about what you say. I may quote excerpts from this interview in my thesis, but you will remain anonymous. All personal data that could identify you will be omitted from the interview transcript. My research supervisors and I will be the only ones with access to the interview tape. It will be stored in a secure place and destroyed as soon as the research is completed.

You can ask me to turn the tape off at any time during our conversation.

May I have your permission to tape this conversation? Yes No

If I do cite short parts of our discussion, I will not use your name or say anything about you that would single you out from the rest of the respondents.

You have the right to refuse to answer any question and the right to end the interview at any time. Also, please feel free to ask me any questions at any point during the interview if you need to clarify anything or if you feel uncomfortable about anything.

You can call me at any time after this interview with any questions or to learn about the progress of my research. Any questions you may have about the ethical performance of this research can be addressed to the Secretary of the University Human Research Ethics Committee at (613) 564-4298.

Researcher's signature : _____

If you agree to the above conditions, please sign one copy of this form and keep the second one for yourself.

Your signature indicates that you have received a copy of this form and agree to the conditions stated above:

Participant's signature : _____

Date : _____

Appendix III

Questionnaire - Indonesian Identity in the Canadian Context

Please circle the appropriate response, or write in your answer where requested.
(Bahasa Indonesia di belakang.)

Section A - General background questions:

1. If you grew up in Indonesia, in what province did you grow up? _____

2. Where did you spend the most of your life before coming to Canada?
   (1) same as above (2) specify:_____

3. Why did you come to Canada? Please circle **all that apply**:
   (1) to study (2) political reasons
   (3) economic reasons (4) to join my family
   (5) to experience a new country (6) for my job
   (7) other (please specify) : _____

4. How long have you been in Canada?
   (1) less than one year (2) one to three years
   (3) four to ten years (4) ten to twenty years
   (5) more than twenty years

5. What is your citizenship status in Canada?
   (1) landed immigrant/permanent resident
   (2) Canadian citizen
   (3) non-permanent resident (please circle the category that applies to you):
      (a) with Minister's permit (b) student
      (c) with visitor's visa (c) other (please specify) : _____

Section B - Language use:

6. What language(s) do you speak and understand? (able to carry on a conversation)
   Please circle **all that apply**:
   (1) Bahasa Indonesia
   (2) English
   (3) Arabic
   (4) regional Indonesian language(s)
      - please indicate which one(s): _____
   (5) other(s) - please specify: _____

7. How important is it to you to maintain knowledge of Bahasa Indonesia?
   (1) very important (2) somewhat important
   (3) not very important (4) not at all important
   (5) not applicable (I don't speak Bahasa Indonesia)

...cont.

8. How important is it to you to maintain knowledge of your local language (if it is not Bahasa Indonesia)?

(1) very important (2) somewhat important
(3) not very important (4) not at all important
(5) not applicable (I don't speak a local language)

9. How important is it to you to improve/learn English?

(1) very important (2) somewhat important
(3) not very important (4) not at all important

10. How important is it to you to improve/learn Arabic?

(1) very important (2) somewhat important
(3) not very important (4) not at all important

Section C - Indonesian heritage and national identity:

11. Did you celebrate Indonesian Independence Day last August?

(1) Yes (2) No

12. Is it an important day for you as an individual?

(1) very important (2) somewhat important
(3) not very important (4) not at all important

13. What are the most important principles of Pancasila to you?
Circle '(6)' if none are important to you.
Please rank them in order of importance, write 1 for the most important and 5 for the least important.

__(1) belief in the one and only God
__(2) just and civilized humanity
__(3) unity of Indonesia
__(4) guided democracy
__(5) social justice for all Indonesian people
__(6) none of these principles are important to me

14. To what extent do the most important principles of Pancasila influence your life?

(1) very strong influence on my life
(2) somewhat strong influence on my life
(3) not very strong influence on my life
(4) do not influence my life

...cont.

15. Do you consider yourself to be Indonesian first and foremost, or is your regional identity more important to you? (For example, if you are from central Java, do you think of yourself as Javanese first or Indonesian first?)

(1) regional identity first
(2) Indonesian first
(3) regional and Indonesian identities are equally important
(4) other (please specify): _____

16. With which description do you identify the most?

(1) Indonesian-Canadian (2) Indonesian
(3) Canadian-Indonesian (4) Canadian
(5) other (please specify):_____

17. Where would you like to live ten years from now?

(1) in Indonesia (2) in Canada
(3) in another country (4) don't know

Section D - Community involvement:

18. Are you a member of any local community organizations?

(1) Yes (2) No

19. Are you a member of any local organizations that are mostly or completely made up of Indonesians?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) not applicable

20. Are you a member of any local organizations that are made up of only Muslims?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) not applicable

21. Please think of your three closest friends other than relatives or your spouse. How many are Indonesian?

(1) none (2) one (3) two (4) three

22. How often do you spend time with other Indonesians who do not live in your household and are not related to you?

(1) every day or a few times a week (2) several times a month
(3) a few times a month (4) once a month or less
(5) once a year or less

...cont.

Section E - Religion:

23. What is your religion?
    (1) Islam (2) Christianity (3) Hinduism
    (4) Buddhism (5) other (please specify):_____

24. Are you married? **If no, please go to question 27.**
    (1) Yes (2) No

25. Is your spouse also Indonesian?
    (1) Yes (2) No (3) not applicable

26. Is your spouse Muslim?
    (1) Yes (2) No (3) not applicable

27. **If you are Muslim, please answer the following questions. If you are not Muslim, please go to question 40.**
How friendly do you find non-Indonesian Muslims are towards you?
    (1) very friendly
    (2) somewhat friendly
    (3) neither friendly nor unfriendly
    (4) not very friendly
    (5) not at all friendly

28. How accepting do they seem to be of your Muslim practice?
    (1) very accepting (2) somewhat accepting
    (3) neutral (4) not very accepting
    (5) not at all accepting

29. Do you have many Muslim friends who are not Indonesian?
    (1) I have no non-Indonesian Muslim friends
    (2) I have some non-Indonesian Muslim friends
    (3) I have many non-Indonesian Muslim friends
    (4) Most of my Muslim friends are not Indonesian

30. Do you regularly pray five times a day?
    (1) never
    (2) sometimes
    (3) I usually combine my prayers
    (4) I often pray five times a day
    (5) I almost always pray five times a day

...cont.

31. Did you regularly pray five times a day before you came to Canada?

(1) never
(2) sometimes
(3) I usually combined my prayers
(4) I often prayed five times a day
(5) I almost always prayed five times a day

32. Do you usually fast for the entire month of Ramadan?

(1) I never fast at all
(2) I fast for some of the month
(3) I fast for most of the month
(4) I fast for all of the month (for women: except when I am physically unable)

33. What about before you came to Canada?

(1) I never fasted at all
(2) I fasted for some of the month
(3) I fasted for most of the month
(4) I fasted for all of the month (for women: except when I was physically unable)

34. How often do you perform Friday prayer at a masjid or musholla? (For example, the Ottawa mosque, Ottawa University, Carleton University, Sandy Hill masjid, Bank Street musholla)

(1) every week
(2) a couple times per month
(3) about once a month
(4) about once every two months
(5) a few times per year
(6) only during Ramadan
(7) never

35. Before you came to Canada?

(1) every week
(2) a couple times per month
(3) about once a month
(4) about once every two months
(5) a few times per year
(6) only during Ramadan
(7) never

36. Who do you pray with the most?

(1) alone
(2) with family
(3) with Indonesians, some of whom are not family members
(4) with non-Indonesians, some of whom are not family members
(5) with Indonesians and non-Indonesians, some of whom are not family members
(6) I don't usually pray

...cont.

37. Do you follow halal food restrictions?
(1) I only eat halal food
(2) I eliminate pork and alcohol from my diet, but I do not only eat halal food
(3) I sometimes eat pork and alcohol
(4) I don't observe halal restrictions

38. What about before you came to Canada?
(1) I only ate halal food
(2) I eliminated pork and alcohol from my diet, but I did not only eat halal food
(3) I sometimes ate pork and alcohol
(4) I didn't observe halal restrictions

39. Which description suits how you would normally describe your religious self?
(1) Muslim (2) Indonesian-Muslim
(3) Muslim Indonesian (4) Indonesian
(5) other (please specify): _____

Section F - A few more general questions for statistical purposes:

40. Are you:
(1) Male (2) Female

41. How old are you?
(1) 18-24 (2) 25-44 (3) 45-64
(4) 65-74 (5) 75 or over

42. What is your main occupation?
(1) managerial
(2) professional (e.g., engineer, teacher)
(3) administrator (e.g., executive secretary, administrative assistant)
(4) clerical (e.g., data entry, receptionist)
(5) sales
(6) skilled manual (e.g., electrician, seamstress)
(7) service (e.g., waiter, hairdresser, health care aide)
(8) full time student
(9) homemaker (without pay)
(10) other (please specify): _____

...cont.

Thanks so much for your time in completing this questionnaire. You have been a great help to me.

I may also need to contact some people for personal follow-up interviews.
Would you be willing to be interviewed?

(1) Yes (2) No

If you are willing to be interviewed, please leave your name and telephone number below so that I can contact you if I need to.
All personal information will be kept private. I am the only person who will see your name and telephone number.

Name: _____
Telephone number: _____

Feel free to call me if you have any questions or concerns, or would like to know about the results of my research:

Kristin McLaren, 241-2578.

Appendix IV

Interview Schedule

Respondent Number: ____ **Date:** _____

Part 1. Ethnic and religious identity:
(Importance of Indonesian identity, Importance of Muslim identity, Importance of Canadian identity)

1. How do you incorporate your Indonesian and Muslim identities together?

2. What about Canadian identity, do you incorporate that into your sense of identity as well?

3. a) What does being a Muslim mean to you?
(or what do you consider to be some important elements of Muslim identity? (How would you know someone is a Muslim?))

b) What do you consider to be some important elements of Indonesian identity? (How would you know someone is an Indonesian?)

c) What do you consider to be some important elements of Canadian identity?

4. a) Is there one aspect of your Muslim identity that's most important to you?

b) Is there one aspect of your Indonesian identity that's most important to you?

5. Is there one of the three identities (Muslim, Indonesian or Canadian) that is most important to you?

Part 2. Relationships:
(Importance of belonging to the Indonesian community, Importance of belonging to the Muslim community, Importance of belonging to the Canadian community)

6. a) Do you feel like you're a part of the Indonesian community in Canada? Why or why not?

b) Do you feel like you're a part of the Muslim community in Canada? Why or why not?

c) Do you feel like you're a part of the Canadian community? Why or why not?

7. What (makes/would make) you feel a part of the each of these communities?

8. How important is it to you to feel part of these communities?

9. Do other Indonesians, Muslims and Canadians have an impact on who you are?

11. Which community is most important to you?

10. What, if anything do you feel you contribute to Canadian society as an Indonesian Muslim?

Part 3. Other important considerations:

11. Could you tell me some more about your experiences in Canada as an Indonesian-Muslim?

12. Is there anything else you would like to share with me that might help me with my research on your community?

Appendix V

Codebook
Indonesian identity in the Canadian context questionnaire

Respondent ID Number:
Variable name: Resp_Num
Variable label: Respondent Number
Values: 01 to 42
Columns: 1-2

Question 1:
a)
Variable name: Provg_1
Variable label: One province where grew up
Values and value labels:
01 W.Java (West Java)
02 Jakarta
03 C.Java (Central Java)
04 Yogyakarta
05 E.Java (East Java)
06 Bali
07 WSE.Nusa (West Southeast Nusa)
08 ESE.Nusa (East Southeast Nusa)
09 W.Timor (West Timor)
10 E.Timor (East Timor)
11 N.Sum (North Sumatra)
12 Aceh
13 W.Sum (West Sumatra)
14 S.Sum (South Sumatra)
15 Riau
16 Jambi
17 Bengkulu
18 W.Kal (West Kalimantan)
19 E.Kal (East Kalimantan)
20 C.Kal (Central Kalimantan)
21 S.Kal (South Kalimantan)
22 N.Sul (North Sulawesi)
23 S.Sul (South Sulawesi)
24 C.Sul (Central Sulawesi)
25 SE.Sul (Southeast Sulawesi)
26 Maluku
27 Irian Jaya
28 Lampung
98 outside Indonesia
99 did not answer
Columns: 3-4

b)
Variable name: Provg_2
Variable label: Second province where grew up
Values and value labels:
00 not applicable (same as above)
01 W.Java (West Java)
02 Jakarta
03 C.Java (Central Java)
04 Yogyakarta
05 E.Java (East Java)
06 Bali
07 WSE.Nusa (West Southeast Nusa)

	08	ESE.Nusa (East Southeast Nusa)
	09	W.Timor (West Timor)
	10	E.Timor (East Timor)
	11	N.Sum (North Sumatra)
	12	Aceh
	13	W.Sum (West Sumatra)
	14	S.Sum (South Sumatra)
	15	Riau
	16	Jambi
	17	Bengkulu
	18	W.Kal (West Kalimantan)
	19	E.Kal (East Kalimantan)
	20	C.Kal (Central Kalimantan)
	21	S.Kal (South Kalimantan)
	22	N.Sul (North Sulawesi)
	23	S.Sul (South Sulawesi)
	24	C.Sul (Central Sulawesi)
	25	SE.Sul (Southeast Sulawesi)
	26	Maluku
	27	Irian Jaya
	28	Lampung
	98	outside Indonesia
	99	did not answer
Columns:	5-6	

Question 2:

Variable name:	Prov-mos	
Variable label:	Province spent most time	
Values and value labels:	01	W.Java (West Java)
	02	Jakarta
	03	C.Java (Central Java)
	04	Yogyakarta
	05	E.Java (East Java)
	06	Bali
	07	WSE.Nusa (West Southeast Nusa)
	08	ESE.Nusa (East Southeast Nusa)
	09	W.Timor (West Timor)
	10	E.Timor (East Timor)
	11	N.Sum (North Sumatra)
	12	Aceh
	13	W.Sum (West Sumatra)
	14	S.Sum (South Sumatra)
	15	Riau
	16	Jambi
	17	Bengkulu
	18	W.Kal (West Kalimantan)
	19	E.Kal (East Kalimantan)
	20	C.Kal (Central Kalimantan)
	21	S.Kal (South Kalimantan)
	22	N.Sul (North Sulawesi)
	23	S.Sul (South Sulawesi)
	24	C.Sul (Central Sulawesi)
	25	SE.Sul (Southeast Sulawesi)
	26	Maluku
	27	Irian Jaya
	28	Lampung
	30	Jakarta and West Java
	31	Central and East Java
	98	outside Indonesia
	99	did not answer
Columns:	7-8	

Question 3:

a)

Variable name:	Whyc_1
Variable label:	one reason for coming to Canada
Values and value labels:	1 education
	2 political
	3 economic
	4 family/spouse
	5 new experience
	6 Indonesian job
	7 other
	9 did not answer
Column:	9

b)

Variable name:	Whyc_2
Variable label:	other reason for coming to Canada
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable (no other reason)
	1 education
	2 political
	3 economic
	4 family/spouse
	5 new experience
	6 Indonesian job
	7 other
	9 did not answer
Column:	10

Question 4:

Variable name:	TimeC
Variable label:	Length of time in Canada
Values and value labels:	1 less than one year
	2 1-3 years
	3 4-10 years
	4 11-20 years
	5 20+ years
	9 did not answer
Column:	11

Question 5:

Variable name:	Cit_st
Variable label:	Citizenship Status
Values and value labels:	1 Canadian citizen
	2 permanent resident/landed immigrant
	3 np-Min (non-perm - ministers permit)
	4 np-stu (non-perm - student)
	5 np-vis (non-perm - visitor)
	6 other
	9 did not answer
Columns:	12

Question 6:

a)

Variable name:	BI_sp
Variable label:	Speaks Bahasa Indonesia
Values and value labels:	1 yes (speaks BI)
	2 no (does not speak BI)
	9 did not answer
Column:	13

b)
Variable name: Eng_sp
Variable label: Speaks English
Values and value labels:
1 yes (speaks English)
2 no (does not speak English)
9 did not answer
Column: 14

c)
Variable name: Arab_sp
Variable label: Speaks Arabic
Values and value labels:
1 yes (speaks Arabic)
2 no (does not speak Arabic)
9 did not answer
Column: 15

d)
Variable name: Local_sp
Variable label: Speaks local language
Values and value labels:
1 yes (speaks local language)
2 no (does not speak local language)
9 did not answer
Column: 16

e)
Variable name: othln_sp
Variable label: Speaks other language(Dutc,Mal,Fren,Chin)
values and value labels:
1 yes (speaks other language)
2 no (does not speak other language)
9 did not answer
Column: 17

Question 7:
Variable name: Imp_BI
Variable label: Importance of maintaining Bahasa Indonesia
Values and value labels:
0 not applicable
1 very important
2 somewhat important
3 not very important
4 not at all important
9 did not answer
Columns: 18

Question 8:
Variable name: Imp_LL
Variable label: Importance of maintaining local language
Values and value labels:
0 not applicable
1 very important
2 somewhat important
3 not very important
4 not at all important
9 did not answer
Columns: 19

Question 9:

Variable name:	Imp_EN
Variable label:	Importance of maintaining/learning English
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 very important
	2 somewhat important
	3 not very important
	4 not at all important
	9 did not answer
Columns:	20

Question 10:

Variable name:	Imp_AR
Variable label:	Importance of maintaining/learning Arabic
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 very important
	2 somewhat important
	3 not very important
	4 not at all important
	9 did not answer
Columns:	21

Question 11:

Variable name:	Cel_Ind
Variable label:	Celebration of Independence Day
Values and value labels:	1 yes
	2 no
	9 did not answer
Columns:	22

Recoded values of Cel-Ind for Attachment to Indonesian heritage scale:

Values and value labels:	1 yes
	3 no
	(other values treated as missing)

Question 12:

Variable name:	Imp_Ind
Variable label:	Importance of Independence Day
Values and value labels:	1 very important
	2 somewhat important
	3 not very important
	4 not at all important
	9 did not answer
Columns:	23

Question 13:

a)

Variable name:	Rank_God
Variable label:	Ranking of belief in God principle
Values and value labels:	0 not ranked
	1 most important
	2 second most important
	3 middle importance
	4 less important
	5 least important
	9 did not answer
Columns:	24

b)

Variable name:	Rank_H
Variable label:	Ranking of humanity principle
Values and value labels:	0 not ranked
	1 most important
	2 second most important
	3 middle importance
	4 less important
	5 least important
	9 did not answer
Columns:	25

c)

Variable name:	Rank_U
Variable label:	Ranking of unity principle
Values and value labels:	0 not ranked
	1 most important
	2 second most important
	3 middle importance
	4 less important
	5 least important
	9 did not answer
Columns:	26

d)

Variable name:	Rank_Dem
Variable label:	Ranking of guided democracy principle
Values and value labels:	0 not ranked
	1 most important
	2 second most important
	3 middle importance
	4 less important
	5 least important
	9 did not answer
Columns:	27

e)

Variable name:	Rank_J
Variable label:	Ranking of social justice principle
Values and value labels:	0 not ranked
	1 most important
	2 second most important
	3 middle importance
	4 less important
	5 least important
	9 did not answer
Columns:	28

f)

Variable name:	NoPan
Variable label:	none of Pancasila principles important
Values and value labels:	1 yes, not important
	2 no, important (see above rankings)
	9 did not answer
Columns:	29

Question 14:

Variable name:	InflPan
Variable label:	Influence of Pancasila principles
Values and value labels:	1 very strong influence on my life
	2 somewhat strong influence on my life
	3 not very strong influence on my life
	4 do not influence my life
	9 did not answer
Columns:	30

Question 15:

Variable name:	Id_i.l
Variable label:	First identity: Indonesian or regional
Values and value labels:	1 regional identity first
	2 Indonesian identity first
	3 both equally important
	4 other
	9 did not answer
Columns:	31

Question 16:

Variable name:	Id_i.c
Variable label:	National Identity
Values and value labels:	1 Indonesian
	2 Indonesian-Canadian
	3 Canadian-Indonesian
	4 Canadian
	5 other
	9 did not answer
Columns:	32

Question 17:

Variable name:	Fut_res
Variable label:	Future country of residence(ten years)
Values and value labels:	1 Indonesia
	2 Canada
	3 another country
	4 don't know
	9 did not answer
Columns:	33

Question 18:

Variable name:	mem_loc
Variable label:	membership in local organizations
Values and value labels:	1 yes
	2 no
	9 did not answer
Columns:	34

Question 19:

Variable name:	Mem_Ind
Variable label:	membership in Indonesian organizations
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 yes
	2 no
	9 did not answer
Columns:	35

Recoded values of Mem-Ind for Indonesian community attachment scale:

Values and value labels:	1	yes
	3	not applicable
	4	no
	(other values treated as missing)	

Question 20:

Variable name:	Mem_Mus	
Variable label:	Membership in Muslim organizations	
Values and value labels:	0	not applicable
	1	yes
	2	no
	9	did not answer
Columns:	36	

Question 21:

Variable name:	Clos_Fr	
Variable label:	Closest friends who are Indonesian	
Values and value labels:	1	none
	2	one
	3	two
	4	three
	9	did not answer
Columns:	37	

Question 22:

Variable name:	Time_Ind	
Variable label:	Time spent with Indonesians	
Values and value labels:	1	every day or few times a week
	2	several times a month
	3	few times a month
	4	once a month or less
	5	less than once a year
	9	did not answer
Columns:	38	

Recoded values of Time-Ind for Indonesian community attachment scale:

Values and value labels:	1	every day or few times a week
	2	several times a month
	3	few times a month or once a month or less
	4	once a year or less
	(other values treated as missing)	

Question 23:

Variable name:	Rel	
Variable label:	Religious affiliation	
Values and value labels:	1	Muslim
	2	Christian
	3	Hindu
	4	Buddhist
	5	other
	9	did not answer
Columns:	39	

Question 24:

Variable name:	Mar_St
Variable label:	Marital status
Values and value labels:	1 presently married
	2 not presently married
	9 did not answer
Columns:	40

Question 25:

Variable name:	Sp_Ethn
Variable label:	ethnicity of spouse
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 Indonesian
	2 not Indonesian
	9 did not answer
Columns:	41

Recoded values of Sp_Ethn for Indonesian community attachment scale:

Values and value labels:	1 Indonesian
	3 not Indonesian
	(other values treated as missing)

Question 26:

Variable name:	Sp_Rel
Variable label:	Religion of spouse
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 Muslim
	2 not Muslim
	9 did not answer
Columns:	42

Question 27:

Variable name:	Mus_frly
Variable label:	Friendliness of non-Indonesian Muslims
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 very friendly
	2 somewhat friendly
	3 neither friendly nor unfriendly
	4 not very friendly
	5 not at all friendly
	9 did not answer
Columns:	43

Question 28:

Variable name:	Mus_acc
Variable label:	Acceptance by non-Indonesian Muslims
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 very accepting
	2 somewhat accepting
	3 neutral
	4 not very accepting
	5 not at all accepting
	9 did not answer
Columns:	44

Question 29:

Variable name:	Mus_#fr
Variable label:	non-Indonesian Muslim friends
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 no non-Indonesian Muslim friends
	2 some non-Indonesian Muslim friends
	3 many non-Indonesian Muslim friends
	4 most Muslim friends not Indonesian
	9 did not answer
Column:	45

Recoded values of Mus-#fr for Relationship with Canadian Muslims scale:

Values and value labels:	1 most Muslim friends not Indonesian or many non-Indonesian Muslim friends
	2 some non-Indonesian Muslim friends
	4 no non-Indonesian Muslim friends
	(other values treated as missing)

Question 30:

Variable name:	RegPr_Ca
Variable label:	Regularity of daily prayer in Canada
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 never pray five times
	2 sometimes pray five times
	3 usually combine prayers
	4 often pray five times
	5 almost always pray five times
	9 did not answer
Column:	46

Question 31:

Variable name:	RegPr_In
Variable label:	Regularity of daily prayer before Canada
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 never
	2 sometimes
	3 usually combined prayers
	4 often prayed five times
	5 almost always prayed five times
	9 did not answer
Column:	47

Question 32:

Variable name:	Fast_Can
Variable label:	Fasting at Ramadan in Canada
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 never fast
	2 fast for some of the month
	3 fast for most of the month
	4 fast for all of the month
	9 did not answer
Column:	48

Question 33:
Variable name: Fast_In
Fasting at Ramadan before Canada
Values and value labels:
0 not applicable
1 never fasted
2 fasted for some of the month
3 fasted for most of the month
4 fasted for all of the month
9 did not answer
Column: 49

Question 34:
Variable name: FriPr_Can
Variable label: Friday prayer at mosque
Values and value labels:
0 not applicable
1 every week
2 couple times per month
3 about once a month
4 about every two months
5 few times per year
6 only during Ramadan
7 never
9 did not answer
Column: 50

Question 35:
Variable name: FriPr_In
Variable label: Friday prayer at mosque before Canada
Values and value labels:
0 not applicable
1 every week
2 couple times per month
3 about once a month
4 about every two months
5 few times per year
6 only during Ramadan
7 never
9 did not answer
Column: 51

Question 36:
Variable name: Praywith
Variable label: Pray with whom
Values and value labels:
0 not applicable
1 alone
2 family
3 Indonesians, some not family
4 non-Indonesians, some not family
5 Indonesians and non-Indonesians
6 don't usually pray
9 did not answer
Column: 52

Question 37:

Variable name:	Hal_Ca
Variable label:	adherence to halal restrictions
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 eat only halal
	2 eliminate pork and alcohol
	3 sometimes eat pork and alcohol
	4 halal restrictions unimportant
	9 did not answer
Column:	53

Recoded values of Hal-Ca for Islamic observance scale:

Values and value labels:	1 eat only halal or eliminate pork and alcohol
	3 sometimes eat pork and alcohol
	4 do not observe halal restrictions
	(other values treated as missing)

Question 38:

Variable name:	Hal_In
Variable label:	adherence to halal restrictions before Can
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 eat only halal
	2 eliminate pork and alcohol
	3 sometimes eat pork and alcohol
	4 halal restrictions unimportant
	9 did not answer
Column:	54

Question 39:

Variable name:	Rel_Id
Variable label:	Religious Identity
Values and value labels:	0 not applicable
	1 Muslim
	2 Muslim Indonesian
	3 Indonesian Muslim
	4 Indonesian
	5 other
	9 did not answer
Column:	55

Recoded values of Rel_Id for Islamic observance scale:

Values and value labels:	1 Muslim or Muslim Indonesian or Indonesian Muslim
	2 Indonesian
	(other values treated as missing)

Recoded values of Rel_Id for Relationship with Canadian Muslims scale:

Values and value labels:	1 Muslim or Muslim Indonesian
	2 Indonesian Muslim
	3 Indonesian
	(other values treated as missing)

Question 40:

Variable name:	Gen
Variable label:	Gender
Values and value labels:	1 Male
	2 Female
	9 did not answer
Column:	56

Question 41:

Variable name:	Age
Variable label:	Age group
Values and value labels:	1 18-24
	2 25-44
	3 45-64
	4 65-74
	5 75 or over
	9 did not answer
Column:	57

Question 42:

Variable name:	Occ
Variable label:	Occupation
Values and value labels:	1 managerial
	2 professional
	3 administrator
	4 clerical
	5 sales
	6 skilled manual
	7 service
	8 full time student
	9 homemaker
	10 other
	99 did not answer
Columns:	58-59

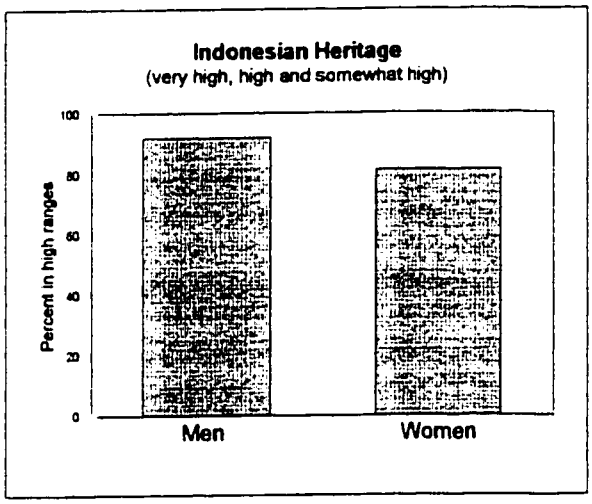
Appendix VI

Table I

Ethnic and Religious Identity

Gender and High Range Scores

A



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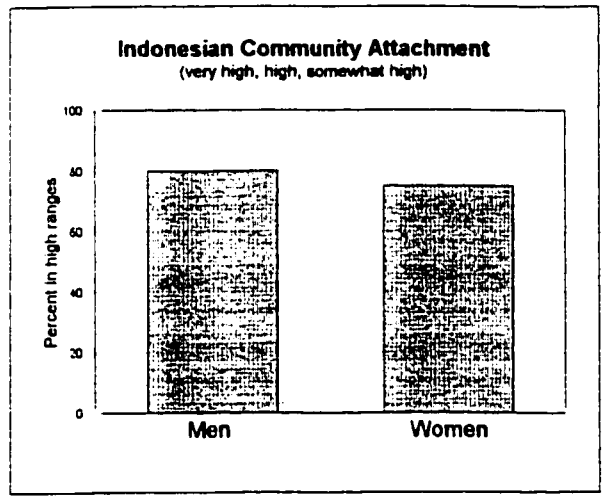

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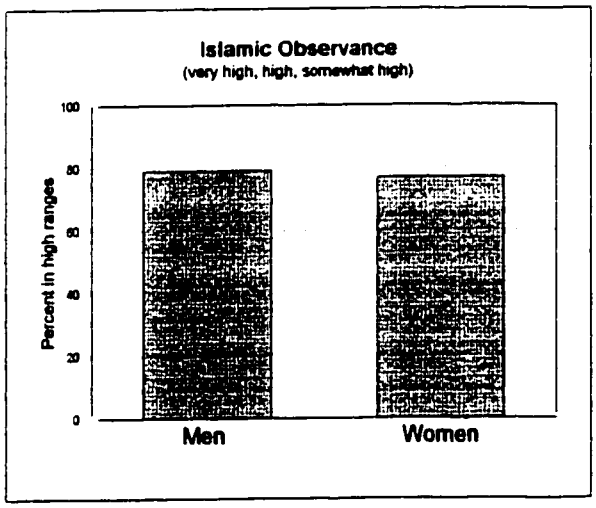

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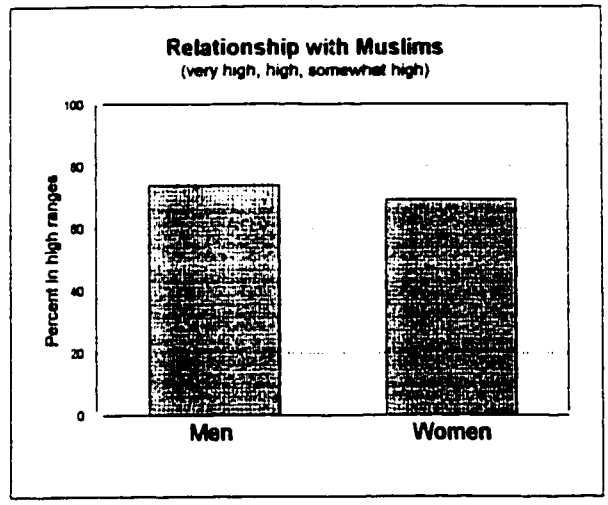


Table II

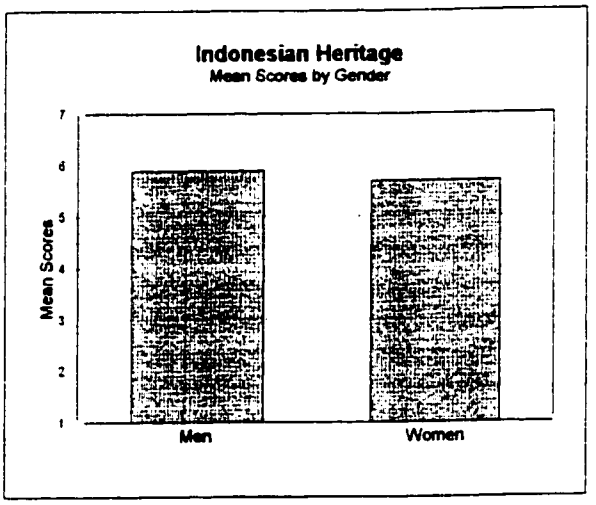
Ethnic and Religious Identity

Gender and Mean Scores

LEGEND:

7 = very high	3 = somewhat low
6 = high	2 = low
5 = somewhat high	1 = very low
4 = moderate	

A



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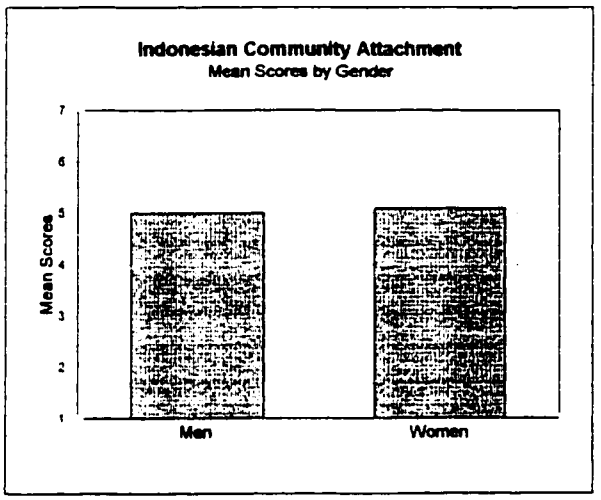

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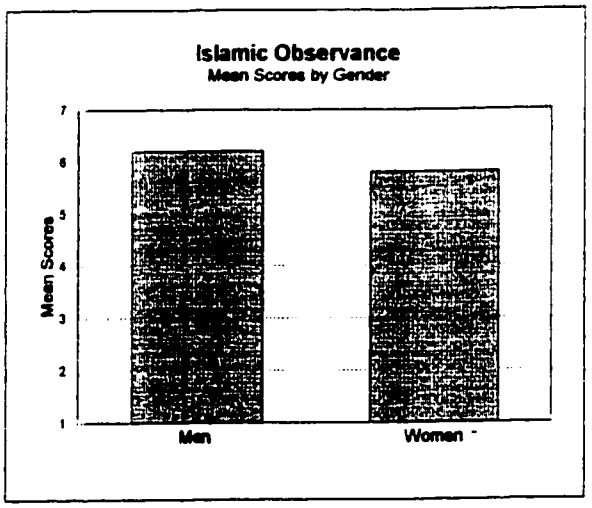

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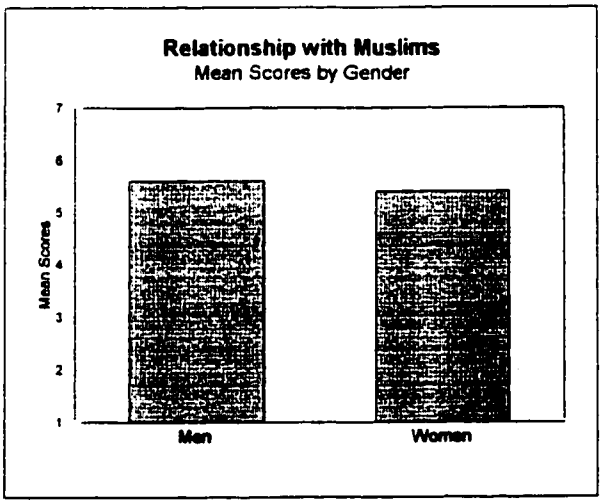


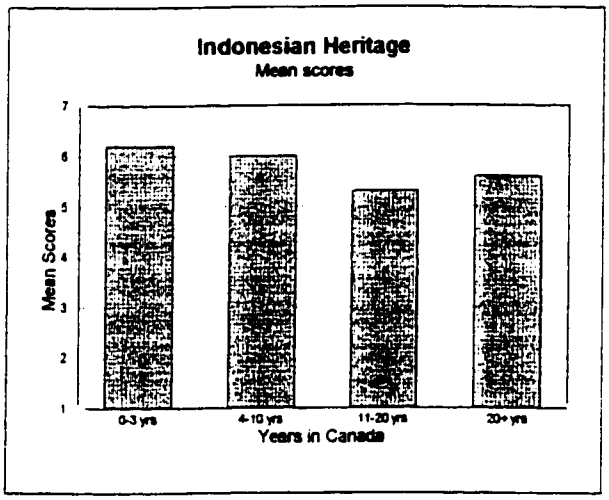
Table III

Ethnic and Religious Identity
Mean scores and Length of Time in Canada

LEGEND:

7 = very high	3 = somewhat low
6 = high	2 = low
5 = somewhat high	1 = very low
4 = moderate	

A



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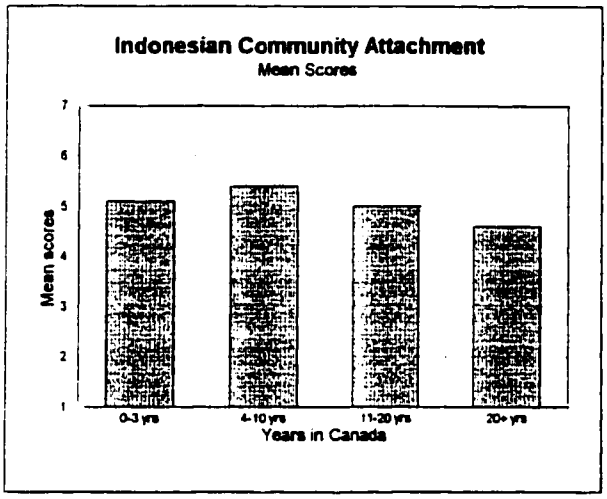

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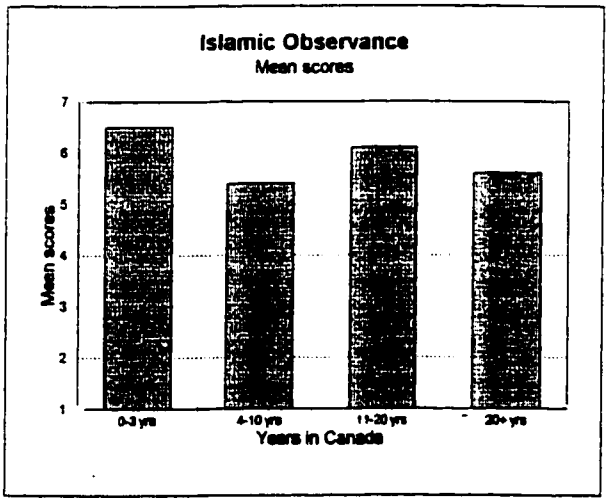

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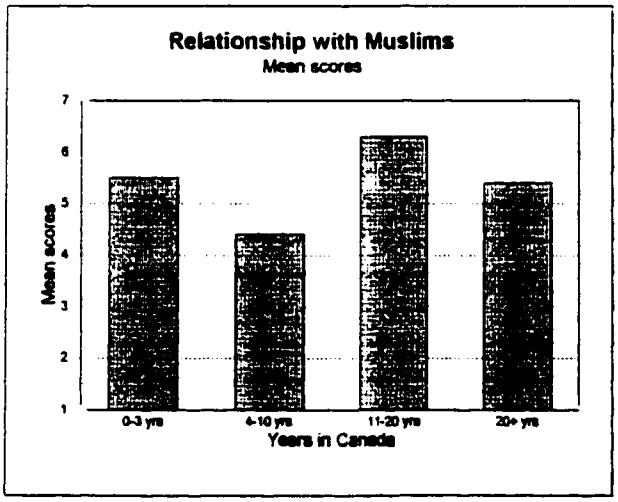
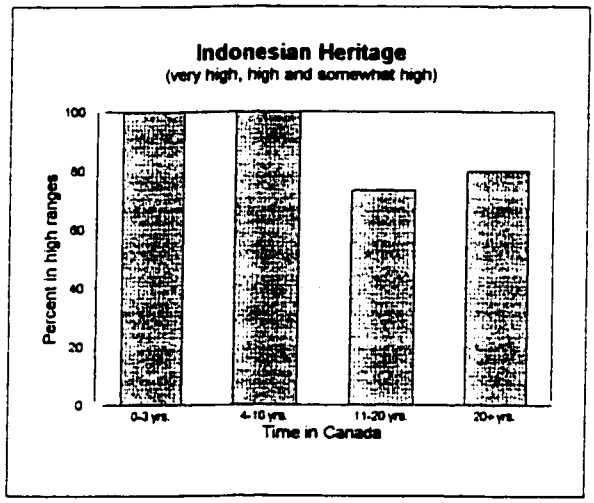


Table IV

Ethnic and Religious Identity

High Range Scores and Length of Time in Canada

A



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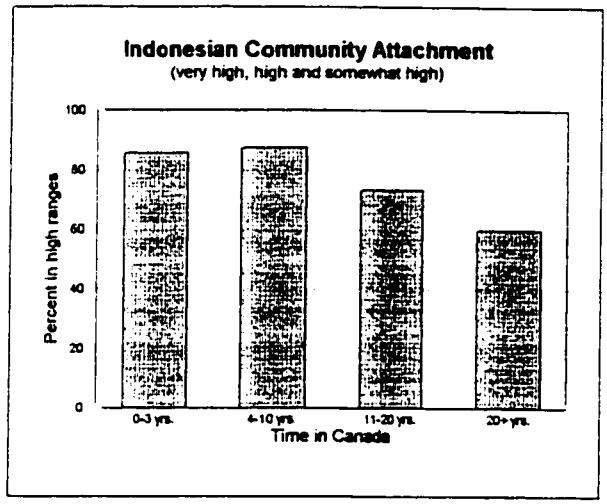

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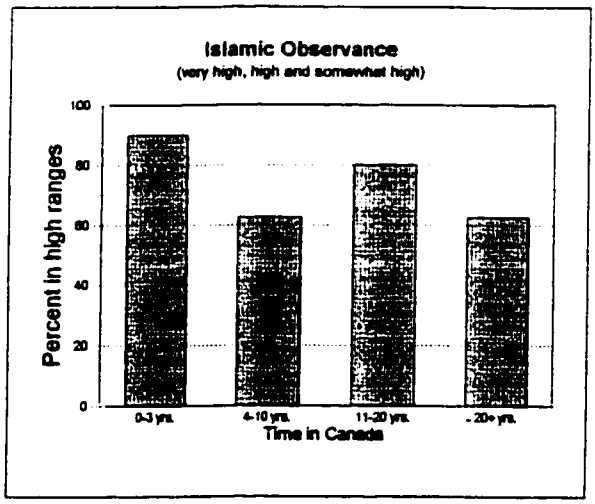

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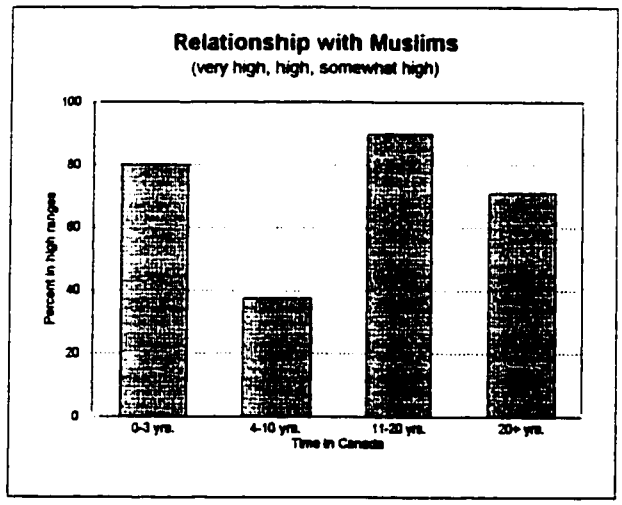

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