



# **Canadian Muslims: A Statistical Review**

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## Summary

In spite of a long history that predates Canadian confederation Muslims are one of the most misunderstood faith communities in the country. This study is the first attempt<sup>1</sup> to provide factual information about this growing community with the purpose of correcting stereotypes, starting information-based discussion and providing private and public sector organizations with hard facts to make intelligent choices and decisions.

The data reported in this study are obtained from reliable statistical sources. It is based on the National Household Survey 2011, which replaced the long-form census, supplemented in a few instances by information from other censuses and statistical studies.

Muslim **population** reached a milestone in 2011. It passed the one million mark. In relative terms, Muslims are 3.2 per cent of the total Canadian population and rank fifth among faith communities and denominations. They are an urban community, with two-thirds living in just two cities, Toronto and Montreal. Only ten cities have more than 15,000 Muslims (Figure 3).

Canadian Muslims are a mix of newcomers and descendants of families that settled here more than a century ago. Nearly two-fifths of the foreign-born Muslims in Canada arrived here during 2001-2006, an indication that a sizeable segment of the population is still going through the early phases of adjustment and integration, pulled, on the one hand, by the desire to preserve ethnic languages, cultures and communities and pushed, on the other hand, to adapt.

After decades of slow change, a **demographic transformation** is under way. Canadian-born Muslims made up 22 per cent of the Muslims in 1991. In the next ten years, this proportion increased slowly to 24 per cent but jumped to 28 per cent in 2011 (Table 1). The process of indigenization will accelerate in the future as the recent immigration policy changes emphasizing language skills and giving employers a bigger role will likely slow immigration from Muslim countries. Canadian-born Muslims have already surpassed the Arab Muslim population and are now poised to replace the South Asians as the largest group.

**Civic engagement** is an important indication of a community's integration in the broader society, as it reflects its sense of belonging, relevance of political and democratic institutions to its life and how government relates to it. While Muslims are passionate about Canadian citizenship they are less enthusiastic about exercising its core right, voting. They are less likely to vote than other faith communities, with their voter turnout rate estimated to be hovering around 46.5 per cent. Over half a million Muslims are eligible to vote, but their political geography gives them a more than proportionate influence when elections are very close. Accounting for only 2.1 per cent of the electorate, they can influence the outcome of 23 constituencies in 2015. Because of high geographical mobility, many Muslims have changed their addresses since the last federal election, and an unprecedented number of

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<sup>1</sup> Similar studies on Muslim women have been conducted by the Canadian Council of Muslim Women for more than a decade.

young Muslim men and women will be entering the electorate for the first time (Figures 8 and 9 and Table 2).

Muslims represent numerous ethnicities and cultures, but defining **ethnic identity** in a pluralist society is becoming increasingly difficult as generation after generation, people acquire multiple ethnicities as a result of intermarriage. Neither of the two current measures, ethnicity according to the *Employment Equity Act* or by reference to ancestry as defined in the National Household Survey 2011, is adequate to depict the rapidly changing Muslim population. Both serve to emphasize the foreignness of Muslims; neither highlights the fact that by birthplace, Canada is the principal source country of Muslim population.

Quebec Muslims stand out among non-Catholic faith communities for having adopted the **French language** in large numbers. In the obsession with the artifacts of culture like hijab, the discussion on secularism sidesteps the key point: How young Muslim girls are embracing the province's language. Ranked by this measure of attachment to Quebec's culture, young Muslim girls place above their peers in all non-Christian faith communities. Compared to the major Christian denominations, they are second only to the Catholics. Some 89 per cent of the Catholic girls younger than 15 years of age only speak French, followed by 62 per cent of the Muslim girls.

Data released from the National Household Survey 2011 reveals a Muslim community that is holding fast to its social traditions yet feeling the strain of exposure to a multi-faith and multicultural society. Attitudes towards **interfaith marriage** are shifting. Growing up in a pluralist society, the second- and third-generation Muslims are less fixated on their immigrant parents' views about marrying outside the faith. While 11 per cent of foreign-born married Muslims have a non-Muslim spouse, according to the 2001 census, 26 per cent of the Canadian born Muslims are in an interfaith marriage (Figure 6).

Another indication of social change is the rise of **lone or single parent families**, which defies both the extended family system and the traditional Muslim family model, in which there is a full time homemaker and a male breadwinner. Defined as one parent with children, there are 60,000 lone parent Muslim families (Figure 5) and 84 per cent of them are headed by a woman. The changing Muslim family structure serves to reinforce the need for Canadian Muslim scholars to take up the challenge of updating the Muslim family law designed for the foreign-born Muslims' native countries to the reality of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Islam is no longer a Middle Eastern religion; more Muslims make their home in Europe and America than in any MENA (Middle East and North Africa) country except Egypt.

**Early marriage** (when the bride is 15 to 24 years old) is more common among Muslim than other communities. Paradoxically, in a society in which individuals can freely choose their life partners, some young Muslims encounter more difficulties. Social networks are fewer and less extensive than they were in their native countries, women's access to mosques is restricted and there are hardly any social and cultural institutions to meet life partners. Concerned, some families feel more pressured than they did in their native countries to get involved in finding a suitable partner for their daughters. The process usually starts early and often extends beyond Canada to the native countries, resulting in early marriage. Predictably, the failure rate of early marriage among Muslims is higher than in Canadian population as a whole.



Muslims' **educational profile** reflects the concern in Canada over the years that the demand for high-skilled talent is outpacing our ability to educate people. No less important is the role of Muslims' own conviction that good education is the best asset to give their children in an increasingly competitive global economy. As a result, in university education, Muslims are leaders among faith communities. Forty-four per cent of the Muslims in the working age, 25 to 64 years, have a university degree, compared with the national average of 26 per cent (Figure 9). There are enough Muslim doctorate degree holders (13,955) to fill the academic faculty of two universities in the country.

But a **generational shift** is under way, which sees Canadian-born men and women opting for community colleges in relatively larger numbers than their immigrant parents did. Whereas 20 per cent of foreign-born Muslims graduated from a community college, the figure for Canadian-born was 31 per cent. The underlying reasons that drive young women are quite different from those influencing young men.

For some men, the shift underscores the harsh reality of a tight labour market in which the industry-oriented, hands-on experience offered by community colleges carries more weight in job search than the liberal university education. For women, however, it reflects changing social attitudes towards the women's role in society and working outside the home. Some of the immigrant mothers and grandmothers came from conservative societies in which the subject of study for women was often dictated by a patriarchal socialization process to education. Casting off the cultural traditions, young women with their eyes clearly set on the labour market are choosing their own path that suits their aptitudes and aspirations.

The shift is more obvious in the subjects of specialization Muslim university women choose. They are increasingly shifting to majors in fields of study that are in demand in the labour market even though they may be frowned upon in conservative communities. The women who had completed their education in their native countries before landing in Canada tended to specialize in education, arts and humanities, subjects thought appropriate for women to study in these communities, whereas science and engineering are increasingly the choice of younger women going through the Canadian school system (Figure 11).

Evaluation of **foreign credentials and re-accreditation** of foreign professionals in regulated occupations have become hot issues especially as competition for foreigners of exceptional skills and knowledge in the global market has intensified. In Canada, high unemployment rates among Muslims are attributed, among other things, to the quality of education of some institutions in their countries of origins. This sweeping generalization is based on obsolete assumptions.

Canadian-born Muslims attend Canadian institutions and they are an increasing proportion of the total. In addition, a good number of immigrants completed their education in advanced countries before coming to Canada. Still others upgrade their qualifications after arriving here.

According to the National Household Survey 2011, a half of Muslim postsecondary graduates obtained their highest degree or diploma from Canada or OECD countries, specifically the United States, United Kingdom, France and Germany, the countries which have standards and institutions similar to Canada's. The ratio was much higher for doctorate degree holders (66 per cent) and the lowest for selected healthcare graduates (33 per cent). (Figure 12)

**Unemployment** is stubbornly high among Muslims. Some 13.9 per cent (or 66,000) of Muslims were unemployed in 2011, as compared with the national average of 7.8 per cent (Figure 13). All visible minorities, which share ethnicities and cultures with Muslims and probably studied at the same universities fare much better than Muslims with an unemployment rate of 9.9 per cent.

The standard factors do not fully explain the high incidence of unemployment among Muslims. Muslims are not concentrated in the regions of high unemployment or declining industries or in occupations for which the demand is static or falling. Nor could their difficulties be attributed to a lack of language skills or below par educational qualifications because Canadian-born Muslims with degrees and diplomas from Canada also experience high unemployment (Figure 13).

In addition to high unemployment, **underemployment**, i.e. professionals not being able to work in their occupations, is a serious problem. Many segments of the labour force experience some underemployment, but the problem is acute among foreign-educated professionals trained for occupations that are regulated in Canada because licensing requirements demand that they have their foreign credentials evaluated for equivalence and undergo a lengthy procedure of re-accreditation.

The waste of talent caused by the disconnect between immigration policy and the professional standards of licensing bodies is huge. The percentage of foreign-educated professionals working in their regulated occupations ranges from a low of 9 per cent for those who obtained their degree from Morocco to a high of 33 per cent for Nigerian graduates, with most of the Muslim countries scoring in the 20s (Figure 14).

The analysis of **income** reveals a community still in the early stages of establishing itself in the economic life of the country. Investment income, which is usually attributed to the well-off people who have savings to invest in equity and money markets, and pension and superannuation income, a characteristic of stable and pensionable jobs, play only a small part in Muslims' earnings (Figure 15).

Substantial income disparity exists between Muslim and all Canadians despite the fact that Muslim labour force is well qualified. In 2010, one half of the Muslims 15 years old and over, who reported some income, earned more than \$18,950 and the other half earned less than that. It is three-fourths of the median income of all Canadians, which was \$29,878.

In spite of the considerable difficulties faced by Muslims in the labour market, data from the National Household Survey dismisses two of the most **common misperceptions** about their dependence on the social security system. Employment insurance benefits make up only 2.2 per cent of the Muslims' income and 1.8 per cent of the income of all Canadians. This is not much of a difference when seen in light of the unemployment experience of the two groups, 13.9 per cent unemployment rate among Muslims versus the national average of 7.8 per cent. There are several possible explanations. Muslims may be drawing benefits for a shorter period than allowed and returning to work as soon as a new job becomes available. Or the jobs they can find are not stable enough to qualify them for employment insurance. They may be making less use of maternity and paternity benefits because the jobs they hold are less generous in terms of such benefits.

Contrary to the stereotype that Muslims take advantage of the old age security, they are far less dependent on it than other Canadians. In 2010, Muslims drew 2.6 per cent of their total income from

Canada Pension Plan/Quebec Pension Plan and old age pension and guaranteed income supplement. The corresponding figure for Canadian population, as a whole, was 6.6 per cent.

Finally, Muslim population is changing. The emerging generation is less fixated on ethnicities than their parents or grandparents. Born into diverse ethnicities but bound by their Canadian heritage and a common faith, they come closest to defining that cherished but elusive entity called *ummah*. A visionary **leadership** can seize the moment to develop a Canadian Muslim identity and set an example for Muslims in other Western societies. Only a few generations are privileged to have such an opportunity.



# 1 Introduction

Canada is described as a work in progress – it is an idea that is as lofty as the aspirations of its people. It is constantly absorbing and evolving. The Aboriginal people and pioneer settlers laid the foundation and their descendants and newcomers continue to build on that legacy, enhance it and, in the process, leave their print on it.

The people who settled this land over the years sought a fulfilling life. The newcomers brought skills and ambitions but also their beliefs and traditions. Faith communities play an important role. The Muslim contribution dates from the mid-nineteenth century. From the pioneers in pre-Confederation Canada to the labourers who toiled on the physical infrastructure, to the farmers who settled the prairies in the twentieth century -- Muslims have been partners in the task of nation building. The present generation is building upon this heritage.

As many people arriving here over the years came to escape oppression, freedom is a cherished value. Islam has flourished in this open environment. In schools and shopping malls, at the workplace and on the playground -- we are more likely to meet a Muslim than a Lutheran, a Presbyterian, or a Baptist. No more strangers, Muslims are neighbours, friends, colleagues and spouses. Since the pioneer Muslims arrived here from Europe, the community has evolved into a representation of Canada's pluralist society. Indeed, Canada is the showcase of Islam's plurality in its cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity.

Yet, Muslims are one of the most misunderstood faith communities in the country and the subject of misinformation and misperceptions. This study is an attempt to provide factual information about this growing segment of our population with the purpose of correcting stereotypes, starting information-based discussion and providing community and other organizations with hard data to make intelligent choices and decisions.

This report is based on data from the National Household Survey 2011, which replaced the long-form census, supplemented with information from other censuses and statistical studies to fill the gaps.

The report begins with a brief history of Canadian Muslims dating from the arrival of first Muslims from Scotland in the 1850s and then discusses a wide range of current socio-cultural-economic topics including identity, generational shifts, family structure, bilingualism, civic participation, education, employment and income. In particular, it attempts to capture in statistical terms how sharing social space with people of different faiths in a pluralist society is affecting the choices Muslims make.

Issues arising from interaction with other faith and cultural communities are also discussed. The question of Muslims' attachment to Quebec culture and language is addressed. Attitudes of the second generation Muslims to interfaith marriage vis-à-vis their immigrant parents are examined. The issue of the qualifications of foreign graduate, which has been muddled by anecdotal information, is visited in light of the hard data, as is the degree to which foreign graduates trained for regulated occupations are unable to work in their professions. Finally, misperceptions about Muslims in relation to employment insurance benefits and old age pensions and income supplement are examined.

## 2 A brief history of Canadian Muslims<sup>2</sup>

Muslim history of Canada dates from the mid-nineteenth century. The Fathers of Confederation were still trying to conceive Canada when a Muslim teenager bride of Scottish descent, Agnes Love and her husband gave birth to their first child in Upper Canada. James Love, named after his father, was born in 1854. The couple welcomed Canadian Confederation with the birth of their daughter, Elizabeth in 1867 (Hamdani 1980, 2007).

While the pioneers made their home in Ontario, the early settlers, who started trickling into Canada at the end of the nineteenth century, bypassed the central provinces and headed west where the action was. The spirit to explore uncharted territories and the hope of sharing in the riches of the new land spurred these intrepid adventurers to leave the comfort of their homes in the present-day Syria and Lebanon for the unknown world of the Great White North. The story of a teenager, Ali Abouchadi (who later adopted the name Alexander Hamilton), epitomizes the indomitable spirit of these adventurers. He walked several miles from Lala to Beirut in Lebanon with his uncle to board a vessel for Montreal on their way to stake a claim to the Klondike gold. He was too late to make a fortune in the gold rush, but his Midas touch turned his many business ventures into a pot of gold.

These settlers were among the pioneers who cultivated and developed Alberta and Saskatchewan. Some of them took up agriculture. Some of the fur traders and peddlers established new land routes and opened up the North for commerce before the bush pilots Wop May and Punch Dickens made the air link (Goyette and Roemmick 2005).

As the pioneering days ended and the romance of adventure diminished, in Canada attention turned to reconstructing the post-War economy. Muslims immigrating during this period were typically skilled workers and professionals who helped reorient the economy from dependence on production for war to a new footing for a sustainable peacetime prosperity. Bilingualism played a key role by opening up North America to Muslims from French-speaking countries of North Africa. Inauguration of Islamic studies at McGill University in 1952 under the direction of the prominent scholar Wilfred Cantwell Smith, who began his academic career at Forman Christian College, my alma mater in Lahore, Pakistan, and the start of Islamic studies a decade later at the University of Toronto attracted some Muslim scholars and students from abroad.

Coming from the middle classes, Muslim immigrants did not have much money to invest, but they had something of even greater value to a young county – knowledge, ability to apply it to find solutions and create innovations. While attracting skilled workers and professionals was the focus of the immigration policy over much of this period, entrepreneurship has not been lacking in the community. Muslim fur traders and peddlers explored new trading routes and set up businesses in regions where other Canadians were reluctant to venture because of the remoteness or high business risk (Hamdani 2010b).

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<sup>2</sup> This section draws liberally on my essay, “The Al-Rashid: Canada’s First Mosque 1938” and two speeches: “Muslim Ummah: Past, Present and Future” given at the Milad un Nabi celebration, held by His Highness the Agha Khan’s Council in Calgary, 2005; and “Muslim History of Canada, Pre-Confederation to the First World War”, keynote address at the launch of Tessellate Institute, Toronto, 27 April 2006.

These early Muslim settlers were remarkably open to new ideas, in spite of their rural backgrounds and lack of formal schooling. They freely borrowed from the local culture and traditions while holding fast to the fundamentals of their faith, as their ancestors had through the centuries when they migrated to other countries and brought back a wealth of knowledge which became the building blocks of the magnificent Islamic Civilization.

Individually, they took steps to integrate into the mainstream society. Some of them had their names Anglicized upon entry into Canada. Immigration officers shortened their names to make them easier to pronounce in English or simply misspelled them because Arabic alphabets and phonetics were unfamiliar to them. Instead of reverting to their original names they adopted and kept these new Anglicized forms. Others who had escaped this rite of passage changed their names on their own. They quickly learned English with some of them also acquiring the knowledge of the Cree language to be able to converse with the Aboriginal people from whom they learned the secrets of fur trading and with whom they also used to trade. Many married into other faiths instead of returning to their native countries to find a Muslim spouse. Nejjib Ailley (Aly), the first imam of a mosque in Canada, married Margaret Chapman of Winnipeg.

Muslim women engaged with mainstream society. Hilwie Hamdon was a member of the Liberal Ladies Club in Edmonton. Mary Saddy was a patron of the arts and subscribed to the Symphony Society and the Citadel Theatre in Edmonton. Najabey Jazey became a member of the legion in Nova Scotia when her son joined the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Even as Muslims encountered isolation and struggled for social acceptance by the host society, these early settlers wasted little time taking steps to anchor their future generations in the new homeland. Like other immigrant communities, they set up institutions to transmit their fundamental values to and ease the transition of their children to mainstream Canadian society. In 1938, the first mosque was built. True to the builders' vision, it blended with the local landscape instead of standing out. Resembling an Eastern Orthodox Church as much as a Middle Eastern mosque, it synthesises the two main religious traditions, which leaves passers-by wondering about its identity. Preserved as an icon of Canada's Muslim heritage in Fort Edmonton Park, the country's largest living history museum, it receives, as it did during its active life, worshippers and tourists alike, with an enduring solemn grace.

Built by the Sunni and Shia immigrants on the land donated by the people of Edmonton and financed by contributions from donors of all faiths, the opening ceremony of the mosque was as unconventional yet solemn and spiritual, as its architectural design. John Fry, Mayor of Edmonton, presided and a bilingual (Arabic- and English-speaking) Christian Arab was chosen to be the master of ceremonies because the audience was mainly unilingual Albertans who spoke either English or Arabic. The invocation was led by the famous English translator of the Qur'an, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, a Cambridge university graduate and a former member of the elite British Indian Civil Service (I.C.S). Clean-shaven, he was impeccably dressed in a suit and necktie and spoke "beautiful, precise, eloquent English" in the words of the daily newspaper, *The Edmonton Journal* (Hamdani 2010b).

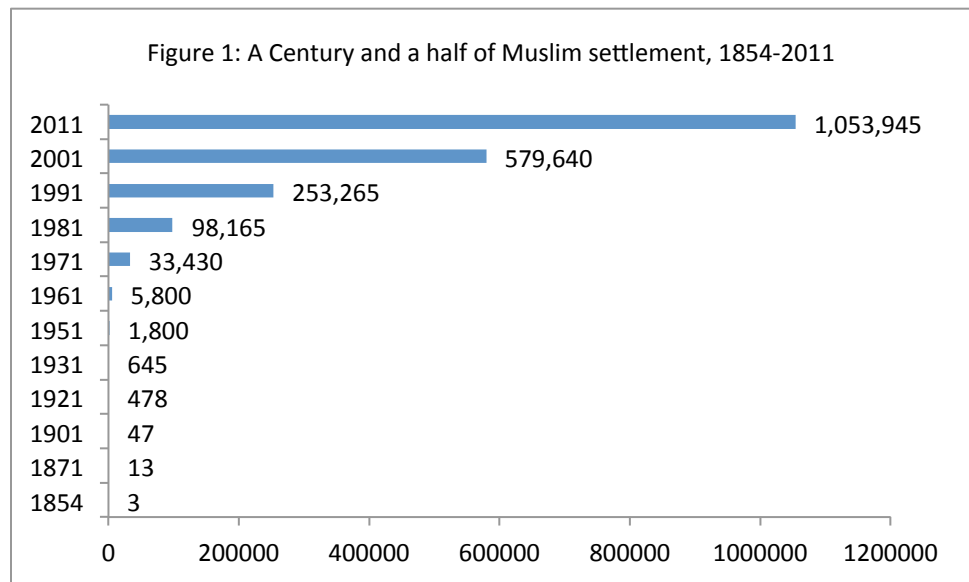
Al-Rashid was unlike many of today's mosques. It was open to the people of all faiths, sects and genders. It introduced Muslim newcomers to their adopted country and helped the country understand them. The community gathered here to celebrate weddings, hold tea parties and cultural events and

their friends, neighbours and colleagues of all faiths joined them. It bustled with activity. It was a school that smoothed the transition of young Muslims to mainstream society; a university where adults learned about Islam’s universal values; a gathering place where young men and women met their future life partners; a town hall where social and political issues were raised and discussed; and a chamber of commerce where business information was exchanged and deals made. Al-Rashid transformed a voyageur society into a strong community whose influence extended far beyond their small numbers and whose descendants have produced prominent personalities in the Canadian public life.

Al-Rashid Mosque’s alumni continue to inspire generations of Canadian Muslims to dream big and aim high. Larry Shaben was the first Muslim cabinet minister and first Canadian politician to take the oath of office on the Qur’an when he first took his seat in the Alberta legislature in 1975. In his maiden speech, he recalled his Lebanese heritage and quoted the renowned Lebanese writer Khalil Gibran. Lila Fahlman founded Canada’s leading Muslim organization, the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, was the first Canadian Muslim woman to be nominated by a major political party to run for a parliamentary seat and also the first Muslim Chaplain of a Canadian university.

### 3 A growing community 1854-2011

For decade after the first historical record of their presence in Canada, Muslims barely registered in the country’s religious spectrum. While Canada’s wide open frontier beckoned intrepid men and women, getting here was not easy even for the adventurers. The long and arduous journey across the Atlantic



Source: Statistics Canada: Censuses of Canada, various years and National Household Survey. Estimates for 1854, 1871, 1951, 1961 and 1971 are taken from Hamdani, Muslims and Islam in Canada (2001)

Ocean was an endurance test with a high risk of sea sickness, disease and food shortage. Few had enough financial means to afford the long trip and for many among them the cost amounted to lifetime savings. While Canada desperately wanted people to come and develop the vast

expanse of land, the harsh climate and general attitudes

towards non-Europeans were not particularly welcoming.

In the 1850s, there was only one Muslim family that lived in Upper Canada. Two more European families joined them later and by 1871, 13 Muslims comprised the entire Muslim community. Up to the



end of the Second World War, Canadians of the Islamic faith numbered in hundreds (Figure 1). Only after immigration restrictions on non-Europeans were lifted in the 1960s did more Muslims start trickling in. Sizeable increases, however, occurred much later in the 1990s when the concern about labour and skill shortages mounted in the wake of low birth rates.

In 2011, the National Household Survey counted 1,053,945 Muslims, an increase of 82 per cent over 2001. In relative terms, Muslims are 3.2 per cent of the total Canadian population and among the faith communities, they rank fifth behind Catholics (12.8 million), people not affiliated to any organized religion (7.8 million), United Church followers (2.0 million) and the Anglicans (1.6 million).

Muslim population is a mix of the newcomers and the third and fourth generations of established families. More than a half of the foreign-born Muslims arrived here after 2000 and 37 per cent have only been in the country since 2001-2006. It means that a significant segment of the population is still in the process of adjustment and integration, pulled, on the one hand, by the desire to preserve ethnic languages, cultures and communities and pushed, on the other hand, to adapt. This process is neither swift nor smooth.

## 4 Changing composition

### 4.1 Canadian-born Muslims a growing segment

Muslim population has undergone major demographic changes but from the perspective of integration into the broader society and future Muslim leadership and institutions, none is more important than the acceleration in the pace of the compositional change. After decades of slow but steady change, a demographic transformation is under way. Native-born Muslims made up over a fifth (22.8 per cent) of all Muslims in 1991. In the next ten years, this proportion increased slowly to 23.8 per cent but jumped to 28.0 per cent in 2011 (Table 1).

**Table 1: Changing composition of Canadian Muslim population**

	2001	2011	% change	Percent distribution	
				2001	2011
Total Canadian Muslim population	579,640	1,053,945	81.8	100.0	100.0
- Canadian-born	137,835	294,710	113.8	23.8	28.0
- Foreign-born (immigrant)	415,840	720,125	73.2	71.7	68.3
- Students, temporary workers & refugees	25,970	39,110	50.6	4.5	3.7

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Population 2001 and National Household Survey 2011*.

The demographic shift has been in the making for several years, making Islam integral to Canada, beyond the 160 years history of Muslim settlement in the country.<sup>3</sup> Many of today's young Muslims

<sup>3</sup> The year 2014 marks the 160th birth anniversary of the first Muslim born in what was then Upper Canada. James Love, the first of eight children of a Scottish couple, James and Agnes Love, was born in 1854 (Hamdani 1980, 2006).

came to Canada as adolescent and teenagers with their parents several years ago. Now they are reaching adulthood, getting married and raising families. One half of Canadian Muslims are younger and one half older than 28.9 years. By comparison, the median age for the larger Christian groups is much higher – for Roman Catholics it is 42.9 years; Anglican, 51.1; and United Church, 52.3 years.

In spite of a longer childbearing span of Muslim women relative to other faith communities, the stereotypical large Muslim family does not exist in real life. Two demographers at Statistics Canada, Malefant and Bélanger (2006) analyzed the age and birth data from the 2001 census of population and arrived at a figure of 2.4 children per Muslim woman in 2001, a rate moderately higher than the 2.1 replacement level below which the population actually begins to decline unless steps are taken to rejuvenate it through immigration or encouraging people to have more babies.

In fact, there are indications that Muslim fertility rate might have fallen since it was last estimated in 2001. A comprehensive study (Statistics Canada 2003) of fertility among immigrants noted that Canadian-born women tend to have smaller families than their immigrant mothers and that the “tendency for fertility rates to converge [to Canadian average] was especially noticeable among women who immigrated before the age of 15 [years]”, because enculturation is faster during the impressionable years. Proportionately, more Muslim girls than all immigrant girls are under 15 years of age. The National Household Survey 2011 estimated that 27 per cent of the foreign-born Muslim females were younger than 15 years of age. For all immigrants, the figure was 26 per cent. While we wait for more recent data on Muslim fertility from the National Household Survey, statistics on child benefit payments by government to mothers provides some evidence on family size. For Muslim mothers applying for child benefits in 2010, there were two children per claimant.

## **4.2 The role of immigration important but declining**

The growing role of natural increase in population notwithstanding, immigration is the principal contributor to Muslim population. Immigration levels have been at or near record high levels lately and more and more of the newcomers were Muslim. During 1991-2001, 13.7 per cent of all immigrants were Muslim. This share rose to 18.0 per cent during the last decade. Still, the contribution of foreign-born in the total Muslim population dropped to 68.4 per cent from 71.7 per cent in 2001 (Table 1). Recent policy changes suggest that the role of immigration in the growth of Muslim population will continue to decline. Increased emphasis on language skills and a greater role for employers in the selection process in the new immigration policy will tend to favour English and French speaking countries.

## **4.3 Foreign students in demand**

The third and smallest group consists of people admitted into the country on temporary permits to study or fill labour shortages and provide very specialized skills. Also included in this category are refugee claimants and people admitted under the humanitarian resettlement programs. People belonging to these particular temporary stay categories can apply for permanent resident status afterwards.

Muslims belonging to these categories increased by 50 per cent between 2001 and 2011 but more important than the increase was the change in its composition in a direction more conducive to economic growth.

In 2001, asylum seekers were a dominant group in this category. Many people belonging to Muslim minority faiths and non-Muslims fled religious violence in Pakistan and many came to Canada. In fact, Pakistan was the main source country of asylum seekers in Canada over much of the last decade. As many as eleven thousand Pakistani nationals sought refugee status, according to data from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2012). The number of asylum seekers has since dropped.

Instead, international students have emerged as the main group. Faced with the long-term problems of aging populations and shortage of specialized knowledge on the one hand and stiff international competition for talent on the other, industrialized countries are vying for foreign students and researchers not only because they bring needed skills and knowledge and can drive innovation but also as the answer to the more immediate economic and fiscal problems. For example, Saudi Arabian students in Canada are estimated to have spent \$428 million in the country in 2010 (Roslyn Kunin & Associates. 2012). In addition to its stimulating economic impact, the tuition fees foreign students pay provide Canadian educational institutions with financial resources to offer more scholarships, attract good faculty, undertake research and introduce new courses. Attracting foreign students has been built into the Economic Action Plan (2013) calling for the development and implementation of an international educational strategy. The Plan envisages an increase in the number of foreign students from 265,000 in 2012 to 450,000 by 2022. Regions with significant Muslim populations and money but lacking high class educational institutions, Middle East and North Africa are among the six geographic areas identified for special marketing effort to attract international students.

Muslim foreign workers who are on temporary work permits in the country account for a very small number. Most of them are young and well educated, including postdoctoral fellows and physicians on training. Three-fourths are between 20 and 34 years of age.

Temporary work permits vary in their duration, depending upon the program under which it is issued. The duration can be up to 3 years for intra-company transferees and professionals covered under the North American Free Trade Agreement and GATS agreements. Refugee claimants can be issued work visas valid for up to 2 years. Many workers have permits that are limited to 1 year (Thomas 2010). Youth on exchange programs are often limited to 6 months. Extensions can be granted, however. Non-permanent residents are allowed to change status and become permanent residents. In fact, some programs are explicitly designed to facilitate the permanent immigration of persons admitted temporarily to work or study. The recently established Canadian Experience Class 27 is one example. Refugee claimants may also become permanent residents if their claims are accepted (Thomas 2010).

## **5 Age distribution**

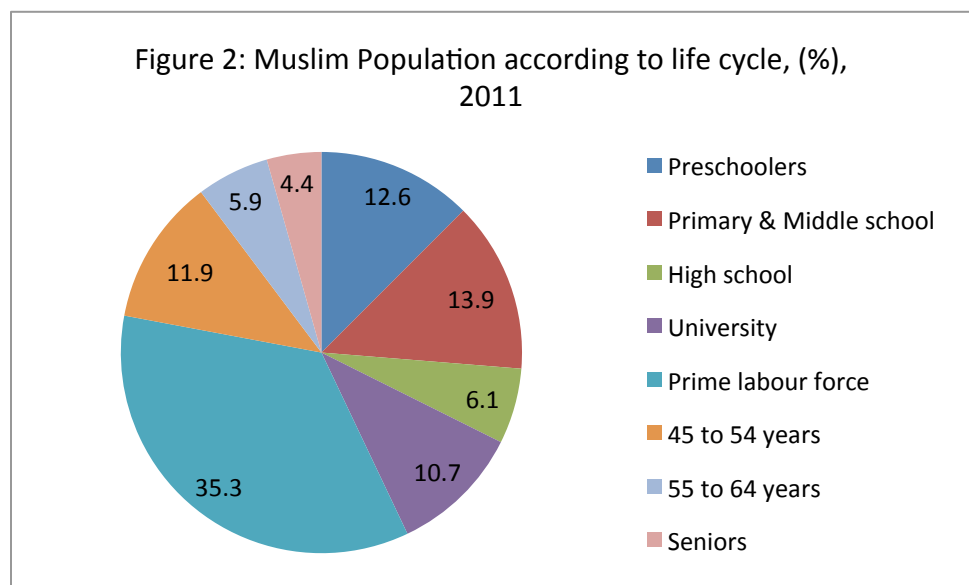
Age distribution of a population is a powerful demographic tool of anticipating emerging social and economic trends, and the life cycle is a good way to look at the age structure. Seven stages of life are identified, from preschool years to retirement, for their uniqueness. Each stage has its own set of needs, choices and preferences and passage from one stage to the next marks a transition.

Preschoolers (children under 6 years of age) are the third largest age group (12.4 per cent). Some of them are looked after by their mothers who are full-time homemakers but mothers who have to provide for their families and at the same time be available to look after them it can be a challenge. Contrary to

the general notion, more than a half of Muslim moms with preschoolers at home work outside the home or actively look for work because their husbands are unable to provide for the family or they practice their professions in the service of the community and neighbourhoods in which they live (Hamdani 2011).

This batch of youngsters that will be entering the school system in this decade is unique in that it is the largest ever batch of Muslim boys and girls and a majority of them are Canadian-born. When they come out of the school system in about two decades they will not be saddled with the issues of language skills and quality of education that are now often offered as two of the main causes of high unemployment among Muslims.

Children in elementary and middle school (ages 6 to 13 years) is the second largest group, totaling 145,520 (or 13.8 per cent) and there are 72,365 (or 6.9 per cent) who are 14 to 17 years of age.



Source: Hamdani's estimates based on Statistics Canada: National Household Survey 2011

Nearly one hundred thousand young Muslim men and women are in the postsecondary education age group, divided almost equally between undergraduate age group 18 to 21 years

(47,605) and postgraduate up to

24 years old (49,555). This is an important group because many of them are making a dramatic transition in this decade, from the academia to the real world and face a labour market that is not particularly welcoming. In 2011, one in four Muslims in that age group who was actively seeking a job could not find one.

Over one half (52 per cent) of the total Muslim population is in the working age, while seniors account for only 5.6 per cent (or 59,205).

Muslim population is a good example of how Canada's immigration policy is meeting one of its key objectives i.e. to correct the imbalance between the young and the elderly in the aging population. For every elderly Muslim, there are nine in the working age to support social programs. For all Canadians, the ratio is five working age people to one senior.

The fiscal benefit of correcting the demographic imbalance is reflected in the amount of money government pays out to people. One of these payments is related to age. In 2010, disbursements under

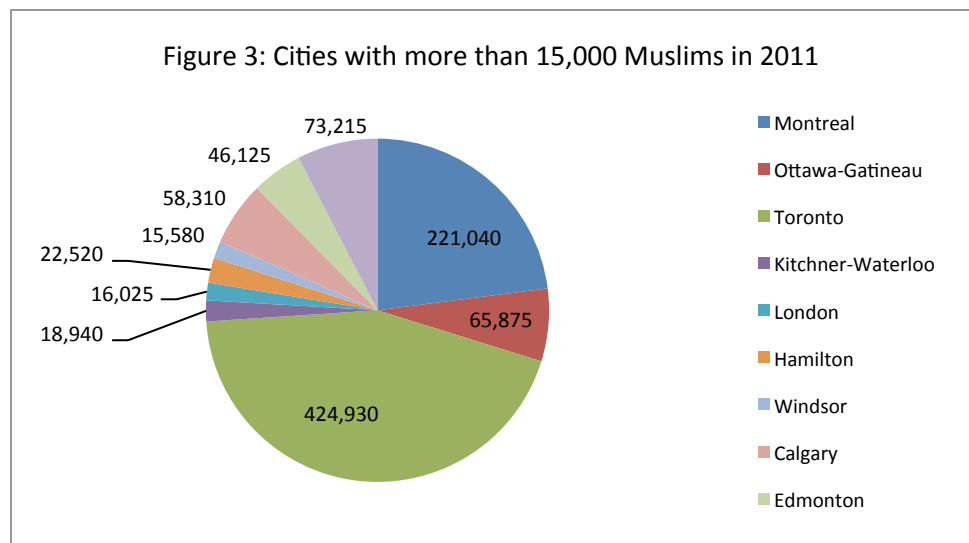
the Canada Pension Plan, Quebec Pension Plan, Old Age Security and Guaranteed Income Supplement made up 6.6 per cent of the income of all Canadians. For Canadian Muslims, this ratio was much less, at 2.6 per cent because they are much younger.

## 6 An urban community

In spite of the rural and farming backgrounds of the early Muslims who settled on the prairies more than a century ago and participated in the agricultural development of Alberta and Saskatchewan today very few Muslims live in rural areas. A majority of Muslims that followed the early settlers were skilled workers and professionals and came from cities in their native countries and opted for metropolitan areas in Canada. But in selecting a city to settle they paid particular attention to the historical pattern of Muslim settlement in the country, proximity to the people of their own ethnicity and the linguistic and cultural similarities of the region.

Over 95 per cent of all Muslims live in metropolitan areas. Almost two-thirds make their home in two cities: Toronto, 424,930; and Montreal, 221,040. Vancouver and Ottawa-Gatineau are the third and fourth cities of Muslim concentration. Only ten cities have more than 15,000 Muslims (Figure 3). Concentration of population makes planning for and provision of services to the community easier and offers economies of scale.

Between 2001 and 2011, there was a westward movement of Muslims prompted by the oil boom and Muslim population shares of several cities in other parts of the country declined. But paradoxically Montreal attracted more Muslims even as sentiment against Muslims in the province of Quebec was high. Montreal's share of Muslim population rose from 17.3 per cent in 2001 to 21 per cent in 2011. Muslims of the Middle Eastern and North African origins choose Montreal to live because coming from the former French colonies they feel at ease in Quebec culture and language. On its part, Quebec selects them as immigrants because of their French linguistic backgrounds in spite of the rhetoric about secularism and *laïcité*, which is ostensibly meant for everyone living in Quebec but aimed at Muslims.



Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011

The ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity of Muslims plays a significant role in their choices of place to settle in Canada. The Arabs are more numerous in Montreal, London and Windsor. West Asians (including people from Iran, Afghanistan and several states of the former Soviet Union)

prefer large cities like Toronto and Vancouver. There are significant Black communities in Ottawa-Gatineau and Winnipeg and South Asians are more spread out but flock to Toronto.

## 7 Identity and ethnic diversity

Canadian Muslims are comprised of more than five dozen different ethnic groups with origins in Asia, Africa, America, Europe and Oceania. Although ethnic origin is a key characteristic of a pluralist society classifying population on this basis is becoming increasingly difficult as more and more people are intermarrying. Increase in the number of children born of mixed marriages raises classification issues and questions about its usefulness for studying integration. Four in ten (43 per cent) Canadians report multiple ethnicities. In the United States, the Census Bureau is still grappling with how to accurately classify race and ethnicity in its next decennial count in 2020 (Vega 2014) even though the Hispanic origin question has been on the census since 1970 and the question has evolved each decade in an attempt to more accurately reflect the growing Hispanic demographic.

The issue of ethnicity plays out differently in the case of Muslims. Groupings based on the two measures available from the National Household Survey, visible minority categories and ancestry, tend to turn focus on their foreignness. While the visible minority classification is designed to serve the administrative requirements of the *Employment Equity Act*, ancestry data circumvents one of the key features of a pluralist society i.e. changes in ethnicity from generation to generation. After two or three generations, many Muslims would rather be simply thought of as Canadian, not ethnic Canadian. Neither measure captures the most significant demographic transformation of the Muslim community, that is, more Canadian Muslims were born in Canada (28 per cent) than in any other country.

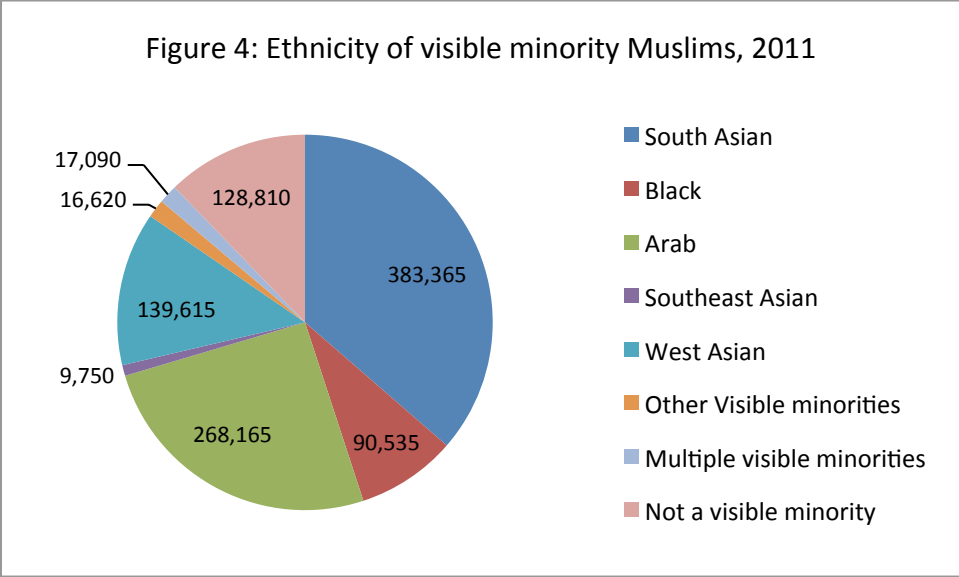
### 7.1 Self-identification of identity

Measurement of ethnicity can be approached in a number of ways. Self-identification is one way. People are asked to classify themselves into one of several groups. This is the approach taken in defining visible minorities, one of the four groups designated under the *Employment Equity Act*.

The *Employment Equity Act* defines as visible minorities 'persons, other than Aboriginal persons, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.' The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese.

The other three designated groups under the *Act* are women, Aboriginal people and people with disabilities.

All but 12 per cent of Canadian Muslims regard themselves as a visible minority. South Asians are, by far, the largest single group, accounting for more than a third (36 per cent) of all Muslims. Pakistanis and Indians dominate this group. Only a quarter of Canadian Muslims have an Arab ethnicity. West Asians, including Iranians, Afghans and the people from states of the former Soviet Union (13 per cent), and Black (9 per cent), are the next largest minorities. There are also small numbers of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Filipinos.



Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011

Just over 12 per cent of Muslims did not regard themselves as a visible minority. These would include Muslims of European origins and some of the former states of the Soviet Union, as well as Canadian converts to Islam, though this latter number is likely very small.

The remaining two categories, 'other visible minorities' and 'multiple visible minorities', illustrate the difficulty of creating an ethnic classification. Although the number of Muslims in each of these categories is relatively small, their movements over time deserve attention. While Muslims identifying themselves as a visible minority increased 82 per cent between 2001 and 2011, those in the 'other' category declined 17 per cent during the same period. This suggests that some answers might have shifted over time. Similarly those with 'multiple ethnic origins' outpaced every other visible minority group by a large margin, indicating either an increase in the number of children born of mixed marriages or a change in some answers that previously noted a single ethnic identity but switched their answers to to multiple ethnicities in the subsequent census.

The remaining two

**7.2 Ancestry**

Ethnic origin in the National Household Survey refers not to the ethnicity of the respondent but to the ethnic or cultural origins of the respondent's ancestors. An ancestor is defined as someone usually more distant than a grandparent. While this definition makes it easier to compartmentalize people into ethnicities, it sidesteps one of the key characteristics of pluralist societies and that is fluidity of ethnicity. With each new generation, people acquire multiple ethnic identities as a result of intermarriage, and perhaps many Canadian Muslims do not think of themselves in particularly ethnic terms because their generation has been in Canada long enough that their ethnic identity has begun to fade and they would rather not be thought of as ethnic Canadian.

**7.3 Birthplace**

Discussion about Muslims is often couched in terms of the Asian and African immigrant segments of the population, but a look at data by birthplace reveals a different picture. Nearly a third (31.5) of Canadian Muslims were born in North and South America and Europe. One in five reported an African country as their place of birth and 43 per cent were born in Asia.

Canada is, by far, the leading source country of Muslims, with 28 per cent of all Muslims reporting it as the country of their birth.

Although Muslims are generally associated with the Middle East and the U.S. President Barak Obama chose an Arab country to address the Muslim world, no Arab country ranks among the three top source countries of Muslims population, by birth.

#### **7.4 Aboriginal Muslims**

The National Household Survey makes a distinction between Aboriginal identity and ancestry. Aboriginal identity means that the person is officially recognized as Aboriginal person. Whereas Aboriginal ancestry means that the person himself/herself is not officially recognized as an Aboriginal but he or she descended from an Aboriginal ancestor.

In 2011, there were just over one thousand (1,065) Muslims with an Aboriginal identity. Two-thirds belonged to the First Nations while the remaining one-third (355) were Métis.

However, nearly twice as many (1,910) Muslims reported Aboriginal ancestry. Four in five of these people (1,570) belonged to the First Nations, most of the rest were the Métis and there was a small number of the Inuit.

The actual numbers of Aboriginal Muslims are probably higher but not by much as all reserves were not included in these data. Statistics Canada points out that 36 reserves out of 863 inhabited reserves in the National Household Survey were incompletely enumerated for various reasons and the data for these 36 Indian reserves and Indian settlements are not included in these estimates.

The gender distribution of Aboriginal Muslims is quite different from the sex ratio of all Canadian Muslims as a whole and invites some curious questions about whether this statistical pattern stems from the particular demographics of the Aboriginal people or more women find appeal in Islam than men. Among all Canadian Muslims, males outnumber females, but among Aboriginal Muslims females exceeded males in the ratio of 85 males to 100 females.

The age structure of the Aboriginal Muslims reinforces the tentative notion that young parents with small children are particularly attracted to Islam. Muslims with Aboriginal identity or ancestry are very young, often young parents with small children. Three in four Aboriginal Muslims were younger than 35 years of age; 45 per cent were children under the age of 15 years; and few were older than 54 years. Rather than being a reflection of the demographics shaped by higher fertility and short life expectancy the age structure suggests that younger people are drawn to Islam.

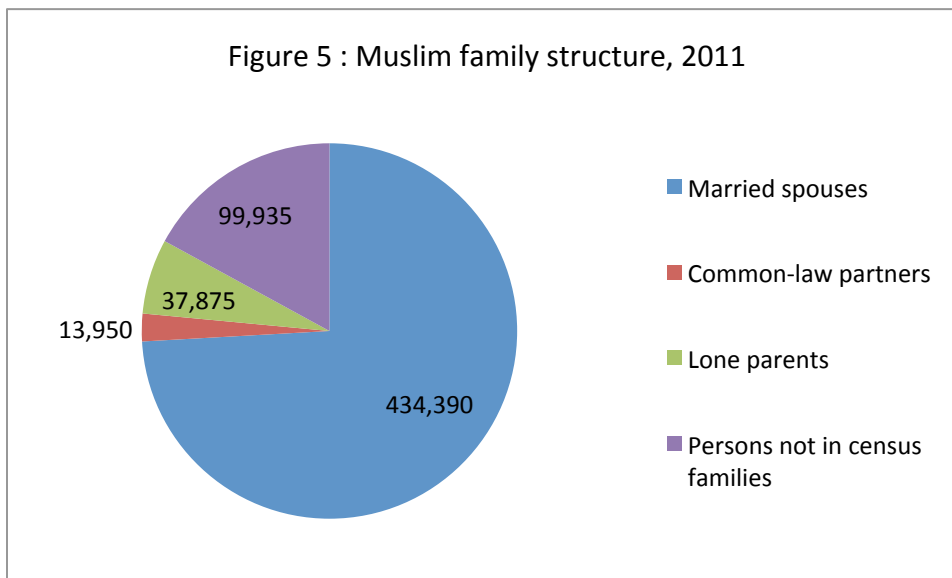
A majority of Aboriginal Muslims lives in Ontario (43 per cent) and Quebec (27 per cent), followed by Alberta (13 per cent) and British Columbia (8 per cent), with smaller numbers in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia. It is unclear whether broader Muslim communities, organizations or institutions interact with them or serve their religious and spiritual needs. The Arctic Mosque, which was transported 4,000 kilometres on truck and barge from Winnipeg to Inuvik in Northwest Territories amid much public attention, mainly serves immigrant Muslims working and living there.



## 8 The state of the marital union

Data released from the National Household Survey 2011 reveals a community that is holding fast to its social traditions yet feeling the strain of exposure to a multi-faith and multicultural society. The findings affirm the sanctity of marriage as the bedrock of Canadian Muslim family but there are hints of change in attitudes towards the traditional family form and the extended family system as new family forms are emerging.

For every one hundred married couples there are twelve who are divorced or legally separated, there are a sizeable number of single parent families and despite the judgment and frowns it attracts in the community, common law living is not totally absent.



Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011

Figure 5 summarizes the four Muslim family forms. Married couples are the norm, accounting for three out of four families. About 38,000 families (6.5 per cent) consist of only one parent with children, usually the mother. In addition, there are nearly one hundred thousand

persons who live alone. Such living

arrangements make up 17 per cent of Muslim families in the country.

### 8.1 Early marriage

The tradition of early marriage prevalent in some conservative Muslim societies has been carried over to Canada as demographics and institutional barriers to social interaction between sexes make some families to get involved and look to their native countries for a suitable spouse for their daughters at an early age.

Data released from the National Household Survey 2011 reveal that early marriage is more common among Muslims than other faith communities including those with similar demographic, ethnic and national backgrounds. In 2011, 10 per cent of the Muslims were married or had been married and later divorced or separated before reaching the age of 25 years.

Lumping sexes together blurs the picture, because customarily in Muslim societies groom is older than the bride by a few years, and therefore early marriage is largely a female phenomenon. Only 4 per cent of the young men in the age group 15 to 24 years were or had been married.

Early marriage rates among young Muslim women and girls, on the other hand, were well above those observed in other faith communities. Some 16 per cent of Muslim women in the age group 15 to 24 years were still or had been married. For all Canadian women in the same age group, the figure was 12 per cent, with other faith communities also reporting lower early marriage rates.

Paradoxically, in a society in which individuals are free to choose their life partners, young Muslim men and especially women face serious difficulties because of the demographic and institutional factors. Muslims are not a monolithic group and while they do reach across ethnic and cultural lines to find a spouse such unions are not commonplace. Matrimonial ads placed by both Muslim men and women express strong preference for partners of similar ethnicities and cultures within the faith. After filtering for ethnic and linguistic compatibility, the pool of marriage eligible people is substantially reduced and the choice becomes very limited.

The choices are further constrained by the lack of opportunities for young men and women to get acquainted. Social and cultural institutions where young people can meet are lacking and although imams preach the virtues of marrying within the faith, many of the religious institutions have not reconciled themselves to the idea of women's presence in the mosque. Some mosques limit their access outright while many others segregate them behind partitions and barriers.

To wit, there appears to have been little change in attitudes and practices regarding accommodation of women in the mosques in the last decade. Council on American-Islamic Relations' 2010 decennial survey of mosques in the United States (Canadian situation is probably similar) revealed that new mosques built during the last decade continued with the restrictive practices of the older mosques with respect to women's access.

With social networks sharply reduced or non-existent in Canada, women's access to mosques limited and social and cultural institutions absent, parents' role becomes more important than it was in their native societies. In some cases, search for a suitable life partner begins when daughters are still very young and extends beyond the Canadian borders. The extent of this phenomenon has not been seriously studied, but observers and students of social issues in the community suggest that it is not trivial.

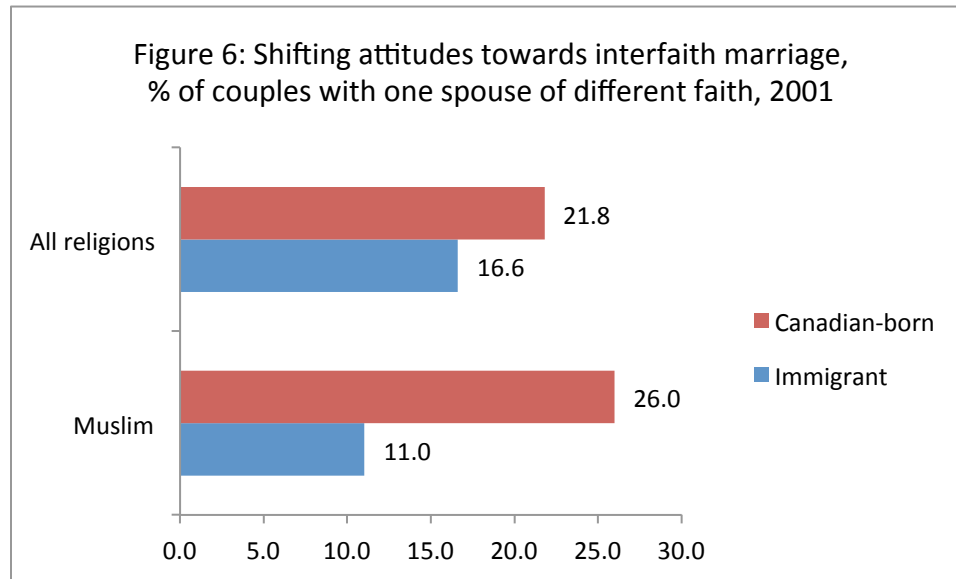
It is not totally surprising that failure rates of early marriage are relatively high. As compared to all Canadian women, proportionately more than twice as many Muslim women in the age group 15 to 24 years were legally separated. Divorce rate among Muslim women in this same age group was much higher than that among all Canadian women.

## **8.2 Interfaith marriage**

Of all the social changes embraced by the community, interfaith marriage reflects a diversity of views and practices in the community; social attitudes shaped by the experience of living in a pluralist society; and a generational shift in how the Canadian-born daughters and sons of immigrants look at one of the most important religious issues.

In spite of exhortations by religious leaders to their congregants to marry within the faith, 9 per cent of married Muslims have a non-Muslim spouse. Unremarkable as this figure may appear in a society in which mixed conjugal unions are commonplace, for many Muslim immigrants, the change in attitudes

towards interfaith marriage represents a break from the native patriarchal societies which frowned upon such unions although Islam approves marriage with *ahlul kitab* (Arabic for the people of the Book, specifically Christians and Jews).



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2001

The prevalence of interfaith marriage underscores the fact that even on such an important matter as marriage, differences of opinion and interpretation of religious texts exist in the Canadian Muslim community. Religious views about marrying outside the

faith have been tempered by cultures

in various communities. For some, marrying a non-Muslim is a non-issue, while others are strictly opposed to it. A survey of Muslim Americans found South Asians to be more accepting of the idea of marrying outside the faith while a majority of Arabs and Pakistanis disapproved it (Pew Research Center 2007).

Foreign-born Muslims' reaction to interfaith marriage reflects a mix of acceptance and unease. In a pluralist society, sharing social and work spaces with many faith communities provides ample opportunities for a greater understanding of other peoples' faiths and beliefs and the discovery of how much they share. Freedom to express oneself, buttressed by a growing number of Muslim scholars who question the conventional interpretation of religious teachings that has been used for centuries to assert that Islam allows men, but not women, to marry outside the faith, is reshaping the context of social life in Canada.

Still, the pressure on women to conform to cultural traditions of selecting a life partner within the faith is far greater than on men. Marriages between a Muslim man and a non-Muslim woman are twice as common as interreligious unions involving a Muslim woman.

The younger generation of Muslim men and women born in Canada is less fixated on their immigrant parents' views about marrying outside the faith. Perhaps many of them do not think of themselves in particularly ethnic and religious terms, in the same way as their parents do. The shift is nowhere more apparent than in the way they approach marriage with non-Muslims. While 11 per cent of the foreign-born Muslims had a non-Muslim spouse, 26 per cent of Canadian-born Muslims were in an interfaith marriage, according to the 2001 census. Whether the prevalence of interfaith marriage means fading of a taboo is too early to say.

### **8.3 Lone or single parent families**

Lone parent family represents one of the most important social changes. It is an anomaly in the extended family system, which is a significant factor in the interpretation of some family provisions in Muslim countries. It also defies the traditional family model in which there is a full-time homemaker and a male breadwinner.

Lone parent family is defined as one parent with children. A young single woman with children or an elderly woman living with a daughter or son both come within the definition.

This family type offers a rare view into the extent of the social change taking place within the community, as it grows out of marriage breakdowns, death of a spouse, or children born outside of marriage.

In 2011, 6.5 per cent (or 59,700) of Muslim families consisted of one parent with children. In 84 per cent of these families, the head of the household was a woman; and in one half of Muslim lone parent families headed by a woman the mother was younger than 44 years of age. These women were divorced, separated, or widowed and did not remarry.

About 65,000 Muslim children grow up in lone parent families, and more than a half of these families (50.5 per cent) are classified as low income.

## **9 Official languages and Quebec's secularism**

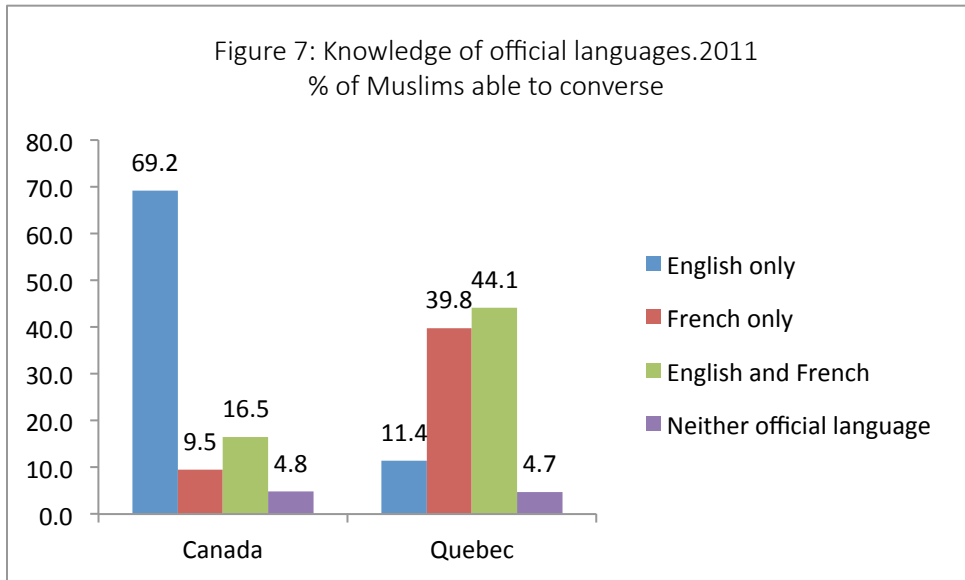
Knowledge of the language is one of the most important influences on the integration of new settlers. It not only facilitates the integration of newcomers but also makes it easier to preserve and transmit one's own culture to the receiving country. It is the first step towards the beginning of citizenship and equality.

All but 5 per cent of the Muslims can converse in one or the other official languages. They have two very distinct linguistic profiles: one for English-speaking provinces and the other for Quebec which accords with that province's particular culture and language.

A majority of Canadian Muslims know the English language, with 69.2 per cent reporting the ability to carry on a conversation. About 10 per cent know only French, most of whom live in Quebec. Almost 17 per cent can converse in both official languages. This overall linguistic profile more or less fits all provinces, except Quebec, which is unique.

The linguistic profile of Quebec Muslims is quite different, with many more having knowledge of French and fewer reporting knowledge of English. Eighty-four per cent of Quebec Muslims speak French: 40 per cent know only French and 44 per cent reported knowledge of both official languages. Less than 5 per cent know neither French nor English.

Muslims stand out among non-Catholic faith communities for having adopted the French language in large numbers. Historically, Quebec has been a destination of choice for Muslim newcomers to Canada. Bilingualism was a blessing for the French-speaking professionals and skilled workers in Africa and Asia who sought opportunities abroad. Thanks to Canada's bilingualism, Europe was no longer the only place



Source: Statistics Canada: National Household Survey 2011

to look to as a new home; North America's doors had also opened. Muslims from North Africa and the Middle East arrived to study or fill vacant positions in universities, hospitals and factories. Coming from former French colonies, they spoke fluent French and

eased into the Quebec culture.

Other Muslim immigrants who did not know the language learned it as a step towards integration (Hamdani 2010).

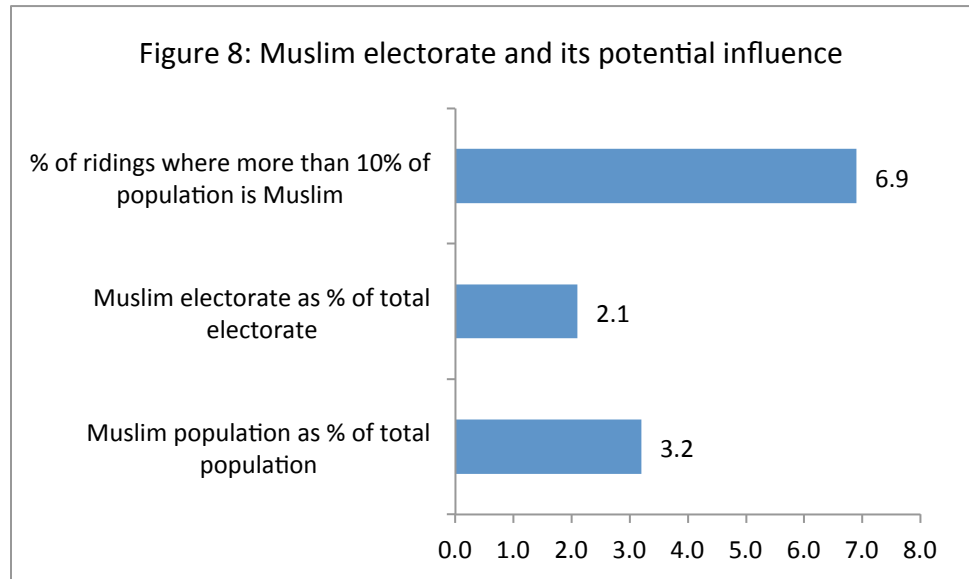
In the heat of the debate on how to preserve and promote Quebec culture and language and the immigrant population's role in it, the limelight is almost always trained on dress code, customs and lore, ignoring other more important aspects of integration. The discussion misses the key point and that is how young Muslims are embracing the province's language for, after all, it is they who will pass it on to the next generation and keep it vibrant. What the National Household Survey reveals about the connection of young girls to the French language is remarkable. Ranked by the attachment to the French language, young Muslim girls place above their peers in all non-Christian faith communities. Compared to the major Christian denominations, they are second only to the Catholics. Some 89 per cent of the Catholic girls younger than 15 years of age can only speak French, compared with 62 per cent of Muslim girls.

## 10 Muslim electorate

Involvement in the electoral process is an important indication of a community's integration in the broader society, as it reflects its sense of belonging, relevance of political and democratic institutions to its life and how government relates to it. Participation in other spheres of life may be hampered by barriers but access to the democratic process is unfettered and the only obstacles to casting a ballot are those that are usually created by the individuals themselves.

Over half a million (513,000) Muslims are eligible to vote, according to data from the National Household Survey 2011. More have turned 18 years old since 2011, pushing the number still higher. More importantly, their political geography gives them a strategic position when elections are very closely contested. Unlike other faith communities that are concentrated in a few constituencies and have enough votes to decide the outcome of the election in their riding on their own, Muslims are

relatively dispersed and can influence and swing the outcome in many ridings. Particularly when the elections are close, as was the case in several elections before 2009, their vote carries a huge weight and it can even decide which of the three major political parties forms the government when no party wins absolute majority in parliament. With only 2.1 per cent of the eligible voters, Muslim Canadians could



Source: Estimated by Hamdani from Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011

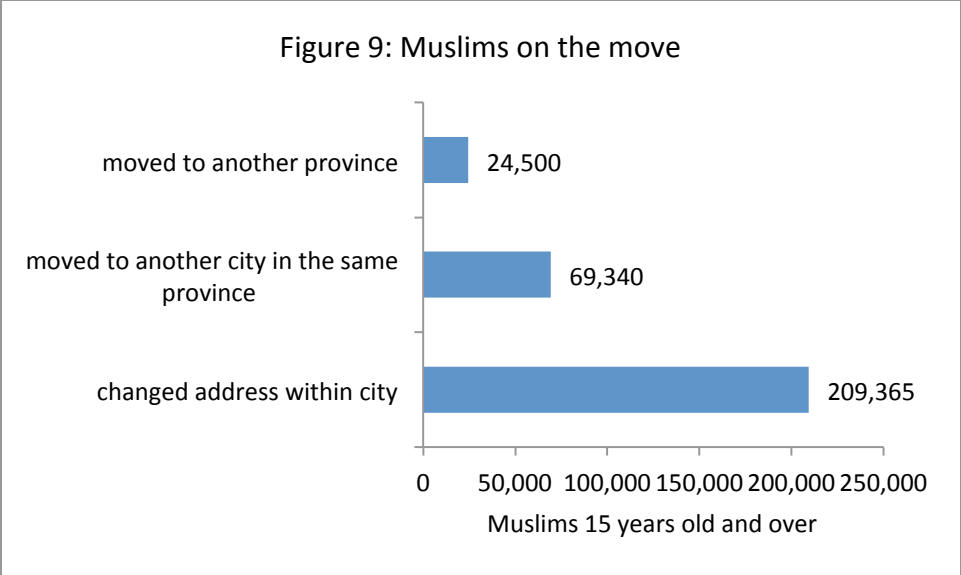
influence the outcome of 23 constituencies in the 2015 federal general election (Figure 8 and Table 2).

While Muslims' geographic demography gives them a greater influence relative to their population their age profile presents some challenges. The new Muslim cohort

entering the electorate in 2015

will be larger than any before it. Muslim population grew rapidly in the second half of the last decade and many among them were Canadian-born who became eligible to vote immediately upon turning 18 years old. In additions, Canadian-born Muslims who were 14 to 17 years old in 2011 will be turning 18 years or older. In order for the new entrants to cast the ballot, they must first register.

Being the youngest faith community in the country with large numbers of professionals and university students, they are geographically very mobile and relocate in search of a job, to enrol in a university or to get married. Forty per cent of the Muslims 15 years of age and older are estimated to have moved to a different location since the last federal general election. Most of them changed residence within the city, but sizeable movements also occurred between cities and provinces (Figure 9). Separate data on those eligible to vote are not readily available but the proportions are not likely much different. These people must update their records with Elections Canada to avoid any difficulties at the time of voting.



Source: Calculated by Hamdani from Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011.

If Muslims' voter registration and voter turnout rates are equal to those of the Canadian electorate as a whole, they have enough votes to swing the results in 23 of the 334 constituencies in 2015. Most of these seats are in Ontario (16) followed by 5 seats in Quebec and 2 seats in Alberta (Table 2 below). All

of the constituencies in Ontario are concentrated in GTA (Greater Toronto Area) except for the riding of South Ottawa. Don Valley East has the highest concentration of Muslims with 19.7 per cent of the constituents being Muslim, second only to the Catholics who are the single largest faith community in the riding. Current parliament has no Muslim members. There were three in the previous parliament but they lost their bid for re-election in 2009.

There are little hard data on Muslims' voter registration or participation rates and much of what is available is dated. Elections Canada does not compile information on the religious affiliation of voters however, various surveys provide useful clues. A majority of respondents to the 2005 CCMW (Canadian Council of Muslim Women) survey, the only survey by a Muslim organization to follow scientific methods, agreed that voting was a constructive way of strengthening the voice of the community (Hamdani 2006b), but in actual practice Muslims do not appear to act upon this conviction in sufficient numbers. In fact, among faith communities, they are the least likely to vote. Ethnic Diversity Survey (Statistics Canada 2002) found Muslim voter turnout rate in the 2000 federal general election was 25 per cent less than Christians and Jews, the communities with long histories in Canada, and 19 per cent lower than Hindus and 14 per cent less than the Sikhs' both of whom have similar histories as Muslims; Hamdani 2006).

Using data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey<sup>4</sup> and Muslim Women's Needs Survey, Hamdani (2005) estimated Muslim voter turnout rate at 46.5 per cent as compared with 61.1 per cent for Canada as a

<sup>4</sup> Ethnic Diversity Survey, which was a comprehensive measurement of all aspects of the integration of various communities, was not meant to produce voter turnout rates by community consistent with Elections Canada's overall rate. The overall rate, according to the Survey was 79 per cent, well above the Elections Canada's official figure of 61 per cent, implying the community voter turnout rates were likewise higher.

whole, published by Elections Canada.<sup>5</sup> There are other estimates as well, most of them based on partial and fragmentary information, which range from 30 per cent to 80 per cent. Analysis of voter turnout rates in a sample of Muslim-heavy constituencies in subsequent federal and Ontario provincial elections suggests that Muslim voter turnout rates has hovered around 46.5 per cent over the years, although Muslims have become more involved in related activities such as raising public awareness of issues of concern to them, campaigning for candidates and seeking party nomination to contest the election. This rate has gained currency and credibility. For Example, Abu-Laban and Trimble (2006), cite it in their article posted on the web sites of Elections Canada and the University of Alberta.

**Table 2: Federal constituencies where Muslim vote is influential in 2015**

Geo code	Province	Constituency	Muslim as % of riding population
35059	Ontario	Mississauga - Cooksville	10.3
35055	Ontario	Markham - Thornhill	10.4
35020	Ontario	Don Valley North	10.5
35121	Ontario	York West	10.7
35087	Ontario	Richmond Hill	10.8
48006	Alberta	Calgary Forest Lawn	11.6
35115	Ontario	Willowdale	11.6
35094	Ontario	Scarborough Centre	11.9
35098	Ontario	Scarborough South West	12.2
24077	Quebec	Ville-Marie	12.5
35062	Ontario	Mississauga - Malton	13.0
24015	Quebec	Bourassa	13.3
24055	Quebec	Papineau	13.5
35021	Ontario	Don Valley West	13.9
48013	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	14.3
24003	Quebec	Ahuntsic - Cartierville	14.5
35095	Ontario	Scarborough - Guildwood	14.8
35077	Ontario	Ottawa South	15.3
35060	Ontario	Mississauga - Erin Mills	16.2
35058	Ontario	Mississauga Centre	16.5
24068	Quebec	Saint-Laurent	17.0
24069	Quebec	Saint-Léonard - Saint-Michel	17.3
35019	Ontario	Don Valley East	19.4

Source: Estimated by Hamdani from Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Muslim Women's Needs Survey (Hamdani 2005) estimated Muslim women voter turnout rate in the 2004 federal general election at 42.5 per cent.



# 11 Education

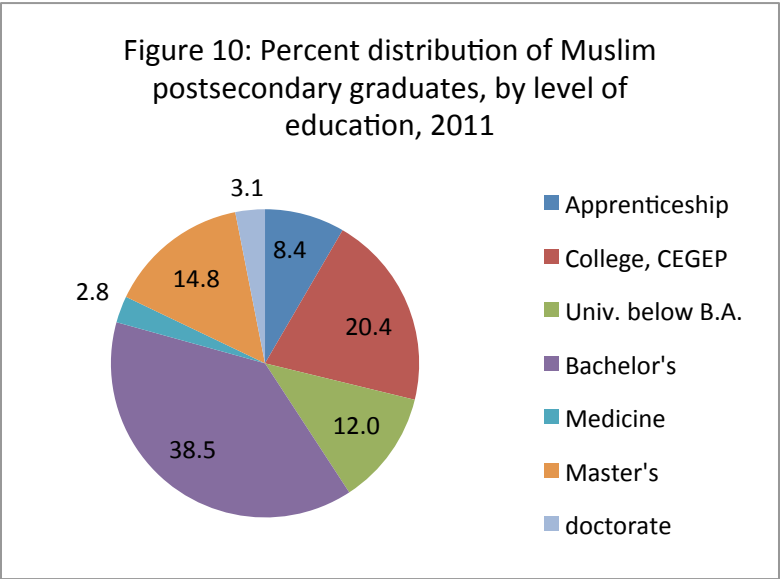
The educational profile of Canadian Muslims reflects Canada’s need to import highly educated people beyond the numbers it can produce and the high value Muslim immigrants place on good education.

The National Household Survey 2011 counted 760,520 Canadian Muslims who were 15 years and older. Sixty per cent of them had a postsecondary education. Almost a quarter (23 per cent) had received a high school diploma, while the remaining 17 per cent were either still in school or did not complete a high school certificate. This was the snapshot when the Survey was conducted. Some of these people might have continued their studies and attained higher degrees.

The people who pursued postsecondary education chose one of the three pathways: apprenticeship and trade; community college; and university. Each path offers different employment prospects and future income stream and reflects the individual’s priorities.

Apprenticeship and trades is less popular among Muslims. Of the 456,000 Muslims who had completed a postsecondary diploma, only 8 per cent chose this route. Nearly twice as many opted for a trade as apprenticeship. Some of the apprenticeship programs are lengthy and can take years to complete.

One in five graduated from a community college. This category is quite broad and includes CEGEP, institutes of technology, nursing schools (excluding university-affiliated faculties of nursing), private business schools and colleges. For a detailed list, see Statistics Canada (2011).



Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011. Medical graduates include physicians, dentists, optometrists and veterinarians.

University education, however, remains very popular with Muslims. Nearly two in five (38 per cent) had a bachelor’s degree, with some having completed additional courses. About 3 per cent possessed a professional degree in a health discipline covering physicians, dentists, veterinarian and optometrist. Close to 15 per cent had completed a master’s degree, and there were enough doctorate degree holders (13,955 or 3 per cent) to fill the academic faculty of

two medium size universities in the country.

Muslims’ educational profile reflects the emphasis of immigration policy on importing people of exceptional skills and knowledge as well as the premium Muslims place on good education. As a result, Muslims are leaders among faith communities. Forty-four per cent of the men and women in the working age, 25 to 64 years, have at least a bachelor’s degree compared with the national average of 25.8 per cent.

### **11.1 A generational shift under way**

Muslims' choices of pathways to postsecondary education reveal a generational shift in the community. Canadian-born daughters and sons of immigrants are opting for colleges in relatively larger numbers than the immigrants did. Whereas one in five foreign-born Muslims graduated from a community college, 31 per cent of Canadian-born Muslims did. Similarly, the number of university graduates was significantly lower for Canadian-born (50 per cent) as compared with foreign-born Muslims (60 per cent).

The underlying reasons that drive young women are quite different from those influencing young men. For some men, the shift underscores the harsh reality of a tight labour market in which the industry-oriented hands-on experience offered by community college programs carries more weight in the job search than the liberal university education, although in the long run a university degree might bring a higher income stream.

For women, however, the shift is rooted in changing social attitudes towards the women's role in society and working outside the home. Some of the immigrant mothers and grandmothers came from conservative, patriarchal societies in which employment potential of a university education played little part in the choice of a specialization and the subject of study for women was often dictated by a patriarchal socialization process to education. But this is beginning to change in Canada. Free of constraints and with their eyes clearly set on the labour market, young women are choosing the path that promises better chances for employment.

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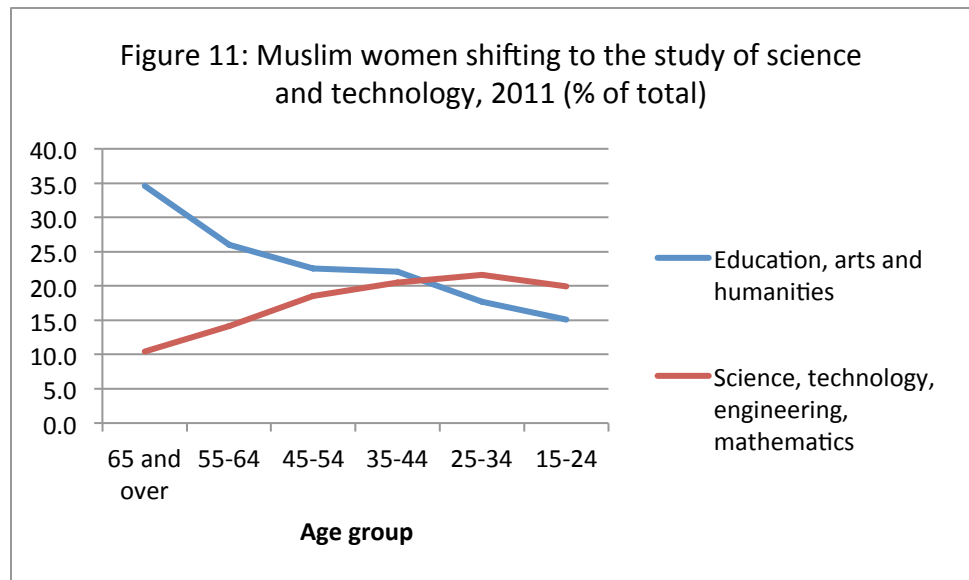
### **11.2 Young Muslim women tackle 'male fields of study'**

Sciences are the popular subjects among Muslims, in particular the fields that are the focus of attention and competition among industrialized countries. Thirty-seven per cent of Muslim postsecondary graduates majored in physical and life sciences and technologies, mathematics, information and computer sciences, and architecture, engineering and related technologies, which cover what is known as STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics). One in five (22 per cent) was in business management and public administration, while health, social and behavioural sciences, and education, arts and humanities each attracted just over 10 per cent.

The choice of study programs men and women make reveals a gender divide. Men go into engineering, science and technology while humanities and social and behavioural sciences are favoured by women. Only in the choice of business management and public administration do the two sexes converge.

The gender divide is partly a legacy carried over from conservative societies. Some Muslim women who came to Canada years ago grew up in communities that dictated what was appropriate for women to study. Determined to let their daughters have the same opportunities as their sons to grow personally and professionally, some of them moved to Canada. Their daughters and granddaughters entering postsecondary institutions are leading the change and tackling 'male' fields of study, that are much in

demand in the Canadian labour market, even though these specializations are frowned upon in conservative Muslims communities (Hamdani 2014).



This phenomenon is depicted in Figure 11 which compares the choices young women who received their education in Canada make with those of their mothers and grandmothers who completed their studies in their native countries. One in three (35 per cent)

Source: Calculated by Hamdani from Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011

Muslim women 65

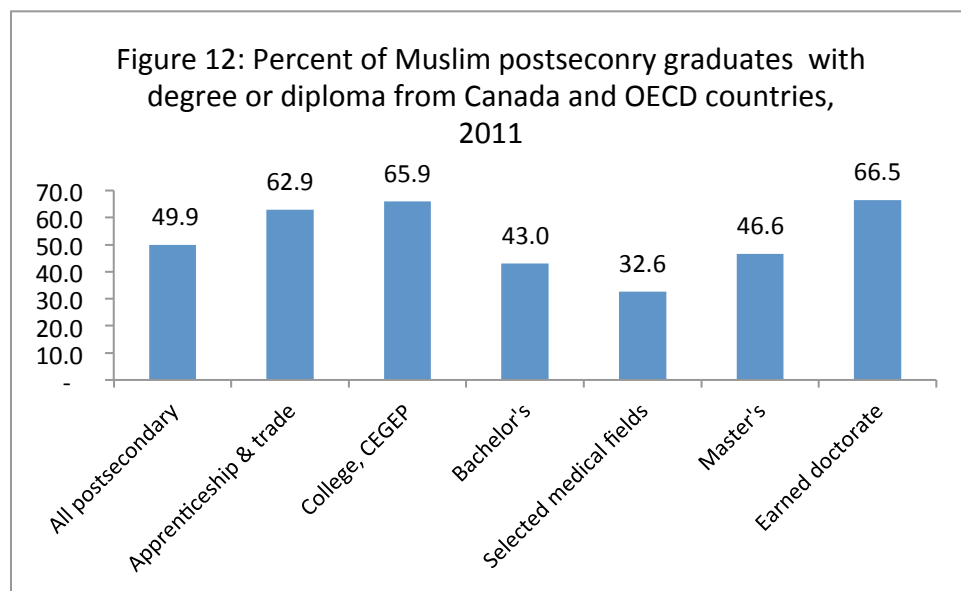
years old and over who had completed their education before landing in Canada specialized in education, arts and humanities, subjects promoted for women in conservative communities (blue line in the chart). But only 10 per cent of the women in this same cohort ventured into a field in science and technology (red line). Defying the tradition, younger women are increasingly opting for sciences and engineering and opting out of the traditionally female subjects. Figure 11 shows a gradual but steady transition out of arts and humanities and into STEM, as the graph lines move from the older to younger age groups. In relative terms, less than half as many young women 15 to 24 years old are majoring in education, arts and humanities as women 65 years and older did. On the other hand, the proportion of young women going into sciences and technologies (20 per cent) is double that of the older generation (10 per cent).

### 11.3 Some facts about international credentials

Evaluation of foreign credentials and re-accreditation of foreign professionals have become hot issues as competition for foreigners with exceptional skills and knowledge has intensified in the global market. Canada announced an international educational policy in 2012 and recently, Germany, which has long struggled to assimilate immigrants, has eased rules recognizing foreign qualifications and granting residence permits for skilled foreigners.

In Canada, high unemployment rates among Muslims in particular and Asian and African immigrants generally are attributed to a large degree to the quality of education at some at some institutions in their countries of origins. This sweeping generalization is based on obsolete assumptions. It ignores the fact that many Muslims are graduates of Canadian universities and this will be increasingly the case in the future.

Canadian-born Muslim population is increasing faster than the immigrants and they attend Canadian institutions. A good number of immigrants completed their education in European or other countries before coming to Canada, and still others upgrade their educational qualifications after landing here.



Source: Calculated by Hamdani from Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011

In sum, a half of Muslim postsecondary graduates obtained their highest degrees or diplomas from Canada and a group of OECD countries, namely the United States, United Kingdom, France and Germany, which have standards and institutions similar to Canada's. For specific degrees and diplomas the

proportion graduating from Canada and OECD countries is much higher. For example, it was two-thirds in the case of doctorate degree holders and community college graduates. But the proportion dropped to 32.6 per cent for health profession graduates.

## 12 Unemployment and underemployment

Participation in the economic life of the country is an important aspect of integration. This is particularly the case for Muslims because the primary motive of their migration to Canada is to seek better economic opportunities and advance their professional careers. Human relations developed at work may grow into the larger structure of social relations in the community. Employed persons rapidly develop an intimate involvement with the ethnically undifferentiated economic community on the job.

### 12.1 Unemployment

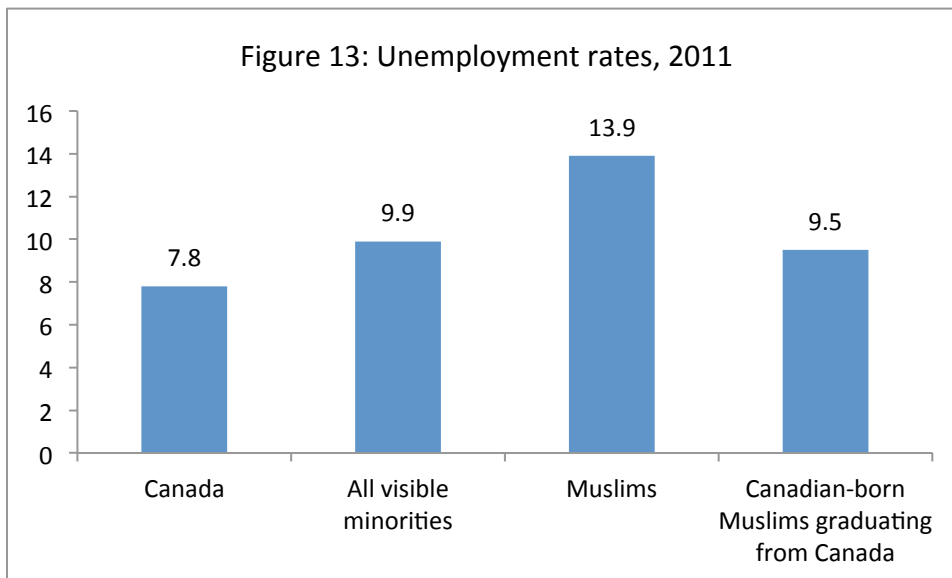
Work is particularly important to Canadian Muslims because very few are self-employed. All but 12 per cent depend on the labour market to earn a living, but they encounter more difficulties in their search for a job than other communities with similar educational and demographic profiles. Over time, labour market outcomes have not improved much for them even though Muslim labour is more qualified now than a decade ago.

Some 13.9 per cent (or 66,000) of the Muslims who were actively looking for paid work were unemployed in 2011, as compared with the national average of 7.8 per cent. While Muslims experience more unemployment than faith communities with longer history in Canada, they also fare poorly

compared with Hindus and Sikhs who posted much lower unemployment rates, 10.1 per cent and 9.4 per cent respectively. Only the Aboriginal people had a higher unemployment rate.

The standard factors that contribute to unemployment do not fully explain why the unemployment rate is so high among Muslims. Muslims are not concentrated in regions of high unemployment or declining industries or in occupations for which the demand is static or falling. Nor could their difficulties be attributed to a lack of language skills or below par educational qualifications because Canadian-born Muslim with degrees and diplomas from Canadian educational institutions also experienced above-average unemployment rates.

Even as they encounter difficulties, Muslim labour force is becoming more qualified over time. Proportion of university graduates has increased; more are graduating from Canadian institutions; and fewer have language skills issues as more and more new entrants in the labour market are Canadian-born. Still, the unemployment rate remains stubbornly high. It improved a little from 14.4 per cent in 2001, when the measure was last taken, to 13.9 in 2011 but is still very high



Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011

Factors that affect the labour market outcomes can be divided into three broad categories: personal attributes of the individual, professional knowledge and skills, experience and language skills; hiring practices and decision-making processes of the employer and leeway for subjectivity; and

finally, institutional factors like re-accreditation and licensing requirements in regulated occupations. These factors are useful for general understanding of unemployment rates but they do not explain why among faith communities Muslims' participation in the labour market is affected so much more adversely than other faith or ethnic communities.

Comparisons with other communities with similar characteristics offer some insights. These comparisons do not reveal the causes of high unemployment among Muslims but they help to eliminate certain factors as possible explanations. Unemployment among visible minorities serves as a useful reference point because visible minorities and Muslims are quite similar. Some 87 per cent of the Muslims identify themselves as a visible minority. A good number of them came from the same regions, share cultures and ethnicities, probably studied at the same educational institutions, and both must

meet the re-accreditation and licensing requirements to the same degree. The only major unknown factor is the recruitment and hiring practices. Yet all visible minorities experience much lower unemployment (9.9 per cent) than Muslims (13.9 per cent).

**Table 3: Labour Market Participation of Canadian Muslims, May 2011**

	Muslim	All Canadians
Population 15 years and older	760,520	27,259,525
Labour force	471,660	17,990,080
Employed	406,015	16,595,035
Unemployed	65,650	1,395,050
Participation rate (%)	62.0	66.0
Unemployment rate (%)	13.9	7.8
Employed full time (%)*	75.2	77.9
Employed part time (%)*	24.8	22.1
Employee (%)*	88.2	89.0
Self-employed (%)*	11.8	11.0
% of population 15 years and older using both official languages at work	4.2	1.6
% of population 15 years and older with specialization in STEM**	21.8	15.9
% of population 25 to 64 years old with a university degree	43.7	25.8

Source: Statistics Canada: National Household Survey 2011

\*pertains to calendar year 2010

\*\* Hamdani's estimate, defined as the sum of three study fields: (1) physical and life sciences and technologies; (2) mathematics, computer and information sciences; and (3) architectural, engineering and related technologies.

## 12.2 Underemployment: professionals not working in their occupations

In addition to the high rates of unemployment, Muslims also experience substantial degree of underemployment, i.e. they are not working in the occupations for which they were trained. Like unemployment, underemployment has serious economic and social costs. For the individual, it means loss of self-esteem and erosion of knowledge and skills; for the society, it means loss of economic output and productivity and longer periods of adjustment and integration.

Underemployment occurs at all levels, but foreign-educated professionals trained for occupations that are regulated in Canada suffer the most because licensing conditions require them to have their foreign credentials evaluated for equivalence to Canadian standards and undergo a lengthy procedure of re-accreditation. Under pressure from competition from other industrial countries for foreigners of exceptional skills and knowledge, Canada brings professionals for their ability and potential to

contribute to the economy. But re-accreditation requirements<sup>6</sup> act as barriers to the realization of their potential. In order to make the most of its foreign educated residents, Germany has recently eased rules recognizing foreign qualifications.



Source: Danielle Zietsma, "Immigrants working in regulated occupations", *Perspectives. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-X*. February 2010. The following occupations are covered: architects, accountants, chiropractors, dentists, dieticians/nutritionists, professional engineers, lawyers, occupational therapists, optometrists, pharmacists, physicians, physiotherapists, registered nurses, school teachers, and veterinarians.

The waste of talent caused by the disconnect between immigration policy and professional standards of licensing bodies is huge. Much of the information on the underutilization of knowledge and skills has been anecdotal, but recently an excellent analysis by a

statistician at Statistics Canada has provided hard data.

Based on data from the 2006 census of population, Danielle Zietsma (2010) analyzed 284,000 employed foreign-educated immigrants from a field of study that would lead to one of 14 regulated occupations in Canada. She found that only 24 per cent were working in their professions. Underemployment is not limited to foreign-born professionals; Canadian-born graduates of Canadian educational institutions were also affected. But, as expected, they fared much better with a match rate of 62 per cent i.e. 62 per cent of Canadian-born professionals trained for regulated occupations were working in their field of specialization.

The 2006 census did not have information about the religious affiliation of the population, but the study did provide match rates, classified according to the country where the degree was obtained. For Muslim countries, the match rate ranged from a low of 9 per cent for Morocco to 33 per cent for graduates from Nigerian educational institutions. Most of the Muslim countries scored in the 20s. For reference, Ireland topped the list of 74 countries with a match rate of 59 per cent. Other countries that scored above 50 per cent were New Zealand, South Africa and Australia.

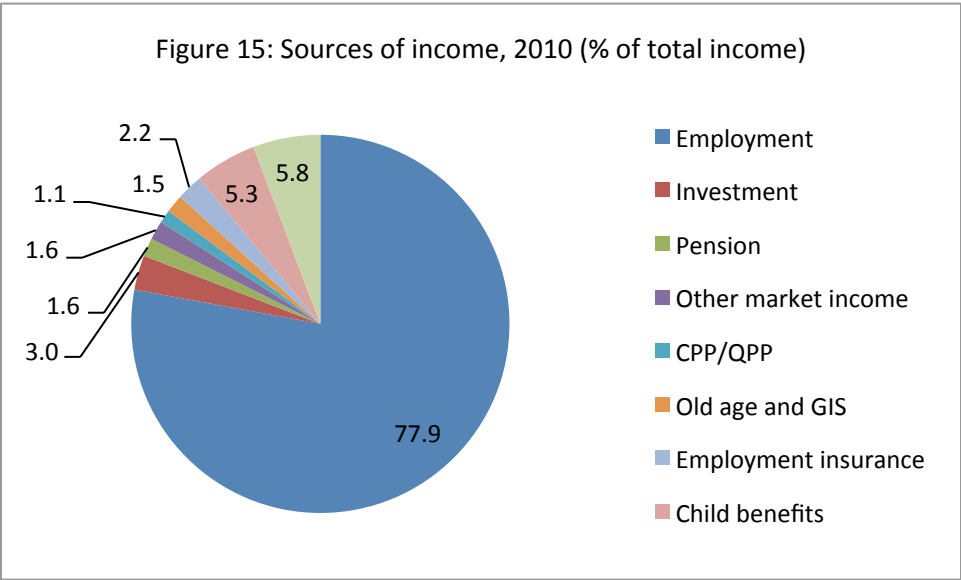
<sup>6</sup> There are over 500 professional regulatory bodies across Canada. For professional and trade bodies in Ontario, see the Office of the Fairness Commissioner website [http://www.fairnesscommissioner.ca/index\\_en.php?page=professions/index](http://www.fairnesscommissioner.ca/index_en.php?page=professions/index)

### 13 Income and social security

The analysis of income reveals a community in the early stages of establishing itself in the economic life of the country. Investment income, which is usually attributed to the well-off people who have savings to invest in equity and money markets, and pension and superannuation income, a characteristic of stable and pensionable job history, play only a small part in Muslims’ income.

Substantial income disparity exists between Muslim and all Canadians in spite of the fact that by the standard measurable metrics – educational qualifications, fields of specialization and ability to serve clients in both official languages – Muslim labour force is well qualified. In 2010, one half of the Muslims 15 years old and over, who reported some income, earned more than \$18,950 and the other half earned less than that. It is three-fourths of the median income of all Canadians, which was \$29,878. The other summary measure, average income, reveals a similar gap. The average income of Muslims came to \$30,336 as compared with \$40,650 for all Canadians. The income gap persists after controlling for education, a key variables for which data are available.

Some clues as to why a well-qualified labour force earns less than its peers are found in the size distribution of income earners. Proportionately, fewer Muslims are in the high income range. The underrepresentation in the group earning \$100,000 or more annually is, at least in part, due to underemployment. People who usually populate the high income range work in professional occupations or senior management positions. As noted earlier, only about 20 per cent of Muslim professionals specializing in a regulated occupation are estimated to be working in their fields of specialization.



Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011

Instead of being in the high income groups, many slip down the ladder.

Income from employment is, by far, the biggest source of income for Muslims. Nearly four-fifths (78 per cent) of it was in the form of wages and salaries.

By comparison, investment income, which is a function of

savings, contributed only 3 per cent while a lesser amount, 1.6 per cent was in the form of pensions and superannuation. For the Canadian population as a whole, income from pensions and superannuation, at 6.7 per cent, was the second biggest source of market income. The wide gap in pension income



between Muslim and all Canadians is an indication of fewer Muslims holding pensionable jobs and staying in them for a long enough period to qualify for pension.

In spite of the considerable difficulties faced by Muslims in the labour market, data from the National Household Survey dismisses two of the most common misperceptions about their dependence on the social security system. Employment insurance benefits make up only 2.2 per cent of the Muslims' income and 1.8 per cent of the income of all Canadians. This is not much of a difference when seen in light of the unemployment experience of the two groups, 13.9 per cent unemployment rate among Muslims versus the national average of 7.8 per cent. There are several possible explanations. They draw benefits for a shorter period than allowed and return to work as soon as a new job becomes available. Or the jobs they can find are not durable enough to qualify them for employment insurance. They may be making less use of the maternity and paternity benefits because the jobs they hold are less generous in offering these benefits.

Contrary to the stereotype that Muslims take advantage of the old age security, they are far less dependent on it than other Canadians. In 2010, Muslims drew 2.6 per cent of their total income from Canada Pension Plan/Quebec Pension Plan and old age pension and guaranteed income supplement. The corresponding figure for Canadian population, as a whole, was 6.6 per cent.

## 14 Conclusion

Muslim community is undergoing an unprecedented demographic shift. While its challenges are daunting it offers an opportunity that only a few generations are privileged to have - to build institutions and organizations that promote and reflect Canadian Muslim identity.

Big demographic changes are not new to the Muslim community. Muslim population has been increasing very rapidly since Statistics Canada resumed publishing data on Muslims in 1981, gender ratio has been evolving and there have been significant regional population shifts. But none of these changes approached the scale and scope of the demographic transformation that is fundamentally altering the make-up of the community.

Canadian-born Muslims will continue to be the fastest growing segment in the future. They have already surpassed the Arab Muslim population and are now poised to replace South Asians as the largest group in the country.

It is not just their size that matters. They are also different. They are less fixated on ethnicities than their parents or grandparents. Many do not think of themselves in particularly ethnic terms because their ancestors have been in Canada long enough that their ethnic identity has begun to fade. One only has to talk to the third and fourth generations of early immigrants who settled on the prairies a century ago to understand that they would rather be Canadian, not ethnic Canadian. Indeed, born into diverse ethnicities but bound by their Canadian heritage and a common faith, they come closest to defining that cherished but elusive entity called *ummah*.

They do not find mosques dominated by ethnic groups enforcing their native cultural practices as if they were Islamic particularly welcoming to them. Occasionally, tensions between the old timers wanting to

maintain their grip and the Canadian-born seeking to separate ethnic cultures from religion have played out in public. The story of a young woman stopped from entering her local mosque through the main entrance because it was reserved for the males and a standoff between the youth who wanted a foreign imam replaced because his thick English accent was too difficult to understand and the old timers who were determined to keep him, exemplify the gender divide and generation gap. Meanwhile, generations of young mosque goers are growing up wondering whether some of the practices observed in their mosques are in fact cultural or Islamic.

Change is difficult. It entails tensions. 'Leaders' resent being pushed to the periphery. But institutions are tied to the life of the community and cannot carry on unchanged if they want to remain relevant. Leading change is what a leader is expected to do. Canada has some fine leaders and institutions but for the current religious leadership as a whole it may be a daunting challenge. Many religious leaders are themselves immigrants; some of them have been brought up and educated in more conservative societies; and some have not been in the country long enough to detach themselves from their native cultures.

There is historical precedent for change, however. Early Muslim settlers on the prairies around 1900 found opportunity for a new beginning and set up accepting and inclusive religious institutions. Al-Rashid Mosque, built in 1938 and founded by both men and women, and Shias and Sunnis, was one of the first North American institutions of its kind. It created an inclusive community. Women and young people played a key role in establishing this community, which valued their voices equally with men's.

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## About the author

Daood Hamdani frequently comments on Canadian Muslim issues. His articles have been published in peer reviewed journals and popular media, and were also the basis of a three-hour documentary, *A New Life in a New Land: Muslim Experience in Canada*, produced by the University of Saskatchewan. He is the author of such seminal works as *In the Footsteps of Canadian Muslim Women 1837 – 2007* and *The Al Rashid: Canada's First Mosque 1938*. He has served as a faculty member of the Canadian Muslim Leadership Institute.

An economist by profession, he is one of the world's foremost authorities on industrial innovation and author of invited chapters in books used in MBA studies. He has given seminars to government officials and at universities in several countries in Europe and North and South America. He has served as special adviser on science and economy in the public service of Canada and as a member of the advisory panel on the measurement of industrial innovation at the U.S. National Science Foundation, Washington, DC.

Daood Hamdani has been awarded many distinctions, including the honorary citizenship of the state of Tennessee, U.S.A.

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