

Only Canadian: The Experience of Hate Moderated Differential Citizenship for Muslims is the fourth in a series that assesses Muslim experiences of hostility and discrimination in Canada, where the survey findings are conducted primarily in Quebec, Ontario and the Greater Toronto Area. As well as inspecting Islamophobic and racist acts, the study challenges the accuracy of Canada's self-perception as a multicultural nation. The report begins by providing a historical-cultural context from the mistreatment of First Nations and develops into a comprehensive evaluation of the demographic, economic, political and social overview of Muslims in Canada. This is followed by the implementation of the Domination Hate Model of Intercultural Relations, a theoretical framework which considers the progress of a structural hate environment. The authors conclude with recommendations.

The first chapter explores the historical-cultural background of Canada, examining the significance of the development of Muslim demography and participation in Canadian society.

Authors discuss the history of white colonial European settlement of Canada, critique Canada's self-perception as a multicultural nation and provide an overview of the statistics of Muslim demography with regards to ethnicity, sectarian demography, education, sex and age.

Chapter 2 examines the problem of Muslim or 'non-white' assimilation and integration in a society whereby the white 'host' society produces a marginalised and demonised dichotomy.

This includes:

'Muslim schooling'; a battle of Muslim minority acceptance and dealing with cultural differences whilst trying to maintain an Islamic lifestyle.

The section 'Women, discrimination and symbolism of the 'other' highlights how Muslim women, have difficulties with the attitude of the majority of the population, especially in regards to dress code and the French influence in Quebec. Authors critique the anti-Muslim rhetoric dressed in the guise of narratives of gender equality and secular values.

Chapter 2 also assesses the 'Level of Education, Income and Discrimination in the Workplace' by which an economic and occupational marginalisation of Muslims is apparent despite high levels of education among Canadian Muslims.

'Discrimination by law' focuses on Muslims as the subject of increasingly draconian antiterrorism measures as well as the experience of Muslims as victims of hate crime and the redress to be found under the provisions of Canadian law. Authors further discuss securitisation and the law, surveillance and profiling, general statistics of hate crime against Muslims after 9/11, the criminal code of Canada; a critique of the limitations and ineffectiveness of existing anti-hate laws and denied militarisation and torture.

Chapter 3 explores the negative effects of hate representation via media, political, academic and elite discourses, on Muslims in Canada as they fall victim to social attitudes and dangerous stereotyping of the 'majority' expressed in acts of hatred, hostility, discrimination and violence. Certainly, Islamophobic discourse and anti-Muslim bias within the field of Western knowledge is becoming increasingly normal and more vitriolic.

Additionally, this chapter discusses three case studies which assess the extent of Islamophobic rhetoric in the media. Case studies include Ezra Levant, a columnist for the Toronto Sun who published a

book directed against the Canadian Khadr family whose son, Omar, was the youngest prisoner held at Guantanamo Bay for over 10 years.

Ameli et al uses the Domination Hate Model of Intercultural Relations. This critical methodology argues that hate crime does not exist in a vacuum. An environment must exist so that perpetrators feel they have to act aggressively. The analysis is based on the notion of a hate environment created by hate policies and negative representations, resulting in a hated society, the hated society being Muslims and the majority being the hating society.

Demographic overview:

- Respondents were primarily based in the Greater Toronto Area and Ontario (52.5%) and Quebec (27%) in which the hard copies and digital questionnaires were written in English and Quebecois
- The majority of the respondents were Canadian born (32.1%). Migrants were from many different countries, most commonly Pakistan (17.2%) and Saudi Arabia (7.2%).
- Just over a half of the respondents were female (51.8%) with male respondents at 45.9% and 2.3% not stating gender
- Most respondents were overwhelmingly young, under 35 (74.4%; 55% were aged between 18 and 30).
- The overwhelming majority of respondents saw themselves as being practising Muslims (71%) or highly practising Muslims (19.5%).
- 76.5% of respondents were visibly Muslim, 18.8% stated they were not visibly Muslim and 0.5% stating they were not Muslim but sometimes mistaken for one.

Respondents considered several categories of negative experiences, distributed over both implicit and explicit forms of discrimination and abuse. For each aspect of experience respondents were offered five options with which to rate the frequency of their experiences, ranging from 'always' to 'never' and from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' in the space of a year. The nature of what has been witnessed is revealed through open-ended questions and ranges from individual acts to systemic Islamophobia in media and political discourse.

Key results are:

- 93.2% of respondents stated that they saw negative or insulting stereotypes of Muslims in the media
- 76.93% of respondents saw negative representation of Muslims in the media
- 73.74% have seen political policies (local or national) that negatively affected Muslim people
- 69.79% of respondents believe 'politicians do not care about us'
- 68.47% have witnessed politicians philosophise that Muslims are innately problematic
- 66.39% believe discriminatory acts against Muslims are condoned by politicians
- 61.81% have seen policies or practices at work, school or business that excluded or negatively affected Muslim people
- 61.65% have heard Islamophobic comments made in particular by politicians/high-ranking officials
- 56.19% have witnessed/heard Islamophobia directed towards someone else

- 50.77% have been stared at by strangers
- 48.31% have heard or have been told an offensive joke or comment concerning Muslim people or about Islam
- 47.33% have had religious beliefs challenged/denigrated by work colleagues/school/college peers
- 41.61% have been talked down or treated as if they were stupid; have had opinions minimised or devalued; have had others expected them to be less competent
- 41.44% have been treated in an overly superficial manner
- 39% of students experienced discrimination in the educational setting
- 37.51% have been treated with suspicion or have been wrongly accused of something
- 36.52% of respondents have experienced some kind of discrimination but were afraid to complain as they believed no one cares
- 36.41% have been overlooked, ignored or denied service in a shop, restaurant or public office/transport
- 35.05% have experienced job discrimination based on religion
- 32.12% have experienced educational discriminated based on religion
- 10.9% have experienced physical assault

The recommendations proposed are feasible; focusing on institutional and structural spaces to provide immediate results with long-lasting effects. The cycle of silencing the minority groups must be broken if Canada is to make a reality of its self-perception as a multicultural tolerant space.

- Respondents felt positive about educating non-Muslims and recognised the importance of Muslims themselves receiving education about the Canadian system and making it work for/with them.

Law

Authors provide a brief critique of Canadian law, notably Canada's anti-discrimination law and also recommend:

- The introduction of anti-discrimination (extant) law training for state institutions including schools and government workspaces;
 - A need for a more robust legal framework for cases in relation to discrimination;
 - Training to those working in legal institutions about anti-racism. ;
 - A re-evaluation of anti-discrimination as part of the wider working of the law;
 - Through training and legal sanction, racial and religious profiling should be made objectionable and it needs to be understood that it is a pervasive form of hate crime.
 - The courts need to recapture their legitimacy as a proper place where justice can be found.
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- The two tier system of criminal law, where Muslims face extra punishment and denial of basic rights through anti-terrorism legislation and the fear of anti-terrorism laws and policing must end.

Securitisation and foreign policy

Canada's image as the mouse quaking in the shadow of a sleeping elephant is incorrectly perceived. Canada cannot claim to be meek and tolerant while being involved in the most precarious and belligerent illegitimate enterprises. There is a need to recapture the state of being the 'mouse' as that is where Canada's power lies as opposed to trying to emulate the 'elephant' that is the USA.

Acknowledging history

Apologies for injustices are good publicity but meaningless as often they are not bolstered by actual changes. As a result multiculturalism is not a reality for marginalised people. Canada must begin by acknowledging the wrongs, changing policies and implementing meaningful redress.

Media

Authors have expressed a number of feasible implementations and changes to the media such as an outlet of education for the majority and structural modification.

- Utilising the media as a tool for tolerance and impartiality is a project that requires attention. Space can be made for alternative expressions of identity and frames of cultural reference;
- There needs to be a better understanding and acknowledgement of prejudiced representation of minorities;
- Media institutions must self-regulate and reinforce efforts towards checking structural issues;
- Improvement of complaint mechanisms whereby people feel they can criticise general bias and not just blatant unfair reporting;
- Stronger emphasis on the seriousness of professional practice to which individual journalists, columnists and editors in news media can be held accountable, which contain disciplinary action;

Politics

Now is a time to recapture the Canada where everyone is equal in the eyes of the law. The report acknowledges that the term 'multiculturalism' can be problematic but thinks it is important in an age where minorities are under attack. This is a dialogue that must be accepted by Canada's major structural institutions if it is to have any impact.

If policy makers are willing to make these ultimate changes, they are sure to see partners from communities that have long been excluded.