SPECIAL THEME Muslims and Multiculturalism in Canada

# OVERVIEW

This quarter, FOCUS CANADA presents something unique and groundbreaking – an in-depth look at Canadian Muslims, a small but important and growing segment of our country's population. The research looks at how Canadian Muslims are experiencing life in this country, how other Canadians view them, and how these attitudes and perspectives compare with citizens (Muslims and others alike) in other countries around the globe.

In spring of 2006, the Pew Global Attitudes Project surveyed the publics of 11 countries around the world about their attitudes toward domestic Muslim minority populations. In addition, Muslim minorities themselves were surveyed in four European countries: France, Spain, Great Britain and Germany. This edition of FOCUS CANADA replicates portions of the Pew study in Canada – both among the Canadian general public and among Muslim-Canadians – and covers other issues as well.

In addition to having the highest immigration rate in the world, Canadians express more positive attitudes toward immigration than any other society. Still, Canadians look on with some anxiety as European countries wrestle with the integration of newcomers; many wonder whether the next eruption of "homegrown terror" (as in London or Madrid) or ethnic strife (as in Paris or Melbourne) will happen on Canadian soil. The findings of the current FOCUS CANADA survey suggest that Canadians remain positive about immigration in general, but are increasingly uneasy about whether newcomers are being successfully integrated into Canadian society. When it comes to the Muslim population in particular, the data show that most Canadians believe that Muslims wish to remain separate from the society at large – even though most Canadian Muslims say that Muslims are interested in integrating into Canadian society.

In addition to differing perceptions about the desire of Muslim-Canadians to integrate into the wider society, Canadians overall and Muslim-Canadians diverge on a number of policy issues, from the federal government's anti-terrorism legislation to the military mission in Afghanistan.

Still, the picture of Muslim-Canadians that emerges in the current survey is of an educated population that is satisfied with Canada and its citizens, and positive about quality of life here. Although Canadian Muslims express concern about unemployment and discrimination, they are less likely than Muslims in European countries to feel ambient hostility in the society at large and more likely to feel that their country is headed in the right direction.

The current survey suggests that, when it comes to public attitudes toward immigration as well as minority experiences of economic, social and political life, the Canadian context, with its loudly touted multicultural policies, is not perfect – but it is unique.

# CONTACT WITH AND IMPRESSIONS OF MINORITY GROUPS

# Contact with ethnic groups

Canadians are increasingly likely to have frequent contact with members of numerous minority groups, particularly in cities. Aboriginal Peoples are the only group Canadians are more likely to encounter outside the city.

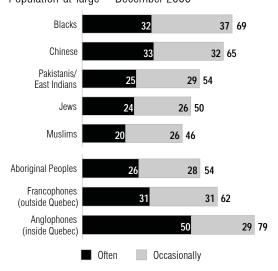
Today, Canadians have more contact with a more diverse set of fellow citizens than at any other time in the country's history. Although Canada's territory is vast, most Canadians live in fairly densely populated and multicultural towns and cities. Immigrants and ethnocultural minorities are even more heavily concentrated in Canada's big cities. It is worth examining which groups Canadians are encountering in their daily lives, and how contact between groups changes over time.

The minority groups Canadians are most likely to report encountering either "occasionally" or "often" are black Canadians (69%) and Chinese-Canadians (65%), followed by South Asian-Canadians (54%) and Aboriginal Peoples (54%). Jewish-Canadians (50%) and Muslim-Canadians (46%), who compose smaller proportions of the total population, tend to be less frequently encountered.

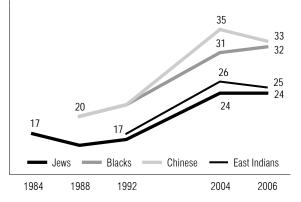
In Canada outside Quebec, 62 percent of Canadians say they encounter francophones sometimes or often. Meanwhile, 79 percent of Quebecers have at least occasional contact with anglophones.

While the proportion of Canadians reporting contact with all the minority groups listed has been on the rise since 1988, the likelihood of encountering members of these groups "often" has changed little between 2004 and 2006. However, in 2006, Canadians are slightly more likely than they were in 2004 to report frequent or occasional contact with Muslim-Canadians (46%, up 6 points).

Contact with ethnic groups Population-at-large December 2006



Contact with ethnic groups Population-at-large Often 1984 - 2006



Q.FC30

Do you personally have contact with members of the following groups often, occasionally, rarely or never ...?

As most immigrants settle in the country's urban areas, it is not surprising that Canadians are more likely to encounter most minority groups in big cities rather than in smaller towns and rural areas. Canadians living in cities of one million or more are much more likely to say they often encounter Jews, blacks, South Asians, Chinese and Muslims. The notable exception to this rule is Aboriginal Peoples: Canadians living in communities of less than 5,000 people are more than twice as likely as those living in cities of one million or more to say they often have contact with Aboriginal Peoples.

Divergent patterns are apparent in the frequency of contact between anglophones and francophones within and outside Quebec. Quebecers who live in the province's largest city, Montreal, are markedly more likely than others to encounter anglophones often in their daily lives. In the rest of Canada, meanwhile, contact with francophones is most frequent in midsized towns and cities with populations of 5,000 to one million – especially in those with populations of 100,000 to one million. This finding relates to the fact that contact with francophones outside Quebec is most frequent in the Atlantic provinces, which do not have any cities with populations in excess of one million.

#### Special focus: contact with Muslims

Just under half of Canadians have regular personal contact with Muslims. City-dwellers, especially Torontonians and Vancouverites, are the most likely to encounter Muslims frequently.

Although Muslims are Canada's fastest-growing minority group, they remain a small proportion of the total population: 842,000 out of 33,000,000 – about two and a half percent. Given these numbers, it is not surprising that about half of all Canadians report that they rarely (23%) or never (30%) have personal contact with Muslims. One in five Canadians (20%) encounter Muslims often, while a quarter (26%) report occasional contact.

The Canadian Muslim population is heavily concentrated in urban areas; seven in ten Canadian Muslims live in Toronto, Montreal, or Vancouver. As a result, it is residents of Canada's largest cities who are most likely to say they encounter Muslims often or occasionally. Four in ten (38%) Toronto area residents indicate they often have contact with individuals from this faith, followed by residents of Vancouver (32%) and Montreal (29%). By comparison, this degree of contact is reported by one in ten or fewer residents in communities under 100,000 in population.

Looking at change over time, Toronto residents are the group whose contact with Muslims has increased most drastically; in 2004, 55 percent of Torontonians reported at least occasional contact with Muslims – 15 points lower than the proportion reporting such contact today. Proportions reporting at least occasional contact with Muslims have also risen in Canada's other two largest cities, but less markedly: 10 points in Montreal and eight points in Vancouver.

### Frequency of contact with Muslims Population-at-large December 2006

	OFTEN	OCCASIONALLY	RARELY	Never
Community size				
1 M+	34	30	18	17
100K – 1M	22	29	22	25
5K – 100K	9	24	29	37
>5K	5	19	25	49
Toronto	38	32	17	13
Montreal	29	25	22	23
Vancouver	32	33	15	19f

Q.FC30f

Do you personally have contact with members of the following groups often, occasionally, rarely or never ...?

Since current FOCUS CANADA data show that Canadian Muslims are more highly educated than the general population (45% of Muslims have university degrees, as compared to a national average of 33%), Canadians with higher levels of education are more likely to encounter Muslims in the workplace and perhaps in related social settings as well. While about three in ten Canadians with a high school diploma or less report at least occasional contact with Muslims, the proportion among university-educated Canadians is nearly twice as high: about six in ten.

The proportion of highly educated Canadians reporting at least occasional contact with Muslims has changed little since 2004, while those with lower levels of education are notably more likely today than in 2004 to report regular contact. The proportion of those with less than a high school education who reported at least occasional contact with Muslims in 2004 was 20 percent; that figure has risen eight points. Quebecers and residents of the Atlantic provinces are the least likely to report regular contact with Muslims. About two-thirds of residents in each of these regions say they rarely or never encounter Muslims. Ontarians are the most likely to report occasional or frequent contact with Muslims, not surprising since – according to census data – about six in ten Canadian Muslims reside in that province.

Although Atlantic Canadians are the least likely to report regular contact with Muslims, reported contact has risen dramatically in this region since 2004; that year, just 22 percent of Atlantic Canadians reported at least occasional contact with Muslims, a figure which has since risen 11 points. In Alberta, the number reporting at least occasional contact is up by 13 points.

In addition to education and region of residence, age appears to make a difference in the likelihood of Canadians having regular contact with Muslims. Among Canadians aged 18 to 29, nearly six in ten report at least occasional encounters with Muslims, compared with just one in three Canadians aged 60 or over.

# General impressions of religious groups

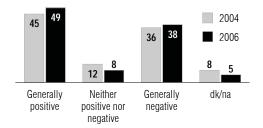
Canadians' impressions of Christians and Jews are more favourable than their impressions of Islam. But for all three groups, Canadians are more likely to hold positive impressions than negative ones.<sup>1</sup>

Since the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, the links between the Islamic faith and violence carried out in the name of Islam have been much debated. Most moderates downplay the relationship between Islam per se and the violence perpetrated by extremist groups such as al-Qaeda. Still, the extent to which terrorism carried out under the banner of Islam has damaged the Western public's perception of the religion bears examination.

Canadians on average are more positive than negative about the religion of Islam. Half of all Canadians (49%, up 4 points from 2004) report generally positive impressions of the Islamic faith, while about four in ten (38%) are generally negative. Eight percent (down 4) are neutral and five percent offer no opinion. These findings suggest that events during the intervening years (e.g., the London subway bombings in July, 2005 and the arrests of 18 men in the Greater Toronto Area on suspicion of terrorist activity) have not negatively affected Canadians' general opinion about Islam.

Positive impressions of Christians and Jews are considerably higher. Over eight in ten Canadians (84%) report a favourable impression of Christians, and a roughly similar proportion (81%) positive impression of Jews.

## Impression of religion of Islam Population-at-large 2004 - 2006



#### Impression of religion of Islam

By frequency of contact with Muslims

Population-at-large

70 58 36 22 29 49 0 Often 0 Occasional Rare/never Positive Negative

December 2006

Q.FC32

Is your impression of the religion of Islam generally positive or negative?

Canadians' views of Islam improve the more frequent their personal contact with Muslims. Of those who encounter Muslims often, a large majority (70%) report positive impressions of Islam, compared with just one in five (22%) who are negative about the faith. Among those who encounter Muslims rarely or never in their own lives, just over a third (36%) express positive impressions of Islam, while half (49%) are negative about it.

1 These comparisons are drawn from two separate items:

(Q.31.1) Would you say you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable, or very unfavourable opinion of [Christians, Jews]?

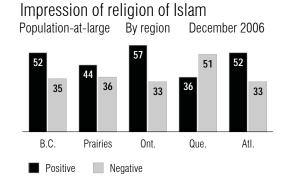
<sup>(</sup>Q.32) Is your impression of the religion of Islam generally positive or negative?

There are marked regional variations in Canadian opinion on both Jews and Islam, with Quebecers the most negative about both. Throughout most of Canada, approximately a third of all respondents report negative impressions of Islam; in Quebec the proportion is fully half (51%). Similarly, the proportion of Quebecers reporting positive impressions of Jews is 66 percent, 15 points below the national average.

Ontarians are the most likely to report positive impressions of both Islam and Jews. Just under six in ten (57%) say their impression of Islam is generally good, eight points above average. And 89 percent of Ontarians report positive impressions of Jews, again eight points above the national average. Since personal contact tends to breed positive impressions minority groups, positive feelings toward Islam and Jews in Ontario may be partly attributed to the concentration of Muslims and Jews in that province (six in ten Canadian Muslims live in Ontario, as do over half of Canadian Jews).

Quebec, notably, has the second highest concentration of Muslims in Canada but the second-lowest frequency of contact with Muslims (after the Atlantic provinces) and the most negative impression of Islam. In Quebec as elsewhere in Canada, a sizeable majority of those who have personal contact with Muslims hold positive impressions of Islam. But personal contact with Muslims among Quebecers is surprisingly low given the concentration of Muslims in the province.

Impressions of these three religious groups varies in some cases according to the ethnicity and religion of respondents. Those who belong to no religion are the most likely to express an unfavourable view of Christians, and are also most likely to express neither favourable nor unfavourable views of all three groups. Protestants are the most likely to express favourable





opinions of both Jews and Christians, and are about average in their impressions of Islam. Canadians who adhere to a religion but are neither Catholic nor Protestant are above average in favourable opinions of all three groups. Catholics are roughly average in their opinions of Christians, but are slightly less positive than average about Jews, and are also more negative than average in their impressions of Islam.

Those who describe their ethnicity as French or Quebecer are markedly less likely than average to express favourable views of Jews and Islam, but are about average in their impressions of Christians. Canadians of British origin are roughly average in their opinions of Christians, more favourable than average in their opinions of Islam, and especially positive in their impressions of Jews. Canadians with non-European origins are more positive than average in their impressions of Islam, and roughly average in their impressions of Islam, and Jews.

Canadians with higher levels of educational attainment tend to report more positive impressions of all religious groups. This finding is consistent with the general tendency for highly educated people to accept differences of various kinds – of religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation and so on. In the case of Muslims and Jews, it may also point to more frequent contact between the minority groups in question and highly educated Canadians. Both Muslims (FC data) and Jews (census data) have higher than average levels of educational attainment, so these groups may be more likely to have regular personal contact with highly educated Canadians in their professional lives.

# Attitudes about immigration

A majority of Canadians express approval of the country's high levels of immigration. By and large, Canadians feel that immigrants have a positive effect on the Canadian economy; only a small minority feel that immigrants take jobs away from other Canadians. Despite generally positive attitudes about immigration in this country, Canadians express some anxiety about the integration of newcomers, and abuses of the immigration and refugee system. There has been a small but noteworthy shift in opinion since 2005, reflecting increased concern among Canadians about some aspects of immigration in Canada. Immigration levels

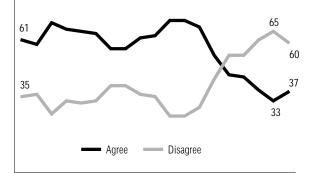
# Most Canadians are positive about the country's immigration rate, although support has dipped slightly since 2005.

Accepting a quarter-million newcomers annually, Canada has the highest immigration rate in the world. Most Canadians express satisfaction with these high rates of immigration. Six in ten (60%) *disagree* that "Overall, there is too much immigration to Canada," while 37 percent agree.

Support for current levels of immigration has been on the rise since the late 1990s; the proportion of Canadians who believe that immigration rates are too high hit a low of 33 percent in 2005. This trend has reversed over the past year, however, with a small rebound in the proportion of the population seeing current immigration rates as excessive.

# Immigration levels too high

Population-at-large 1977 - 2006



77 80 83 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 97 98 00 02 03 05 06

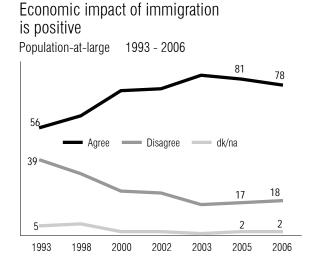
#### Q.FC19a

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... Overall, there is too much immigration to Canada?

#### Economic impact of immigration

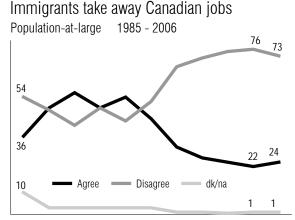
A large majority of Canadians continue to believe that immigration has a positive effect on the economy, but this view has softened over the past year.

Positive feelings about immigration are underpinned to a great extent by economic interests: eight in ten Canadians (78%) believe that immigration has a positive impact on the Canadian economy. The proportion of Canadians who feel optimistic about the effect of immigration on the economy vastly outweighs the minority (24%) who believe that, "Immigrants take away jobs from other Canadians." Most Canadians believe that immigrants help stimulate economic growth, rather than simply competing against Canadians in zero-sum contests for employment. Still, the proportion of Canadians believing immigrants have a positive effect on the economy is down three points from 2005, reversing a long-established trend.



Q.FC19g

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... Overall, immigration has a positive impact on the economy of Canada?



1985 1989 1993 1994 1997 1998 2000 2002 2003 2005 2006

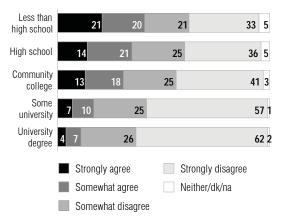
Q.FC19e

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... Immigrants take away jobs from other Canadians?

Notably, those with the lowest levels of income and education are the most likely to feel that immigrants take jobs from other Canadians. Although Canadians with lower levels of education might once have disproportionately experienced competition from newcomers to Canada in the job market, since Canada changed its admission criteria in 1993 in order to attract immigrants with higher levels of education, this is no longer the case. (According to Statistics Canada, in 2004, 45% of adult immigrants to Canada held university degrees, as compared to 17% in 1992 before admission criteria changed.) Those in less skilled and less remunerative jobs, particularly in the manufacturing sector, may be feeling the economic effects of outsourcing and mechanization, and expressing their concerns about job insecurity in terms of a competitive threat from newcomers.

Although the sense that immigrants take jobs away from other Canadians is essentially unchanged overall since late 2005, among some subgroups the change has been sharper. This opinion has risen five points (to 37%) among Canadians earning less than \$20,000, seven points (to 41%) among Canadians with less than a high school diploma, and seven points (to 27%) among Canadians aged 18 to 29, who may feel that the competition they face for employment is greater than that experienced by their parents. Outside Quebec, the belief that immigrants take jobs away from other Canadians has risen just one point (to 26%) since 2005, but in Quebec this belief has grown by five points (to 21%).

### Immigrants take away Canadian jobs Population-at-large By education December 2006



#### Q.FC19e

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... Immigrants take away jobs from other Canadians?

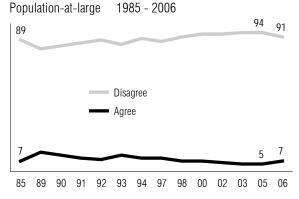
#### Immigration from non-white populations

# Canadians consistently and overwhelmingly reject the idea of racial screening of prospective immigrants.

Over the past few decades, there has been a massive shift in the source countries of Canadian immigration. Until the 1960s, immigrants to Canada were overwhelmingly European; today, immigrants to Canada are overwhelmingly Asian. There is little evidence that the changing racial composition of the country concerns Canadians: nine in ten Canadians (91%) disagree with the statement, "Non-whites should not be allowed to immigrate to Canada." This rejection of explicitly racist immigration policy has been a very stable attitude among Canadians since the first FOCUS CANADA measure in 1985, changing no more than a few points over the past two decades.

Canadians with the lowest levels of educational attainment are notably more likely to agree that non-whites should not be allowed to immigrate to Canada: 13 percent of those with less than a high school diploma, as compared to just three percent of those who have completed university, favour racial screening for prospective immigrants.

# Exclude racial minorities



#### Q.FC19c

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... Non-whites should not be allowed to immigrate to Canada?

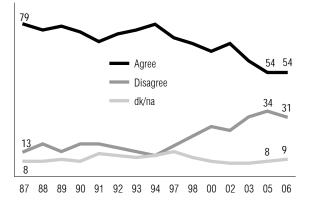
#### Legitimacy of refugee claimants

Although in long-term decline, the slight majority who believe that some refugee claimants are not legitimate has held steady over the past year.

A slight majority of Canadians (54%) express suspicion about some refugee claimants, agreeing that "Many people claiming to be refugees are not real refugees." The proportion of Canadians expressing suspicion about some refugee claims has declined 25 points in all since 1987, but has remained stable since last measured in 2005. Three in ten Canadians (31%) disagree that many refugee claims to Canada are false. One in ten Canadians cannot offer an opinion on this question.

Notably, immigrants themselves (59%) are slightly more likely than the national average to express skepticism about some refugee claims; it may be that some immigrants feel that, in their bid to enter Canada, they were competing with others who had unfairly jumped the queue by falsely claiming refugee status.

# Refugee claimants not legitimate Population-at-large 1987 - 2006



#### Q.FC19b

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... Many people claiming to be refugees are not real refugees?

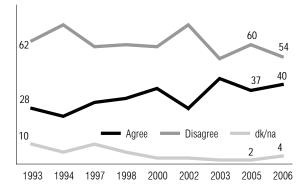
#### Confidence in immigration selection process

Four in ten Canadians believe Canada does a good job of keeping criminals and suspected criminals out of the country, up slightly from 2005.

Only a minority of Canadians (40%) believe that Canada does a good job of keeping criminals and suspected criminals out of the country. More than half disagree that the system functions well in this regard, with fully a third (33%) strongly disagreeing. Still, the proportion of Canadians who believe that Canada does not do a good job of keeping criminals and suspected criminals out of the country has declined six points from 2005, while the proportion who give positive marks has increased by three points.

Older Canadians are notably more likely to have a negative view of this aspect of the immigration and refugee system: just 32 percent of Canadians aged 60 or over agree that Canada is successful in excluding criminals, as compared to 55 percent of those aged 18 to 29.

# Immigration controls effective in keeping out criminals Population-at-large 1993 - 2006



#### Q.FC19d

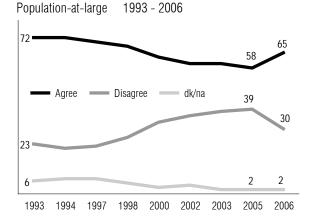
Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... Canada is doing a good job keeping criminals and suspected criminals out of the country?

#### Assimilation into Canadian society

Despite overall acceptance of immigration levels, a majority of Canadians express concern that many immigrants are not adopting Canadian values, and this viewpoint has increased over the past year.

A more general – and more widespread – concern about Canada's current immigration practices relates to the integration of immigrants into Canadian society. Sixty-five percent of Canadians agree that "There are too many immigrants coming into this country who are not adopting Canadian values," while 30 percent disagree. Concern about the cultural integration of newcomers to Canada, which has declined gradually since the early 90s, has rebounded recently – up seven points from 2005. Even more notably, the proportion who agree strongly that too many immigrants are not adopting Canadian values has jumped by nine points to 39 percent. This spike may be a response to debate in Western countries

# Too many immigrants do not adopt Canadian values



#### Q.FC19f

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... There are too many immigrants coming into this country who are not adopting Canadian values?

ENVIRONICS FOCUS CANADA 2006-4 71 such as France, Great Britain, Australia and the Netherlands about the integration of their newcomer populations – particularly Muslims. It may also be related to the arrests in 2006 of 18 young men in the Greater Toronto Area suspected of plotting terrorist attacks on Canadian targets, arrests which raised the prospect of "homegrown" terror in Canada.

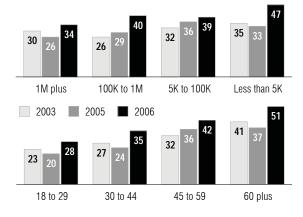
Notably, concern about the dilution of Canadian values is highest among Quebecers, who have waged their own struggle for the preservation of a minority linguistic and cultural heritage in Canada and in North America. Forty-three percent of Quebecers strongly agree that too many immigrants are not adopting the values of their new society.

Quebec is also the area of the country where concern about the integration of immigrants is rising most rapidly; the proportion of Quebecers expressing the view that too many immigrants are not adopting Canadian values has risen 14 points (to 70%) since 2005. In British Columbia the opinion grew 12 points (to 67%). In the other regions, growth has been more modest but still significant – except in Alberta, where it remains essentially unchanged.

Canadians living in smaller communities are also more likely than average to express anxiety about immigrants not adopting Canadian values, and growth in concern is especially strong among those in the smallest communities. Among Canadians in cities of one million or more, the proportion strongly agreeing that too many immigrants fail to adopt Canadian values has increased from about a quarter in 2005 to about a third in 2006. Among those in communities of 5,000 residents or fewer, in the same period strong concern has grown from a third to nearly half.

# Too many immigrants do not adopt Canadian values

Population-at-large Strongly agree 2003 - 2006 By community size and age



Q.FC19f

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements ... There are too many immigrants coming into this country who are not adopting Canadian values?

Significantly, however, it is in smaller cities that concern about the integration of immigrants has risen most sharply in the past year. Among Canadians living in cities of 100,000 to one million, the sense that too many immigrants are not adopting Canadian values has risen 13 points to 66 percent. Growth in this opinion has been more modest in both the smallest communities (by 8 points, to 70%) and the country's largest cities (by 6 points to 62%). It may be that, while the smallest communities are little affected by immigration directly and the largest cities are accustomed to encountering newcomers (and have considerable support systems in place), residents of mid-sized cities are feeling the effects of immigration without having the reassurance of past experience and established infrastructure to help newcomers integrate.

Another important finding on this question is that, while the most highly educated Canadians remain less likely than average to express concern about the integration of newcomers, it is among these Canadians that concern is rising most sharply. Among university-educated Canadians, the opinion that too many immigrants are not adopting Canadian values has grown 13 points (to 59%) since 2005. While, in 2005, those with university degrees were 12 points below the national average in their belief that too many immigrants are not adapting Canadian values, change since then has found the most highly educated Canadians catching up: in 2006, those with university degrees are just six points below the national average on this question. Among less educated Canadians, concern has grown more modestly.

Across age groups, older Canadians are not only more intensely concerned about immigrants adopting Canadian values, but are showing a greater increase in concern over time.

### Relations between specific groups

Canadians are positive about relations between Christians and Jews in Canada. Opinion is divided on relations between Christians and Muslims, while relations between Jews and Arabs are seen as somewhat negative.

In a diasporic country such as Canada, tensions between ethnic, linguistic and religious groups may originate in domestic debates (such as the struggle for French-language protections in Quebec), or may be imported from other parts of the world as migrants bring their loyalties, concerns – and even prejudices – with them to their adoptive country.

For example, Canadians see tensions between Jews and Arabs – tensions which many trace in part to the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians – as palpable even among Jews and Arabs living in Canada, far from the contested territories.

Overall, Canadians are very positive in their assessment of relations between Christians and Jews in Canada. There is somewhat greater concern about relations between Christians and Muslims in Canada, while relations between Jews and Arabs in Canada are seen by most as at least somewhat negative.

Quebecers tend to be less optimistic than others about all three sets of ethnic and religious relations. City-dwellers, particularly Torontonians, tend to be the most positive about ethnic relations – and stand out as especially optimistic about relations involving Canadian Muslims and Arabs.

Canadian Muslims more or less match the national average in their assessments of Jewish-Arab and Christian-Jewish relations, but are notably more sanguine about Christian-Muslim relations than the population-at-large. Relations between Jews and Arabs. Most Canadians see Jewish-Arab relations in Canada as somewhat troubled. Just a third of Canadians see such relations as very (4%) or somewhat (28%) positive, while more than half would describe them as negative (somewhat 32%, very 14%). One in six Canadians (16%) cannot offer any opinion of the state of relations between Jews and Arabs in Canada.

There are few variations across groups in Canadians' assessments of relations between Jews and Arabs in Canada, but on average older people are more negative about Jewish-Arab relations. Only about a quarter of Canadians aged 60 or over (23%) see relations between these groups as either very or somewhat positive, nine points below the national average.

Notably, Canadian Muslims (36%) are more likely than other Canadians (32%) to see Jewish-Arab relations in a positive light. Canadians overall are more likely to see relations between Jews and Arabs as negative, while Muslims are more likely to see them as neither positive nor negative, or not to express an opinion on the state of these two groups' relations.

Relations between Christians and Muslims. Canadians are somewhat more optimistic in their assessment of relations between Christians and Muslims in Canada than in their estimation of Jewish-Arab relations in this country, although public opinion remains split. About half of Canadians see Christian-Muslim relations as either positive (46%) or neutral (3%). Over four in ten see relations as negative (44%).

Canadian Muslims are markedly more positive than others in their assessment of relations between Christians and Muslims in Canada: about three-quarters (73%) of Canadian Muslims see Christian-Muslim relations as largely positive, while less than one in five (16%) see them as generally negative. This particular

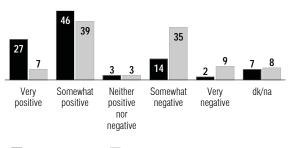
# Perception of current relations between Jews and Arabs in Canada Population-at-large December 2006

32 28 16 14 5 4 Neither Somewhat dk/na Verv Somewhat Verv positive positive positive negative negative nor negative

#### Q.FC31.2c

Would you describe the current relations between Jews and Arabs in Canada today be very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative?

# Perception of current relations between Christians and Muslims in Canada December 2006





Q.M7.2b/FC31.2b

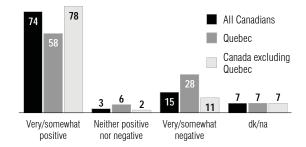
Would you describe the current relations between Christians and Muslims in Canada today be very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative? relationship – between the Christian and Muslim communities in Canada – is the site of the greatest divergence between Muslim opinion and national opinion when it comes to relations between religious or ethnocultural groups.

Canadians who live in cities are more likely to offer a positive assessment of Christian-Muslim relations in Canada. Of those living in cities with populations of one million or more, fully half (52%) see relations between Christians and Muslims as at least somewhat positive, as compared to four in ten (41%)among those living in communities of 5,000 people or fewer. Toronto residents are especially sanguine in their view of Christian-Muslim relations in Canada; 57 percent of Torontonians see relations between members of these two faiths as at least somewhat positive. This more positive outlook on inter-group relations, like more positive impressions of minority groups in general, is likely due to city-dwellers' more frequent personal experience with minority religious and ethnic groups.

Notably, immigrants to Canada are more likely than native-born residents to see relations between Christians and Muslims living in Canada as positive; immigrants with origins outside Europe are especially likely to view Christian-Muslim relations as positive (58% of non-European immigrants, versus 49% of European immigrants). One possible explanation for this finding is that some new Canadians may have their origins in countries where religious strife is much more severe than it is in Canada, causing whatever tensions that may exist in their adoptive country to appear relatively minor in comparison to the tensions in their nations of origin. Relations between Christians and Jews. In comparison with the group relations presented previously, most Canadians see relations between Christians and Jews in Canada as positive. Fully three-quarters of Canadians say that Christian-Jewish relations are either very (24%) or somewhat (50%) positive. Just 15 percent see relations as negative. A small proportion see relations between Canadian Christians and Jews as neither positive nor negative (3%), or do not offer an assessment (7%).

Quebecers stand out as especially pessimistic on this question; three in ten Quebecers (28%) describe Christian-Jewish relations in Canada as at least somewhat negative – almost twice the national average.

# Perception of current relations between Christians and Jews in Canada Population-at-large December 2006



#### Q.FC31.2a

Would you describe the current relations between Christians and Jews in Canada today be very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative?

Residents of Ontario (84%) are the most likely to see Christian-Jewish relations as generally positive. This optimism about Christian-Jewish relations in Canada may derive at least in part from familiarity with both groups and personal experience with their interactions: census data show that half of all Canadian Jews live in Toronto.

Canadian Muslims are fairly close to the national average in their assessment of Christian-Jewish relations, with six in ten (62%) viewing such relations as positive. The gap between Muslims and Canadians at large derives not from a greater propensity for Muslims to see relations between Christians and Jews as negative, but from the greater Muslim tendency to express no opinion on the question (21%, compared to 7% of all Canadians).

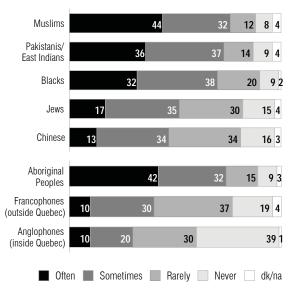
# Discrimination against ethnic groups

Canadians see Muslims, Aboriginal Peoples, South Asians and blacks as the minority groups who experience discrimination most frequently in Canada.

Although Canada's national identity is frequently articulated in terms of diversity, multiculturalism and Canada's history as "a nation of immigrants," most Canadians perceive that the ideal of equality for all, regardless of ethnocultural background, does not always match the reality of life in Canada. Most Canadians perceive at least occasional discrimination against numerous minority groups.

The group seen as being discriminated against the most frequently are Muslims; over four in ten Canadians (44%) believe Muslims are discriminated

# Perceived frequency of discrimination Population-at-large December 2006



#### Q.31

For each of the following groups, please tell me whether you think they are often, sometimes, rarely or never the subject of discrimination in Canadian society today ...?

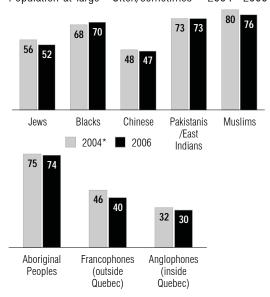
against often, and an additional 32 percent believe that Canadian Muslims experience discrimination at least sometimes. Large majorities also perceive at least occasional discrimination against Aboriginal Peoples (74%), Canadians of Pakistani and Indian origin (73%), and blacks (70%).

About half of all Canadians believe Jews (52%) and Chinese Canadians (47%) are discriminated against at least sometimes. Four in ten (40%) Canadians outside Quebec believe that francophones experience at least occasional discrimination, while three in ten Quebecers (30%) feel that anglophones are sometimes discriminated against.

Canadians' sense of the frequency of discrimination against most minority groups has declined slightly since 2004. In 2006, Canadians are less likely than in 2004 to perceive frequent or occasional discrimination against Muslims, Jews and francophones living outside Quebec. The perception of discrimination against Chinese Canadians, South Asian Canadians, Aboriginal Peoples, anglophones living inside Quebec and blacks has remained stable.<sup>2</sup>

Estimates of discrimination against most groups tend to be higher among younger Canadians. For example, while just 67 percent of Canadians aged 60 or over believe that Muslims are at least sometimes discriminated against, the proportion among those aged 18 to 29 is 85 percent. Similarly, while about two-thirds (65%) of Canadians aged 60 or over believe that South Asians experience at least occasional discrimination, eight in ten Canadians under 30 (82%) say the same.

One likely explanation for this finding is that younger Canadians have grown up not only in a Canada where multiculturalism, adopted in 1971, is official



# Perceived frequency of discrimination Population-at-large Often/sometimes 2004 - 2006

 $^{\ast}$  2004 data from FC omnibus study for the Department of Canadian Heritage

#### Q.31

For each of the following groups, please tell me whether you think they are often, sometimes, rarely or never the subject of discrimination in Canadian society today ...?

policy, but in a social climate where racism and discrimination have been seen as increasingly unacceptable. As such, younger Canadians are likely to have higher expectations of their fellow citizens in matters of fair treatment for immigrants, people of colour, religious minorities and other groups that may experience discrimination. While older Canadians may see the society around them as exceptionally fair relative to the one they remember from their youth, younger Canadians are more likely to compare their society to the ideals it claims to espouse – not to a more prejudiced past.

<sup>2</sup> General population tracking data from a Focus Canada 2004-1 omnibus survey for the Department of Canadian Heritage.

# TREATMENT OF MUSLIMS IN CANADA

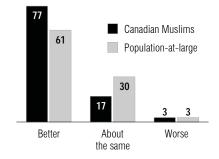
# Treatment of Muslims in Canada relative to other countries

Most Canadians feel Muslims are treated better in Canada than in other Western countries. An even higher proportion of Muslim-Canadians say the same.

Some commentators on Canadian multiculturalism argue that, while Canada is not alone in its multicultural policies, it is unique in the extent to which multiculturalism has become part of the national identity. Many Canadians take pride in the idea that Canada offers newcomers – and minority groups in general – an especially open, fair and welcoming atmosphere. Others argue that discrimination is more widespread than most Canadians care to realize – and that rhetoric about diversity and multiculturalism rings hollow when viewed against above-average poverty rates among immigrants and even visible minorities born in Canada.

In the case of Muslims, most Canadians (61%) believe that Canada offers better treatment than other Western countries. Although Canadian Muslims express concern about discrimination and underemployment, a large majority (77%) agree that Muslims are better treated in Canada than they are in other Western countries.

Very small proportions in both groups (3% each) believe Muslims are worse off in Canada than in the United States or Western Europe. Those who do not see Muslims as better off in Canada tend, rather, to believe that Muslims experience the same treatment in Canada as in other Western countries; three in ten Canadians overall (30%) and 17 percent of Canadian Muslims say this. Treatment of Muslims in Canada vs. in other western countries December 2006

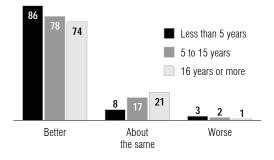


Q.M10/FC33 Do you think that the way that Muslims are treated in Canada is better, worse or about the same as they are treated in other western countries?

In the population-at-large, men (65%) are more likely than women (56%) to say that Muslims are treated better in Canada, while women are more likely to say that Muslims fare about the same in Canada as elsewhere.

Quebecers are more likely than average to believe that Muslims are better treated in Canada; seven in ten Quebecers (69%) as compared to six in ten (58%) in the rest of Canada say that Muslims are better off in Canada than in other Western countries. Canadians in the Prairie provinces (53%) and in the Atlantic provinces (55%) are the least likely to say that Muslims are treated better in Canada than elsewhere in the West, and most likely to say that they do not know (9% each). The Prairies and Atlantic Canada have the lowest concentrations of Muslims in the country. A surprising finding among Muslim-Canadians is that experience with discrimination does not appear to influence how Muslims feel they are treated in Canada relative to other countries. Among those who report no experiences of discrimination in the last two years, eight in ten (78%) believe Muslims are better off in Canada than elsewhere. Among those who have experienced discrimination in the last two years, however, three-quarters (74%) still believe they are better off in Canada than elsewhere in the West.

Foreign-born Muslims who have lived in Canada longer are more likely to say that treatment of Muslims in Canada is probably on par with other Western countries; those who have immigrated more recently are more likely to believe that they fare better in Canada than they would elsewhere. Treatment of Muslims in Canada vs. in other western countries Canadian Muslims By years in Canada December 2006





Do you think that the way that Muslims are treated in Canada is better, worse or about the same as they are treated in other western countries?

# Quality of life for Muslim women

# Most Canadian Muslims feel that quality of life for Muslim women is better in Canada than it is in most Muslim countries.

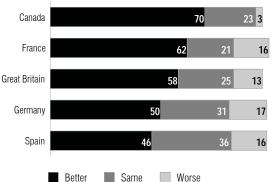
Seven in ten Canadian Muslims (70%) feel that quality of life for Muslim women is better in Canada than in most Muslim countries. A quarter of Canadian Muslims (23%) feel that Muslim women enjoy roughly the same quality of life in Canada as in the Muslim world. Only a very small proportion (3%) feel that Muslim women are worse off in Canada than they would be in a Muslim country.

Notably, there is no gender difference on this question: among both Muslim men (71%) and Muslim women (70%) in Canada, seven in ten each believe Muslim women are better off in Canada.

Perhaps not surprisingly, among foreign-born Muslims, the sense that Muslim women are better off in Canada increases with time in Canada. Three-quarters (76%) of those who have lived in Canada for 16 years or more believe Muslim women have a higher quality of life in Canada, as compared to 63 percent of those who have lived in Canada for less than five years. It is likely that those who have lived in Canada for a shorter time experience more challenges associated with migration and settlement, and even to feel greater nostalgia for the (possibly Muslim-majority) country from which they have immigrated. Those who have lived in Canada longer likely feel more settled, and are better able to assess the benefits of life in Canada free of the upheaval of migration.

Among Canadian Muslims who state that their primary identity is Canadian, as opposed to Muslim, fully nine in ten (90%) believe that the quality of life





Q.M14/Pew

Overall, do you think that the quality of life for Muslim women in Canada is better, worse, or about the same as the quality of life for women in most Muslim countries?

for Muslim women is better in Canada than in most Muslim countries. The proportion among those who identify themselves as primarily Muslim is smaller, but still a majority: 64 percent.

International comparisons show Canadian Muslims to be markedly more satisfied than European Muslims with the quality of life Muslim women enjoy in Canada. The proportions of Muslims in Great Britain, France, Germany and Spain who believe that Muslim women enjoy a higher quality of life in Europe than in Islamic countries ranges from the mid-40s to the low-60s. In all four countries, more than one Muslim in ten feels that Muslim women are better off in Islamic countries than in European countries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this section, international data from the Pew Research Center, 2006.

# Hostility toward Muslims among Canadians

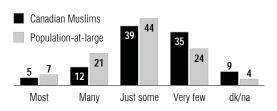
Most Canadians believe that public hostility toward Muslims is limited to a minority of citizens. Notably, Muslims are even less likely than other Canadians to feel that the public-at-large is hostile toward adherents of their faith.

As debates about terrorism and religious extremism linked to Islam have proliferated in the last several years, there has been evidence of an anti-Muslim "backlash" in several Western countries, in the form of vandalized mosques and scattered violence. In Canada, such criminal acts have been rare and, unlike in some European countries, no political party in Canada gives official voice to anti-Muslim (or antiimmigrant) sentiment. FOCUS CANADA data show that most Canadians – and an even higher proportion of Canadian Muslims – see hostility toward Muslims as a marginal attitude in Canadian society.

Most Canadians estimate that hostility toward Muslims is limited to "just some" (44%) or "very few" (24%) of their fellow citizens. Still, three in ten Canadians believe that "many" (21%) or even "most" (7%) of their compatriots are hostile toward Muslims. Among Muslim-Canadians, the sense of general societal hostility to members of their faith is more rare: only one about one in six Muslims in Canada believes that "most" (5%) or "many" (12%) Canadians are hostile to adherents of Islam; more then seven in ten Muslims say it is "just some" or "very few."

The perception of widespread societal hostility to Muslims is less common in Canada than in key European countries – both among Muslims and the population-at-large. Canadians (both Muslim and non-Muslim) are less likely than citizens of Great

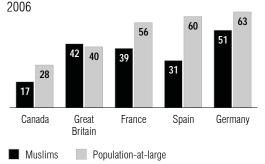
# Estimate of number of Canadians hostile to Muslims 2006



Q.M11/FC34

In your opinion, how many Canadians do you think are hostile toward Muslims? Would you say most, many, just some or very few?

# Think many/most Canadians/Europeans are hostile to Muslims



Q.M11/FC34/Pew

In your opinion, how many Canadians do you think are hostile toward Muslims? Would you say most, many, just some or very few?

Britain, France, Germany or Spain (both Muslim and non-Muslim) to estimate that "many" or "most" of their fellow citizens are hostile to followers of Islam.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Citizens of the four European countries named were asked how many *Europeans* they thought were hostile to Muslims. Canadians were asked how many *Canadians* they thought were hostile to Muslims.

In general, those who believe that hostility to Muslims is widespread are the most likely to express a negative impression of Islam. In other words, those most likely to see hostility to Muslims in the society around them are likely to share that hostility to some degree. Among Canadians who have a generally positive view of Islam, only about one in five (19%) believe that most or many Canadians are hostile to Muslims. Among those who have a negative view of Islam, the proportion who see most or many Canadians as hostile to Muslims is twice as high: 40 percent.

# Muslim experience of discrimination

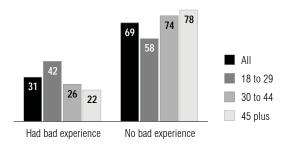
# Three in ten Canadian Muslims report an experience of discrimination in the last two years.

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, there were reports of physical and verbal attacks on Muslims (and people of colour wrongly perceived to be Muslim) in both Canada and the United States. Some of these attacks, related to a major news item, were heavily publicized. Other, less sensational instances of discrimination against Muslim-Canadians receive less attention.

Thirty-one percent of Muslim-Canadians say that in the last two years, they have had a negative experience due to their race, ethnicity or religion. Sixty-nine percent say they have had no such experience. Women (34%) are marginally more likely than men (28%) to report discrimination, a difference that may in part be explained by some Muslim women wearing head scarves that could attract the attention of those inclined toward discriminatory remarks.

Young Muslims are markedly more likely than older Muslims to say they have had a negative experience related to race, ethnicity or religion in the last two years. Four in ten Canadian Muslims between the ages of 18 and 29 (42%) report experiences of discrimination, the proportion among those aged 45 and older is about half that (22%).

Have had recent bad experience due to race/ethnicity/religion in past two years Canadian Muslims By age December 2006



Q.M12

In the last two years, have you personally had a bad experience due to your race, ethnicity, or religion, or hasn't this happened to you?

Quebec Muslims (36%) are more likely than those living in Ontario (28%) to report discrimination, while those in the West  $(32\%)^5$  are about average.

Compared to Muslims in Western European countries, Canadian Muslims are slightly more likely to report experiences of discrimination in the last two years. While French Muslims are more likely (37%) than Canadian Muslims to report discrimination, Muslims in Great Britain (28%) are as likely, and those in Spain (25%) and Germany (19%) are less likely to report experiences of discrimination. Even so, Canadian Muslims are less likely than Muslims in most European countries to believe that most or many of their compatriots are hostile to Muslims. Combined, these findings suggest that, while Canadian Muslims may have negative experiences related to their race, ethnicity or religion, they are more likely to see these as isolated incidents and not as symptoms of widespread social hostility.

Canadians at large are aware that Muslims face discrimination in Canada. As noted in the Contact with and Impressions of Minority Groups section of this report, three-quarters of Canadians (76%) believe that Muslims are discriminated against at least sometimes in this country; Muslims are seen as being the group most frequently discriminated against. Still, most Canadians, including Muslim-Canadians, believe that hostility toward Muslims is limited to a small minority of the general population.

<sup>5</sup> Small sample size (n=85).

# MUSLIM IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION

# Integration versus separation from Canadian society

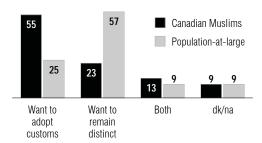
#### Remain distinct or integrate?

Most Canadians believe Muslims in Canada wish to remain distinct from the wider society, but most Muslims feel that most of their co-religionists in fact want to integrate into Canadian society.

When a minority group is seen as remaining separate from the larger society, explanations can run in two directions. Some may claim that the minority group is deliberately separating itself, enjoying the benefits of the larger society but refusing to participate fully. Others may claim that the larger society shuts the minority group out, using discrimination, both subtle and overt, to prevent minority group members from enjoying the economic, political and social benefits other citizens enjoy.

In the case of Canada's Muslim minority, Muslims themselves report a strong impression that their coreligionists wish to integrate into Canadian society, while most members of the general public believe the opposite - that Canadian Muslims wish to remain apart. Among Canadians at large, just a quarter (25%) believe that Muslims in Canada are more interested in adopting Canadian customs than in remaining distinct from the wider society. Among Canadian Muslims, meanwhile, a majority (55%) believe that most of their co-religionists in Canada are more interested in adopting a Canadian way of life than in remaining apart. About one in ten in both the general public (9%) and the Muslim minority (13%) believe that Canadian Muslims wish equally to integrate and remain distinct.

# Do Muslims want to adopt Canadian customs or remain distinct? December 2006



#### Q.M21/FC37

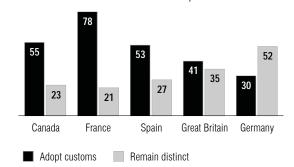
Do you think most Muslims coming to our country today want to adopt Canadian customs and way of life or do you think that they want to be distinct from the larger Canadian society?

Frequency of contact with Muslims has a notable bearing on Canadians' impressions of Muslims' desire to adopt Canadian customs. Among Canadians who have contact with Muslims often or occasionally, a third (32%) believe that Canadian Muslims are mainly interested in adopting Canadian customs, as compared to one in five (19%) among those who rarely or never encounter Muslims. Canadians who have personal contact with Muslims rarely or never are much more likely (65%) than those who have frequent personal contact with Muslims (44%) to believe that Muslims in Canada mainly wish to remain distinct from the wider society. Those who encounter Muslims frequently are twice as likely (13%) as those who do so rarely or never (7%) to believe that Canadian Muslims wish to both adopt Canadian customs and remain distinct as a community.

Quebecers are the most likely to believe that Muslims wish to remain distinct from the wider Canadian society; fully two-thirds of Quebecers (67%), as compared to just over half (54%) of those outside Quebec, believe that Canadian Muslims are more interested in remaining separate than in adopting Canadian customs. This difference may be explained in part by some Quebecers doubting that Quebec Muslims are adopting "Canadian" (as opposed to "Quebec") customs. Still, in view of other findings of this research in Quebec, such as less positive impressions of Islam and greater anxiety about integration, it is unlikely that the distinction between Quebec customs and Canadian customs is the only reason for the regional differences here. Among Muslim-Canadians, there are some notable group differences on views about the intentions of their co-religionists. Muslims with higher incomes are considerably more likely than those with lower incomes to believe that most Canadian Muslims wish to adopt a Canadian lifestyle. Those with lower incomes are more likely to say either they do not know how most Muslims approach this matter, or that most Muslims wish to both adopt Canadian customs and remain distinct in equal measure.

The belief that most Muslims wish to integrate increases somewhat with years spent in Canada. Those who have lived in Canada less than five years are moderately less likely than those who have been in the country longer to believe that most Muslims wish to adopt Canadian customs, and moderately more likely to say that Canadian Muslims wish to remain distinct, or that they wish to both integrate and remain separate. Internationally, Canadian Muslims are among the most likely to believe that their co-religionists want to adopt the customs and lifestyle of their adoptive country, and among the least likely to say that they want to remain separate from the wider society. Of the Muslim minorities in the four European countries surveyed, only French Muslims are more likely (78%) than Canadian Muslims to say that their co-religionists wish to adopt the customs of the wider society rather than remain distinct. Muslims in Canada are as likely as those in Spain (53%), and more likely than those in Great Britain (41%) and Germany (30%) to see their fellow Muslims as wishing to adopt the lifestyle of the western society in which they live.<sup>6</sup>

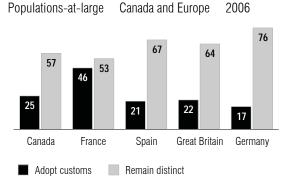
As far as the general populations are concerned, Canadians are among the most likely to believe that Muslims in Canada are interested in adopting Canadian customs. Here again, France stands out, with nearly half (46%) of the French public believing most Muslims in France wish to adopt French customs rather than remaining distinct. But Canadians are more likely than British (22%), Spanish (21%) or German (17%) citizens to believe that the Muslim minority in their country is mainly interested in adopting the customs of the wider society. Do Muslims want to adopt local country's customs or remain distinct? Muslim residents Canada and Europe 2006



#### Q.M21/Pew

Do you think most Muslims coming to our country today want to adopt Canadian customs and way of life or do you think that they want to be distinct from the larger Canadian society?

# Do Muslims want to adopt local country's customs or remain distinct?



#### Q.FC37/Pew

Do you think most Muslims coming to our country today want to adopt Canadian customs and way of life or do you think that they want to be distinct from the larger Canadian society?

<sup>6</sup> International data from the Pew Research Center, 2006.

#### Blend in or retain culture?

Both Canadian Muslims and Canadians overall tend to believe that immigrants should be free to maintain their religious and cultural practices. But the general population is more likely to express a preference for immigrants to "blend in."

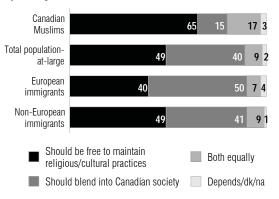
Presented with two different, but not mutually exclusive, claims about how immigrants and minority ethnic groups should relate to the wider society in which they live, there is general tendency to believe that members of such groups should be able to maintain their religious and cultural practices. But Muslim-Canadians are more likely than other Canadians to hold this view.

Two-thirds (65%) of Muslim-Canadians say that immigrants and minority ethnic groups should be free to maintain their religious and cultural traditions, compared with just one in six (15%) who agree more strongly with the idea that immigrants should try to blend into Canadian society. Notably, another 17 percent of Canadian Muslims decline to choose between these two options and volunteer that both options are equally possible and desirable. In contrast, Canadians at large are evenly divided on this question, with about half (49%) agreeing that immigrants and minority groups should be free to maintain their own traditions, while four in ten (40%) say immigrants should try to blend into Canadian society.<sup>7</sup>

Age has a strong influence on opinions about this issue, among both Muslim-Canadians and the population-at-large. Among Muslim-Canadians aged 18

# Options for immigrants and minority ethnic groups

Canadian Muslims and population-at-large by immigration status 2006



#### Q.M6/PET68

Some people say that immigrants and minority ethnic groups should blend into Canadian society and not form a separate community. Other people say that immigrants and minority ethnic groups should be free to maintain their religious and cultural practices and traditions. Which one of these two points of view is closest to your own?

to 29, seven in ten (72%) believe that immigrants should be free to maintain their religious and cultural practices, which declines among Muslim-Canadians aged 45 and older (58%). Older Muslims are more likely to say minority groups should blend into Canadian society, and to say blending in and maintaining religious and cultural practices are equally important. A parallel trend according to age is evident among the Canadian population-at-large; Canadians aged 18 to 29 are nearly twice as likely (63%) as those aged 60 or over (33%) to believe that immigrants and minority groups should be free to maintain their religious and cultural practices.

<sup>7</sup> General population data drawn from Focus Canada 2006-3 research conducted on behalf of the Pierre Trudeau Foundation.

Quebecers, both Muslims and the population-atlarge, stand out starkly on this question. Just four in ten Quebec Muslims (41%) believe that immigrants and minority groups should be free to maintain their religious and cultural practices, compared to 72 percent of Ontario Muslims and 73 percent of Muslims in the West. While Quebec Muslims are in line with the Muslim average (15%) in believing that immigrants should try to blend into the wider society, they are considerably above average (42%, compared to 17% of all Canadian Muslims) in espousing the belief that immigrants should be free to maintain their cultural practices *and* blend into the wider society.

The Quebec population-at-large also stands out, primarily in its embrace of assimilation as an ideal for immigrants. Just a third of Quebecers (33%, compared to 53% in the rest of Canada) say that immigrants and minority groups should be free to maintain their religious and cultural practices, while fully half (48%, compared to 38% in the rest of Canada) say that immigrants should blend into Canadian society. Quebecers overall, like the Muslim minority in that province, are more likely than others to agree equally with both statements (16%, compared to 6% in the rest of Canada).

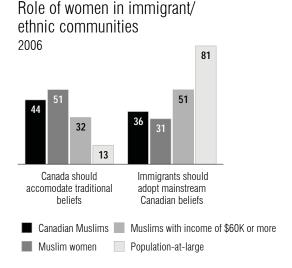
Overall, Muslims who are devoutly religious tend to attach greater significance to the protection of Islamic identity than do more secular Muslims. It is noteworthy, then, that Muslims who attend religious services frequently are statistically as likely (14%) as those who attend rarely or never (19%) to believe that immigrants and minority groups should try to blend into the wider society. But those who attend services rarely or never are more likely to believe that minority groups should try to blend in and be free to maintain their own religious and cultural practices (22%, as compared to 13% of frequent worshipers). Muslim-Canadians who attend religious services frequently are more likely (70%) than those who attend rarely or never (56%) to believe first and foremost that immigrants should be free to maintain their religious and cultural practices.

#### The rights and role of women

Canadians believe strongly that respect for newcomers' traditions must not compromise gender equality in Canada. Canadian Muslims are more likely to believe that Canada should accommodate traditional gender roles.

Some Canadians believe there is a tension between the individual rights guaranteed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the group rights accorded by Canada's multicultural policies. Gender equality in particular emerges as a site of concern in this regard, with some analysts arguing that women's Charter rights to equal treatment are sometimes at odds with religious or cultural practices that Canadian multiculturalism, in principle, would seek to protect. Others argue that there is no real tension between Charter rights and Canadian multiculturalism – that the Charter is paramount – and that rhetoric about such a tension is simply a manifestation of Canadian anxiety about the integration of newcomers.

A strong majority of Canadians (81%) believe that, whatever their traditional practices, newcomers should adapt to mainstream Canadian beliefs about the rights and role of women, while just 13 percent say Canada should accommodate traditional beliefs some newcomers may hold about women's rights and roles. Canadian Muslims are notably more divided on this question: A plurality (44%) believe that Canada should accommodate newcomers' more traditional beliefs, compared with just over one in three (36%) who agree with the overall Canadian majority that it is immigrants who must adapt to Canadian mores around gender.<sup>8</sup>



#### Q.M7/PET69

Some immigrant and minority ethnic communities have very traditional practices and beliefs when it comes to the role and rights of women. Some people say Canada should accept and accommodate these traditional beliefs about the rights and role of women. Other people say that immigrants and ethnic minorities should adapt to mainstream Canadian beliefs about the rights and role of women. Which one of these two points of view is closest to your own?

Canadians tend to express similar views on this issue across demographic subgroups, although there is a modest variation by age: Younger Canadians are somewhat more likely to believe that Canada should accommodate traditional beliefs some newcomers may hold about the rights and role of women, while older Canadians are more apt to express the view that newcomers must adapt to majority Canadian opinion and practice in the area of gender equality.

<sup>8</sup> General population data drawn from Focus Canada 2006-3 research conducted on behalf of the Pierre Trudeau Foundation.

Large and important differences emerge across Canadian Muslim subgroups on this issue. First, and perhaps surprisingly, Muslim women are considerably more likely than Muslim men to believe that Canada should accommodate traditional beliefs and practices some newcomers may have about the rights and role of women.

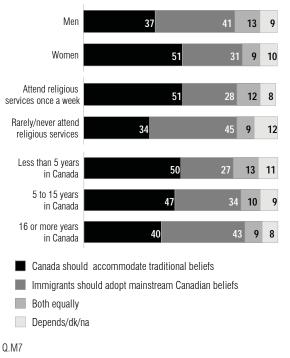
Major differences also emerge among Muslim-Canadians according to income and education. More affluent and more educated Muslims more likely to believe that newcomers should adapt to Canadian gender mores, compared with less affluent and less educated Muslims, who are more apt to believe that Canada should accommodate traditional beliefs among newcomers.

Religious attendance also seems to have a strong influence over Canadian Muslim opinion on this issue: fully half of those who frequently attend religious services believe that Canada should accommodate those with traditional beliefs about the rights and role of women, as compared to just a third of those who attend religious services rarely or never.

Among Canadian Muslims born outside Canada, those who have lived in Canada longer are more likely to believe that it is up to immigrants and minority groups to conform to mainstream Canadian beliefs and practices about the rights and role of women. Even among those who have been in Canada 16 years or longer, however, opinion is split almost evenly between those who think that immigrants must conform to Canadian mores, and those who think that Canada must accommodate the diverse traditions and practices of immigrants. In other words, even Muslims who have been in Canada for over 16 years look markedly different from the population-at-large on this issue.

# Role of women in immigrant/ ethnic communities

Canadian Muslims By gender, religious attendance and years in Canada 2006



Some immigrant and minority ethnic communities have very traditional practices and beliefs when it comes to the role and rights of women. Some people say Canada should accept and accommodate these traditional beliefs about the rights and role of women. Other people say that immigrants and ethnic minorities should adapt to mainstream Canadian beliefs about the rights and role of women. Which one of these two points of view is closest to your own?

Muslims who self-identify as primarily Canadian are, perhaps not surprisingly, much more likely (61%) than other Canadian Muslims to believe that the onus is primarily on newcomers and minority groups to adapt to the Canadian mainstream on matters of gender equality. Those who identify primarily as Muslim, meanwhile, are more likely (50%) than the Canadian Muslim average to believe that Canada should accommodate newcomers' sometimes more traditional beliefs.

#### Perceptions of cross-cultural learning

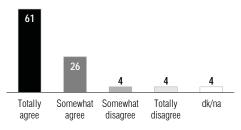
Muslim-Canadians are more likely than Canadians overall to believe that contact with other cultures is enriching.

One underlying idea of multiculturalism is that respect for minority groups' traditions and practices benefits not only the minority groups who adhere to them, but also the wider society which learns from them and becomes richer, more flexible and more interesting. Whereas aggressive assimilationism assumes that the host culture is paramount and immigrants must adopt its ways completely, multiculturalism positions the integration of newcomers as, at least ideally, a two-way process in which newcomers both adapt to and shape the mainstream.

Three-quarters of Canadians agree either strongly (25%) or somewhat (48%) that "Other cultures have a lot to teach us; contact with them is enriching for us."<sup>9</sup> Muslim-Canadians express even greater enthusiasm for this idea of cross-cultural learning, with six in ten agreeing strongly (61%) that they are enriched by interacting with other cultures and an additional quarter agreeing somewhat with this idea.

Although the belief that contact with other cultures is enriching is embraced across subgroups of Muslim-Canadians, the belief is especially strong among those with the highest incomes and those who have lived in Canada the longest. Among those who have been in Canada 16 years or more, fully three-quarters (75%) agree strongly that contact with other cultures is enriching. The proportion among Muslim-Canadians earning more than \$60,000 annually is 73 percent. Disagreement is highest among the least affluent (13%) and least educated (17%); these are the only two groups in which disagreement with the idea of cross-cultural learning exceeds 10 percent.

# Other cultures have a lot to teach us; contact with them is enriching Canadian Muslims December 2006



#### Q.M41c

Now I'd like to read you a list of opinions that we often hear expressed. For each one, please tell me whether you totally agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or totally disagree ... Other cultures have a lot to teach us; contact with them is enriching.

<sup>9</sup> General population data drawn from the 2005 Environics Social Values study.

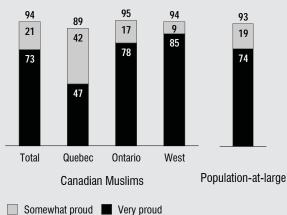
# Pride in Canada

Muslim-Canadians are as likely as others in the population to express pride in being Canadian. (Pride in Canada among Canadians overall is discussed more fully in the Trends and Issues section of this report.) Ninety-four percent of Canadian Muslims say they are very (73%) or somewhat (21%) proud to be Canadian, figures that roughly mirror pride in the population-at-large. Quebec Muslims, like Quebecers overall, are less likely to express strong pride in being Canadian – but even in Quebec nine in ten Muslims (89%) say they are at least somewhat proud to be Canadian.

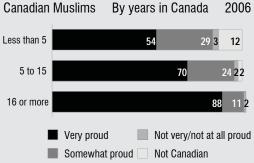
Muslims most likely to report being *very* proud to be Canadian include older individuals (84% among those aged 45 and older), the most affluent (81%), the least educated (81%) and (among the foreignborn) those who have lived in Canada the longest (88%). No more than a handful in any subgroup say they are not proud, although among those who have lived in Canada less than five years, 12 percent are either not Canadian citizens or do not consider themselves Canadian. Like the population-at-large, when asked to name the things that make them proud to be Canadian, Muslim-Canadians cite freedom and democracy (33%), Canadian multiculturalism (17%), the fact that Canada is a peaceful country (10%), and the sense that Canada is a humane and caring country (9%). Muslims are somewhat more likely to emphasize multiculturalism in describing Canada's virtues (six points higher than the 11% of all Canadians who cite this), but by and large, sources of pride in Canada among Canadian Muslims match those cited by Canadians overall.

When Canadian Muslims are asked to name their least favourite thing about Canada, the top mention is the weather (24%); by contrast, the weather is the second most frequent mention among Canadians overall (8%) – after the government (10%). Other aspects of Canada Muslims dislike include, in order of frequency of mention, discrimination and treatment of immigrants (12%), taxes (8%), Canadian foreign policy (6%), lack of economic opportunity (6%) and the government (4%).





Pride in being Canadian Canadian Muslims By years in Canada



Q.M3/FC7

Would you say you are very, somewhat, not very, or not at all proud to be a Canadian?

# Strength of Muslim identity

How strong is Muslim identity in Canada?

A strong majority of both Muslim-Canadians and the population-at-large feel that Muslims in Canada identify strongly with their Islamic identity.

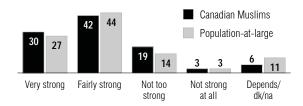
Muslim-Canadians and Canadians overall tend to share the view that Muslims in Canada have a strong sense of Islamic identity. Seventy-two percent of Muslim-Canadians and 71 percent of all Canadians believe that Muslims' sense of Islamic identity is at least fairly strong.

Foreign-born Muslims with roots in Asia are most likely to see Muslim identity in Canada as very strong (37%), while those who immigrated from Africa (31%) and the Middle East (23%) are somewhat less likely to share this perception.<sup>10</sup>

Muslims who identify primarily as Canadian are less likely to say that Islamic identity in Canada is strong (63%), while those who identify themselves as primarily Muslim (79%) are more likely to sense that their co-religionists' sense of shared identity is powerful.

Regionally, Quebec Muslims are slightly more likely than others to feel that Islamic identity in Canada is strong. Three-quarters (75%) of Muslims in Quebec feel Islamic identity is strong in Canada, and onethird (33%) see it as very strong. Muslims in Ontario (72%) and the west (62%) are less likely to see Islamic identity as at least fairly strong in Canada.

# Strength of Islamic identity among Muslims in Canada December 2006



Q.M22/FC38

In your opinion, how strong a sense of Islamic identity do Muslims in Canada have: very strong, fairly strong, not too strong or not strong at all?

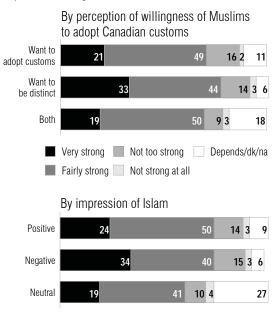
Just as Quebec Muslims stand out on this issue, the general population in Quebec also holds opinions that differ from the rest of Canada. One-third (34%) of Quebecers believe that Muslims in Canada have a very strong sense of Islamic identity, as compared to 27 percent in the Atlantic provinces, 24 percent in Ontario and 20 percent in British Columbia.

<sup>10</sup> Sample sizes for Muslims born in Canada or elsewhere in the world are too small to interpret meaningfully.

The sense in Quebec that Muslims have a *very* strong sense of Islamic identity may be related to Quebecers' higher levels of anxiety about the integration of Muslims. In general, Canadians who have a negative impression of Islam and who see Muslims as wishing to remain distinct from the wider Canadian society are more likely to say that Muslims in Canada have a very strong sense of Islamic identity. Canadians who have a positive impression of Islam and see Muslims as willing to integrate into the Canadian mainstream tend to say that Muslims in Canada have a *fairly* strong sense of Islamic identity.

# Strength of Islamic identity among Muslims in Canada

Population-at-large December 2006



#### Q.FC38

In your opinion, how strong a sense of Islamic identity do Muslims in Canada have: very strong, fairly strong, not too strong or not strong at all?

Is there a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada?

# Majorities of both Canadian Muslims and the population-at-large believe the sense of Islamic identity in Canada is growing.

Majorities of both the Canadian Muslim population and the general public believe that there is a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada. Muslim-Canadians (69%) are somewhat more likely than Canadians overall (62%) to believe that Islamic identity in Canada is growing.

Notably, while both Quebec Muslims and Quebecers overall are more likely than the national average to believe that there is a very strong sense of Islamic identity in Canada, Quebec Muslims (57%) and Quebecers overall (58%) are *less* likely than average to believe that this sense of Islamic identity is growing.

Just as foreign-born Muslims with roots in Asia are more likely than average to believe that there is a strong sense of Islamic identity in Canada, they are also more likely (76%) than those from Africa (71%) or the Middle East (57%) to believe that the sense of Islamic identity in Canada is growing.

Foreign-born Muslims who have immigrated to Canada more recently are less likely than those who have been in Canada longer to believe that Islamic identity in Canada is growing, but this difference rests primarily on the fact that more recent arrivals are more likely to say they do not know whether Islamic identity in Canada is growing.

Similarly, the least affluent Muslim-Canadians are less likely to see Islamic identity in Canada as on the rise but are no more likely to sense that it is *not* growing; they are simply more likely to be uncertain (11%). Among Canadians overall, the most significant group difference on this impression of whether Islamic identity in Canada is growing emerges by community size. Those in cities of a million or more (68%) are more likely than those in the smallest communities (56%) to see Canadian Islamic identity as on the rise.

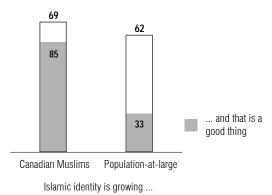
#### Growing Islamic identity: good or bad thing?

While majorities of Muslim-Canadians and the population overall agree that there is a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada, they disagree on whether this is a positive development.

Those who study diverse societies describe two kinds of social relations: bridging and bonding. Bonding social relations are those that exist within homogeneous religious and ethnocultural communities; organizations such as religious groups or clubs rooted in shared ethnocultural heritage foster bonding relations. Bridging social relations are those that reach across religious and ethnocultural boundaries, and unite individuals along axes of civic engagement or other shared interests. Organizations that foster bridging relations might include community centres, school committees, or groups devoted to neighbourhood issues such as land use or traffic control. Both Muslim-Canadians and Canadians overall have a sense that bonding relations within the Muslim-Canadian community are increasing - but the two groups disagree on whether this development will militate against bridging relations: Muslim participation in the wider society.

Of those Canadians who believe there is a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada, most (56%) believe this is a bad thing for the country, while onethird (33%) believe this is a positive development, and the remaining one in ten (11%) have no clear opinion either way. In contrast, among Canadian Muslims who see the sense of Islamic identity in Canada as on the rise, the vast majority (85%) see this as a positive development. Just nine percent see it as a bad thing, while six percent do not know.

## Muslim Islamic identity December 2006



#### Q.M23/FC39

In your opinion, these days do you think there is a growing sense of Islamic identity among Muslims in Canada? Q.M24/FC40

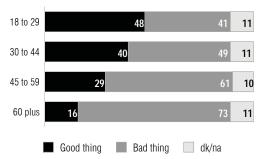
Do you think this is a good thing or a bad thing for Canada? Subsample: Those who think there is a growing sense of Islamic identity among Muslims in Canada Across the country, Quebecers (24%) are the least likely of all Canadians to see the growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada as a good thing. Atlantic Canadians are most positive (46%) about this development. Notably, although Ontarians and Torontonians tend to have the highest levels of contact with Muslims and be most positive about Islam overall, it is in Ontario (15%) and Toronto (17%) where the highest proportions say they do not know whether a growing sense of Islamic identity is a good thing or a bad thing for Canada.

Among the Canadian population-at-large, those most likely to believe that a growing sense of Islamic identity is good for Canada are young Canadians (48%), men (36%), non-Christians and those who adhere to no religion (38%), and Canadians of non-European origin (41%).

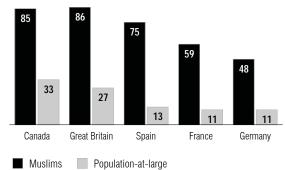
The view that a growing Islamic identity is good for Canada is shared by a large majority across all identifiable subgroups of Canadian Muslims.

In comparison with the Canadian Muslim population, Canadians overall are relatively skeptical about the effects of a growing sense of Islamic identity on the country. Still, Canadians are more optimistic about this phenomenon than those in any of the four European countries surveyed.

## Perception of growing Islamic identity Population-at-large By age December 2006



# Growing Islamic identity a good thing 2006



#### Q.M24/FC40/Pew

Do you think this is a good thing or a bad thing for Canada? Subsample: Those who think there is a growing sense of Islamic identity among Muslims in Canada How is a growing sense of Islamic identity a good thing?

Canadians who see the growing sense of Islamic identity as positive cite cross-cultural understanding and the strengthening of the Muslim community as reasons. Muslim-Canadians also emphasize the quality of Muslim values.

Muslim-Canadians and members of the populationat-large who see an increased sense of Islamic identity in Canada as positive tend to agree broadly on the reasons for this assessment. Both groups emphasize the idea that increased Islamic identity will help Canadians to understand Islam better. Both groups also indicate that a growing sense of Islamic identity suggests that Canadian multiculturalism is working well.

Canadians overall are somewhat more likely than Canadian Muslims to say that a strong sense of Islamic identity in Canada is a positive sign of tolerance and religious freedom in this country. Canadian Muslims are more likely to say increased Islamic identity is positive because Islamic values themselves are positive. Muslim-Canadians are also more likely than the population-at-large to emphasize the idea that a strong sense of Muslim identity will promote peace, and that a proud Muslim community will be better able to fight extremism.

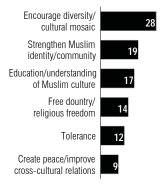
Among Muslim-Canadians, the most affluent, those who have lived in Canada the longest, and those in the youngest age category are more likely than others to emphasize that a strong sense of Islamic identity in Canada will benefit the country in helping the general public to better understand Muslims and their faith.

Muslim-Canadians who attend religious services most frequently are the most likely to say that the main benefit to Canada of an increased sense of Islamic How growing sense of Islamic identity is good for Canada Top mentions Canadian Muslims



# How growing sense of Islamic identity is good for Canada

Top mentions Population-at-large December 2006



#### Q.M25a/FC41

In what way do you think this is a good thing for our country today? Subsample: Those who think there is a growing sense of Islamic identity among Muslims in Canada – and think this is a good thing

identity is the increased presence of Islamic values, which are positive.

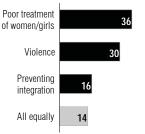
#### Concerns about growing Islamic identity

Among Canadians who see a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada as a negative development for the country, gender inequality is the top concern, followed by violence.

Canadians who believe that a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada is bad for the country most often cite perceived poor treatment of women and girls (36%) in Islam as their main worry. An additional three in ten (30%) say that the possibility of violence perpetrated by Muslims is their main worry, while 16 percent feel that an increased sense of Islamic identity will prevent Muslims from integrating into the wider society. Fourteen percent of Canadians who are pessimistic about the effect of an increased Islamic identity in Canada say that all of these issues worry them equally.<sup>11</sup>

Although most violence purportedly carried out under the banner of Islam has been directed at urban targets (the London subway system, Madrid commuter trains, the World Trade Center), those in Canada's largest cities are the least likely to cite violence as their top concern about an increased sense of Islamic identity in the country. Just a quarter (25%) of those living in cities of one million or more residents say that violence is what concerns them most about what they see as a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada. The proportion among those in communities of less than 5,000 is 34 percent. Those in urban areas are instead most concerned about poor treatment of women and girls as a possible consequence of increased Islamic identity in Canada: 42 percent of those who live in Canada's largest cities cite this as their top concern, as compared to 31 percent of those in communities of less than 5,000.

## Main worry about Islamic identity in Canada Population-at-large December 2006



#### Q.FC42

Which one of the following worries you most about Islamic identity in our country today? It can lead to ...

Subsample: Those who think there is a growing sense of Islamic identity among Muslims in Canada – and think this is a bad thing

These differences by residential density hinge mainly on Canadians' varying degrees of contact with Muslims. City-dwellers, though more likely to be affected by terrorism should it be carried out on a Canadian target, have more frequent contact with Muslims and are therefore less likely to express concern about violence as an outcome of increased Islamic identity. Of those who have frequent contact with Muslims and are concerned about a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada, just 22 percent cite violence as their main worry, as compared to 36 percent of those who never have personal contact with Muslims. Canadians who encounter Muslims often are more likely to cite the prevention of integration (21%) as a concern. Concern about poor treatment of women and girls, the top worry across groups, does not vary according to degree of personal contact with Muslims.

<sup>11</sup> The number of Muslim-Canadians who see an increased sense of Islamic identity as a negative thing for Canada is too small to allow meaningful interpretation of the reasons for this opinion.

Source of religious guidance among Muslims

# When seeking guidance as Muslims, Canadian Muslims are most likely to trust a local imam or sheikh. But many Canadian Muslims reject the guidance of religious authorities.

The influence of religion over believers' thinking and decisions related to family, politics and lifestyle is frequently discussed. With 94 percent of Canadian Muslims stating that their religious beliefs are very important to them, it seems likely that religion will have a powerful influence over at least some aspects of these Canadians' lives. But when it comes to seeking guidance from religious authorities, which voices do Canadian Muslims trust?

When asked who they would most trust to offer them guidance as Muslims, Canadian Muslims are most likely to trust in a local imam or sheikh (30%), while others cite an imam or institution outside Canada (such as al-Azhar or the Saudi imams of Mecca) (21%), national religious leaders in Canada (12%) or religious leaders on television (4%). Significantly, however, fully a quarter (26%) of Canadian Muslims say they would trust none of these bodies or individuals to offer them guidance – and this proportion is substantially higher among some subgroups of the Canadian Muslim population.

Canadian Muslim subgroups most likely to say they would rely on a local imam or sheikh for guidance include young Muslims (37%), and those who attend religious services frequently (36%).

Older Muslims are considerably more likely than younger ones to say that they would trust none of the sources listed to offer them guidance as Muslims. Other groups more likely than average to say they would rely on none of the individuals or bodies named for guidance include the most affluent and the most educated, those who attend religious services rarely or never, and foreign-born Muslims who have lived in Canada for 16 years or longer.

Foreign-born Muslims more recently arrived in Canada are more likely to say they would rely on guidance from imams or institutions outside Canada. Similarly, those who identify themselves as primarily Muslim (as opposed to primarily Canadian) are more likely to say they would trust imams or institutions outside Canada for guidance.

#### Trust most to offer guidance as a Muslim

Canadian Muslims By age and years in Canada December 2006

	Total	18 to 29 Years of Age	30 to 44 Years of Age	45 Plus Years of Age	Less than 5 Years in Canada	5 to 15 Years in Canada	16 Plus Years in Canada
Local Iman or sheikh	30	37	31	18	29	29	26
Imans/institutions outside Canada	21	28	20	13	27	20	19
National religious leaders in Canada	12	10	11	14	7	13	12
Religious leaders on television	4	5	3	5	9	3	2
None	26	13	27	45	20	25	37
dk/na	7	7	8	4	7	9	4

Q.M19

Now I'm going to read you a list of individuals and organizations. Please tell me which one of these you trust the most to offer you guidance as a Muslim ... Local Imam or sheik ... National religious leaders in Canada ... Religious leaders on television ... Imams and institutions outside Canada, such as al-Azhar or the Saudi Imams of Mecca and Medina.

## Legal issues related to religious pluralism

#### Sharia law

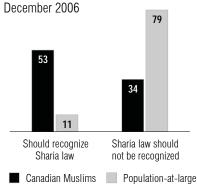
Just over half of Canadian Muslims believe Sharia law should be recognized in Canada, including a clear majority of Muslim women. Only one in ten Canadians overall share this view.

Sharia law, a traditional Islamic legal code, has been at the heart of charged debates in both Quebec and Ontario. Some Muslim groups have sought to have Sharia law recognized as a legal basis for Muslims to settle family disputes. This proposal has met with opposition from both Muslims and non-Muslims. Some have objected that it muddies the division between Canada's secular legal system and religion. Others have argued that the recognition of Sharia law might compromise the equality rights Canadian Muslim women are guaranteed by the Charter.

Some Muslim groups have expressed the sense that discourse around Sharia was more alarmist than, for example, discussion of the legal recognition of traditional Jewish law. The greater concern about the possible recognition of Sharia law, some claim, is evidence of Islamophobia. In view of its refusal to recognize Sharia law, the Ontario government was forced to end all religion-based arbitration, revoking earlier provincial government decisions that had extended government recognition to Jewish and Catholic arbitration bodies.

Just over half of all Canadian Muslims (53%) believe Sharia law should be recognized by Canadian governments as a legal basis for settling Muslim family disputes. Among the population at large, just one in ten (11%) support such recognition for Sharia law, making this among the most notable areas of divergence between the opinions of Canadian Muslims and the population-at-large. While a third of

# Should Canada recognize Sharia law for settling family disputes?



#### Q.M18/FC36

Do you believe that Sharia law – that is, traditional Islamic law – should, or should not, be recognized by Canadian governments as a legal basis for Muslims to settle family disputes, such as those involving divorce, custody and inheritance?

Canadian Muslims (34%) believe that Sharia law should not be recognized by Canadian governments, the proportion among Canadians at large is eight in ten (79%).

Given that much debate on this issue hinges on arguments about gender equality, it is especially notable that Muslim women (55%) are statistically as likely as Muslim men (51%) to believe that Sharia law should be recognized by Canadian governments.

Among Canadian Muslims, other groups expressing disproportionately strong support for the recognition of Sharia law by Canadian governments include the least educated (63%) and least affluent (62%), those in the 18 to 29 age cohort (59%) and those living in Ontario (59%). Foreign-born Muslim-Canadians who have been in the country for a shorter period also tend to be more likely than average to support the recognition of Sharia law; those who have lived in Canada for 16 years or more, by contrast, are notably below average in their support for Sharia recognition (45%).

Among subgroups of the overall Canadian population, there is relatively little variation on this issue, except by income and education. Trends by income and education among Canadian Muslims on this issue parallel trends among the Canadian population at large: those with higher levels of education and higher incomes are more likely than others to oppose the recognition of Sharia law by Canadian governments. Canadians with less than a high school education are three times as likely (21%) as those with university degrees (7%) to say that Sharia law should be recognized. Those earning less than \$30,000 annually are twice as likely (18%) as those earning \$80,000 or more (8%) to favour recognition of the religious code.

There is some variation among immigrants, with European immigrants less likely (7%) than non-European immigrants (16%) to believe that Canadian governments should acknowledge Sharia law as a legal basis for settling family disputes.

#### Headscarf ban

A strong majority of Canadian Muslims oppose a ban on Muslim headscarves in public places such as schools. A modest majority of Canadians overall agree.

The French government's 2004 ban on the wearing of any religious apparel, including jewellery depicting crucifixes or stars of David and, most famously, Muslim headscarves, sparked considerable international debate about religious freedom in the public square. Within France, however, the headscarf ban enjoyed broad popular support, with 78 percent calling the ban a good idea.<sup>12</sup>

Although France is the only European country to have actually instituted a ban on Muslim headscarves in schools, the measure enjoys some support elsewhere in Europe. A majority of Germans (54%) believe the ban is a good idea and just over four in ten (43%) in Spain agree. Support for such a ban is weakest in Great Britain, where just three in ten (29%) believe it is a good idea.

No Canadian political party has proposed – or is likely to propose – a ban on religious apparel in schools. Indeed, in a prominent and unanimous 2006 Supreme Court ruling, a Sikh student at a public school in Quebec was granted the right to carry a kirpan (a small ceremonial dagger) in contravention of the school's zero-tolerance policy on weapons. The court cited the Charter's religious freedom provisions in its ruling. Still, it is worthwhile to consider Canadian attitudes about the prospect of a headscarf ban in comparison to attitudes in other western countries with significant Muslim minorities.

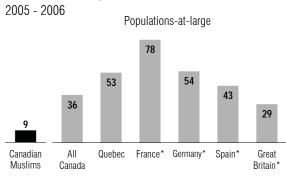
<sup>12</sup> Pew Global Attitudes Survey. "Islamic Extremism: Common Concern for Muslim and Western Publics." 14 July, 2005.

Most Canadians (55%) believe that banning Muslim headscarves in public places such as schools is a bad idea. About a third (36%) see the ban as a good idea. Among Canadian Muslims, opposition to a ban on Muslim headscarves is vastly stronger, with nearly nine in ten (86%) opposing such a ban and nine percent supporting it.

Some differences exist across Muslim subgroups, but substantial majorities across all groups oppose a ban. Those Muslim-Canadians who are above the Muslim average in their support for a headscarf ban are older (12% among those aged 45 or older), have lived in Canada longer (12% among those living in Canada 16 years or more), and those who self-identify primarily as Canadian (19%). Still, even with these variations, overwhelming opposition to a headscarf ban in the Canadian Muslim community is evident.

Among the Canadian general public, the most pronounced differences are regional, with a majority of Quebecers (53%) supporting a headscarf ban and just three in ten (31%) outside Quebec agreeing. Quebec is a strong outlier on this issue; opinion among the other provinces varies relatively little, ranging from 26 percent in support for a ban in Atlantic Canada and British Columbia to 31 percent in the Prairies and 33 percent in Ontario. The regional variation holds even in urban areas: 54 percent of Montrealers support a headscarf ban, as compared to just 28 percent (each) of those living in Toronto and Vancouver.

Canadians with lower levels of educational attainment are more likely than more highly educated Canadians to support a headscarf ban, but even among those with less than a high school diploma (42%), support for a ban remains a minority position. Among those with a university degree, three in ten (32%) believe a headscarf ban in public places such as schools is a good idea.



# Headscarf ban good idea



Some countries have decided to ban the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women in public places, including schools. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?

Older Canadians are markedly more likely than younger Canadians to believe a headscarf ban is a good idea; 48 percent of those aged 60 or over support a ban, 12 points above the national average.

Among religious groups, Canadian Catholics are most supportive of the idea of a headscarf ban, while Canadians who practice a religion other than Christianity are least likely to support such a ban. Forty-four percent of Catholics believe a headscarf ban would be a good idea, as compared to a third of Protestants (33%) and those with no religious affiliation (33%), and a quarter (24%) of religious adherents who are neither Catholic nor Protestant.

Some marked differences emerge on this question according to ethnic background, with half (52%) of Canadians citing French or Quebec roots supporting a headscarf ban, and just a quarter (26%) of Canadians of non-European origin believing a headscarf ban would be a good idea. Canadians of British (31%) and other European (34%) origin are slightly under the national average in their support for a headscarf ban, while those who cite their ethnicity as simply Canadian are slightly above average (41%).

# Future of Muslims in Canada

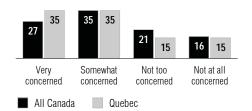
Six in ten Muslim-Canadians express concern about the future of Muslims in Canada, with the greatest worries about unemployment and discrimination.

In addition to being a religious minority in Canada, the Canadian Muslim community is roughly 90 percent foreign-born. These two statuses alone would present Canadian Muslims with some social and economic challenges, but those challenges have surely been intensified by the international climate that has emerged in the wake of the September 11 attacks on the United States. Over the past several years, Islam has frequently been broached in discussions of terrorism, fundamentalism and the unsuccessful integration of newcomers into Western societies. As a largely foreign-born minority group that has been the subject of such scrutiny, and in some cases hostility (the Canadian public sees Muslims as the minority group in Canada that is most frequently discriminated against), Canadian Muslims express concern about a number of issues related to migration, integration and discrimination.

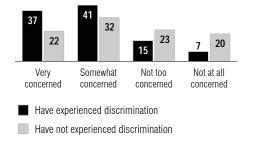
Despite great pride in Canada and optimism about the direction of the country, six in ten Muslim-Canadians are at least somewhat concerned about the future of their co-religionists in Canada and a quarter (27%) say they are very concerned. Fewer than one in five (16%) say they are not at all concerned about the future.

Concerns about the future of Muslims in Canada are most evident among young Muslims, seven in ten (71%) of whom express concern about Islam's future in Canada. Concern is also especially high

## Concern about future of Muslims in Canada Canadian Muslims December 2006



#### Concern about future of Muslims in Canada Canadian Muslims By discrimination experienced December 2006



#### Q.M13

How concerned, if at all, are you about the future of Muslims in this country – very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?

among Muslims living in Quebec (70%, with 35% very concerned) and Canadian Muslims who have experienced discrimination in the last two years (78%, with 37% very concerned).

Canadian Muslims are more concerned about achieving success in Canadian society – finding employment and overcoming discrimination – than about influences such as popular culture, secularization and gender equality.

Discrimination. When Canadian Muslims consider life in Canada, two concerns emerge as most pressing: unemployment and discrimination. Three in ten Canadian Muslims (30%) say they are very worried about discrimination. Within the Muslim community, the groups most likely to say they are very worried about discrimination are Quebecers (44%), foreignborn Muslims with roots in Africa (41%) and young people (39%).

Women (73%) are more likely than men (61%) to be at least somewhat concerned about discrimination. This difference is consistent with the finding that Muslim women are slightly more likely than Muslim men to report having had an experience of discrimination in the last two years. These findings may be explained in part by the fact that the minority of Muslim women who wear headscarves are more easily identifiable as Muslim and therefore may be subject to more discrimination.

# Concern about issues related to Muslims living in Canada

Canadian Muslims December 2006

Unemployment			33	32	1	15	16 4
Discrimination		3	30	36	5	17	14 2
Extremism		26	2	27	23		18 6
Influence of popular culture on youth		22	27		23		27 1
Decline in religiosity		21	27		24		24 3
Muslim women taking on modern roles	10	16	24				48 3
Very worried	riad		Not too wo			dk	v/na
Somewhat wor	neu		Not at all v	vonieu			

#### Q.M20

Please tell me how worried you are about each of the following issues related to Muslims living in Canada. Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried about ... A decline in the importance of religion among Canada's Muslims ... Muslim women in Canada taking on modern roles in society ... The influence of music, movies, and television on Muslim youth in Canada ... Unemployment among Canadian Muslims ... Extremism among Canadian Muslims ... Discrimination against Muslims?

Unemployment. Roughly on par with discrimination as an issue facing Canadian Muslims is unemployment. Although Muslims in Canada are more highly educated than the population-at-large (45% hold university degrees, as compared to 33% of all Canadians), their earnings lag behind the national average.

Two-thirds of Canadian Muslims are at last somewhat worried about unemployment among Canadian Muslims, and a third (33%) are very worried. Within the Muslim community, the groups most likely to be very concerned about unemployment are Quebecers (46%), those who immigrated to Canada from Africa (44%), those earning less than \$30,000 annually (43%), and foreign-born Muslims who have been in the country for 15 years or less (40%).

Extremism. Although the vast majority of Canadian Muslims say they see little or no support for extremist groups such as al-Qaeda in their communities, and very few feel a terrorist attack perpetrated by Muslim-Canadians is likely, nevertheless a slight majority of Muslims in Canada say they are very (26%) or somewhat (27%) worried about extremism among Canadian Muslims.

There is relatively little variation in the Muslim subgroups saying they are very concerned about extremism (this figure tends to be in the high 20% range across groups). There are some notable differences, however, in the proportions of Muslim subgroups claiming to be at least somewhat concerned about extremism: women (60%) are more likely than men (46%) to express moderate worry about extremism in the Islamic community. Among Muslims born outside Canada who have lived in this country for 16 years or more, nearly six in ten (57%) are at least somewhat worried about extremism among Canadian Muslims. Among those who have lived in Canada less than five years, only half (49%) express such worry. Education and income profile – Canadian Muslims versus population-at-large December 2006

	Canadian Muslims	POPULATION- AT-LARGE
Education		
Some elementary	1	*
Completed elementary	1	1
Some high school	4	9
Completed high school	13	19
Community college	23	27
Some university	11	10
Completed university	23	21
Post-graduate/professional	22	12
Income		
Under \$30,000	36	18
\$30,000 to \$60,000	26	26
\$60,000 to \$80,000	10	16
\$80,000 to \$100,000	6	9
\$100,000 and over	7	15
dk/na	15	15
* Less than one percent		

Education and income demographics (FC 2006-4)

Popular culture. Although concern about the influence of popular culture on youth is certainly not limited to the Muslim community, about half of Canadian Muslims are either very (22%) or somewhat (27%) concerned about the influence of music, movies and television on Muslim youth. Remarkably, younger Muslims themselves express the highest levels of concern about the influence of popular culture on Muslim youth in Canada; a quarter of Muslims aged 18 to 29 are very (25%) worried about the influence of popular culture on Muslim youth. Other groups that are especially likely to be very worried about the effects of popular culture on young Muslims are the least affluent (32%) and least educated (32%), foreign-born Muslims who have lived in Canada less than five years (31%), Quebecers (28%) and those who attend religious services frequently (28%).

Secularization. Although most Canadian Muslims believe there is a growing sense of Islamic identity in Canada, half say they are either very (21%) or somewhat (27%) worried about a decline in the importance of religion among their fellow Muslims. Young Muslims are the most worried of all groups about a perceived decline in the importance of religion among Canadian Muslims: fully six in ten young Muslims say they are very (28%) or somewhat (31%) concerned about diminished religiosity among their fellow Muslims. Other groups who are very worried about the secularization of Muslims in Canada include the least educated (28%), those who attend religious services at least weekly (27%), Quebecers (27%), and foreign-born Muslims who have been in Canada for 15 years or less (25%).

Modern roles for women. Canadians who feel apprehensive about a growing sense of Islamic identity among Canadian Muslims cite gender inequality as their main reason. When Canadian Muslims are offered a slate of concerns about life in Canada, however, the idea of Muslim women taking on modern roles in society is the matter of least concern. Just a quarter of Canadian Muslims are very (10%) or somewhat (16%) worried about Muslim women in Canada taking on modern roles in society. Fully half of Canadian Muslims (48%) say they are not at all worried about this phenomenon.

Notably, Muslim women in Canada are statistically as likely (28%) as their male co-religionists (23%) to express at least moderate concern about women taking on modern roles. Still, nearly half of both women (47%) and men (49%) say they are not at all concerned about this issue. Few subgroups are especially likely to say they are very worried about Muslim women taking on modern roles in society; Quebecers (22%), those with a high school education or less (19%), and those aged 18 to 29 (13%) are more likely than average to express strong concern, but this remains firmly a minority position across groups.

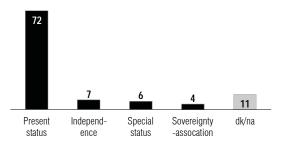
# Constitutional options for Quebec

Seven in ten Quebec Muslims believe Quebec's present status in Canada is the best constitutional option for the province, much higher than the level of support expressed by other Quebecers.

There has been considerable debate in Quebec over the influence of newcomers and minority groups on Quebec's separatist movement. Perhaps the most infamous remark on this matter was Jacques Parizeau's complaint after the 1995 referendum that "money and the ethnic vote" had defeated his party's efforts toward a pro-sovereignty vote. FOCUS CANADA data show that, at least among Quebec Muslims, there is minimal support for Quebec independence, or any arrangement other than Quebec's current status in Canada.

Seven in ten Quebec Muslims (72%) believe that Quebec's present status in Canada is the best constitutional option for Quebec, while proportions of less than 10 percent support independence (7%), special status (6%) and sovereignty-association (4%). One in ten Quebec Muslims do not know what the best constitutional option is for the country. This is in sharp contrast to the views of the Quebec population overall, as described at the end of the Trends and Issues section.

#### Constitutional options for Quebec Quebec Muslims December 2006



#### Q.M40

Here are some constitutional options that have been proposed for Quebec. Which one do you think would be best ...? Subsample: Muslim residents of Quebec

# EXTREMISM AND DOMESTIC TERRORISM

### Struggle between extreme and moderate Islam

Over half of Canadians believe there is a struggle in Canada between moderate Muslims and extremist Muslims. Fewer than half of Muslims agree, and a large majority of this group identify as moderates.

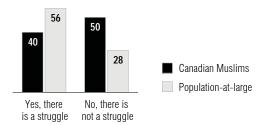
As terror perpetrated in the name of Islam has preoccupied much of the world over the last five years, there has been debate both within and outside the Muslim world about whether extremism is growing among Muslims – and even whether extremism threatens to engulf the international Muslim community. Some claim that terror perpetrated by Muslims is a fringe movement that has little to do with Islam per se or the wider Muslim community. Others argue that terror is simply the most obvious manifestation of a hardening and growing extremist movement in Islam – an extremism which moderate Muslims must be prepared to contend with in their own communities.

Canadians at large are more likely than Canadian Muslims to believe that there is a struggle afoot *in Canada* between moderate and extremist Muslims. A small majority of the general public (56%) believe that such a struggle is taking place. About one in six (16%) do not know whether such a struggle is afoot, and just over a quarter (28%) believe that there is no such struggle in the Canadian Muslim community.

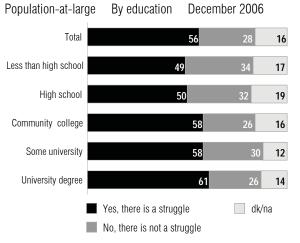
By contrast, among Muslims only four in ten (40%) believe that moderate and extremist Muslims are engaged in a struggle in Canada, while half (50%) doubt that this is so and one in ten are unsure.

Notably, it is Canadians with higher levels of educational attainment who are most likely to believe that moderate and extremist Muslims are engaged in a struggle in Canada. About six in ten Canadians who have completed at least some post-secondary

## Struggle in Canada between moderate and extremist Muslims December 2006



# Struggle in Canada between moderate and extremist Muslims



Q.M26/FC43

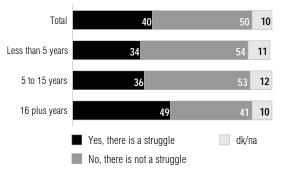
Do you think there is a struggle in Canada between moderate Muslims and extremist Muslims or don't you think so? education believe such a struggle is afoot, as compared to half of those who have completed high school or less.

Among those born outside Canada, there is a marked difference of opinion about whether Muslims in Canada are engaged in a struggle between moderation and extremism. Among immigrants with origins in Europe, six in ten (59%) believe that moderate and extremist Muslims are engaged in a struggle, while a quarter (23%) see no struggle and one in five (18%) do not know. Among non-European immigrants, opinion is divided, with 46 percent seeing a struggle and 45 percent seeing none. A smaller proportion of non-European immigrants (9%) offer no opinion.

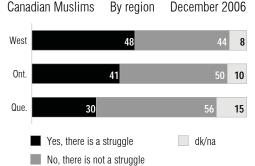
Some marked differences emerge among Canadian Muslims on the question of whether, among their co-religionists in Canada, moderates and extremists are engaged in a struggle. Muslims who have lived in Canada the longest are the most likely to believe that there is a struggle afoot in the Canadian Muslim community. Among those who have been in Canada 16 years or longer, the proportion seeing a struggle (49%) lies almost dead centre between the national average and the Muslim average.

Muslims with higher incomes are more likely to see a struggle between moderate and extreme Islam. Half (50%) of those earning more than \$60,000 annually see such a struggle, as compared to a third (34%) of those earning less than \$30,000 annually. Those with incomes under \$30,000 are only slightly more likely to state that no struggle is taking place within the Canadian Muslim community, but considerably more likely (12% versus 3%) to say they do not know. Canadian Muslim women (45%) are more likely than

### Struggle in Canada between moderate and extremist Muslims Canadian Muslims By years in Canada December 2006



# Struggle in Canada between moderate and extremist Muslims



#### Q.M26

Do you think there is a struggle in Canada between moderate Muslims and extremist Muslims or don't you think so?

men (35%) to see a struggle between moderation and extremism.

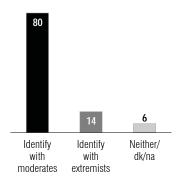
Views on this issue also vary by sect. Shia Muslims (48%)<sup>13</sup> are more likely than Sunni Muslims (36%) to believe that a struggle between moderates and extremists is taking place in Canada. Because Shia

<sup>13</sup> Small sample size (n=73) – interpret with caution.

Muslims are more heavily concentrated in the west, this difference may partially explain the higher than average proportion of Muslims in the Western provinces (48%)<sup>14</sup> who see a struggle between moderate and extreme Islam in Canada. Ontario Muslims (41%) are more likely than Quebec Muslims (30%) to believe that such a struggle is taking place among Muslims in Canada.

Of the minority of Muslims who believe there is a struggle in Canada between moderate Muslims and extremist Muslims, eight in ten (80%) say they personally identify more with the moderates, while 14 percent identify with the extremists. Two percent identify with neither side and four percent offer no opinion.

# Identify more with moderates or extremists? Canadian Muslims December 2006



Q.M27

Which side do you identify with more in this struggle, moderate Muslims or extremist Muslims?

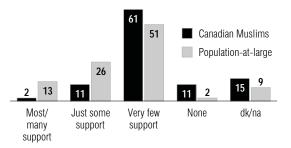
Subsample: Those who believe there is a struggle between moderate and extremist Muslims in Canada

Canadians overall believe there is little support for extremist groups such as al-Qaeda among Canadian Muslims; Canadian Muslims themselves see even less.

Among public voices purporting to represent Muslims in Canada, there tends to be conflicting representations of attitudes. Leaders of Muslim organizations in Canada argue that extremism is rare among Muslims, yet extremists themselves often claim to represent and fight on behalf of a wider, generally international, Muslim community. Both Canadian Muslims and the public-at-large believe that, in fact, support for extremism among Muslims in this country exists but is minimal.

Only a small minority of Canadians (13%) believe that "most" or "many" Muslims in Canada support Islamic extremists such as al-Qaeda, while most believe that support for extremist groups is limited to just some Muslims (26%), very few (51%) or none at all (2%).

# Perceived support for extremists like al-Qaeda December 2006



#### Q.M27.1/FC44

In your opinion, how many Muslims in Canada support Islamic extremists like al-Qaeda? Would you say most, many, just some, or very few?

14 Small sample size (n=85) – interpret with caution.

Canadians who believe that large proportions of Muslims in Canada support extremist groups such as al-Qaeda tend to have low levels of personal contact with Muslims and negative impressions of Islam as a religion. Among Canadians who have frequent personal contact with Muslims, six in ten (62%) believe that very few Muslims in Canada support extremism, while among Canadians who have no personal contact with Muslims, that proportion is just four in ten (39%). Among those with a negative impression of Islam, about a third (36%) believe that very few Muslims support extremist groups, while a quarter believe that most or many Canadian Muslims support such groups. Among those with a positive view of Islam, however, just six percent believe most or many Canadian Muslims support extremism, while fully two-thirds estimate that very few Muslims do. Perhaps surprisingly, Canadians who think there is a struggle between moderate and extreme Islam in Canada are no more likely than those who see no such struggle to believe that extremism enjoys considerable support among Canadian Muslims.

Among Canadian Muslims, estimates of support for extremism are lower still: just two percent believe that most or many Muslims support extremists like al-Qaeda, and only one in ten (11%) believe there is some support. A majority believe very few (61%) or no (11%) Muslims support extremists.

Compared to four European countries surveyed by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, Canadians at large and Canadian Muslims are the least likely to believe that Muslims in their country support extremist organizations such as al-Qaeda. (See table on p.112) Canadians with higher levels of education are less likely to believe there is widespread support among Canadian Muslims for extremist groups. Just six percent of those with university degrees believe that most (1%) or many (5%) Canadian Muslims support extremists. The proportion among those with less than a high school diploma is one in five (10% most, 12% many). Younger Canadians are also less likely to estimate strong support among Muslims in Canada for extremism. Canadians aged 18 to 29 are considerably more likely (59%) than those aged 60 or over (41%) to imagine that "very few" Muslims in this country support extremism.

Among Canadian Muslims, the trend by age is reversed, with older Muslims less likely to see extensive support for Islamic extremists among their co-religionists in Canada: eight in ten Canadian Muslims aged 45 and over (79%) believe that support for groups like al-Qaeda is limited to very few Muslims in Canada or none at all, while the proportion among those aged 18 to 29 is two-thirds (67%).

Muslims who have spent more time in Canada are also less likely to see much support for extremism among their co-religionists. Among those who have lived in Canada for 16 years or longer, eight in ten (80%) believe that very few or none of their Canadian co-religionists support extremism, while twothirds (67%) of those who have lived in Canada for less than five years say the same. This difference is attributable not so much to newer Canadians making higher estimates of support for extremism in Canada, as to their greater likelihood of saying they do not know how many Canadian Muslims support extremist groups (24%, compared to 9%).

# Perceived support among Muslims for extremists like al-Qaeda 2006

	Моѕт	MANY	JUST SOME	VERY FEW	None	DK/NA
Canada						
Muslims	1	1	11	61	11	15
Population-at-large	5	8	26	51	2	9
United States						
Population-at-large	8	11	31	39	n/a	13
Great Britain						
Muslim	6	6	19	54	n/a	15
Population-at-large	9	11	31	41	n/a	8
France						
Muslims	4	5	18	71	n/a	2
Population-at-large	6	14	37	43	n/a	*
Germany						
Muslims	5	7	16	50	n/a	21
Population-at-large	4	14	48	29	n/a	4
Spain						
Muslims	4	8	22	46	n/a	20
Population-at-large	15	26	30	16	n/a	13
Russia						
Population-at-large	8	20	32	28	n/a	13
Egypt						
Population-at-large	6	16	30	46	n/a	3
Turkey						
Population-at-large	2	11	23	42	n/a	22
Indonesia						
Population-at-large	3	11	39	35	n/a	12
India					.,	
Population-at-large	16	25	33	17	n/a	9
Pakistan		20			.,, u	Ū
Population-at-large	14	21	17	15	n/a	33
Jordan	14	21	17	10	Π/a	00
Population-at-large	2	16	33	46	n/a	3
	L	10	00	40	11/d	3
Nigeria Muslims	10	44	20	12	n/o	٨
	12 11	44 34	28 24	12 14	n/a	4 18
Population-at-large	11	54	Ζ4	14	n/a	10
* Less than one percent						

Q.M27.1/FC44/Pew

In your opinion, how many Muslims in Canada support Islamic extremists like al-Qaeda? Would you say most, many, just some or very few? Note: "None" was not an option in the Pew survey. International data from Pew Research Centre, 2006

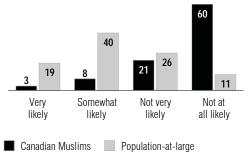
# Muslim-initiated terrorism in Canada

Six in ten Canadians feel that a terror attack by Canadians with a Muslim background is likely in the near future. Just one in ten Canadian Muslims share this view.

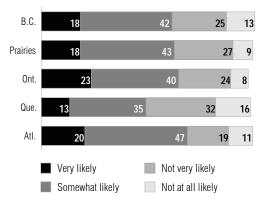
One of the most marked disjunctions between Canadian public opinion overall and opinion among Canadian Muslims relates to the perceived likelihood of a Muslim-initiated terrorist attack perpetrated by Canadians of a Muslim background in the near future.<sup>15</sup>

Marked regional differences emerge in Canadians' opinions of the likelihood of a terrorist attack perpetrated by Canadians with a Muslim background. Quebecers, despite their generally more negative impression of Islam and greater concern about Muslim integration, are the least likely to believe that a terrorist attack by Muslims is imminent, while Atlantic Canadians are the most likely to believe that such an attack is probable.

# Likelihood of terrorist attack in Canada by Muslim Canadians 2006



# Likelihood of terrorist attack in Canada by Muslim Canadians Population-at-large By region 2006



#### Q.M28/PET74

How likely do you think it is that Canada will experience terrorist attacks in the near future carried out by Canadians with a Muslim background? Is it very, somewhat, not very or not at all likely?

<sup>15</sup> General population data from a FOCUS CANADA 2000-3 omnibus survey for the Pierre Trudeau Foundation. It bears noting that this question was posed to the general population in September and October of 2006, shortly after the June arrests of 18 Muslim men in the Greater Toronto Area on suspicion of terrorist activity, an event which heightened general anxiety about an imminent terror attack. (The question was posed to Canadian Muslims in December 2006 and January 2007.) Still, even in surveys of the general population prior to the Toronto arrests, the proportions of Canadians believing a terrorist attack on Canadian soil to be likely was substantially higher than the proportion of Muslims in this survey.

Among Canadian Muslims, those who are most likely to believe a terrorist attack is likely in the near future are those who have lived in Canada the longest; still, opinion among those with the longest tenure in Canada remains very different from the national average. Among foreign-born Muslims who have lived in Canada for 16 years or more, one in five believe that a terrorist attack perpetrated by Canadian Muslims is very (5%) or somewhat (13%) likely. Among those who have been in Canada less than five years, just six percent believe an attack to be somewhat likely, and none believe it is very likely. Those with a shorter tenure in Canada are more likely to say they do not know. Similarly, Muslim-Canadians who self-identify primarily as Canadian are more likely (19%) than those who self-identify primarily as Muslim (11%) to see a Muslim-engineered terrorist attack as likely. But across all Muslim subgroups, overwhelming majorities believe such attacks to be unlikely.

## Muslims' responsibility to be vigilant about extremism

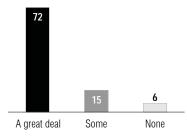
Almost nine in ten Muslim-Canadians believe that ordinary Muslims have a responsibility to report on potentially violent extremists they may encounter in their communities.

As the relationship between extremism and mainstream Islam is debated both within and outside the Muslim community, questions about law-abiding Muslims' attitudes and responses toward extremism often arise. Some critics claim that moderate Muslims are not sufficiently strenuous in their condemnation of terror carried out in the name of Islam. Others claim that to suggest law-abiding Muslims bear any responsibility for the actions of their radical co-religionists is unjust.

This research finds not only a large majority of Muslims condemning extremist violence, but most agreeing too that ordinary Muslims have a responsibility to report on extremists who might perpetrate violence. Seven in ten Canadian Muslims (72%) say that ordinary, law-abiding Muslims have "a great deal" of responsibility to report on potentially violent extremists they may encounter in their mosques and communities. Just seven percent say that Muslims have no such responsibility (6%) or that "it depends" (1%).

There is a marked regional difference on this issue. The view that Muslims have a great responsibility to be vigilant about extremism is much higher among Ontario Muslims (80%) than among Quebec Muslims (48%). One in five Quebec Muslims (20%) say that Muslims have no responsibility at all to be vigilant or that it depends, compared with just three percent in Ontario and two percent in the western provinces.

## Degree of responsibility for reporting potentially violent extremists Canadian Muslims December 2006



#### Q.M29

To what extent do you feel that ordinary, law-abiding Muslim-Canadians have a responsibility to report on potentially violent extremists they might encounter in their mosques and communities? Do they have a great deal of responsibility, some responsibility or have no responsibility at all, for reporting on such activity?

In terms of tenure in Canada, those Muslims most likely to say that law-abiding adherents of Islam have a great deal or responsibility to report on potentially violent extremists are those who have lived in Canada longer. Eight in ten Muslims who have lived in Canada for 16 years or longer express this opinion, compared to seven in ten among those who have been in Canada for 15 years or less.

Muslims who attend religious services more frequently are more likely than those who attend services rarely to feel a great deal of responsibility for extremism among their co-religionists. Eight in ten (78%) of those who attend services at least weekly, and just seven in ten (69%) of those who attend rarely or never, say that law-abiding Muslims' responsibility to be vigilant about extremism is a great one. Most Canadian Muslims are aware of the arrests of 18 Muslim men and boys in the GTA on suspicion of terrorist activity. Very few believe such activity is justified, or have any sympathy for the feelings or motives behind them.

Seventy-five percent of Muslims in Canada have heard about the arrests of a group of Muslim men and boys in the Greater Toronto Area accused of plotting terrorist attacks on Canadian targets; 24 percent are not aware of the arrests.

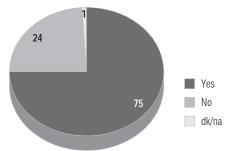
Awareness of the arrests is higher among those with a longer tenure in Canada; 88 percent of those who have been in the country for 16 years or longer report an awareness of the arrests, as compared to seven in ten of those who have been in Canada for less than 16 years. This disparity is likely a result of longerstanding citizens being more engaged with Canadian news media.

Those who attend religious services frequently are more likely (84%) than those who attend rarely or never (67%) to report an awareness of the arrests, perhaps pointing to discussion of the arrests in mosque communities – either in sermons or in informal discussions among worshippers.

Among those Canadian Muslims who are aware of these arrests, five percent believe the attacks, if carried out, would have been completely justified. An additional seven percent believe the attacks would have been somewhat justified. Three-quarters of Muslims in Canada (73%) say the attacks would have been not at all justified, while a substantial proportion say they do not know (14%) or that it depends (1%).

Younger Muslims are more likely to feel the attacks would have been at least somewhat justified. Among

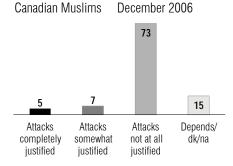
# Heard of arrest of 18 Muslim terrorist suspects in Toronto Canadian Muslims December 2006



#### Q.M30

Have you heard about arrests of 18 Muslim boys and men in the Greater Toronto Area earlier this year, who were accused of plotting terrorist attacks on Canadian targets?

# Justification for terrorist attacks



Q.M31

If these attacks had been carried out, do you think they would have been completely justified, somewhat justified, not at all justified? Subsample: Muslim-Canadians who have heard about the arrests

those aged 18 to 29, 15 percent say the attacks would have been at least somewhat justified, as compared to 12 percent of those aged 30 to 44 and nine percent of those aged 45 and older. Less educated Muslims are also more likely to believe the allegedly planned attacks would have been justified.<sup>16</sup>

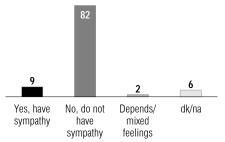
<sup>16</sup> Small sample sizes, particularly in the oldest group (n=76) and the least educated group (n=61) – caution advised in the interpretation of these numbers.

In discussing terror attacks, Muslim commentators are sometimes accused of softening their condemnation of violence with a "yes, but...." What some critics view as qualified condemnations are usually expressions of the frustration Muslims feel at their treatment either in western societies or in international conflicts. Understanding such frustrations, Muslim commentators sometimes counter their critics, is a crucial step in understanding terror. In an effort to understand whether Muslims who condemn terror attacks acknowledge any sympathy with alleged would-be terrorists, FOCUS CANADA asked those who had heard about the arrests, "Whether or not you think the attacks were justified, do you personally have any sympathy with the feelings and motives of those who allegedly wanted to carry them out?"

Nine percent of Canadian Muslims who had heard about the arrests indicate that they have some sympathy with the 18 terror suspects in the GTA, while an additional two percent expressed ambivalence. Eight in ten (82%) say that they have no sympathy at all with those allegedly plotting terrorist attacks on Canadian targets.

Have sympathy with feelings/motives of alleged terrorists

Canadian Muslims December 2006



#### Q.M32

Whether or not you think the attacks were justified, do you personally have any sympathy with the feelings and motives of those who allegedly wanted to carry them out?

Subsample: Muslim-Canadians who have heard about the arrests

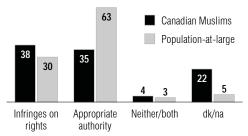
17 General population data from FOCUS CANADA 2006-3.

# Anti-terrorism legislation

Muslim-Canadians are more likely than other Canadians to believe that the federal government's anti-terrorism legislation infringes on Canadians' rights.

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the effort to find a balance between security measures to protect against terror and the personal freedoms essential to democratic society have preoccupied many countries, including Canada. A modest majority of Canadians (63%) believe that the anti-terrorism legislation passed by the federal government shortly after 9/11 provides the government with the appropriate level of power and authority to counter terrorist activities, while three in ten (30%) believe the legislation infringes too much on Canadians' rights.<sup>17</sup>

# Canada's anti-terrorism laws 2006



#### Q.M36/FC63-65

As you may know, the federal government passed anti-terrorism legislation shortly after the September 11th attacks in 2001. Some say Canada's Anti-Terrorism law provides the government with the appropriate level of power and authority to counter terrorist activities in Canada. Others say the law infringes too much upon the civil rights of ordinary Canadians. Which view is closer to your own?

By comparison, Canadian Muslims are markedly less likely to express such approval; the proportion of Muslims believing that Canada's anti-terror legislation grants the government appropriate authority is fully 28 points below the national average (35%), while the proportion believing it goes too far is eight points higher (38%). Muslims in Canada are more than four times as likely (22%) as Canadians at large (5%) to say they do not know whether the power granted by Canada's anti-terrorism legislation is appropriate.

A key factor influencing the views of Muslims on this issue is whether they have been the targets of discrimination in the last two years. Among those Canadian Muslims who say they have had a bad experience in the last two years related to their race, ethnicity or religion, fully half (49%) say that Canada's antiterrorism legislation infringes too much on citizens' rights, as compared to just a third (32%) of those who report no discrimination in the last two years. Those Canadian Muslims reporting discrimination may feel that the discrimination they experienced was perpetrated under the aegis of anti-terrorism measures, whether codified in actual legislation or not.

Canadian Muslims with higher incomes are markedly more likely to believe that the country's anti-terrorism legislation infringes too much on citizens' rights. Fully half (50%) of those earning more than \$60,000 annually, as compared to 30 percent of those earning less than \$30,000 believe that the anti-terror legislation goes too far. The least affluent are not more likely to say the authority granted by the legislation is appropriate, but are markedly more likely to say they do not know.

# Canada's anti-terrorism laws Canadian Muslims By discrimination suffered December 2006

#### Q.M36

As you may know, the federal government passed anti-terrorism legislation shortly after the September 11th attacks in 2001. Some say Canada's Anti-Terrorism law provides the government with the appropriate level of power and authority to counter terrorist activities in Canada. Others say the law infringes too much upon the civil rights of ordinary Canadians. Which view is closer to your own?

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# CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

## Peacekeeping versus peacemaking role in the world

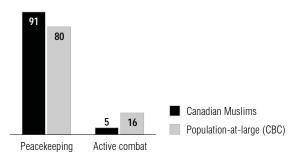
# Nine in ten Canadian Muslims think Canada's role in the world should focus on peace-building rather than combat roles.

Canada's self-image with regard to its military activity changed over the latter half of the 20th century, from a middle power that "punched above its weight" when fighting alongside its Anglo-American allies, to a peacekeeper and "honest broker" whose campaigns were efforts of mediation more than might. In the first years of the 21st century, two changes have caused Canadians to reflect on their military anew. First, military watchers sounded the alarm about how ever diminishing funding was curtailing the Canadian Armed Forces' ability to contribute meaningfully to peacekeeping efforts. Second, the post-9/11 climate has raised questions about both domestic security and international action.

As Canadian soldiers travel to Afghanistan on a mission that cannot be cleanly defined as either a war or a peacekeeping mission, Canadians reflect with increasing urgency on their country's role in the world. Muslim-Canadians may have additional cause for reflection, as their adoptive country executes a mission in a predominantly Muslim country and negotiates its role in a U.S.-led "war on terror" which has raised ire in many quarters of the Islamic world.

While most Canadians overall (four in five) believe that Canada's role in the world should be one centred on peace-building,<sup>18</sup> among Muslim-Canadians the majority supporting a focus on peace-building is even larger: nine in ten, as opposed to just five percent supporting active combat with allied countries.

# Preferred role for Canadian military 2006



#### Q.M33/CBC12

When it comes to Canada's role in the world, some people say that Canada should focus on a peace-building role in the world. Others say that Canada should focus on active combat roles with our allied countries. Which view is closer to your own?

Support for a peace-building role is high across Muslim subgroups, with men and women, Muslims of different sects and regions of origin, and different tenures in Canada all overwhelmingly favouring this option.

It is Muslim-Canadians with the lowest levels of educational attainment, high school or less, who are least likely (79%) to support the idea of a Canadian international presence centred on peace-building. The remainder are split between those who support a more combat-oriented role (11%) and those unable to offer an opinion (8%).

<sup>18</sup> General population data from Environics' CBC-sponsored poll, November 2006.

## Canada's mission in Afghanistan

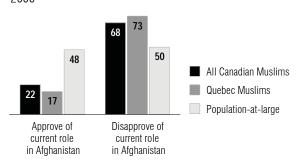
Muslim-Canadians strongly oppose Canadian participation in military action in Afghanistan, in comparison to a more divided viewpoint among the population-at-large.

Canada's participation in military action in Afghanistan is the most wrenching foreign policy issue facing the country. Those who favour the mission do so on various grounds, from the imperative for Canada to support its NATO allies to the imperative for Canada to pursue humanitarian goals in a devastated and vulnerable country. Among those who oppose the mission, some simply see the effort as futile, while others object to what they see as Canadian participation in a poorly planned U.S.-led war on terror.

There is a marked difference in opinion between Muslim-Canadians and the general public on Canada's mission in Afghanistan. Less than a quarter of Muslim-Canadians approve of Canada's participation in the military action in Afghanistan, and a slim majority are strongly opposed. Among the general public, by contrast, opinion is evenly divided, with half approving the Afghan mission, and half expressing disapproval.<sup>19</sup>

Among Canadian Muslims, the groups who express the strongest support for the Afghan mission are those between the ages of 18 and 29 (27%), those with the highest incomes (31%) and men (27%).

## Approve Canada's current military action in Afghanistan 2006



#### Q.M34/FC63-25

Do you approve or disapprove of Canada's participation in military action in Afghanistan? Would that be strongly or somewhat?

Meanwhile, opposition to the mission is strongest among Quebec Muslims, three-quarters of whom disapprove of the mission – 63 percent strongly so. Opposition is also higher among older Muslim-Canadians (72% among those aged 45 and over) and recent immigrants to Canada, 73 percent of whom oppose the Afghan mission.

<sup>19</sup> General population data from Environics' FOCUS CANADA 2006-3.

## Canada's policy in the Middle East

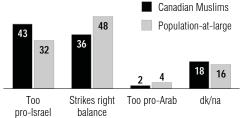
There is no consensus among Muslims about the balance of Canada's policy in the Middle East but a plurality believe it is currently too pro-Israel.

In the long struggle between Israel and the Palestinians over contested territory, charges of bias are ubiquitous: historians, media commentators, aid workers, and especially governments tend to face accusations of partiality. Historically, Canadian foreign policy regarding Middle East conflict has striven toward neutrality and an emphasis on human rights.

In early July of 2006, as conflict erupted between Israel and Hezbollah, with Lebanon as the primary battleground, the Harper government ended a period of relative silence on Middle East policy and emphatically defended Israel's bombing of Lebanon as a measured and appropriate response to Hezbollah rocket attacks and the kidnapping of Israeli soldiers. Some critics decried the Harper government's position, indicating that it marked a departure from Canada's traditional neutrality in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The most recent measure of Canadian public opinion on the federal government's Middle East policy was fielded in FOCUS CANADA just after the outbreak of violence in summer 2006. About half of all Canadians (48%, down from 59% just prior to the July violence) saw the government as striking "the right balance" in Middle East policy. A third of Canadians (32%) saw Canada's position as being generally too pro-Israel, while four percent saw it as too pro-Arab. Nearly one in five (16%) Canadians declined to offer an opinion on this foreign policy matter.

# Canada's foreign policy in Middle East 2006



#### Q.M35/FC63-29

Would you say that the Canadian government's foreign policy in the Middle East is too pro-Israel, too pro-Arab, or does it strike about the right balance?

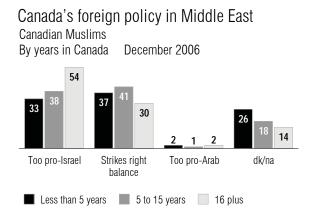
Canadian Muslims are markedly less likely than the general public to see Canada's position as evenhanded. About a third (36%) of Canadian Muslims believe Canada strikes the right balance with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, while a plurality of just over four in ten (43%) see Canada's policies in the Middle East as too pro-Israel. Among Muslims as among the general population, a substantial proportion do not state an opinion on the issue (18%). Perhaps surprisingly, Muslims who have lived in Canada the longest are the most likely to feel that Canadian Middle East policy is biased toward Israel. Among Muslims who have lived in Canada for 16 years or more, a majority (54%) see Canada's position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as too pro-Israel while just three in ten (30%) believe Canada strikes the right balance. Those who are relatively new to Canada, having lived in the country for less than five years, are not much more likely to feel Canada strikes the right balance in Middle East policy; rather, they are significantly more likely to express no opinion (26%), likely as a result of unfamiliarity with Canadian policy vis-à-vis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Among the Muslim-Canadian subgroups most likely to see Canada's position as too pro-Israel are Muslims living in Quebec (53%), men (46%), those with the highest incomes (56%), those who attend religious services regularly (48%) and older Muslims (50%).

Those Canadian Muslims who are more likely to see Canadian policy as striking the right balance between Israel and the Arabs include those who attend religious services rarely or never (41%), younger Muslims (42%) and those with the lowest levels of education (46%).

No more than a handful of Muslims in any group see Canada's position on the Middle East as too pro-Arab.

Religious attendance is also a significant correlate of opinion on Canadian Middle East policy. Half (48%) of Canadian Muslims who attend religious services at least once a week believe that Canada is biased toward Israel, as compared to just a third (34%) of those who attend religious services rarely or never.



#### Q.M35

Would you say that the Canadian government's foreign policy in the Middle East is too pro-Israel, too pro-Arab, or does it strike about the right balance?