

Islamophobia in Canada

Submission to the
National Action Summit
on Islamophobia

Prepared by

Azeezah Kanji (JD, LLM; Noor Cultural Centre)

Tim McSorley (International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group)

July 22, 2021

Endorsements

Organizations

1. Arab Canadian Lawyers Association
2. Atlantic Canada Palestinian Society
3. BC Civil Liberties Association (BCCLA)
4. Black Women United YEG
5. Canadian Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
6. Canadian Arab Federation
7. Canadian Arab Institute
8. Canadian Association of Jews and Muslims
9. Canadian BDS Coalition
10. Canadian Council Of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah
11. Canadian Council of Imams
12. Canadian Council of Indian Muslims
13. Canadian Council of Muslim Women (CCMW)
14. Canadian Council of Muslim Women Niagara Halton
15. Canadian Muslim Research Think Tank
16. Canadians Against Oppression And Persecution (CAOP)
17. Canada Pakistan Affiliated Chambers of Trade
18. Canada Palestine Association
19. Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME)
20. Center for Security, Race and Rights, Rutgers University
21. Chinese & Southeast Asian Legal Clinic
22. Coalition of Muslim Women of KW
23. Council of Agencies Serving South Asians (CASSA)
24. East Turkistan Association of Canada
25. Human Rights Research and Education Centre, University of Ottawa
26. Imam Services Inc.
27. Independent Jewish Voices Canada
28. Institute for Religious and Socio-Political Studies (I-RSS)
29. Islamic Centre of Cambridge
30. Islamic Family and Social Services Association
31. Islamic Foundation of Toronto
32. Islamic Humanitarian Service
33. Islamic Relief Canada
34. Islamic Social Services Association
35. Justice for All Canada
36. Just Peace Advocates/Mouvement Pour Une Paix Juste
37. Ligue des droits et libertés

38. Mathabah Institute
39. Muslim Association of Brantford
40. Muslim Association of Canada
41. Muslim Feminist Collective of Edmonton
42. Muslim Social Services of Kitchener Waterloo
43. Niagara Movement for Justice in Palestine-Israel (NMJPI)
44. Oakville Palestinian Rights Association (OPRA)
45. Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI)
46. Palestinian Association of Brantford
47. PCCC-Palestine House
48. Punjabi Community Health Services
49. Rahma Counselling & Consulting
50. Rideau Institute
51. SALAM Project
52. Sisters Dialogue Inc.
53. Sisters Trust Canada
54. South Asian Legal Clinic of Ontario (SALCO)
55. Think for Actions
56. Uyghur Rights Advocacy Project

Individuals

57. Dr. Idil Abdillahi, School of Disability Studies, X University
58. Walai Abu-Amireh, Teacher
59. Dr Nadia Abu-Zahra, Associate Professor, University of Ottawa
60. Fahad Ahmad, Carleton University
61. Omer Aijazi, University of Toronto
62. Sharry Aiken, Associate Professor, Queen's University Faculty of Law
63. Shaheen Ashraf, Board member Canadian Council of Muslim Women
64. Natasha Bakht, Professor, Shirley Greenberg Chair for Women and the Legal Profession, University of Ottawa, Faculty of Law
65. Brice Balmer, Grand River Interfaith in Waterloo Region
66. Susan Braedley, Associate Professor, Carleton University
67. Dr. Veldon Coburn, Assistant Professor, University of Ottawa
68. Paul Copeland, lawyer, C M
69. Dr Yasmine Djerbal, PhD, Anti-Racism and Inclusion Educational Developer, Queen's University
70. Dr Mohammad Fadel, University of Toronto Faculty of Law
71. Dr Randa Farah, Associate Professor, Western University
72. Linda Green, Ottawa Raging Granny
73. Dr Wael M R Haddara, Physician and Educator
74. Dr Nader Hashemi, University of Denver

75. Hanny A. Hassan, CM
76. Jamal Hassan, Public Interest Canada (Director, Government & Corporate Relations)
77. Dr Ibrahim Hayani, Professor, Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology
78. Dr Ahmed Hegazy MBBCh, MSc, FRCPC, MPH. Assistant Professor, Western University
79. Ida C. Henderson, economist (ret'd), Government of Canada
80. Ria Heynen, Raging Grannies, Justice for Mohamed Harkat Committee
81. Rev. Jenn Hind-Urquhart
82. Imam Shafiq Hudda
83. Dr Adnan A. Husain, Associate Professor of Medieval Mediterranean and Islamic World History and Director, Muslim Societies-Global Perspectives Project, Queen's University
84. Thayyiba Ibrahim, KMCC Canada
85. Dr Ali Islam, MD
86. Barb Jackman, lawyer
87. Nuzhat Jafri, Executive Director, Canadian Council of Muslim Women (CCMW)
88. Majed Jarrar, Canadian Council of Imams
89. Dr Ivan Kalmar, Professor of Anthropology, University of Toronto
90. Nimet Karachi, Canadian Council of Muslim Women
91. Rev. Nancy Vernon Kelly, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada
92. Dr Fatima Khadadah, FRCPC
93. Jamal Khan, retired Toronto Police Staff Sergeant
94. Rana Khan, Program Assistant, Working for Change
95. Dr Arun Kundnani, Writer
96. Annette Lengyel, Justice for Palestinians Calgary
97. Ali Mallah, activist
98. Peggy Mason, President, Rideau Institute; former Canadian Disarmament Ambassador
99. Dr Ingrid Mattson, Chair of Islamic Studies, Huron University College
100. Nyla Matuk, author
101. Dr. Patricia D. McGuire, Carleton University
102. Tudy McLaine, First Unitarian Congregation Ottawa
103. Yasmin Meralli, President, Pluralism Performance Inc.
104. Dr. Mohamed Mithoowani
105. Dr. Abdulghany Mohamed
106. Dr Jeffrey Monaghan, Associate Professor, Criminology, Carleton University
107. Khaled Mouammar, former Member of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada
108. Imam Irshad Osman, Khateeb, Danforth Islamic Centre
109. Dr Idrisa Pandit, Academic and social justice advocate
110. Dr Barbara Perry, Centre on Hate, Bias and Extremism
111. Dr Abdullah Hakim Quick
112. Omar Rasheed, Simon Fraser University
113. Dr Sherene Razack, Distinguished Professor and the Penney Kanner Endowed Chair in Women's Studies, UCLA

114. Denise Reaume, Professor of Law, University of Toronto
115. Melissa Redmond, Assistant Professor, Carleton University
116. Kent Roach, C.M., F.R.S.C.
117. Kiké Roach, Unifor National Chair in Social Justice & Democracy, X University
118. Rev. Karen Rodman
119. Imam Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi, Jaffari Mosque
120. Rashad Saleh, President, Arab Palestine Association of Ontario
121. Desmond Sequeira, Multi-Faith Chaplain (ret'd), Government of Ontario
122. Hisham Slim, Treasurer of Islamic Centre of Southwest Ontario
123. Dr Salman Sayyid, Professor, University of Leeds
124. Itrath Syed, academic
125. Imam Abu Noman Tarek
126. Roch Tassé, policy analyst, activist
127. Raiss Tinmaung, Rohingya Human Rights Network
128. James L. Turk, Director, Centre for Free Expression, Ryerson University
129. Ummer Veedu, Sr.Technical Architect, Ontario Public Service
130. Michelle Weinroth. teacher and writer
131. Dr Jeremy Wildeman, Research Fellow, Human Rights Research and Education Centre,
University of Ottawa
132. Dr. Mukarram Zaidi

Introduction

Islamophobia and Anti-Islamophobia – Overview, Definitions, and Principles

In this analysis, Islamophobia is defined as: ***the unfounded fear and/or hatred of Muslims, or people perceived to be Muslim, leading to violence and discrimination at both interpersonal and structural levels.***

Proportionate criticism of Islam or Muslims based on factual evidence is not intrinsically Islamophobia, just as criticism of the tenets or followers of other religions or ethnic groups does not necessarily indicate bigotry or prejudice.¹

Islamophobia is a form of racism, attributing negative qualities to those targeted on the basis of biological and/or socio-cultural characteristics – for example, forms of dress, beliefs, or modes of religious and/or cultural practice.

Islamophobia is deeper than individual “extremism” or “hate crimes.” Rather, it has been produced and sustained by state, media, and educational practices depicting and disciplining Muslims as a threat, while other types of narratives about Muslims and coverage of anti-Muslim violence are marginalized or excluded. ***Islamophobia long predates 9/11***, having developed over centuries as part of the racial order of colonial modernity.²

Islamophobia is gendered – meaning that it operates according to gendered stereotypes about Muslim men (as violent terrorists and patriarchs) and Muslim women (as subjugated victims and dangerous cultural vectors), leading to gendered violence (for example, interpersonal attacks and laws targeting the hijab and niqab, and sexualized torture of “war on terror” detainees³).

Islamophobia intersects with and perpetuates ableism. Many of the targets of sting operations by state informants have been Muslims struggling with mental illness – including Chiheb Esseghaier, Amanda Korody and John Nuttall, and Abdudlrahman El Bahnasawy.⁴

¹ Georgetown University Bridge Initiative, “What Is Islamophobia?” <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/about/>.

² Ramon Grosfoguel, “The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities: Epistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th Century” (2013) 11:1 *Human Architecture* 73; Nelson Maldonado-Torres, “Race, Religion, and Ethics in the Modern/Colonial World” (2014) 42:4 *Journal of Religious Ethics* 691; Tomaz Mastnak, “Western Hostility Towards Muslims: A History of the Present,” in Andrew Shyrock, ed. *Islamophobia/Islamophilia: Beyond the Politics of Enemy and Friend* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press: 2010).

³ Ramzi Kassem, “Gendered Erasure in the Global ‘War on Terror’: An Unmasked Interrogation” in Margaret L Satterthwaite and Jayne Huckerby, eds. *Gender, National Security, and Counter-Terrorism: Human Rights Perspectives* (Routledge, 2012).

⁴ Bruce Livesy, “CSIS and RCMP Accused of Entrapping Terrorism Suspects,” 10 October 2017, *National Observer*, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2017/10/10/news/csis-and-rcmp-accused-entrapping-terrorism-suspects>; Richard Warnica, “Esseghaier Terrorism Case Highlights Tricky Collision Between Mental Illness and Extremism,” 28 July 2017, *National Post*, <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/esseghaier-terrorism-case->

Islamophobia also intersects with anti-Indigenous racism, anti-Black racism, anti-migrant discrimination, and economic marginalization. Black Muslims, Indigenous Muslims, and Black Indigenous Muslims experience the compounding effects of anti-Black racism, anti-Indigenous racism, and Islamophobia. Moreover, counter-terrorism powers expanded based on Islamophobic logic have also been used to target other groups subjected to state violence, including Indigenous land and water defenders.⁵

Given this understanding of Islamophobia as systemic, often state-sponsored racism intertwined with other forms of systemic oppression, **anti-Islamophobia should:**

- a) not be premised on the expansion of structurally racist and rights-abusive institutions, such as counter-terrorism and policing, but rather rectify the racism embedded with them; and**
- b) center the experiences, perspectives, and interests of those most affected by the intersections of Islamophobia with anti-Black racism, anti-Indigenous racism, ableism, anti-migrant discrimination, and/or economic marginalization.**

The following sections of this report cover: 1) perceptions of Islam and Muslims in Canada; 2) Islamophobia in media; 3) the prevalence of Islamophobic hate incidents; 4) Islamophobia in counter-terrorism laws, policies, and practices; 5) Islamophobia in policing; 6) the impact of Islamophobic laws on Muslim women; and 7) recommendations for addressing Islamophobia in Canada.

1. Public Perceptions of Islam and Muslims

According to survey findings:

- 46% of Canadians have an unfavourable view of Islam – more than for any other religious tradition⁶;
- fewer than half of Canadians would find it “acceptable” for one of their children to marry a Muslim – lower than for any other religious group⁷;

highlights-tricky-collision-between-mental-illness-and-extremism; Jason Proctor, “RCMP Entrapment of BC Couple in Legislature Bomb Plot was ‘Travesty of Justice,’ Court Rules,” 19 December 2018, *CBC*, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/john-nuttall-amanda-korody-2018-1.4952431>; John Lancaster, “Mentally Ill Canadian Convicted in Terror Probe Lands in US Supermaximum Security Prison,” 10 June 2021, *CBC*, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/family-wants-canadian-out-of-us-supermax-prison-1.6057663>.

⁵ For example, Brett Forester, “Top Spy Agency Tracked Caledonia Land Dispute as Possible Threat to National Security: Secret Document,” 29 June 2021, *APTN*, <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/spy-agency-tracked-caledonia-land-dispute-as-possible-threat-to-national-security-secret-document/>.

⁶ Angus Reid Institute, “Religious Trends: Led by Quebec, Number of Canadians Holding Favourable Views of Various Religions Increases,” 4 April 2017, <http://angusreid.org/religious-trends-2017/>.

⁷ *Ibid.*

- 56% of Canadians believe that Islam suppresses women’s rights⁸;
- more than half of people living in Ontario feel mainstream Muslim doctrines promote violence⁹;
- 52% of Canadians feel that Muslims can only be trusted “a little” or “not at all”¹⁰;
- 42% of Canadians think discrimination against Muslims is “mainly their fault”¹¹;
- 47% of Canadians support banning headscarves in public (compared with 30% of Americans)¹²;
- 51% support government surveillance of mosques (as compared to 46% of Americans)¹³;
- 31% of Canadians approve of American President Donald Trump’s restrictions on travellers from Muslim-majority countries¹⁴;
- 55% of Canadians think the problem of Islamophobia is “overblown” by politicians and media, and only 29% supported a non-binding parliamentary motion (M-103) to condemn and study Islamophobia.¹⁵

2. Media

Multiple analyses of Canadian and US media have concluded that Islam and Muslims receive disproportionately negative coverage – both quantitatively (in terms of amounts of coverage) and qualitatively (Muslim perpetrators are more likely to be defined as “terrorists,” represented as having more violent motives, linked in media reports to larger terror networks and broader patterns of ideological violence, and labelled by their religious and ethno-racial identities).¹⁶

⁸ Bill Graveland, “‘Fear is the Greatest Factor’: Survey Finds Canadians Worry About Rise of Racism,” 16 September 2017, *Toronto Star*, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/09/16/fear-is-the-greatest-factor-survey-finds-canadians-worry-about-rise-of-racism.html>.

⁹ Nicholas Keung, “Ontario Facing ‘Epidemic of Islamophobia,’ Survey Finds,” 4 July 2016, *Toronto Star*, <https://www.thestar.com/news/immigration/2016/07/04/ontario-facing-epidemic-of-islamophobia-survey-finds.html>.

¹⁰ Ron Csillag, “Survey Finds Deep Mistrust for Muslims in Canada,” 26 March 2012, *Washington Post*, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/on-faith/survey-finds-deep-mistrust-for-muslims-in-canada/2012/03/26/gIQAjDCMcS_story.html?utm_term=.86d3e80b7e56.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² John Geddes, “On One Issue, Canadians Are A Lot Less Tolerant Than Americans,” 9 February 2017, *Maclean’s*, <http://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/on-one-issue-canadians-are-a-lot-less-tolerant-than-americans/>.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Daniel Dale, “Under Trump, a Majority of Canadians Dislike the US for the First Time in 35 Years, Likely Much Longer,” 26 June 2017, *Toronto Star*, <https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2017/06/26/a-majority-of-canadians-dislike-the-us-for-the-first-time-in-35-years-likely-much-longer.html>.

¹⁵ Angus Reid, “M-103: If Canadians, Not MPs, Voted in the House, the Motion Condemning Islamophobia Would be Defeated,” March 2017, <http://angusreid.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/2017.03.20-M103.pdf>.

¹⁶ For example, Erin M Kearns, Allison E Betus and Anthony F Lemieux, “Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention Than Others?” (2019) 36:6 *Justice Quarterly* 985; Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, “Equal Treatment? Measuring the Legal and Media Responses to Ideologically Motivated Violence in the United States,” 2018, <https://www.imv-report.org/>; Kimberly A Powell, “Framing Islam: An Analysis of US

For example, a study of the *Globe and Mail* by communication studies professor Yasmin Jiwani found sixty-six articles on the Shafia femicide case alone (which was widely represented as an “honour killing”), but only fifty-nine on the “murder of women and domestic violence” in general from 2005 to 2012.¹⁷

The Quebec mosque shooting (January 2017) received approximately five minutes of airtime on CBC’s flagship news program, *The National*, the night that it occurred – while the London Borough attacks in the UK (June 2017) received several hours of live reportage and commentary.

3. Hate Incidents

There were 349 police-report hate crimes against Muslims in 2017, 173 in 2018, and 181 in 2019, according to the most recent Statistics Canada data available.¹⁸ The number of anti-Muslim hate crimes more than tripled between 2012 to 2015, even as the overall incidence of hate crimes declined.¹⁹ As compared to other groups targeted by hate, Muslims had the highest percentage of women victims – 47% – between 2010 and 2019, as compared to 32% for hate crimes generally.²⁰ Black Muslims are targeted by the intersections of escalating anti-Black and anti-Muslim hate, including a series of verbal and physical attacks against primarily Black Muslim women in Edmonton since late last year.²¹

It should be noted that official statistics on anti-Muslim hate in Canada are incomplete: first, because only a small proportion (approximately one-third) of hateful acts are reported; and second, because hateful incidents not deemed to qualify as hate crimes are not systematically recorded and tracked. Muslims have reported being discouraged by police from reporting hateful incidents – for example, by being warned about the time-consuming process for making a complaint, or by police discounting the hateful nature of acts like leaving pig parts at a mosque.²²

Media Coverage of Terrorism Since 9/11,” 62:1 *Communication Studies* 90; Azeezah Kanji, “Framing Muslims in the ‘War on Terror’: Representations of Ideological Violence in Canadian National News Media,” (2019) *Religions*.

¹⁷ Yasmin Jiwani, “A Clash of Discourses: Femicides or Honour Killings?” in M Eid and K Karim, eds. *Re-Imagining the Other: Culture, Media, and Wester-Muslim Intersections* (Springer, 2014), 122.

¹⁸ Statistics Canada, “Police-Reported Hate Crime in Canada, 2018,” 26 February 2020, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2020001/article/00003-eng.htm>; Statistics Canada, “Police-Reported Hate Crime, 2019,” 29 March 2021, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/210329/dq210329a-eng.htm>.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*; Jillian Kestler-D’Amours, “Why are Muslim Women Living ‘In Fear’ in this Canadian City?” 13 July 2021, *Al Jazeera English*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/7/13/why-are-muslim-women-living-in-fear-in-this-canadian-city>.

²² National Council of Canadian Muslims, “Submission to the United Nations (UN) Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD): 93rd Session, July 31 – August 25, 2017,” <https://www.nccm.ca/wp->

There have been three fatal attacks directed against Muslims in Canada in the last five years. In June 2021, four members of a Muslim family were killed, and one injured, in a van attack in London, Ontario. In September 2020, a volunteer was killed outside a Toronto mosque, by a man with social media connections to White supremacist groups.²³ And on January 29, 2017, six Muslims were killed and five were critically injured in a shooting attack on the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec; at the time that it occurred, it was the most fatal act of ideology-linked violence in Canada since 1989.

Individuals and groups inaccurately *perceived* to be Muslim have also experienced Islamophobic attacks. For example, a Hindu temple in Hamilton, Ontario was destroyed by arson four days after 9/11.²⁴ Sikh communities have also been targeted by Islamophobic hate incidents.²⁵

Islamophobic hate has also been directed against Palestine solidarity activists (Muslim and non-Muslim). For example, since July 2020 a pro-Palestine restaurant in Toronto, Foodbenders, has been barraged with an ongoing campaign of violently anti-Muslim and anti-Palestinian messages, including “Allah is Satan” graffitied on the sidewalk outside (which is also in front of a mosque).²⁶

4. Counter-Terrorism

National security agencies have refused to heed the Canadian Human Rights Commission’s call to collect and analyze race-disaggregated data on their operations, so that the impacts of security practices and policies on particular communities can be assessed. “Not only is there no accountability framework in place, national security organizations are not required to collect and report data on human rights performance in practice,” the Commission observes.²⁷

content/uploads/2017/08/NCCM_Submission_to_CERD_August32017_93rd_Treaty_Bodies_Session_CANADA-1.pdf.

²³ Catherine McDonald, “Suspect in Fatal Stabbing at Toronto Mosque Connected to White Supremacist Group, Expert Says,” 22 September 2020, *Global News*, <https://globalnews.ca/news/7351511/mohamed-aslim-zafis-murder-suspect-white-supremacy-social-media/>.

²⁴ “Arrests in Post 9/11 ‘Hate’ Attack on Hamilton Hindu Temple,” 27 November 2013, *CBC News*, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/news/arrests-in-post-9-11-hate-attack-on-hamilton-hindu-temple-1.2442098>. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/news/arrests-in-post-9-11-hate-attack-on-hamilton-hindu-temple-1.2442098>.

²⁵ “Confused Americans Are Still Attacking Sikhs Because They Think They’re Muslims,” 29 December 2015, *National Post*, <http://nationalpost.com/news/world/people-see-a-sikh-and-construe-them-as-the-enemy-why-americans-still-confuse-sikhs-with-muslims>.

²⁶ Cheryl Gaster and Azeezah Kanji, “Anti-Foodbenders Campaign Shows Political Double Standard on Hate,” 12 August 2020, *Passage*, <https://readpassage.com/anti-foodbenders-campaign-shows-political-double-standard-on-hate/>.

²⁷ Canadian Human Rights Commission, “Human Rights Accountability in National Security Practices: A Special Report to Parliament,” (November 2011), online: <<http://www.chrc-ccdp.gc.ca/sites/default/files/chrc-specialreport-28112011.pdf>>.

The absence of information transparency is exacerbated by the absence of robust oversight, review, and redress mechanisms for victims of rights-abusive national security practices. The recently-created National Security Intelligence and Review Agency cannot make binding recommendations or compel remedies for complainants; lacks a mandate to accept complaints regarding agencies that play key roles in national security, notably the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA); and members are appointed by the same government whose activities are being reviewed.²⁸

Even without comprehensive data disclosure from agencies, however, studies by academics and civil rights organizations have repeatedly documented the disproportionate impact of national security measures – including no-fly lists, terrorist entities listings, counter-radicalization programs, security agent visitations, mass surveillance, and “terrorism” prosecutions²⁹ – on Muslim communities.

Laws that expand state national security powers without adequate transparency and oversight (like the *Anti-Terrorism Act, 2015* and the *National Security Act, 2017*³⁰) therefore disproportionately threaten the fundamental rights and freedoms of Muslims – including the rights to privacy and a fair trial, and freedoms of expression, religion, and assembly.

Racial Profiling in Defining the “Terrorist Threat”

Government reports on national security by Public Safety Canada and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) focus predominantly on Muslim individuals and organizations as the

²⁸ International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, “Bill C-59: Oversight and Review Mechanisms” <https://iclmg.ca/issues/bill-c-59-the-national-security-act-of-2017/bill-c-59-oversight-and-review-mechanisms/>.

²⁹ Baljit Nagra and Paula Maurutto, “No-Fly Lists, National Security and Race: The Experiences of Canadian Muslims” (2020) 60:3 *The British Journal of Criminology* 600; Ashley Burke, “Families Share Their ‘No-Fly List’ Ordeals with Public Safety Minister Bill Blair,” 20 December 2019, *CBC*, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-no-fly-list-kids-meeting-public-safety-minister-1.5403518>; “Open Letter to Federal Leaders: Do Not Expand Anti-Terrorism Laws in the Name of Anti-Racism,” 22 February 2021, <https://iclmg.ca/letter-federal-leaders-terrorist-entities-list/>; Jeffrey Monaghan and Adam Molnar, “Radicalisation Theories, Policing Practices, and ‘The Future of Terrorism?’” (2016) 9:3 *Critical Studies on Terrorism*; Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations, “Presumption of Guilt: A National Survey on Security Visitations of Canadian Muslims,” (2005) <http://www.cair.com/press-center/press-releases/1335-cair-can-releases-results-of-security-survey.html>; Shanifa Nasser, “When CSIS Comes Knocking: Amid Reports of Muslim Students Contacted by Spy Agency, Hotline Aims to Help,” 7 August 2019, *CBC*, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/csis-students-university-muslim-campus-1.5229670>; Baljit Nagra, “Anti-Muslim Surveillance: Canadian Muslims’ Experiences with CSIS” Paper presented at Canadian Sociological Association conference, 3 June 2021, <https://www.csa-scs.ca/conference/paper/anti-muslim-surveillance-canadians-muslims-experiences-with-csis/>; Michael Nesbitt, “An Empirical Study of Terrorism Charges and Terrorism Trials in Canada between September 2001 and September 2018” (2019) *Criminal Law Quarterly*, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3325956.

³⁰ Many of the problems with the *Anti-Terrorism Act, 2015*, are not adequately addressed by the *National Security Act, 2017* (popularly known as Bill C-59). See International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, “Open Letter to the Federal Government on C-59: New National Security Bill Fails to Reverse C-51 and Introduces Serious New Problems,” 19 September 2017, <http://iclmg.ca/open-letter-to-the-federal-government-on-c-59-new-national-security-bill-fails-to-reverse-c-51-and-introduces-serious-new-problems/>.

primary source of terrorism.³¹ A comprehensive 2019 study of all completed terrorism prosecutions in Canada since 2001 found that 98% were against Muslims or defendants linked to Muslim groups; the vast majority did not involve any executed act of violence.³² Pre-criminal measures imposing behavioural restrictions, such as “terrorism peace bonds,” have also been overwhelmingly applied against Muslims.³³

This disproportionate focus persists despite the fact that extreme right-wing and White supremacist groups have been linked to many times *more* incidents of violence than individuals and groups connected to Islam³⁴; the number of hate groups active in Canada has tripled since 2015 to 300.³⁵

Yet state initiatives to address the threat of White supremacism through counter-terrorism measures have often been accompanied by further securitization of Muslims – for example, when the Proud Boys and three other right-wing organizations were listed as a “terrorist entities” earlier this year, nine more Islamist-identified groups were also added at the same time.³⁶ The listing mechanism itself raises serious procedural justice concerns, as civil liberties and human rights organizations and academic experts have long pointed out.³⁷

According to the Ontario Human Rights Commission’s 2017 report on racial profiling, young Muslims have been targeted for monitoring by CSIS or police intelligence because of

³¹ See, for example, Public Safety Canada, “Building Resilience Against Terrorism: Canada’s Counter-Terrorism Strategy,” (2012), <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/rsInc-gnst-trrrsm/index-en.aspx>; Public Safety Canada, “2013 Public Report on the Terrorist Threat to Canada,” (2013), <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/trrrst-thrt-cnd/index-en.aspx>; Public Safety Canada, “2014 Public Report on the Terrorist Threat to Canada,” (2014), <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/2014-pblc-rpr-trrrst-thrt/index-en.aspx>; Public Safety Canada, “2016 Public Report on the Terrorist Threat to Canada,” (2016), <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/2016-pblc-rpr-trrrst-thrt/index-en.aspx>.

³² Michael Nesbitt, “An Empirical Study of Terrorism Charges and Terrorism Trials in Canada between September 2001 and September 2018” (2019) *Criminal Law Quarterly*, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3325956.

³³ Fahad Ahmad and Jeffrey Monaghan, “From Probabilities to Possibilities: Terrorism Peace Bonds, Pre-Emptive Security, and Modulations of Criminal Law” (2020) 74 *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 341.

³⁴ Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society, “Canadian Incident Database,” <http://extremism.ca/>; Catherine Solyom, “The Trump Effect and the Normalization of Hate in Quebec,” 15 November 2016, *Montreal Gazette*, <http://montrealgazette.com/news/quebec/the-trump-effect-and-the-normalization-of-hate>.

³⁵ Christopher Reynolds, “Singh Calls on Government to Counter Hate Groups, Which Have Tripled Since 2015,” 10 November 2020, *The Globe and Mail*, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-singh-calls-on-government-to-counter-hate-groups-which-have-tripled/>.

³⁶ John Paul Tasker, “Canada Labels the Proud Boys, Neo-Nazi Groups as Terrorists,” 3 February 2021, *CBC*, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-proud-boys-terrorists-1.5899186>.

³⁷ Kent Roach and Craig Forcese, “Yesterday’s Law: Terrorist Group Listing in Canada” (2018) 30:2 *Terrorism and Political Violence* 259; Kent Roach, “Counterterrorism and the Challenges of Terrorism from the Far Right” (2021) 50:1 *Common Law World Review* 3; “Open Letter to Federal Leaders: Do Not Expand Anti-Terrorism Laws in the Name of Anti-Racism,” 22 February 2021, <https://iclmg.ca/letter-federal-leaders-terrorist-entities-list/>

participation in activism for causes like Palestinian rights.³⁸ Muslim university students, refugee claimants, and other vulnerable demographics have reported being aggressively recruited by security agencies to become informants.

Two recent, independent reports have documented the discriminatory auditing of Muslim charities by the Canada Revenue Agency, underpinned by the Muslim-centric conceptualization of “terrorism.”³⁹ According to the International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, 75% of charitable status revocations by the CRA’s secretive Review and Analysis Division between 2008 and 2015 were against Muslim charities – which constitute only 0.47% of charities in Canada.⁴⁰ Conversely, charities implicated in apparent international rights violations and hate speech *against* Muslims and Arabs have escaped similar targeting and consequences.⁴¹

There have also been several reported cases of Muslims being denied security clearance by CSIS for employment purposes, for apparently discriminatory reasons. For example, participation in paintball – described by CSIS as “a form of *jihad* for Sunni Muslims” – has been cited as a reason for denial, according to lawyer Khalid Elgazzar.⁴²

Complaints Against CSIS

A 2017 lawsuit filed against CSIS by five intelligence officers and analysts depicts a culture of institutionalized Islamophobia and discrimination, alleging that “racist, sexist, homophobic and discriminatory behaviour has become the accepted culture and norm” at the agency.⁴³

For instance, a gay employee received an email from a manager warning he should be “careful your Muslim in-laws don’t behead you in your sleep for being homo,” and was told repeatedly that “All Muslims are terrorists.” A Muslim analyst was regularly called names like “Muslim Brotherhood” and “Imam” by management, and told to “complain to Allah.” A Muslim intelligence officer was subjected to polygraph examination about her religious practices and

³⁸ Ontario Human Rights Commission, “Under Suspicion: Research and Consultation Report on Racial Profiling in Ontario” (2017), <http://ohrc.on.ca/en/under-suspicion-research-and-consultation-report-racial-profiling-ontario>.

³⁹ International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, “The CRA’s Prejudiced Audits: Counter-Terrorism and the Targeting of Muslim Charities in Canada” (2021), <https://iclmg.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Prejudiced-Audits-ICLMG-2021.pdf>; Anver Emon and Nadia Hasan, “Under Layered Suspicion: A Review of CRA Audits of Muslim-Led Charities,” University of Toronto Institute of Islamic Studies and the National Council of Canadian Muslims (2021), https://uploads-ssl.webflow.com/6014cdeca65f7f2af7e18187/605eb346393ed260c23713e2_Under_Layered_Suspicion_Report_Mar2021.pdf.

⁴⁰ International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, *supra* note 39.

⁴¹ See, for example, Independent Jewish Voices, Complaint to Minister of National Revenue re the Jewish National Fund, http://www.stopthejnf.ca/uploads/1/1/7/6/117664426/formal_complaint_re_jnf_oct_17_2017_final-links2.pdf; Emon and Hasan, *supra* note 39.

⁴² Khalid Elgazzar, Presentation and 18th National Metropolis Conference, March 2016, Westin Harbor Castle Hotel, Toronto.

⁴³ Plaintiff’s Statement of Claim, *John Doe #1, Jane Doe #1, John Doe #2, John Doe #3 and Jane Doe #2 v Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada* (Federal Court of Canada), https://www.scribd.com/document/353767258/CSIS-harassment-lawsuit-statement-of-claim#fullscreen&from_embed.

clothing, restricted from associating with Muslim community organizations under threat of revocation of her security clearance, and told by a supervisor that “Muslim women are inferior.” A poster displayed in the office depicted the burning World Trade Centre towers, with the words “Ninety-Nine Names of Allah.”⁴⁴

CSIS settled the lawsuit, so the allegations were not ultimately proven in court. However, further employee complaints alleging similarly Islamophobic behaviour have emerged since (despite the lack of whistleblower protection)⁴⁵; and previous studies and inquiries have long documented Canadian security agencies’ problematic relationships with Muslim communities and attitudes towards Islam.

For example, according to the 2008 report of the official Iacobucci Inquiry on the imprisonment and torture of three Muslim Canadian men – Ahmad El-Maati, Abdullah Almalki, and Muayyed Nureddin – CSIS insisted on interpreting a will drawn up by El-Maati before embarking on Hajj (a common Muslim practice) as a “martyrdom certificate” indicating intent to commit a terrorist attack. El-Maati was tortured in Egypt on the basis of this misinterpretation (see section on Complicity with Torture below).⁴⁶

A 2005 study by the Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations (now the National Council of Canadian Muslims) on the treatment of Canadian Muslims during national security interviews described security officials discouraging legal representation, engaging in aggressive and threatening behaviour towards interviewees, using threats of arrest to compel individuals to be interviewed, asking intrusive and inappropriate questions, giving improper identification, and soliciting informants through intimidation.⁴⁷

Complicity with Torture

Canadian government agencies were complicit in the indefinite detention and torture of several Muslim men after 9/11, including the notorious cases of Maher Arar, Ahmad El-Maati, Abdullah Almalki, Muayyed Nureddin, Omar Khadr, Benamar Benatta, and Abousfian Abdelrazik. While several have received compensation and apologies after many years of advocacy, the UN Committee Against Torture has condemned Canada for continuing to obstruct justice for other

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Jonathon Gatehouse, “A ‘Second-Class Spy: Muslim CSIS Agent Alleges Discrimination, Abuse,” 21 January 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/csis-muslim-discrimination-lawsuit-1.5433654>; Jim Bronskill, “Spy Watchdog Urges Justice Minister to Close Gaps in Federal Whistle-Blowing Framework,” 26 November 2020, *Global News*, <https://globalnews.ca/news/7485302/nsira-whistleblower-framework-lametti/>.

⁴⁶ Frank Iacobucci, “Internal Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Abdullah Almalki, Ahmad Abou-Elmaati and Muayyed Nureddin” (2008), http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/206/301/pco-bcp/commissions/internal_inquiry/2010-03-09/www.iacobucciinquiry.ca/pdfs/documents/final-report-copy-en.pdf, 141-142, 291.

⁴⁷ Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations, “Presumption of Guilt: A National Survey on Security Visitations of Canadian Muslims,” (2005) <http://www.cair.com/press-center/press-releases/1335-cair-can-releases-results-of-security-survey.html>.

victims, particularly Abousfian Abdelrazik.⁴⁸ The full extent of Canadian complicity in the United States' international torture program is still unknown; complainants have continued to emerge.⁴⁹

Moreover, none of the Canadian security and foreign affairs officials implicated in torture have been prosecuted – as required by the UN Convention Against Torture – and the recommendations of two official inquiries into the Arar, El-Maati, Almalki, and Nureddin cases (the Iacobucci and O'Connor Inquiries) for preventing future abuses have largely not been implemented.⁵⁰

Muslim refugee Mohamed Harkat is currently facing deportation to risk of torture in Algeria under Canada's security certificate regime.⁵¹

Border Crossings

Muslim, South Asian, Arab, and Black travellers have reported experiencing racial profiling at airports and border crossings, including: being stopped; being followed by air marshals; being placed on no-fly lists; having their names flagged; being selected for "random" screening; being subjected to intrusive body and/or luggage searches; and being questioned about religious beliefs.⁵²

The National Council of Canadian Muslims notes that 15% of the human rights complaints it received in 2014 were from Muslims who were "turned away from border crossings without any explanations."⁵³

⁴⁸ UN Committee Against Torture, "Concluding Observations on the Seventh Periodic Report of Canada," 21 December 2018, CAT/C/CAN/CO/7; Jolson Lim, "Feds Spent Over \$2M in Last Year to Fight Abdelrazik Torture Lawsuit," 24 June 2019, <https://ipolitics.ca/2019/06/24/feds-spent-over-2m-in-last-year-to-fight-abdelrazik-torture-lawsuit/>.

⁴⁹ Colin Perkel, "Ex-Guantanamo Detainee to Sue Canada for \$50M For Alleged Complicity in Torture," 5 November 2017, *Toronto Star*, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/11/05/ex-guantanamo-detainee-to-sue-canada-for-50m-for-alleged-complicity-in-torture.html>.

⁵⁰ Frank Iacobucci, "Internal Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Abdullah Almalki, Ahmad Abou-Elmaati and Muayyed Nureddin" (2008), http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/206/301/pco-bcp/commissions/internal_inquiry/2010-03-09/www.iacobucciinquiry.ca/pdfs/documents/final-report-copy-en.pdf; Dennis O'Connor, "Report of the Events Relating to Maher Arar" (2006), http://www.sirc-sars.gc.ca/pdfs/cm_arar_bgv1-eng.pdf.

⁵¹ Debra Black, "Mohamed Harkat Girds Himself for Another Fight to Stay," 2 August 2016, *Toronto Star*, <https://www.thestar.com/news/immigration/2016/08/02/mohamed-harkat-girds-himself-for-another-fight-to-stay.html>.

⁵² Baljit Nagra and Paula Maurutto, "Crossing Borders and Managing Racialized Identities: Experiences of Security and Surveillance Among Young Canadian Muslims" (2016) 41:2 *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 165; International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, "Report of the Information Clearinghouse on Border Controls and Infringements to Travellers' Rights" (2014), <http://iclmg.ca/wp-content/uploads/sites/37/2014/03/R-Clearinghouse-border-controls.pdf>.

⁵³ Ontario Human Rights Commission, "Under Suspicion: Research and Consultation Report on Racial Profiling in Ontario" (2017), <http://ohrc.on.ca/en/under-suspicion-research-and-consultation-report-racial-profiling-ontario>.

The *Preclearance Act, 2016* (Bill C-23) – which accorded US border guards new powers to question, search, and detain in pre-clearance areas on Canadian territory – threatens to exacerbate Muslims’ and other racialized travellers’ experiences of discriminatory securitization.⁵⁴

Counter-Radicalization Programs

Counter-radicalization programs attempting to prevent “radicalization” to violence have been operating at a municipal level in Calgary, Toronto, and Montreal, and a federal Centre for Community Engagement and Prevention of Violence (originally called the Office of Community Outreach and Counter-Radicalization) was established in 2017. Experiences with counter-radicalization in other countries, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, produce serious cause for concern about the Islamophobic formulations and impacts of such programs.

While Muslim organizations in Canada are regularly approached by security agencies about cooperating in counter-radicalization programs, neither the empirical bases for these programs nor data tracking their targets and effects have been disclosed. This is of particular concern because counter-radicalization programs in the US and UK have been based on very problematic and partial studies.⁵⁵ A summary of “selected findings” on “mobilization to violence” released by CSIS appears to be based entirely on Muslim subjects, and includes no control groups.⁵⁶

In Canada, materials produced by the RCMP for police training on radicalization, obtained by academics Jeffrey Monaghan and Adam Molnar through Access to Information requests, betray a Muslim-centric focus – even though “Canada is at far greater risk of right-wing political violence.”⁵⁷ Training modules on Islam “are not intended to demonstrate a nuanced understanding of Islam, but instead represent menacing and threatening aspects of Islam as a violent enemy of the West,” according to Monaghan and Molnar.⁵⁸ One slide in a workshop presentation, titled “The future of terrorism?,” contains nothing but an image of a young girl dressed in what appears to be a hijab, with no explanatory text:⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Aurangzeb Qureshi, “This Bill Will Make it Even Riskier for Muslims to Cross the Border to the US” *CBC News*, 8 March 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/opinion/bill-c-23-1.4014113>.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Faiza Patel, “Rethinking Radicalization,” Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law (2011), <https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/rethinking-radicalization>.

⁵⁶ Canadian Security Intelligence Service, “Mobilization to Violence (Terrorism) Research: Key Findings,” https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/isis-scrs/documents/publications/IMV_-_Terrorism-Research-Key-findings-eng.pdf.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey Monaghan and Adam Molnar, “Radicalisation Theories, Policing Practices, and ‘The Future of Terrorism?’” (2016) 9:3 *Critical Studies on Terrorism* at 12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid* at 11.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* at 16.

The future of terrorism?



V6

Figure 5. “The future of terrorism?”. Source: RCMP (2013, 721).

5. Policing

The inculcation of Islamophobic ideology through “counter-extremism” police trainings is especially concerning, since in many cases the police units tasked with investigating “extremism” are the same units responsible for investigating hate crimes, including against Muslims.⁶⁰

Information-sharing agreements between municipal police and national security agencies are also of serious concern – and particularly likely to negatively affect the rights of Black Muslims, Indigenous Muslims, and Black Indigenous Muslims, since Black and Indigenous communities are disproportionately targeted by problematic police information-gathering practices like carding.⁶¹

⁶⁰ For pairing of hate and extremism, see Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police, “Hate/Bias Crime: A Review of Policies, Practices, & Challenges” October 2020, https://www.oacp.ca/en/current-issues/resources/Hate%20Crime%20Report_October%202020.pdf.

⁶¹ Jim Rankin and Wendy Gillis, “Ontario Police Forces Share Carding Data with Mounties, CSIS,” 23 April 2017, *Toronto Star*, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/04/23/ontario-police-forces-sharecarding-data-with-mounties-csis.html>. On racial discrimination in carding see, for example, San

Journalists and activists have documented apparently discriminatory policing practices at White supremacist and anti-Islam/anti-Muslim rallies: in Toronto, for example, anti-racist protesters have received harsh treatment at the hands of police, while White supremacist and anti-Muslim protesters have been protected.⁶²

The treatment of John Nuttall and Amanda Korody, found by courts to constitute police entrapment, shone a disturbing light on Islamophobic and ableist practices in federal policing. RCMP officers posed as religious authorities, to exert severe pressure on a Muslim couple struggling with serious mental health issues to participate in an RCMP-manufactured bomb plot.⁶³

6. Laws Targeting Muslim Women

As noted in the section above on Hate Incidents, Muslim women are disproportionately victimized by Islamophobic attacks. Muslim women have reported being physically and verbally assaulted⁶⁴, including a series of violent attacks in Edmonton in 2021.

However, state initiatives to address violence against Muslim women have problematically fixated on Muslim culture, not societal racism, as the primary concern – even though, as eminent feminist lawyer Pamela Cross pointed out in a 2013 report for the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, “[r]esearch does not indicate there is any greater risk of [familial] violence for Muslim women than for women in other communities who are similarly socially located.”⁶⁵

Grewal, “Blacks Three Times More Likely to be Carded by Peel Police Than Whites,” 24 September 2015,

Toronto Star, <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2015/09/24/blacks-three-times-more-likely-to-be-carded-by-peel-police-than-whites.html>.

⁶² Amara McLaughlin, “Kew Gardens Alt-Right Rally Cancelled After Critics Slam Toronto Police Memo About Event,” 4 November 2017, *CBC*, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/kew-gardens-alt-right-rally-cancelled-1.4387828>; Shanifa Nasser, “Alleged Assault of Journalist at anti-M-103 Rally Sparks Concerns About Police Response,” 4 June 2017, *CBC*, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/journalist-assault-free-speech-rally-1.4145239>; Steven Zhou, “Toronto Police Try to Pull the Plug on Rally Against Islamophobia,” 7 June 2017, *Now Toronto*, <https://nowtoronto.com/news/toronto-police-anti-muslim-rally>; “Toronto Police Used Force to Protect White Supremacist, Hate Group Rally,” 9 September 2018, <https://north99.org/2018/09/09/toronto-police-used-force-to-protect-white-supremacist-hate-group-rally/>;

⁶³ *R v Nuttall*, 2016 BCSC 1404,

⁶⁴ See, for example, National Council of Canadian Muslims, “2016 Organization for the Security and Cooperation in Europe Hate Crime Report,” <https://www.nccm.ca/nccm-2016-hate-crime-report-odihr/>; Andrew Russell, “Muslim Woman Speaks Out Following Attack at Grocery Store in London, Ont.,” 23 June 2016, *Global News*, <https://globalnews.ca/news/2781841/muslim-woman-speaks-out-following-attack-at-grocery-store-in-london-ont/>.

⁶⁵ Pamela Cross, “Violence Against Women: Health and Justice for Canadian Muslim Women,” Canadian Council of Muslim Women (2013), http://ccmw.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/EN-VAW_web.pdf, 5.

The 2015 federal *Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act*, for example, specifically targets polygamy, forced marriages, and “honour killings.” The description of the targeted forms of violence against women – strongly linked in the popular imagination with Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities – as “barbaric cultural practices” reinforces stigmatizing stereotypes about these communities.

Moreover, as organizations like the South Asian Legal Clinic of Ontario (SALCO) and the Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC) have argued, the *Barbaric Cultural Practices Act* is unlikely to increase the safety of the women it purports to be protecting. Indeed, it will probably have the opposite effect, by discouraging reporting by women who fear criminalization of their family members.⁶⁶ SALCO has objected that the government “deliberately misused the data from SALCO’s recent study on Forced Marriages in Canada” to justify criminalization.

In Quebec, the *Laicity Act* (known popularly as Bill 21), passed in June 2019, precludes many public sector employees from wearing visible religious symbols: the culmination of a long series of efforts by provincial lawmakers to prohibit Muslim women’s coverings such as hijab and/or niqab.⁶⁷

Such laws and policies claiming to “save” Muslim women have extensive negative impacts on Muslim women and their families – including social exclusion, economic marginalization, and psychological effects such as anxiety, fear, depression, and frustration.

Recommendations

1. Commit to not using or expanding rights-violating anti-terrorism laws that have been used to racially and religiously profile Muslims in Canada; instead of entrenching such laws by applying them against White supremacist and Islamophobic actors, the serious concerns raised repeatedly by civil liberties, human rights, and anti-racism organizations regarding Canada’s national security framework must be addressed.

⁶⁶ Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children, “Statement on Bill S-7,” <http://owjn.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Statement-on-Bill-S-7-Zero-Tolerance-for-Barbaric-Cultural-Practices-Act.pdf>; South Asian Legal Clinic of Ontario, “Perpetuating Myths, Denying Justice: ‘Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act,’” <http://www.salc.on.ca/FINALBILLS7STATEMENT%20updated%20nov%2018.pdf>.

⁶⁷ Jonathan Monpetit, “Historic Case in the Making as Quebec’s Religious Symbols Ban Heads to Court,” 10 November 2020, *CBC News*, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/bill-21-quebec-secular-law-court-challenge-1.5784727>; Pascale Fournier and Erica See, “The ‘Naked Face’ of Secular Exclusion: Bill 94 and the Privatization of Belief” (2012) 30:1 *Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice*, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2165853; Jake Flanagan, “The Dangerous Logic of Quebec’s ‘Charter of Values,’” 23 January 2014, *The Atlantic*, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/01/the-dangerous-logic-of-quebecs-charter-of-values/283272/>.

2. Ensure information transparency, including provision of race- and religion-disaggregated data, for national security practices – such as no-fly lists, security agent visitations, security clearance denials, peace bonds, information-sharing, and counter-radicalization programs – so that disparities in targeting and/or impact can be discerned and monitored.
3. Provide legislated protection for whistleblowers employed in all agencies exercising national security functions, including CSIS.
4. Improve review and oversight by creating a review and complaints mechanism for the Canada Border Services Agency; granting review bodies order-making powers; and providing appropriate funding and resources to all review bodies.
5. Ensure compensation and redress for all victims of rights abuses committed by or with the complicity of Canadian national security agencies – including victims of torture, as required by the UN Convention Against Torture.
6. Audit all counter-terrorism and counter-extremism training materials for Islamophobic framings and content, in consultation with anti-racism and anti-Islamophobia experts.
7. Put an end to the prejudiced and targeted audits of Muslim charities under the guise of combatting terrorist financing in the charitable sector. Current audits must be suspended, current practices must be independently investigated, policy and laws must be reformed, new directives must be put in place, and remedies provided for targets of discriminatory audits.
8. Repeal or join court challenges against laws formulated to target Muslim women – including the federal *Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act* and Quebec's *Laicity Act* – and evaluate future legislation through a lens sensitive to gendered Islamophobia.
9. End the demonization and repression of Palestine solidarity activism, and uphold expressive and academic freedoms.
10. Re-examine and re-allocate resources away from national security-centric responses to violence, towards responses that promote mental and physical health and well-being, provide anti-racist education, and combat exclusion.