This study was conducted by the Environics Institute for Survey Research, in partnership with the following organizations:

**THE TESSELLATE INSTITUTE** ([www.tessellateinstitute.com](http://www.tessellateinstitute.com))
The Tessellate Institute is a charitable organization that explores and documents the lived experiences of Muslims in Canada through academic research and the arts.

**THE OLIVE TREE FOUNDATION** ([www.olivetreefoundation.ca](http://www.olivetreefoundation.ca))
The Olive Tree Foundation is a philanthropic foundation that promotes community development through the collection of endowed funds and charitable contributions to fund services for the long-term benefit of the community.

**THE INSPIRIT FOUNDATION** ([www.inspiritfoundation.org](http://www.inspiritfoundation.org))
The Inspirit Foundation is a national grant-making organization supporting young people in building a more inclusive and pluralist Canada, in part by funding projects fostering engagement and exchange between young people of different spiritual, religious and secular beliefs.

**THE CANADIAN RACE RELATIONS FOUNDATION** ([www.crrf-fcrr.ca](http://www.crrf-fcrr.ca))
The Canadian Race Relations Foundation is Canada’s leading agency dedicated to the elimination of racism and the promotion of harmonious race relations in the country.

**THINK FOR ACTIONS** ([www.thinkforactions.com](http://www.thinkforactions.com))
Thinkforactions is a Calgary-based think tank focused on professional development of youth, and effectively engaging communities through research and interaction offering new solutions.

**THE ENVIRONICS INSTITUTE FOR SURVEY RESEARCH** ([www.environicsinstitute.org](http://www.environicsinstitute.org))
The Environics Institute for Survey Research sponsors relevant and original public opinion and social research related to issues of public policy and social change. It is through such research that organizations and individuals can better understand Canada today, how it’s been changing, and where it may be heading.

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Until fairly recently, followers of the religion of Islam were just one of the many parts of the Canadian mosaic that has emerged over the past few centuries from waves of immigrants coming to a land peopled by its Indigenous inhabitants. The first recorded Muslim family arrived in Upper Canada from Scotland in the early 1850s. By 2011, the Muslim population passed the one million mark, comprising more than three percent of the total population and representing one of the fastest growing religious groups.

The Muslim community has been a poorly-understood religious minority in western countries and in the past two decades their presence has become contentious, fuelled by security concerns (in the wake of 9/11) and religious practices (e.g., Sharia law, the niqab). While Canada has yet to experience the gravity of ethnic violence and terrorist attacks that have taken place in other parts of the world, Muslims in this country do not enjoy the acceptance accorded to other religious minorities, and have become a focal point for discomfort about immigrants not fitting into Canadian society. By global standards, Canada is a welcoming multicultural society but the Muslim community faces unique challenges with respect to religious freedom, acceptance by the broader society and national security profiling. Events overseas (major terrorist incidents in European cities, the ongoing conflict in Syria, and the atrocities attributed to Daesh (the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant)) are sustaining a context in which public associations with Islam and its followers are pervasively negative.

Much of the problem stems from the fact that the Muslim community is not well understood by other Canadians, whose impressions are formed largely through simplistic stereotypes emphasizing negative characteristics (violent extremism, honour killings). The result is a dominant narrative of Muslims as different from others and who resist adoption of “Canadian values”, making them untrustworthy.

What is it like to be a Muslim in Canada, and what is it like for other Canadians to have Muslims living in their communities? It is these questions that inspired the Environics Institute for Survey Research to conduct in 2006 the first-ever national survey of Muslims in Canada, focusing on the experience of Muslims in this country and drawing comparisons with similar research conducted in 13 other countries by the U.S.-based Pew Research Center. The research looked at how Muslims experienced life in this country and how other Canadians viewed them (through a complementary survey of the non-Muslim population).

This research presented a revealing picture of a Muslim community that did in fact strive to be part of broader Canadian society and was very happy to be in this country, while at the same time concerned about discrimination and limited economic opportunities. This study received broad public exposure through the CBC in February 2007, and helped to create a more positive and accurate narrative about Muslim citizens in this country and what they share with other Canadians.

### 2016 Survey of Muslims in Canada

Fast-forward almost 10 years, how are Muslims in Canada faring today? The angst of 9/11 has faded but public concerns about the cultural integration of immigrants are growing, and Muslims continue to be viewed with discomfort, if not suspicion, by some. Newly-elected Prime Minister Justin Trudeau introduced his gender-balanced cabinet because “it is 2015”, but the recent federal election also demonstrated how Muslims could become a target in the heat of political campaigns.

The Environics Institute conducted a second national survey of Muslims in Canada, to update the original research and to address emerging issues. For this research, the Institute partnered with five leading Muslim and non-Muslim organizations: the Tessellate Institute, the Olive Tree Foundation, the Inspirit Foundation, the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, and Calgary-based Think for Actions. These organizations, along with an informal group of Muslim leaders and scholars, provided substantive input into the development of the survey questions.
The research consisted of telephone interviews conducted between November 19, 2015 and January 23, 2016, with a representative sample of 600 individuals 18 years and older across Canada who self-identified as Muslim. The survey was conducted in English, French, Arabic and Urdu (as per respondents’ stated preference), and most of the interviewers were Muslim.

The sample was stratified to ensure representation by age, gender and province, and the final data were weighted so that the national results are proportionate to the country’s Muslim population (based on the 2011 National Household Survey). A sample of this size would be expected to provide results accurate to within plus or minus four percentage points in 95 out of 100 samples (the margin of sampling error is greater for results for regional and other subgroups of the population).

As in 2006, the Institute also conducted a complementary survey of the non-Muslim public, to measure how other Canadians view the Muslim community today, and how this has changed (or not) over the past decade. This survey was also conducted by telephone with a representative sample of 987 non-Muslim Canadians between February 6 and 15, 2016. This sample was stratified by age, gender and province, and provides results accurate to within plus or minus 3.1 percentage points (in 95 out of 100 samples).

For both surveys, the methodology matches the one used in 2006 to ensure comparability of results. The 2006 surveys included 500 Muslims and 2,000 non-Muslims.

Note about terminology: This report uses the term “Muslim community” to refer to the country’s Muslim population which shares a common religious faith. It is not intended to imply that this population is otherwise homogenous, or lacks considerable diversity in other ways (e.g., ethnicity, culture).

Report Synopsis

The following sections of this report present results of the research, with a focus on how perceptions and experiences have changed over time, how they vary across key segments of the population (e.g., age group, country of birth), and how perceptions of Muslims and non-Muslims compare. Detailed banner tables presenting the results for all survey questions by population segments are available under separate cover. All results are presented as percentages unless otherwise noted.

Acknowledgements

This study was made possible by significant contributions from a wide range of individuals and organizations. The Environics Institute would like to acknowledge the significant contribution of the lead partners: the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (Anita Bromberg, Suren Nathan, Rubin Friedman), the Inspirit Foundation (Andrea Nemtin, Gwen Joy, Jay Pitter), the Olive Tree Foundation (Muneeb Nasir), the Tessellate Institute (Kathy Bullock, Mohamed Huque), and Think for Actions (Mukarram Zaidi).

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1 It is worth noting that the survey field period occurred shortly after the 2015 federal election in which the Harper Conservative government was roundly defeated by the Liberal Party led by Justin Trudeau. The Conservative Party was criticized for negatively portraying Canadian Muslims leading up to and during the campaign.
Executive Summary

What is it like to be a Muslim in Canada, and how has this changed over the past decade? The overall picture painted by this research is very different from the stereotyped images that often form the basis for broader public opinion. The results portray a small but growing part of the country’s diverse population that is embracing Canada’s diversity, democracy and freedoms, in the face of continuing controversy and mistreatment. The main conclusions of this research can be summarized as follows:

**How well do Muslims feel accepted in Canada today?** In spite of pervasive reporting of violence and terrorism abroad in the name of Islam, as well as stereotyping and controversy over religious and cultural practices here in Canada, Muslims are more likely than not to feel their religion is broadly accepted by the non-Muslim population. A small majority of Canadian Muslims believe that other Canadians have a generally positive impression of Islam, and that relatively few non-Muslims are openly hostile to their community; this view has strengthened since 2006. And in comparative terms, a large and growing majority of Muslims agree they are better treated than their co-religionists in other western countries (84% say they are treated better, versus only 2% who believe they are treated worse). In fact, most of the non-Muslim Canadians surveyed are more positive than negative in their general impression of Islam, although public opinion has not measurably improved over the past decade.

At the same time, discrimination and stereotyping continue to be a difficult reality for Muslims in Canada, and this is of particular concern to women and youth. One in three Canadian Muslims reports having experienced discrimination in the past five years, due primarily to one’s religion or ethnicity; this is well above the levels of mistreatment experienced by the population-at-large. Such negative experiences take place in a variety of settings, most commonly in the workplace, in public spaces, in retail establishments, and in schools and universities. One in four Muslims reports having encountered difficulties crossing borders, and this experience happens irrespective of gender, age and country of birth. Moreover, opinions about prospects for a better future are mixed, and it is Muslim youth (those aged 18 to 34) who are the least optimistic about the next generation facing less discrimination than their own.

**How are religious identity and practice influenced by the Canadian context?** Canadians are among the most secular people in the world, and this presents a different context for individuals who immigrate with non-western religious traditions. How are Muslims adapting their religious identity and practices to life in secular Canada? Muslims are one of the most religiously observant groups in Canada, and their religious identity and practices appear to be strengthening rather than weakening as their lives evolve in Canada. Being Muslim is a very important part of the identity for most followers of Islam, and comparatively stronger than for members of other major religious groups in Canada. And moving to Canada does not appear to be having a secularizing effect: Immigrants are more likely to say their attachment to Islam has grown than waned since arriving in the country.

Religious observance among Muslims has strengthened over the past decade. An increasing number are attending mosques for prayers on a regular basis (at least once a week) and (among women) are wearing the hijab. In both cases the trend is most noticeable among Muslims 18 to 34 years of age, in contrast with the broader trend in Canadian society where youth are turning away from organized religion. A plurality of Muslims believe their youth are less religious than than previous generations, but concerns about the decline in importance placed on religion in their community have declined since 2006.

Consistent with the importance placed on religious practice, most Muslims in Canada support the right for individuals to pray in schools, and smaller majorities support the right for women to take the citizenship oath and/or receive public services while wearing the niqab. Not all Muslims agree, however, and opposition to such rights is more evident among older Muslims. Non-Muslim Canadians are also more likely than not to support the right to prayer in schools and wearing the niqab in public, although opinions are more divided.
One area in which religious and cultural traditions of the Muslim community clearly differ with other Canadians is in certain social values pertaining to family and sexuality. Muslims are more likely than other Canadians to value patriarchy (“the father must be the master in the home”) and to reject homosexuality. Second generation Muslims are closer to the majority perspective in both cases (particularly in rejecting patriarchy while less so in accepting homosexuality), which suggests that Muslim community values may gradually move into closer alignment with the rest of the population over time.

**Do Muslims feel attached to Canada?** As a population made up mostly of immigrants (many having arrived in the past decade), Muslims truly stand out as being among the most enthusiastic group of Canadian patriots. More than eight in ten are very proud to be Canadian (more so than the non-Muslim population) and this sentiment has strengthened over the past decade, especially in Quebec. Strong religious identity notwithstanding, Muslims are as likely as others in this country to say their Canadian identity is very important. And they agree with other Canadians on what makes Canada a great country: its freedom and democracy, and its multicultural diversity. Their greatest dislike, not surprisingly, is the cold climate.

Muslims increasingly express a strong sense of belonging to the country, and one manifestation is a high level of participation in last fall’s federal election. They also stand out as being upbeat about the direction of the country overall: nine in ten say it is moving in the right direction, a 10 point increase since 2006 and in contrast to declining confidence expressed by the non-Muslim population. Notably, negative experiences with discrimination have not measurably sullied individuals’ sense of connection with the country and what it stands for.

Because Muslims have a religion and cultural backgrounds unfamiliar to most other Canadians, they face questions about their interest and commitment to becoming part of Canadian society. But as was revealed in the first survey in 2006, this is largely a misconception. A majority of Muslims believe their community wants to integrate into broader society rather than remain distinct, and this view has strengthened over time. And this reality is also becoming more evident to non-Muslims, as fewer now believe than a decade ago that Muslims in this country prefer not to integrate.

More important is the fact that Muslims are as likely as non-Muslims to place strong value on diversity and connections between cultures. And they agree with other Canadians about the values that immigrants should be adopting when they settle in Canada – language fluency, tolerance and respect for others and different cultures, appreciation of Canadian history, and respect for the law.

Arguably the sharpest flash point for non-Muslims is the perceived threat of domestic terrorism emanating from extremist Islamic ideology. This is as much, if not more, of a concern to Muslims, who take the threat of radicalization to violence very seriously given the impact extremist Islamic movements can have on their community. Muslims believe that very few in their faith support violent extremists abroad, and hold this view even more strongly than 2006. The vast majority place great importance on their community cooperating with government agencies to address radicalization, and for the most part are comfortable with the powers currently granted to the country’s security agencies (although there is clear discomfort with the provisions in the 2015 legislation known as Bill C-51).

**How experiences and opinions vary across the Muslim community.** The paragraphs above describe the main study conclusions for the Canadian Muslim population overall, but experiences and attitudes of specific groups within this community stand out as follows:

**Country of birth.** Canadian-born Muslims (most of whom are second generation) stand out from immigrants in several ways. On the one hand they are the most integrated into Canadian society (having been born in the country), and this is reflected in their rejection of the patriarchal values more strongly espoused by their forebears. On the other hand, Canadian-born Muslims are also much more concerned than immigrants about the treatment of their community by the broader society. Compared with immigrants, they are more likely to express concerns about discrimination, to have experienced it personally, and to have felt inhibited about expressing political beliefs. They (along with youth) are the most pessimistic about the treatment of the next generation of Muslims and the most uncomfortable with Bill C-51.
Youth (ages 18 to 34). Muslim youth (who also tend to be second generation Canadians) stand out as being the most religiously observant generation in the Muslim community. They are most likely to visit mosques for prayer on a regular basis, wear the hijab, and support the right to pray in schools. Compared with older Muslims, they identify primarily as Muslim rather than as Canadian, and express a slightly weaker sense of belonging to the country. They also report higher levels of discrimination and feel pessimistic about how Muslims will be treated in the future. By comparison, Muslims 60 and older are among the most integrated of generations in that they identify as Canadian more than as Muslims, and express the least concern about discrimination and the threat of violent extremism.

Women. The experiences and opinions within the Muslim community are generally similar across genders, but a few differences are apparent. Women are much less likely than men to visit mosques for prayers, but also are more likely to identify primarily as a Muslim rather than as a Canadian, and to express a weaker sense of belonging to Canada. They are also more conscious of discrimination against Muslims in their local community, to have personally experienced mistreatment by non-Muslims due to their religion, and to feel that hostility from the broader society is systemic rather than isolated.

Quebecers. Society’s targeting of Muslims has been more prevalent in Quebec than anywhere else in Canada, and yet Quebec Muslims are surprisingly upbeat. Muslims in Quebec express the lowest levels of concern about discrimination against their community and about the provisions in Bill C-51. They are among the most positive about how future generations will be treated, and their level of pride in being Canadian has jumped dramatically over the past 10 years. While these findings may appear counterintuitive, it could well be that Quebec Muslims are feeling a sense of relief having dodged two recent bullets. First, the election defeat of the PQ Government and its proposed Charter of Values that would have banned the wearing of religious symbols in the public service. And second, the election defeat of the Harper Conservatives which stoked anti-Muslim sentiment during its recent reelection campaign, especially in Quebec.
Personal Connection to Canada

Seven in ten Muslims living in Canada are immigrants, and as followers of a minority (i.e., non-Christian) religion, questions are sometimes raised about their attachment and even their loyalty to this country. As was documented in 2006, Muslims as a group are as connected to Canada, if not more so, than the non-Muslim population, and this bond has strengthened over the past decade.

Pride and belonging

The vast majority of Muslims feel very proud to be Canadian, and this sentiment has strengthened since 2006, especially among Muslims in Quebec. The greatest sources of pride continue to be the country’s freedom and democracy, as well as its multiculturalism and diversity.

PRIDE IN CANADA. Survey research evidence has long documented that immigrants to Canada are among the most loyal and proud citizens of their adopted country. This well applies to Muslims, with more than eight in ten (83%) saying they are very proud to be Canadian (with most of the remainder indicating they are “somewhat” proud), and this proportion has increased by 10 percentage points since 2006. This upward trend in strong pride is evident across most of the Muslim community, but is most significant in Quebec (where it has jumped 30 percentage points, to 77%).

Strong pride is the predominant sentiment across all groups, but increases east to west, young to old, low to high income, and (among immigrants) by length of time living in Canada. Canadian-born (that is, second generation) Muslims are among the most proud (91%), with this view less evident among those born in Africa (74%) and the Middle East/West Asia (75%). Strong pride is somewhat more widespread among those who identify primarily as Canadians (93%) compared with those who identify primarily as Muslim (84%), but it is the latter group that has shown the most growth since 2006 (up 17 points). This means that having a strong Muslim identity is increasingly associated with also having strong pride in being Canadian.

Across the general (non-Muslim) population, three-quarters (73%) say they are very proud to be Canadian, with another 19 percent indicating they are somewhat proud, and only four percent who are not very or not at all proud. These results are essentially unchanged from 2006, and the proportion that is very proud is now roughly equivalent across the country, with the notable exception of Quebec (where 47% are very proud, compared with 45% in 2006). Among non-Muslims, native born (74%) and immigrants (74%) are equally likely to express strong pride in their Canadian identity.
**Greatest Source of Pride in Canada.** What gives Muslims the greatest source of pride in their country is largely the same characteristics identified by other Canadians (as recorded in previous Focus Canada surveys). At the top of the list are the country’s freedom and democracy (24%) and its multiculturalism and diversity (22%), followed by being a peaceful, stable country, its humanitarian/friendly people, low crime rate, tolerance and respect for others, and its laws guaranteeing equality and human rights.

These results are similar to responses given in 2006, in that the order of reasons is essentially the same. Since 2006, mention of freedom and democracy has declined (down 9 points), with this trend evident across most of the country but especially in Quebec, among native-born citizens, younger Muslims and those who identify primarily as Muslim (see below). By comparison, the emphasis on both multiculturalism/diversity and laws guaranteeing equality and human rights has strengthened (up 5 points each, respectively). Multiculturalism and diversity is by far the number one source of pride for native-born Muslims (cited by 43%).

**Greatest Dislike About Canada.** When Muslims are asked to name their least favourite thing about Canada, the top mention is once again the climate or cold weather (mentioned unprompted by 31%), and this response has increased over the past decade and especially among those who have emigrated from Africa (44%).

No other aspect of Canada is disliked by as many as one in ten Muslims, including a lack of economic opportunities, discrimination/treatment of others (including Muslims) (9%), taxes, poor government leadership, and Canada’s foreign policy. In most cases now less mentioned than in 2006. Only a handful identify such dislikes as secular values, government legislation (e.g., Bill C-51), or Ontario’s new sexual education curriculum. One in four (25%) Muslims did not identify anything about Canada he or she particularly dislikes.
SENSE OF BELONGING. The 2016 survey asked a related question about people’s sense of belonging to the country, which reflects in part the extent to which one feels accepted by the broader society. Almost all Muslims participating in this survey feel a sense of belonging to Canada, with just over half (55%) saying they feel a very strong sense of belonging, and most of the remainder (39%) indicating it is generally strong.

A very strong sense of belonging is most widespread in western Canada, among men, Muslims 60 years and older, immigrants who have lived in the country for 20 or more years, and those who identify primarily as Canadian (versus identifying primarily as a Muslim). This view is least evident among women (45%) and Muslims 18 to 34 (41%). Most notably perhaps, Muslims born abroad are as likely as those born in Canada to feel a very strong sense of belonging to the country. In no group do as many as one in ten describes his or her sense of belonging as generally or very weak.

Not only do most Muslims feel a strong sense of belonging to Canada, but a majority (58%) says this feeling has grown stronger over the past five years. Very few (5%) report their sense of belonging has weakened over this time span, while one-third (33%) indicate no change either way. An increasing sense of belonging is the predominant view across the country, but most evident among recent immigrants, those coming from South Asia, men, and those with the least education. Canadian-born Muslims are evenly divided between those who say their belongingness has increased (45%) or not changed (50%) since five years ago. A weakening sense of belonging to Canada is most apt to be mentioned by Muslims who report negative experiences at border crossings (11%) and who have felt inhibited in expressing their political or social opinions (13%).

Sense of belonging to Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense of belonging today</th>
<th>How has it changed in past five years?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally strong</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally weak</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.6 Would you describe your sense of belonging to Canada today as very strong, generally strong, generally weak or very weak?

Q.7 And would you say your sense of belonging to Canada has become stronger, become weaker, or hasn’t really changed since five years ago?
Views about Canada

Muslims are almost universally satisfied with the general direction of the country today, and considerably more so than other Canadians. Muslims and non-Muslims alike focus on the economy and unemployment as the country’s most important issue.

Satisfied with Direction of Country. Not only do Muslims stand out as being among the proudest of Canadians, but they almost universally express satisfaction with the general direction of the country. Nine in ten (89%) say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country today, compared with just seven percent who are dissatisfied and another four percent who have no opinion either way. Satisfaction has increased noticeably since 2006 (up from 81%) and this trend is evident across the Muslim population. More than eight in ten from every identifiable group share this positive sentiment, including individuals supporting each of the main political parties in last fall’s federal election.

By comparison, the rest of the population is not nearly as positive about the direction of the country today, with just over half (56%) feeling satisfied, compared with 37 percent who are dissatisfied. This general sentiment is somewhat lower than in 2006 when 61 percent expressed satisfaction. As before, positive views are most evident among younger Canadians, those with the most education, and those born outside the country (63%).
**MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FACING THE COUNTRY**

Muslims share with other Canadians similar concerns about the major challenges facing the country. When asked to identify what they consider to be the most important problem facing Canadians today (unprompted), one-third (34%) mention the economy, followed by unemployment (18%). The emphasis on current economic conditions is most pronounced in western Canada, as well as among men, older individuals and those with higher levels of education and income.

Economic concerns among Muslims are considerably more prominent than in 2006 (when the economic climate was more buoyant) when only one in six Muslims identified the economy or unemployment to be the country’s most important problem (a view shared by even fewer Canadians overall).

No other issue is seen by as many as one in ten Muslims to be the country’s top problem. Seven percent identify discrimination against Muslims and Islamophobia as the country’s most important problem (up from 4% in 2006), with this issue most apt to be mentioned by native-born Muslims and those born in Africa. Other issues (all mentioned by fewer than 5%) include immigration and refugees, health care, taxes, terrorism and security, education, and health care.

---

**Most important issue facing Canada today**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Non-Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy/interest rates/cost of living</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination against Muslims</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration/refugees</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism/security</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care/aging population</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Gov’t leadership</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment/climate change</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Q.2/FC Q.2*

In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing CANADIANS today?
Political engagement

A large majority of Muslims report to have voted in the recent federal election, at levels comparable to or higher than the non-Muslim population. Two-thirds of this support went to the Federal Liberal Party.

One concrete manifestation of connection to country and citizenship is exercising one's franchise to vote in national elections. The recent federal election (October 19, 2015) saw a significant increase in voter turnout across the country, and the Muslim community was part of this trend. Eight in ten (79%) survey participants reported that they voted in this election, with 16 percent saying they did not vote, and another five percent indicating they were not eligible (this group is composed mostly of recent immigrants who are not yet citizens). Participation in this election is reported by strong majorities in every identifiable group, but most widely among older Muslims, those living in western Canada, and those who are Canadian-born.

Results from the survey reveal that the Federal Liberal Party was the primary beneficiary of Muslim voters. Almost two-thirds (65%) report to have voted for the winning party, compared with 10 percent supporting the New Democratic Party, and only two percent voting for the outgoing Conservative Party. One in five (21%) declined to state how he or she voted in the recent federal election. Support for the Liberal Party was strongest in Quebec, among Muslims 60 years and older, and among those born in Canada.

There is evidence demonstrating that voter turnout tends to be overstated in surveys, in part because some people will respond as they felt they should have acted rather than how they did. For this reasons, surveys do not provide a definitive measure of actual turnout but these results suggest that turnout among Muslims was likely similar to the population-at-large. The 79% turnout figure in this survey exactly matches the figure reported in a post-election survey of Muslims conducted by Mainstreet Research on behalf of The Canadian Muslim Vote. Elections Canada determined the official voter turnout rate in this election to be 68.5%.
According to the most current national statistics (the 2011 National Household Survey), in 2011 there were 1,053,945 Muslims living in Canada, comprising 3.2 percent of the national population. This represents the second largest religious group (after Christianity), and is one of the fastest growing segments of the Canadian population.

Almost seven in ten (68%) Muslims in Canada are foreign-born, and they come from many countries, principally in Asia and Africa. The most significant immigration has been from Pakistan (making up 13% of the total), followed by Iran, Algeria, Morocco, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and India. Canadian Muslims are also comprised of a large number of distinct ethnic groups, with origins spanning five continents. More than half of foreign-born Muslims have arrived in Canada since 2000, so that a significant proportion of the population is still in the process of adjustment and integration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Muslims in Canada</th>
<th>% of total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>33,430</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>98,165</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>253,265</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>579,600</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1,054,945</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost nine in ten regard themselves as a visible minority (as defined by the Employment Equity Act), with the majority self-identifying as South Asians (36%) (e.g., Pakistanis, Indians), one-quarter self-identifying as Arab, and smaller percentages as West Asia (Iranian, Afghan), Black, and East Asia (Chinese, Japanese, Korean). In 2011, there were also more than 1,000 Muslims who identified as Aboriginal (First Nation or Métis).

The Muslim population in Canada is overwhelmingly urban – over 95 percent live in metropolitan areas, especially in the Greater Toronto Area and Montreal (which together make up more than half of the total). There are significant Muslim communities in a number of Canadian cities, with notable recent growth in western cities (e.g., Calgary and Edmonton), as well as in Montreal which attracts immigrants from former French colonies in the Middle East and North Africa.

As with other immigrant populations in Canada, Muslims are on average younger and better educated than Canadian-born citizens. They also experience higher rates of unemployment and underemployment, even in comparison with other visible minority groups (e.g., Hindus, Sikhs).

A large majority of Muslims in Canada follow Sunni Islam, with significant minorities adhering to Shia (including Ismaili) and Ahmadiyya sects.

Much of the information included in this profile comes from Canadian Muslims: A Statistical Review (prepared by Daood Hamdani), commissioned by The Canadian Dawn Foundation.
Muslim Identity

Most strongly identify as both Muslim and Canadian, although the Muslim identity tends to be the stronger of the two, especially among individuals under 35 years of age. Among immigrants, attachment to Islam is more likely to have strengthened than weakened since moving to Canada.

Most Muslims express strong connection to Canada, but to what degree does this extend to their sense of personal identity as Canadians as compared to their identity as followers of Islam? The survey reveals that strong majorities consider both religion (84%) and country (81%) to be very important parts of their personal identity. By comparison, fewer than half (48%) place the same level of importance on their ethnic or cultural background.

Muslims who strongly identify with their religion include women, younger individuals (especially those under 45), those born in Canada, and immigrants who have arrived in the past 10 years. Those identifying strongly as Canadian tend to be older, and immigrants arriving more than 20 years ago.

Among those who consider both religion and country to be very important to their identity (72% of the population), half (50%) say that being Muslim is more important, compared with 15 percent who place greater emphasis on being Canadian, and 27 percent who maintain that both parts of their identity are equally important. These proportions are similar to what was recorded in 2006, but a larger percentage now say they place equal importance on their religious and country identities (up from 16% in 2006). Those who identify equally as Muslim and Canadian tend to be older, as well as being male and from Pakistan.

How do others in this country consider the relative importance of their Canadian and religious identities? Non-Muslim Canadians affiliated with a religion are not as likely as Muslims to place strong importance on their religious identity, but are also less apt to place strong importance on their Canadian identity (with the exception of mainline Protestants). In terms of what takes precedence, non-Muslims overall are more likely to identify with being Canadian (43%) than with their religious identity (28%), with another one-quarter (24%) placing equal emphasis on both their Canadian and religious identities.
IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION. For immigrants, how has moving to Canada affected their personal attachment to Islam? About half (52%) report that living in Canada has not really made a difference, but among the rest most (41%) say the move has strengthened their connection to their religion, compared with only five percent who report it has become weaker. Stronger attachment is most widely cited by immigrants who have been in Canada for 20 or more years, as well as residents of Ontario, women, younger Muslims, and those born in Pakistan or Africa.

Attachment to Islam since moving to Canada
Those born in another country — by years in Canada

Q.13
Since moving to Canada, has your personal attachment to Islam become stronger, become weaker, or hasn’t really changed?
**Muslim Practice**

An increasing proportion of Muslims regularly visit mosques for prayers, with attendance for education or social functions much less frequent. The wearing of head coverings (in most cases the hijab) has also increased over the past decade, especially among younger women.

**MOSQUE ATTENDANCE.** Many Muslims make a regular practice of visiting a mosque for prayer, and attendance levels have increased over the past decade. Close to half (48%) now report they do so at least once a week, and this proportion has increased modestly since 2006 when 41% reported this frequency. Another one in six (17%) visits a mosque more occasionally (several times a month or year) (up 3 points), while one-quarter (24%) says they attend only at special times of the year. Only one in ten (9%) says he or she visits a mosque never or almost never, down from 15 percent in 2006.

As before, regular attendance is twice as apt to be reported by men as by women, although this has increased among both genders since 2006. Frequent attendance is also more widely reported by those who identify most strongly as Muslim and by immigrants from Pakistan (and least so among those immigrating from the Middle East and West Asia). Over the past decade, regular attendance has increased among younger Muslims, who are now more likely than older generations to visit at least once a week.

Muslims also visit mosques for education and socializing, but less frequently. One in five (22%) reports doing so at least once a week, while one in four (24%) does so only for special occasions, and more than one-third (36%) do so rarely or never. Frequent attendance for non-prayer purposes is most widely reported by residents of western Canada, Muslims under 45 years of age, and those born in Pakistan.

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**Frequency of attending mosque or Muslim community centre for prayer**

![Bar chart showing frequency of attending mosque or Muslim community centre for prayer](chart.png)

**Q.15**

How often do you attend a mosque or Muslim community centre for prayer?

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3 The religious requirement to attend prayer at a mosque is stronger for men than for women.
WEARING A HEAD COVERING. Head coverings worn by Muslim women have been a flash point in western countries including Canada. Some non-Muslims view this practice as an indication of religious subjugation of women, and others have been offended by the niqab because it covers the face except for the eyes.

Despite such controversy the practice of wearing head coverings is widespread and growing in Canada. More than half (53%) of Muslim women surveyed say they wear a hijab, chador or niqab in public, with this proportion up from 42 percent in 2006. Most wear the hijab (48%, up 10 points since 2006), with comparatively fewer wearing the chador (3%, unchanged) or niqab (3%, up 2).

This practice has grown across the population, but most noticeably among women 18 to 34 where it is now most prevalent (comprising 60% of this group). Head coverings in public continue to be most widely reported by women with no more than a high school education, but this practice has seen the most growth in the past decade among those with a college or university education. Women who visit mosques at least once a week are much more likely to wear a hijab (72%) than those who rarely do (34%), but the practice has increased more noticeably among this latter group. Moreover, it is women who rarely or never visit mosques for prayer who make up the majority who wear a chador or niqab.
Sources of guidance

Muslims are most likely to look for religious guidance from local Muslim organizations, local leaders or their own family. Four in ten, however, do not rely on any particular sources of guidance for their faith.

Where do Canadians personally look for religious guidance as a Muslim? In response to this question (asked without prompting), the most common sources are local Muslim organizations or mosques (22%), one’s own family (11%) or the local Imam or sheik (10%), followed by national Muslim organizations and the Quran. Very few (1%) mentioned religious leaders outside of Canada. More than four in ten (42%), however, say they look nowhere in particular for guidance as a Muslim.

Sources of guidance are generally similar across the population, but younger Muslims (and those Canadian-born) are most likely to identify at least one source (especially local organizations or family), while older individuals are less apt to name any (although the Quran is most apt to be mentioned by those 60 plus). Canadian-born Muslims are also more likely to seek guidance from at least one source than are those born in another country.

Sources of guidance as a Muslim

Q.11
What individuals or organizations, if any, do you personally look to to offer you guidance as a Muslim? Anyone else?
Local Muslim Community

There is general satisfaction with the local Muslim community in terms of religious leadership, programs for families and youth, and outreach to the non-Muslim audiences. The predominant local concern is about discrimination and Islamophobia, especially among women and youth.

LOCAL COMMUNITY SUPPORT. This year’s survey explored how people feel about aspects of their local Muslim community. Results reveal a general level of satisfaction with how local communities are supported in a number of areas. Roughly six in ten say they are very or somewhat satisfied with their community’s outreach to other religions and the wider community (65%), with their Muslim leaders (Imams and clergy, 63%), with opportunities for women to play leadership roles in local Muslim organizations (60%), with programs for families (59%) and with programs for youth (59%). In each area, less than one in five expresses dissatisfaction, with the balance unable to comment due to lack of familiarity with what their local community currently provides.

Across the five areas, satisfaction with community supports is most widely expressed by individuals in the youngest age cohort (18 to 34), along with those who are Canadian-born, and those who visit mosques at least once a week. Dissatisfaction with Muslim leaders is most pronounced among individuals 60 years and older (28%) and those in the top income bracket (with $80K or more in household income) (24%). Dissatisfaction with community outreach to other religions and the wider community is most evident among those with the most education and income (but doesn't exceed 20% in either group). Men and women are equally satisfied with the opportunities for women to play leadership roles in their community.

Survey of Muslims in Canada 2016
MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FACING THE COMMUNITY. The general level of satisfaction with community supports does not mean there are no concerns. When asked to identify (unprompted) the most important issues facing Muslims in their local community today, most identify at least one issue, and by far the dominant concern is about treatment by the non-Muslim community. More than one in three identifies the top issue facing their community to be how it is treated by broader society, including discrimination or poor treatment (15%), Islamophobia (13%), stereotyping by the media (12%) or related issues, such as fear for one’s safety in public (e.g., being attacked on the street).

Other issues – each identified by fewer than one in ten – include the challenge of cultural integration, divisions within the Muslim community, violent extremism and radicalization, unemployment, and influences on youth, followed by a further list of issues mentioned by three percent or less. Three in ten (31%) do not believe there are any particular issues facing the community, or declined to provide a response to the question.

Concerns about discrimination/stereotyping and personal safety is the most prominent theme identified across the population, and especially so among those who are Canadian-born (78%), identify primarily as Muslim (58%), women (55%, versus 35% among men), and those 18 to 34 (54%, compared with 28% among those 45 years and older). Not surprisingly, it is also the primary concern among those who have personally experienced discrimination due to their religion (59%) and those who have felt inhibited to express their views on social or political issues because of who they are (51%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most important issues facing Muslims in your local community today</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treatment/discrimination by broader community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction between cultures</td>
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<tr>
<td>Divisions within Islam/sects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent extremism/radicalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment/lack of jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influences on youth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Events overseas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex education in schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/don’t know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.17
What do you believe are the most important issues facing Muslims in your local community today?
Challenges facing Canadian Muslims

There are widespread concerns about various issues facing Muslims in Canada, most notably their portrayal by the media and discrimination generally, followed by violent extremism, unemployment, and secular influences on youth. However, concern levels are down modestly since 2006.

The survey asked participants about the extent to which they are worried about each of seven issues related to Muslims living in Canada. All are considered issues to be concerned about, but to varying degrees. Moreover, the strength of concern in some cases is now lower than a decade ago.

People are most likely to say they are very or somewhat worried about how the media portrays Muslims in Canada (67%, new item) and discrimination against Muslims (62%, down 4 points from 2006). Small majorities express this level of worry about violent extremism among Canadian Muslims (52%, down 10) and unemployment among Canadian Muslims (53%, down 10). Fewer than half are very or somewhat worried about the influence of music, movies and the Internet on Muslim youth (43%, down 6), a decline in the importance of religion among Canadian Muslims (42%, down 6), and being stereotyped by neighbours and colleagues (39%, new item).

How the media portrays Muslims. Two-thirds are very (32%) or somewhat (35%) worried about how the media portrays Muslims in Canada, compared with 28 percent who are not worried and another six percent who do not offer an opinion. Such worry is especially widespread among those born in Canada (80%) or Africa (77%), those who have experienced bad treatment due to their religion or ethnicity (80%), and those who feel inhibited to express themselves on political or social issues (89%). This view is also more commonly shared by women, those aged 45 and younger, and those who identify primarily as Muslim. It is least evident among Muslims aged 60 and over (50%).

Concern about issues facing Muslims in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2006</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How the media portrays Muslims in Canada</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination against Muslims</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent extremism among Canadian Muslims</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment among Canadian Muslims</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.25,d,e,f,h
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...?
Discrimination against Muslims. About six in ten are very (27%) or somewhat (35%) worried about discrimination against Muslims in Canada, with this proportion down modestly since 2006 (when 66% expressed this view). Concerns about discrimination vary widely across the population, being most prominent among Canadian-born (83%), those experiencing discrimination because of their religion (83%) and/or ethnic background (82%), but is also emphasized by, younger individuals, those with a college or some university education. Declining concern about discrimination since 2006 is evident across most groups but most noticeably in Quebec and in the west, among men, older Muslims, and those who identify primarily as Canadian.

Violent extremism among Canadian Muslims. Just over half say they are very (31%) or somewhat (21%) worried about violent extremism among Canadian Muslims; this overall proportion is essentially unchanged since 2006, but the percentage who are very worried is up five percentage points. Worry about violent extremism has increased modestly in western Canada, among men, Muslims 18 to 34, those Canadian-born and those who identify primarily as Muslim, while declining in Quebec, among older Muslims and those who identify primarily as Canadian. Worry about extremism is currently most pronounced among Canadian-born individuals (72%) and those who have experienced discrimination because of their ethnicity (68%), and is least evident among those 60 plus (41%).

Unemployment among Canadian Muslims. A small majority are very (23%) or somewhat (30%) worried about unemployment among Canadian Muslims, and this represents a significant decline from 2006 when 63 percent expressed such concern (a notable shift given that the current economy is much less robust than it was a decade ago). This downward trend is evident across most of the country, but especially among men, older Muslims, those with the least education, and those who identify primarily as Muslim. Worry about unemployment among Muslims is now most widespread among those who have experienced discrimination (64%), difficulties in crossing borders (70%), and least evident among Muslims 60 plus (46%) and those born in the Middle East or West Asia (41%).
Influences on Muslim youth. About four in ten say they are very (21%) or somewhat (22%) worried about the influence of music, movies and the Internet on Muslim youth, with this proportion down six percentage points since 2006. This worry is down among most groups, but especially in Quebec, among men (although increasing among women), individuals 18 to 34, the Canadian-born and those who pray at mosques at least once a week. Concern about influences on youth are now most widespread among women (52%) and those with the lowest incomes (53%), and least evident among Quebecers, men, and those who identify equally as Muslim and Canadian (all 35%, respectively).

Being stereotyped by neighbours and colleagues. While there is widespread concern about media stereotypes of Muslims, there is less worry about being misjudged by ones’ neighbours and colleagues. Four in ten are very (16%) or somewhat (23%) worried about this, compared with a majority who are not very (26%) or not at all (30%) worried. This concern is most evident among the Canadian-born (64%) and those who have experienced discrimination due to ones’ religion (67%), and to a lesser extent by women (48%) and Muslims 18 to 34 (50%). This is least apt to be a worry among Muslims 60 plus (20%).

Decline in importance of religion. Four in ten are very (12%) or somewhat (30%) worried about a decline in the importance of religion among Canada’s Muslims, down six percentage points since 2006. This downward trend is evident across most of the population, but most significantly in Quebec and western Canada, among men, Muslims 18 to 34, those born in Africa, and those who pray at mosques at least once a week. Concern about declining importance on religion is now most apt to be expressed by women (50%), those with a college or some university education (56%) and those born in Canada (54%); this view is least apt to be shared by Muslims 60 and older (30%) and those born in the Middle East, West Asia or Africa (31%).

Are Muslim youth today seen as more or less religious than their parents? There is no consensus on this question among the country’s Muslim population. The plurality view is that youth are less religious than their parents (38%), with fewer than half as many taking the opposite view (15%). However, one in four (23%) believe youth are about the same as their parents in terms of being religious, while 15 percent say it depends (e.g., on the parents’ adherence to Islam), and another one in ten (10%) cannot offer an opinion. Views on this question are generally similar across the country, and notably among age cohorts (Muslims under 35 share the same perspective as that of their parents and grandparents). The belief that youth are more religious than their parents is somewhat more prevalent among Pakistanis, long term immigrants, and those who identify primarily as Muslim.
Integration into Canadian society

Integration versus separation

Muslims tend to believe their community wants to integrate into Canadian society rather than remain distinct. Non-Muslims hold the opposite view, although less so than a decade ago. Muslims and non-Muslims generally agree on the values immigrants should adopt when moving to Canada.

DO MUSLIMS WANT TO BE PART OF CANADIAN SOCIETY? Oftentimes minority groups are seen by the mainstream as making a concerted effort to remain separate from the larger society, which may be interpreted as a deliberate act of refusing to participate fully as citizens. In the case of Canada’s Muslims, the survey reveals that members of this community are much more likely to believe their co-religionists wish to adopt Canadian customs (53%) than to be distinct from the larger Canadian society (17%). The remainder believes both aspirations are equally present (16%), while another 14 percent cannot offer an opinion.

These results are largely similar to those recorded in 2006, although fewer now take the view that most Muslims want to remain distinct from larger the Canadian society and more believe both aspirations are at play or have no clear opinion. Views on this question are generally similar across the population, with Canadian-born Muslims now among the most likely to believe their community wants both integration and to remain distinct (26%).

How does the non-Muslim population view the motivation for integration by Muslims into broader society? As in 2006, the population-at-large is more likely to believe Muslims want to remain distinct (43%) than adopting Canadian customs and way of life (34%), but the gap between these two perspectives has narrowed significantly since 2006. This trend is evident across the population, with the proportion who believe Muslims want to integrate increasing noticeably across regions and demographic subgroups. Quebecers continue to be more likely than other Canadians to believe that Muslims want to remain distinct, although this view is now less prevalent than a decade ago (54%, down 13 percentage points).
IMPORTANT VALUES FOR IMMIGRANTS TO ADOPT.

The survey also asked participants to identify (unprompted) those values they believe are most important for immigrants to learn and adopt when they move to Canada. Many responses were offered but the most commonly mentioned include language fluency (English or French) (23%), tolerance and respect for others (19%), and respect for Canadian history and culture (17%), followed by respect for the law, respect for other religions and cultures, general civility and mutual respect, the need to assimilate generally, and respect for human rights and freedoms. Few (7%) did not identify at least one such value that immigrants were expected to adopt. Responses to this question are largely similar across the Muslim population.

When asked the same question, non-Muslim Canadians offered a notably similar list of responses in roughly the same order of priority. The non-Muslim population also places the greatest emphasis on language fluency, tolerance of others, respect for Canadian history and culture, and respect for the law. Among non-Muslims, native-born and immigrants also show a remarkable degree of agreement on the important values that immigrants to Canada should be adopting. The notable exceptions are immigrants being more likely to emphasize the importance of respecting other religions and cultures, and on the need to assimilate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What values are most important for immigrants to adopt?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Top mentions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English or French fluency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance/respect for others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for Canadian history/culture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respect for the law</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respect for other religions/cultures</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civility/mutual respect</td>
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<tr>
<td>Need to assimilate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respect for human rights/freedoms</td>
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<tr>
<td>Get a good education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community involvement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender equality/equal treatment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.20/FC Q.12
What do you consider to be the values most important for immigrants to learn and adopt when they move to Canada?
Rights to religious practice

Three-quarters believe Muslims should have the right to pray in public schools, with smaller majorities supporting the right for women to wear the niqab at citizenship ceremonies and when receiving public services. Non-Muslims are somewhat less supportive, especially in Quebec.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms includes protection of religious beliefs, but Muslims have encountered challenges in the observance of some practices, notably the wearing of hijabs and especially niqabs that cover most of the face (this became a political issue during the recent federal election).

**PRAYING IN SCHOOLS.** Islam differs from other religions practiced in Canada in requiring adherents to pray at five designated times throughout the day. This may or may not be accommodated at workplaces and schools, requiring Muslims to find spaces suitable for praying according to the prescribed schedule. Not surprisingly, most (75%) believe that Muslim students should have the right to pray in public schools, compared with 13 percent who do not agree, and a comparable proportion who say it depends (e.g., on circumstances) (8%) or cannot offer an opinion (4%).

Support for this right is the majority view across the population but is especially strong in Ontario (83%), among women (82%), Muslims under 45 years of age (80%), Canadian-born (91%), individuals identifying primarily as Muslim (87%), and those who visit mosques to pray at least once a week (81%). Support is least evident among those who identify primarily as Canadian (61%) and Muslims 45 and over (64%).

The right for Muslim students to pray in public schools is also supported by a smaller majority (60%) of non-Muslim Canadians, although another three in ten (31%) oppose it. Opposition to Muslims praying in schools is most evident in Quebec (47%) and increases with age (17% among those 18 to 34, rising to 38% among those 55 and older).
WEARING THE NIQAB. Wearing the niqab has generated controversy in Canada because many non-Muslims feel offended or uncomfortable with women covering their faces in public. The issue came to a head in the past year when a woman was denied the opportunity to participate in a citizenship ceremony unless she uncovered her face during the oath of allegiance. The woman took this issue to court and won the case, but the issue became political during the recent federal election.

While the court case appears to have settled the legal rights for niqab-wearing women to take the citizenship oath (they must establish their identity earlier in the ceremony), the right to do so is not supported by all Canadian Muslims. Six in ten (60%) believe Muslim women should have the right to participate in citizenship ceremonies while wearing a niqab, but one in four (24%) does not agree, while the remainder say it depends (9%) or have no opinion (7%).

More broadly, two-thirds (65%) of Muslims believe women should have the right to receive other types of public services while wearing the niqab, versus 21 percent who disagree and another 15 percent who have no clear view either way.

On both questions, support for wearing the niqab is strongest among Muslims 18 to 34, those born in Canada, and those who identify primarily as Muslim. Opinions are most divided in Quebec, among Muslims 45 years and older, those born in the Middle East or West Asia, and those who identify primarily as Canadian. Notably, there are no differences in the opinions of Muslim men and women.

The right for Muslim women to wear the niqab at citizenship ceremonies and to receive public services is also supported by a majority of non-Muslim Canadians, although to a somewhat lesser degree. More than four in ten (45%) oppose the niqab at citizenship ceremonies, while one-third oppose the right to wear the niqab while receiving public services. In both cases opposition is most prevalent among Quebecers, Catholics, older Canadians, and those with less education.
Broader social values

Muslims share with other Canadians a value on openness to connection between different cultures in the country’s diverse society. But Muslims also hold a more patriarchal view of the family, and are much less accepting of homosexuality.

Different cultures have distinct social values, sometimes closely tied to religious traditions and practices. The survey included several measures to provide the basis for comparing the social values of Muslims and non-Muslims in Canada.4

CULTURAL FUSION. As a largely immigrant community from non-western countries, what are Muslims’ values about the blending of different cultures into the Canadian mosaic? More than half totally agree (23%) or somewhat agree (34%) with the statement “Immigrants of different races and backgrounds should set aside their cultural backgrounds and try to blend into Canadian culture”, compared with one in three who somewhat (17%) or totally (17%) disagrees (the remaining 10% did not provide a clear response to the question). These results reflect a modest shift in the positive direction since 2006, when 51 percent agreed with this statement.

Agreement with this statement has increased most significantly since 2006 in Quebec, among Muslims 45 years and older, among those who frequently pray at mosques, and immigrants who have been in the country either less than 10 years or more than 20. Agreement is now most widespread in western Canada, among men, those 60 and older and those who identify primarily as Canadian (71%, versus those who identify primarily as Muslim (53%), although this latter percentage is up 7 points since 2006).

By comparison, other Canadians are somewhat more likely than Muslims to agree with this statement about cultures blending in (29% totally agree and 39% somewhat agree), with one in three (33%) expressing disagreement [note: this survey of the general population was conducted online and did not offer respondents the option of not answering the question]. As with Muslims, this value is most strongly held among older Canadians.

Social values on cultural fusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants of different values/ backgrounds should set aside their cultural backgrounds and try to blend into Canadian culture</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other cultures have a lot to teach us; contact with them is enriching</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.40b-c
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 ... Immigrants of different races and backgrounds should set aside their cultural backgrounds and try to blend into Canadian culture?

A much larger majority of Muslims totally (62%) or somewhat (26%) agree with the statement that “other cultures have a lot to teach us; contact is enriching”, with only four percent disagreeing and another 10 percent offering no clear response. These results are essentially unchanged from 2006. This view is shared by most Muslims across the country, with agreement most evident among those 18 to 34 (93% totally agree), those with a university education (92%), and those born in Canada (95%). This value is only marginally stronger among those identifying primarily as Muslim (89%), versus those identify primarily as Canadian (85%) [Note: there is no current general population data for this question].

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4 Unless other indicated, these social values measures are drawn from the Environics Research Group’s Social Values Research Program, which is based on research conducted on an ongoing basis in Canada since 1983.
FAMILY AND GENDER ROLES. Many of the countries from which Muslims come share values related to family and gender roles that are more traditional than in secular western countries such as Canada. The survey results reflect this difference, although less so than may be commonly assumed. Nine in ten Muslims surveyed totally (76%) or somewhat (15%) agree with the statement that “taking care of home and kids is as much a man’s work as woman’s work”, with only six percent in disagreement. This viewpoint is largely unchanged since 2006, although the proportion who totally agree has strengthened. Agreement with the statement about men and women sharing home and childcare is at the 90 percent mark across the Muslim population, and does not differ between men and women. Total agreement is especially widespread among those born in Canada (86%) and those 18 to 34 (80%). In no group does more than one in ten disagree with the statement [Note: there is no current general population data for this question].

Values about sharing of housework and childcare notwithstanding, Muslims are more divided about who should hold the power in the home. Four in ten totally (16%) or somewhat (24%) agree that “The father in the family must be the master in his own house”, compared with half who somewhat (17%) or totally (32%) disagree (the remaining 10% are equivocal or do not offer a response).  

Views on this statement vary noticeably across the population. Not surprisingly agreement is more prevalent among men (46%) than among women (33%), as well as among older Muslims, and those with the least education and income. In no group, however, do more than half say they agree that father should be master in his own house. The one group that stands out most clearly on patriarchy consists of Muslims born in Canada: more than eight in ten (83%) reject the statement, and 55 percent say they totally disagree with it.

Patriarchy is less widely valued by the non-Muslim population. Less than one in four Canadians overall totally (4%) or somewhat (17%) agrees with the statement about father being master, compared with more than seven in ten who somewhat (28%) or totally (51%) disagree. Patriarchy is less likely to be valued by native-born Canadians (19%) than by those born in other countries (34%).

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5 This statement was developed by the Environics Research Group as a measure of the social value defined as “patriarchy.”
HOMOSEXUALITY. One of the sharpest points of difference between religious and secular values is around sexuality. The most recent example in Canada is the controversy over changes to the sex-ed curriculum in Ontario schools, which prompted boycotts by families in several faith communities, including Muslims.

This divide is clearly revealed in the survey findings on the general acceptability of homosexuality. Muslims in Canada are divided between those who believe homosexuality should be generally accepted by society (36%) and a larger group who disagrees (43%) (the remainder are equivocal or have no clear opinion). The balance of opinion is much different in the general population, based on a Pew Research Center survey conducted in 2013 which showed that only 14 percent of Canadians overall considered homosexuality to be morally unacceptable. In an international context, Canadians are among the most accepting of homosexuality, along with Spaniards, Germans and Czechs. Opinions are dramatically different in such predominantly-Muslim countries as Indonesia, Pakistan, Egypt, Tunisia and the Palestinian Territories, where no more than three percent of the surveyed populations said homosexuality was acceptable.

Opinions on this issue vary somewhat across the Muslim community in Canada. Acceptability of homosexuality is most prevalent among Muslims 18 to 34 (47%) and those born in Canada (52%), but in no group does more than a small majority share this view (in contrast to the values of non-Muslim Canadians). Homosexuality is most widely considered to be unacceptable by Muslims 45 to 59 (55%), those with the lowest incomes (56%), those born in Pakistan (52%), regular prayer goers (51%) and those who strongly value patriarchy (58%).

Traditional values of Muslims are further reflected in views about the compatibility of same-sex relationships and one’s Muslim faith. Only one in four (26%) says it should be possible to be both an observant Muslim and live openly in a lesbian or gay same-sex relationship. A clear majority (57%) rejects this idea, while the remainder say it depends (3%) or do not offer an opinion (15%).

An affirmative response is somewhat more evident among Muslims under 35 (32%) and those 60 plus (36), as well as among Canadian-born (32%) and those living in western Canada (33), but this view is not shared by as many as four in ten in any part of the population. Even among Muslims who believe that homosexuality should be accepted by society, just over half (55) believe there should be no conflict between being observant and also being in an open same-sex relationship. Rejection of the compatibility between Muslim observance and a same-sex relationship is the majority view among Muslims 35 to 59 years of age, those with the lowest incomes, those who identify primarily as Muslim, those born in Pakistan, the Middle East or West Asia, regular prayer goers, and those with patriarchal values.

Source: Pew Research Center Survey, June 2013

Q.41 Which of the following comes closer to your own opinion: Homosexuality should be accepted by society... Homosexuality should not be accepted by society?

Q.42 Do you think it should be possible to be both an observant Muslim and to live openly in a lesbian or gay same-sex relationship?
Treatment of Muslims in Broader Society

How Muslims are treated in Canada

Muslims are a bit more positive than in 2006 about how they are viewed by mainstream society, and most agree they are better off than Muslims in other western countries. There are mixed expectations for the future, especially among Muslim youth.

NON-MUSLIM OPINIONS OF MUSLIMS. How do Muslims think their religion is viewed by the broader Canadian society? Perceptions are more positive than negative, and this balance has improved modestly over the past 10 years. Just over half (54%) believe Canadians’ opinion of Islam is generally positive (up 4 points since 2006) compared with 32 percent who think it is generally negative (down 7), and another one in six who cannot say either way.

Perceptions about general public opinion have improved most noticeably in Quebec and western Canada (while declining marginally in Ontario), as well as among men, Muslims under 45, and those who identify primarily as Canadian. Those most likely to feel Islam is well thought of by non-Muslims include individuals 35 to 44, those without a high school degree, and immigrants with less than 10 years in the country. The least positive views are expressed by Muslims born in Canada (36%, but up 10 points since 2006) and those who have experienced discrimination due to their religion or ethnic background.

As on previous Environics surveys, opinions about Islam are closely tied to the degree of personal contact with Muslims: Canadians who say they often have contact with Muslims are twice as likely to have positive as negative impressions of Islam (53% versus 22%), in contrast to those who have rare or no contact (29% positive versus 46% negative). This relationship, however, is less robust than in 2006, with the increase in the proportion having no clear opinion about Islam coming almost exclusively from Canadians who report often or occasional contact with Muslims.

Canadian mainstream opinion of the religion of Islam

Muslims are reasonably accurate in their estimate of general public opinion, although not about the trend. Four in ten (42%) non-Muslim Canadians say they have a generally positive view of Islam (down 7 points since 2006), compared with one-third (33%) who have a generally negative view (down 5 points). Compared with 2006, a larger proportion of non-Muslims across the country do not hold a clear opinion about the religion of Islam (25% who say neither or don’t know, up 12 points). Impressions of Islam is now most likely to be positive among Atlantic Canadians (50%), individuals under 35 (49%), those with a university degree (52%) and those who are not religious (50%), while this view is least widely held among Quebecers (32%), Canadians who are Catholic (35%), or Evangelical (34%), and those without a high school diploma (31%)
HOW MUSLIMS ARE TREATED BY OTHER CANADIANS. On a related question, Muslims were asked to estimate the proportion of Canadians they believe are hostile to Muslims. One in six believes that most (5%) or many (9%) Canadians are hostile toward their community, compared with 27 percent who say “just some” and half (49%) who say “very few.” This reflects a modest improvement since 2006, when only 35 percent felt the proportion was very few. Across the population, perceptions of widespread hostility toward their community is most widely shared by women (20%) and those who identify primarily as Muslim (20%), while this view is least apt to be shared by individuals 60 and older (6%) and those who identify primarily as Canadian (8%).

How does the non-Muslim population answer this same question? One in four believes that most (7%) or many (18%) Canadians are hostile to Muslims, compared with 43 percent who say some, and one-quarter (26%) who believe it is very few. Perceptions have changed very little since 2006. The view that most or many feel this hostility is most prevalent in Quebec (39%) and among those with a generally negative impression of Islam (40%), and is least evident in Ontario (18%) and among immigrants (17%).

Apart from whatever hostility Muslims may experience from other Canadians, a strong majority (84%) believe they are treated better in Canada than Muslims in other western countries, up from 77 percent who expressed this view in 2006. Only two percent believe Muslims in Canada are treated worse, while others say it is about the same (9%) or have no opinion (3%). This view is widely held across the Muslim community, but has strengthened most noticeably in Ontario and the west, among those in the top income bracket, those Canadian-born, and infrequent prayer goers. This view is least apt to be shared in Quebec (70%, down 9 points since 2006), although only one percent of Quebecers say the treatment is worse than in other countries. Opinions on this question do not appear to be influenced by personal experiences with discrimination due to religion or ethnic background.

A majority (61%) of non-Muslim Canadians also holds the view that Muslims in this country are treated better than in other western countries, compared with only three percent who say they are treated worse, and another 11 percent who believe it is about the same. Opinions on this question are similar across the country and largely unchanged since 2006.
FUTURE TREATMENT. How do Muslims envision the future in terms of how their community and faith will be treated by broader society? Opinions are markedly divided. One-third (35%) believe the next generation will face more discrimination and stereotyping than they do today, compared with 29 percent who expect they will face less. The remainder believe it will remain about the same (21%) or have no clear opinion to offer (15%).

Opinions vary noticeably across the Muslim community. A negative forecast is most prevalent among Canadian-born Muslims (50% expect more discrimination, versus 15% who say less), while those born in other countries are less apt to hold this view (especially among those who have immigrated in the past 10 years). Expectations for rising discrimination are also more evident among younger Muslims, individuals with higher incomes, those who identify primarily as Muslim, and those who have experienced discrimination. By comparison, belief in a future with less discrimination is most evident in Quebec (40%) and among immigrants who have been in Canada less than 10 years.

On a more positive note, Muslims in Canada are almost uniformly hopeful about the recent change of government in Ottawa. Nine in ten (90%) say they are optimistic that the new majority Liberal government led by Justin Trudeau will improve relations between Muslims and other Canadians, compared with only three percent who are pessimistic. Such optimism is evident across the Muslim community, including those who voted for other parties in the October 2015 federal election, as well as those who believe the next generation will face more discrimination and stereotyping.

Optimistic or pessimistic the new federal government will improve relations between Muslims and other Canadians?

What will next generation of Muslims face in terms of discrimination/stereotyping?

Q.30
Do you believe the next generation of Muslims in Canada will face more, face less, or face about the same level of discrimination and stereotyping as Muslims do today?
Personal experience with discrimination

One-third of Muslims in Canada have experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in the past five years due to their religion, ethnicity/culture, language or sex. Such treatment is most commonly experienced in the workplace, public spaces, retail establishments and schools or universities.

What has been the personal experience of Muslims in Canada in terms of their treatment by broader society? One-third (35%) of those surveyed report to have experienced discrimination or being treated unfairly by others in Canada in the past five years because of their religion (22%), ethnic or cultural background (22%), language (13%) or sex (6%) [note: individual percentages exceed total because some individuals have experienced discrimination for more than one of these reasons]. The combined total for discrimination due to religion and/or ethnicity/culture is 30 percent, which is the same percentage reported by Muslims in 2006.

By comparison, for the general Canadian population overall in 2013, 21 percent have experienced discrimination for one or more of these reasons, most commonly because of ethnicity or culture (11%) or sex (11%). Incidence levels are notably higher for Canadians who fit the Statistics Canada definition of “visible minority”, especially in the case of discrimination due to ethnicity or culture (31%), and to a lesser extent due to language (15%) or religion (10).7

Among Muslims in Canada, the likelihood of experiencing unfair treatment is higher in certain groups, and for specific reasons:

- Canadian-born (50%) – mostly because of their religion, but also due to ethnicity and sex
- African born (45%) – mostly due to their religion
- Women (42%) – mostly because of their religion and sex
- Individuals who identify primarily as Muslim (41%) – mostly due to their religion
- Quebecers (40%) – mostly because of their religion
- Muslims under 45 years of age (40%) – mostly because of their religion and ethnicity/culture; also language for those 35 to 44

Experience discrimination or unfair treatment by others in Canada – past five years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>General population*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NET (any reason)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of your religion</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of your ethnicity/culture</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of your language</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of your sex</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Statistics Canada (2013 General Social Survey)

Q.26a-d
In the past five years, have you experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of any of the following: Your religion...Your ethnicity or culture...Your sex...Your language?

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7 Source: GSS 2013 Survey. Note that the data for the Muslim subsample from this larger survey show incidence levels very close to the results of this survey (net discrimination – 34%; discrimination by religion – 22%; by ethnicity/culture – 28%; by language – 13%; by sex – 7%).
Muslims 60 years and older are least apt to report discrimination or poor treatment (18%), and this experience is evenly divided between religion, ethnicity/culture and language, with fewer reporting issues because of their sex.

The survey asked those reporting negative experiences to identify the types of situations in which such unfair treatment have taken place, due to their religion or ethnicity/culture. The most common settings are the workplace, followed by public spaces (e.g., streets, parks), retail establishments (banks, restaurants), at school or university, and on public transit (in the case of one’s religion).

The survey also probed specifically about problems Muslims have faced crossing borders, given the additional scrutiny from security officials that individuals of this faith often experience. One in four (25%) Muslims in Canada reports having experienced difficulties travelling across borders or through airports because of his or her race, ethnicity or religion. The likelihood of this experience is notably consistent across the population, but most widely reported by Canadian-born Muslims and those in the highest income bracket (likely because they are the most frequent travelers).

**Where discrimination has taken place in past five years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Ethnicity/culture</th>
<th>Religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the workplace/ job applications</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public spaces (streets, parks)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In stores/banks/restaurants</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At school/university</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On public transit</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of personal appearance</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When accessing public services</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At airports/borders</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with police/courts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other settings</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.27

In what types of situations have you experienced discrimination in the past five years due to your religion?

Q.27b

In what types of situations have you experienced discrimination in the past five years due to your ethnicity or culture?

**Experienced difficulties crossing borders due to race, ethnicity or religion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Canada 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Other 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 to 34</td>
<td>23</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 59</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 or older</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INHIBITIONS ON FREE EXPRESSION. How does treatment by broader society affect Muslims’ level of comfort with expressing their views and opinions on social or political issues of the day? One in six (17%) says he or she has felt inhibited about doing so because of religion, ethnicity or religion. This impact is most apt to be expressed by Canadian-born Muslims (32%), those under 35 years of age (24%), and those who have experienced difficulties crossing borders (27%). This feeling is somewhat less evident in Quebec (12%), among older Muslims, individuals with lower levels of education and income, and those born in the Middle East, Asia (outside of Pakistan) and Africa.

Felt inhibited about expressing opinions because of your race, ethnicity or religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60 or older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 to 34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 59</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 or older</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.29
Have you ever felt inhibited about expressing your opinions on social or political issues because of your race, ethnicity or religion?
Perceptions of domestic support for violent extremism

Very few Muslims believe there is much if any support within their community for violent extremist activities at home or abroad. At the same time, there is almost universal agreement on the importance of actively working with government agencies to address any potential threats.

Public concern about domestic terrorism stemming from the Muslim community stretches back to the September 11, 2001 attacks, and continues to this day. There have been no major terrorist events in Canada to date, but the two high profile shootings in Ottawa and Quebec in fall 2015 were carried out by individuals with apparent connections to Islamist extremism. Major incidents in western countries (most recently in Paris and Brussels) have kept terrorism on the front pages, along with the ongoing violent conflict in the Middle East and the recruitment of westerners (including some Canadians) to the struggle.

Very few Muslims believe more than a small handful of followers of their faith support violent extremists like Daesh, and this proportion has declined since 2006. Only one percent now believe that “many” or “most” Muslims in Canada support violent extremism, and the vast majority estimate that this sentiment is shared by “very few” or “none” in their community (with the “none” proportion jumping from 11% to 44% in the past decade). Opinions on this question are largely consistent across the Muslim population.

The non-Muslim population-at-large is more likely to believe there is domestic support for violent extremism abroad, although this perception has also declined over the past decade. Fewer than one in ten (7%) non-Muslim Canadians now believes that many or most Canadian Muslims support violent extremism, compared with more than six in ten (63%) who believe it is very few or none (up 10 points since 2006). The downward trend in perceptions of domestic support for violent extremism is evident across the country, and even among those groups most apt to believe such support is widespread, including Quebeckers (13% now say most or many), individuals with the least education and income (12%), those with a poor impression of Islam (13%), and those who have had no personal contact with Muslims (12%).

Q.33/FC Q.14
In your opinion, how many Muslims in Canada do you believe support violent activity of extremists abroad like ISIS? Would you say most, many, just some, very few, or none?
There have been anecdotal reports of local mosques serving as recruiting grounds for extremist groups overseas. Only three percent of Muslims surveyed say they have ever witnessed or heard anything about violent extremism being promoted in a mosque in Canada. An affirmative response increases modestly by age cohort, from one percent among Muslims 18 to 34, to eight percent among those 60 and over.

While most Muslims believe there is little if any domestic support within their community for violent extremist causes abroad, few are complacent about the seriousness of such activity. Almost nine in ten say it is very (79%) or somewhat (9%) important for Canadian Muslim communities to work actively with government agencies to address radicalization activities that may lead to violent extremism either in Canada or abroad. This sentiment is shared across the population. Strong importance is voiced most widely by Muslims in the top income bracket (88%) and those born in Canada (87%), but this view is shared by at least seven in ten from every group.

**Q.35**

How important do you believe it is for Canadian Muslim communities to work actively with government agencies to address radicalization activities that may lead to violent extremism either in Canada or abroad?
Government policy

Muslims are more likely than not to oppose Bill C-51 because it infringes on the civil rights of citizens. At the same time, most are comfortable with the powers currently held by the agencies like the RCMP and CSIS to protect Canadians from security threats.

In 2015, the previous Conservative government passed new anti-terrorism legislation known as Bill C-51, which generated considerable controversy because of the expanded powers it grants to government agencies to counter terrorist activities in Canada. The legislation is currently awaiting amendments under the new Liberal government. There is no consensus among Muslims on the merits of this law, but opposition clearly outweighs support. Close to half (48%) say Bill C-51 infringes too much upon the civil liberties of Canadian citizens, compared with 17 percent who believe it provides the government with the appropriate level of power and authority to counter domestic terrorist threats. Another third do not express a clear opinion because they are not sufficiently familiar with the legislation or otherwise do not have an opinion of its merits.

Views about Bill C-51 are largely consistent across the Muslim community. A majority or plurality in every group opposes the legislation, with this most evident among men, Muslims 18 to 34, those with more education and income, and especially among those born in Canada (67%). Opposition is least evident in Quebec (32%) and among immigrants in the country less than 10 years (29%). No more than one-quarter in any group agrees that Bill C-51 provides government with an appropriate level of power to fight terrorism.

Opposition to Bill C-51 notwithstanding, it does not reflect widespread discomfort with the powers currently held by government security agencies such as the RCMP and CSIS. A majority (57%) of Muslims believe these agencies have about the right amount of power to carry out their responsibilities to protect Canadians from potential threats. One in six (17%) says these agencies have too much power, while very few (4%) maintain they have too little power. Another one in five (21%) does not feel he or she knows enough to express a position on this question.

Satisfaction with the current powers of Canada’s security agencies is the majority view across the population, even among those who express concerns about Bill C-51. A positive view about the balance of government security powers is most prevalent in western Canada, among men, individuals with higher incomes, and those born in Canada or Pakistan. Concerns about the government having too much power are most likely to be voiced by Muslims 60 plus (28%).

Survey of Muslims in Canada 2016