

### **A Note from RSS Journal Editor-in-Chief**

The creation of the *Religious and Socio-Political Studies Journal* (RSS Journal) through the Institute for Religious and Socio-Political Studies (I-RSS) represents an important contribution to academic research, as well as Muslim religious communities across the country. Uplifting and amplifying scholarship *about* Muslims, *for* Muslims, and very often, *by* Muslims serves to aid the development of whole new discursive environments with community service and equity-building at their core. Our journal publishes research articles and book reviews that are relevant to the study of Muslims in Canada. The RSS Journal is interdisciplinary and accepts submissions from researchers working in the fields of sociology, education, religious studies, history, political science, psychology, media studies and others. It is no secret that narratives about Muslims and Islam the world over have been mired in stereotypes, biases and outright fabrications steeped not only in ignorance, but in discourses of power and control right through to the now “post-colonial” era. Academic writing and research, of course, have not been immune to these issues and while great strides continue to be made by the current generation of scholars in various disciplines of the social sciences and humanities in turning of the tide of Muslim narratives in academia, the RSS Journal also represents an important step forward in this regard.

Our editorial board is delighted to bring you this very first edition of the RSS Journal - a true testament to the uplifting place of the journal in that all of the articles for this copy are written by Canadian Muslim women researchers, and our board is comprised entirely of women, the majority of whom are also Muslim. The reclamation of academic space and academic voices here cannot be overstated.

Further, the RSS Journal is committed to academic accessibility and is a diamond open access journal that provides immediate open access to its content on the principle that making research freely available to the public, supports the greater global exchange of knowledge.

Finally, the RSS Journal acknowledges that our work takes place on the traditional lands of Indigenous peoples - First Nations, Metis and Inuit - who have lived, gathered and passed through our respective locations for many thousands of years, and who remain here. We affirm their culture, their dignity, the truth of what happened to them at the hands of the colonial nation state. We affirm that they are the original stewards of this land, and we remain committed to the spirit and intention of friendship, mutual care, and respect with which Indigenous communities originally signed treaties here.

We pray that this first edition of the RSS Journal is a beacon of quality research, important conversations around topics that matter in the lives of everyday Muslims and brings forth space for critical discussions that have long yearned for their own space.

*Nakita Valerio*

RSS Journal, Editor-in-Chief, 2022

**Muslims and Multiculturalism in Canada: Introduction**  
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 RSS Journal Editorial Board

In Canada, the year 2021 marked the 50th anniversary of the adoption of *multiculturalism* as a federal policy. Multiculturalism is often upheld as the pinnacle of Canadian culture and social achievement, and, in public education systems across the country, is celebrated as a primary point of difference between Canadian “mosaic” and American “melting pot” culture. Proponents of it argue that it encompasses “a range of notions of heritage, cultural diversity, recreation and entertainment activities, cultural centres, and as an entire way of life with fundamental institutional structures.”<sup>1</sup>

Despite these performative public discourses about multiculturalism, which have been disseminated through public education and media in Canadian society since the policy’s adoption and development, multiculturalism has rightfully been understood (and critiqued) as an ideology - a set of “ill-founded beliefs which are often uncritically held by those whose interests are furthered by” them.<sup>2</sup> The presuppositions of multiculturalism ideology about major human concepts such as culture, cultural interaction, acculturation, difference, and power dynamics are often accepted in an unreflexive manner by those who uphold and accept its myths about itself - a similar or identical process seen in adherents of secularism and a connection that will be elaborated on below.

Fittingly, those on the periphery of both multiculturalism as a project and secular ways of being and building societies, are among the first to offer critiques of them - those for whom the assumptions of these projects cannot be readily accepted as commonsensical, modern or progressive. As such, one sees authors examining Indigenous claims of place in the nation-state of Canada arguing that multiculturalism remains close to a racist discourse, only permitting difference in very specific and circumscribed ways.<sup>3</sup> Others have noted that official statist multiculturalism privileges citizens and continues colonial attitudes towards race, particularly to justify the exclusion of temporary foreign workers in Canada.<sup>4</sup> It is our contention, in this trajectory of critique, that the project of multiculturalism is not without, at best, its drawbacks, and at worst, outright harm, especially when it comes to Muslims in the context of Canadian Islamophobia.

## **Background**

Canada was the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as a policy under the Liberal

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<sup>1</sup> Kogila Moodley, “Canadian multiculturalism as ideology,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 6, no. 3 (July 1983): 320.

<sup>2</sup> Lance Roberts and Rodney Clifton, “Exploring the Ideology of Multiculturalism in Canada,” *Canadian Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1982): 88.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn Legare, “Canadian Multiculturalism and Aboriginal People,” *Global Studies in Culture and Power* 1, no. 4 (1995): 347-366, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.1995.9962515>.

<sup>4</sup> J. Adam Perry, “Barely legal: racism and migrant farm labour in the context of Canadian multiculturalism,” *Citizenship Studies* 16, no. 2 (2012): 189-201, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2012.667611>.

government of Pierre Trudeau in 1971. The push for multiculturalism arose directly out of Quebec nationalism and the Commission on Bilingualism through the 1960s. This history of appeasing and accommodating Quebec interests at the federal level, as well as cultural and linguistic heritage preservation, is inextricable from the history of multiculturalism and how it has manifested in Canadian policies and implementation, despite Quebec being vocally opposed at the time of the adoption of multiculturalism as federal policy on the grounds of rejecting social integration and lamenting “a loss of cultural hegemony.”<sup>5</sup> In other words, Canadian multiculturalism is rooted in, founded upon, developed in relation to, and ultimately immersed in Quebec nationalism, values, and secular identity. Indeed, in a 1971 spring speech in the House of Commons, then-Prime Minister Trudeau introduced “a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework,” a policy that was meant to enhance the Official Languages Act by facilitating the integration of new Canadians into one or both official language communities. This is hardly the multiculturalism that most Canadians understand and imagine today as it has evolved.

Initially, multicultural policy in the 1970s meant support (especially financial) for ethnocultural communities and what has been called their “folkloric” representations. Moodley notes that this push arose out of inherent anxieties in the dominant cultures: “the fear that ethnic groups in sustaining their respective cultures will undermine national unity is mitigated by a meek plea to share these cultures with the rest of Canadian society.”<sup>6</sup> These superficial performances of ethnic identity and one’s culture (very often reduced to flat heritage depictions) were (and often remain) prioritized over deep equitable changes in the legal-economic realms.

In 1976, the Immigration Act lifted many previous restrictions on immigration from non-European countries, forcing a discussion of multicultural policy into the public arena once more, with the federal government focusing on rights-based equality across cultural heritage, especially in the 1982 Constitution and accompanying Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms - which Quebec opted out of signing, instead negotiating with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1987 under the Meech Lake Accord for recognition of Quebec’s distinct character (“distinct society”). In the 1990s, increased division on the issue of multiculturalism coincided with Quebec separatism, culminating in the infamous 1995 Referendum which saw the province vote to remain as part of the larger nation state of Canada by an incredibly slim margin of 0.58% of the No (don’t leave) vote.

In the present moment, the ongoing discussion is of integration and multiculturalism; however, given what has been shown thus far, the reason this is the question is due to the conditioning forces of both secularism and multiculturalism, where diversity is tolerated as long as it only means the preservation of folkloric cultural caricatures or the removal of specific barriers for such groups without threatening the official, hegemonic, and colonial ways of being- specifically being Anglo or Francophone at a practical, legal level. The debates have centred specifically around Muslims

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<sup>5</sup> Moodley, “Canadian Multiculturalism,” 320.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

in Canada and continue to involve and borrow from Quebec politics and policies in numerous ways. Besides the horrific massacre of Muslims at the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec City on January 29, 2017, Quebec has also been at the forefront of some of the most discriminatory policies affecting Muslims and other religious folks including Bill 21, which prohibits the wearing of religious garments by public service workers in a feigned attempt to “neutralize” the public sphere, extinguishing the dreams and hopes of countless Canadians from numerous religious backgrounds, including Muslims, and especially Muslim women. This incessant droning about “Quebec values” and who fits into those has been borrowed at the federal levels as well, most notably during the 2015 federal election when the Conservative Party drummed up anti-Muslim hatred with their niqab ban and barbaric cultural practices hotline. In other words, while, under multiculturalism, those “who so desire are subsidized to bring cultural identities out of the private closet into the public sphere,” this has its apparent limits with the line drawn in the sand at Islam and Islamic ways of being.

At the root of this problem is a distinction between culture as a comprehensive system of being in the world, and culture as an ethnic background and identity. Canadian multiculturalism reduces culture to the latter. Relatedly, the system of *laïcité* in Quebec, much like that in France, rests on very particular assumptions and definitions of not only religious expression but what constitutes a religion in itself. Without going too deeply into it, it is worth noting that contrary to claims that secularism (as an ideology) is religiously neutral (especially as articulated in the francophone model of *laïcité*), secularism can be understood as a religion of its own based on a premise that has elsewhere been called the Model T Principle. Early Ford Model T cars famously came “in any colour one wanted” – as long as it was black. By analogy, secularism posits that you can have any religion you like, as long as it looks and acts just like Christianity - in other words, it takes the form of privately held faith or set of beliefs, and practice may be conveniently relegated to the private sphere. Because these assumptions posit a public sphere that is (allegedly) empty of religion as inherently neutral, the genealogical roots of Canadian multiculturalism are diametrically opposed to religious equity for any practitioners of religious ways of life that are not what we can call Christianoform in nature - meaning they exclude not only Islam and Muslims, but all other praxis and legal-based ways of being. It begs the question not of whether multiculturalism as a policy in Canada is functioning poorly, but rather, given these unreflexive roots, if it is functioning exactly as intended.

While the structural and ideological underpinnings of Canadian multiculturalism inhibit cultural ways of being beyond those which can be flattened into identity markers and heritage caricatures, Muslims also contend with being marginalized and “othered” by narratives and discourses operating at the cultural level. Canadian media has played a significant role in constructing negative images of Muslims.<sup>7</sup> The media’s coverage of issues related to Muslims is disproportionately extensive and has played a major role in shaping the relationship between

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<sup>7</sup> Shah, Saeeda, “Education of Muslim Students in Turbulent Times,” in *Muslim Students, Education and Neoliberalism*, ed. Máirtín Mac an Ghail and Chris Haywood (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 51-52.

Muslims and non-Muslims in Canada.<sup>8</sup> Harmful representations of Muslims have led to negative discourses that continue to fan the flames of an irrational fear. This Islamophobia has resulted in increased racism and discrimination against Muslims, alienation of Muslim communities in Canada<sup>9</sup>, and it may well be exacerbating an identity crisis for some.

Muslim Canadians contend with backlash from debates, negative imagery, and incendiary news stories that make up a continuous anti-Muslim discourse driven by far-right groups and those in positions of political power. As noted by a leading Muslim advocacy organization in Canada, the National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM), “every time a global incident of terrorism occurs, not only are Muslims experiencing the same shock and grief as any other person, they are also worried about the collective blame they will have to deal with if the perpetrator ends up being Muslim [...] the first thing that comes to mind is ‘please God, don’t let it be a Muslim’ and when it is a Muslim, they feel like they have to put on their armour as they leave their homes” .<sup>10</sup> The spike of Islamophobic incidences post 9/11 sparked scholarly interest;<sup>11</sup> however, Muslims in the West have been on the receiving end of anti-Muslim discrimination long before the 2001 terror attacks<sup>12</sup> , and it continues today.<sup>13</sup>

Anti-Muslim discrimination and stereotyping are prevalent in Canada.<sup>14</sup> According to an April 2019 Ipsos poll conducted on behalf of Global News, Muslims continue to be seen as the most likely targets of racism (59%) and over a quarter of Canadians (26%) believe it has become more acceptable to be prejudiced against Muslims/Arabs, while 15% say the same about Jews.<sup>15</sup> Though nearly 60% of Canadians agree that Islamophobia is a problem that needs to be addressed, 3 in 10

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<sup>8</sup> Kazempur, Abdolmohammad. *The Muslim Question in Canada: A Story of Segmented Integration* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 88.

<sup>9</sup> Shah, “Education.”

<sup>10</sup> National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM), High School Student Town Hall (University of Toronto Mississauga, 2017), 1.

<sup>11</sup> Christopher Allen and Jørgen S. Nielsen, Summary Report on Islamophobia Summary Report on Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001, European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2002; Wayne Hanniman, “Canadian Muslims, Islamophobia and national security,” *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 36, no.4 (December 2008); Denise Helly, “Are Muslims discriminated against in Canada since September 2001?” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 36, no.1 (2004); Lorraine P. Sheridan and Raphael Gillett, “Major world events and discrimination,” *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 8, no.2 (2005).

<sup>12</sup> S. Conway, “The Reproduction of Exclusion and Disadvantage: Symbolic Violence and Social Class Inequalities in ‘Parental Choice’ of Secondary Education,” *Sociological Research Online* 2, no.4 (1997); Fawaz A. Gerges, “Islam and Muslims in the Mind of America: Influences on the Making of U.S. Policy,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 26, no. 2 (Winter 1997); Fred Halliday, “‘Islamophobia’ reconsidered,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, no.5 (1999); Scott Poynting and Victoria Mason, “The resistible rise of Islamophobia: Anti-Muslim racism in the UK and Australia before 11 September 2001,” *Journal of Sociology* 43, no.1 (March 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme, “Islamophobia in Canada: Measuring the Realities of Negative Attitudes Toward Muslims and Religious Discrimination,” *Canadian Review of Sociology* 55, no.1 (February 2018): 87, DOI: 10.1111/cars.12180.

<sup>14</sup> Environics Institute, Survey of Muslims in Canada 2016, (Environics Institute, 2016), [https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/survey-of-muslims-in-canada-2016/final-report.pdf?sfvrsn=fbb85533\\_2](https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/survey-of-muslims-in-canada-2016/final-report.pdf?sfvrsn=fbb85533_2).

<sup>15</sup> Ipsos, “Racism,” accessed July 30, 2022, [https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2019-05/ipsos\\_global\\_news\\_-\\_racism\\_-\\_2019.pdf](https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2019-05/ipsos_global_news_-_racism_-_2019.pdf).

actually agree with a stereotype that Muslims in Canada follow Sharia law instead of Canadian law. While Ontario residents (65%) are more likely to agree that Islamophobia needs to be addressed, Quebec residents (39%) are more likely to show agreement with the stereotype concerning Sharia Law. In comparison, only 2 in 10 Canadians believe stereotypes about Jewish control of the media and finance. The results of this poll are sadly not surprising, but they underscore the difficulties faced by Muslims in Canada.

According to a survey conducted in 2016, “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” .<sup>16</sup> The survey highlights a variety of settings where such discrimination occurs such as the workplace, in public spaces, in retail establishments, and in schools and universities. Further, irrespective of gender, age, and country of birth, one in four Muslims report having encountered difficulties crossing borders.<sup>17</sup> Poignantly, the study underscores the ways in which such experiences reflect on a person’s hope for the future, with Muslim youth (those aged 18 to 34) found to be the “least optimistic about the next generation facing less discrimination than their own”.<sup>18</sup> By way of mistaken association, those who are wrongly believed to be Muslim also become victims. The Sikh and Christian Arab communities are frequently targeted because people think they are Muslim. This, of course, is telling given that Islamophobia is also a form of racism that impacts anyone who “appears” to be Muslim.

The irrational fear and hate towards Muslims that is stoked by Islamophobic discourses manifests itself not only in various forms of discrimination, but also outright violence. This is reflected in the alarming rise in attacks against Muslims in Canada.<sup>19</sup> Although hate crimes were shown to have decreased overall, hate crimes against the Muslim community almost tripled from 2014 to 2015.<sup>20</sup> In fact, according to Statistics Canada data, the number of police-reported hate crimes, mainly incidents targeting Muslim, Jewish and Black people, have been steadily climbing since 2014 and shot up by some 47 per cent in 2017, reaching an all-time high at that time.<sup>21</sup> According to incident reports collected by NCCM, there are daily occurrences of hate propaganda, verbal and physical violence, threats, vandalism, and online comments targeting Muslims.

On June 6, 2021, in London, Ontario, four (intergenerational) members of the Afzaal/Salman family were murdered, and a nine-year-old child was left injured and orphaned as they were out for an evening stroll<sup>22</sup>. A white nationalist targeted them with his car simply for existing as visible

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<sup>16</sup> Environics Institute, “Survey,” 38.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 39.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>19</sup> NCCM, “High School.”

<sup>20</sup> NCCM, “High School.”

<sup>21</sup> Statistics Canada, Police-reported hate crime, 2017, November 29, 2018, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/181129/dq181129a-eng.htm>.

<sup>22</sup> Dalia Faheid, “Hate Wiped Away a Muslim Canadian Family. Here's How Friends Want Them Remembered,” *NPR*, June 12, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/06/12/1005268914/hate-wiped-away-a-muslim-canadian-family-heres-how-friends-want-them-remembered>

Muslims, killing husband and wife Salman Afzaal and Madiha Salman, their daughter Yumna Afzaal, and Yumna's grandmother, Talat Afzaal (Allah yerhamun). In Alberta, there have been over a dozen documented violent attacks on women in hijab, beginning with a racist and violent attack on a Somali Muslim mother and daughter wearing hijab in early December 2020. Most of the victims of these attacks are Black women who experience the intersections of pervasive systems of anti-Black racism and gendered Islamophobia<sup>23</sup>.

In the aftermath of these and other events of racist violence, many ask variations of the question: "How could this happen in a 'tolerant,' 'liberal,' and 'multicultural' place like Canada?" However, those who have experienced intersecting forms of interpersonal and systemic racism are not as shocked. They understand that the espoused liberal values of official multiculturalism are undergirded by inherently colonial and Othering<sup>24</sup> logics. As Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Nisha Nath argued, multiculturalism policies serve to "'manage diversity' by encouraging the expression of 'safe' forms of diversity as they attempt to construct national subjects"<sup>25</sup>. They noted:

Others have described multiculturalism as serving a legitimization function, where the focus on culture and diversity masks historical and ongoing racism, inequity, and alienation .... state-sponsored multiculturalism encourages a narrow negotiation and understanding of racialised, gendered, and heteronormative identities<sup>26</sup>.

Indeed, many scholars have highlighted how Canadians' relatively high support for multiculturalism works at both an abstract and selective level; this support drops when Muslims are involved and when policies that would concretely advance espoused 'inclusion' and 'diversity' (especially for Muslims) are proposed<sup>27</sup>. However, as Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos and Jameela Rasheed elucidated, this seeming contradiction of high support for multiculturalism alongside the proliferation of anti-Muslim sentiment is not necessarily contradictory when considering how the "intolerance of Islam is justified on behalf of protecting a secular, tolerant, liberal-democratic public ethos against a putatively premodern, intolerant and illiberal enemy. In a peculiar way, then, support for multiculturalism may inform opposition to Islam."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Omar Mosleh, "As Muslim women are attacked in Alberta, a community asks: Can Canada face its Islamophobia problem?" *Toronto Star*, July 4, 2021, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2021/07/04/they-only-call-it-a-hate-crime-after-you-get-killed-as-muslim-women-are-attacked-in-alberta-a-community-asks-can-canada-face-its-islamopho>

<sup>24</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978)

<sup>25</sup> Yasmeen Abu-Laban, and Nisha Nath, "Citizenship, Multiculturalism, and Immigration: Mapping the Complexities of Inclusion and Exclusion Through Intersectionality," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender, Sexuality, and Canadian Politics*, eds. Manon Tremblay and Joanna Everitt (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 2020), 518.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 517.

<sup>27</sup> Will Kymlicka, "The Precarious Resilience of Multiculturalism in Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51 no. 1 (2021): 122–142. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.aec.talonline.ca/10.1080/02722011.2021.1878544>

<sup>28</sup> Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, and Jameela Rasheed, "A Religion Like No Other: Islam and The Limits of Multiculturalism in Canada," Working paper, Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement and the CERC in Migration and Integration, 2020, 1,

This understanding of multiculturalism addresses why there is a lack of sustained outrage against the structural violence of Bill 21 in Quebec outside of Muslim and other minoritized communities. For many (neo)liberals, Muslim woman in hijab are seen as an inherent threat to liberal logics, and even as a form of intolerance to Canadian society and its espoused values<sup>29</sup>. Many practices of Islam are very visible (e.g., hijabs, beards, minarets, praying in public) and legislation (like Bill 21) and racist attacks have tried to render these practices (and the humans who embody them) invisible.

Despite many years of multicultural identity, Canada still struggles with who it is and its acceptance of diversity and tolerance of discrimination. Some have argued, that in Canadian multiculturalism there is a brazen, “ingrained and acknowledged privileging of the majority’s history, values, and language”.<sup>30</sup> Kymlicka goes as far to say that although appearing neutral on the surface, there is an evident favouring of the dominant groups.<sup>31</sup> According to Taylor and Yusuf, liberal multiculturalism adopts and universalizes a Christian perception of religion and so for Muslims, “religious freedom becomes merely the Islamic identity freedom to conform to another society’s perception of what religion entails” .<sup>32</sup> Religious minorities like Muslims, who offer different worldviews on the purpose and place of religion in society, seemingly pose a challenge to Canadian multiculturalism.<sup>33</sup> As such, perhaps the multiculturalism system in Canada was never intended to facilitate the integration of the Muslim community, nor was multiculturalism meant to eliminate the challenges that Muslims and similar minority groups face.<sup>34</sup>

The mistreatment of Muslim communities in the post 9/11 era in particular brings to the forefront Canada’s foundation as a racial state, which has been argued is something that has been hidden by multiculturalism.<sup>35</sup> Canadian racism originates from Canada’s colonial identity<sup>36</sup>- “modern racism in Canada has deep colonial roots”, in that contemporary racism *is* simply historical racism; it is just a continuation and adaptation in another form, another guise of policies, strategies, systems .<sup>37</sup>

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[https://rshare.library.ryerson.ca/articles/journal\\_contribution/A\\_Religion\\_like\\_No\\_Other\\_Islam\\_and\\_the\\_Limits\\_of\\_Multiculturalism\\_in\\_Canada/14642073](https://rshare.library.ryerson.ca/articles/journal_contribution/A_Religion_like_No_Other_Islam_and_the_Limits_of_Multiculturalism_in_Canada/14642073).

<sup>29</sup> Abu-Laban and Nath, “Citizenship.”

<sup>30</sup> Abdullah Omar, “Islamic Identity in the Canadian Multicultural Context,” *Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry* 3, no. 2 (2011).

<sup>31</sup> Kymlicka, “Precarious Resilience.”

<sup>32</sup> Charles Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition,” in *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Ahmad Yousif, “Islam, Minorities and Religious Freedom: A Challenge to Modern Theory of Pluralism,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 20, no. 1 (April 2000): 30.

<sup>33</sup> Nasar Meer, “Muslim Schools in Britain: Challenging Mobilisations or Logical Developments?” *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 27, no.1 (March 2007); Tariq Modood, *Multiculturalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007); Taylor, “Politics.”

<sup>34</sup> Omar, “Islamic Identity.”

<sup>35</sup> Baljit Nagra and Paula Maurutto, “Crossing Borders and Managing Racialized Identities: Experiences of Security and Surveillance Among Young Canadian Muslims,” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 41, no.2 (2016).

<sup>36</sup> Camille A. Nelson and Charmaine A. Nelson, *Racism Eh? A Critical interdisciplinary anthology of race and racism in Canada* (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2004)

<sup>37</sup> Charmaine A. Nelson, “Modern Racism In Canada Has Deep Colonial Roots,” *Huffington Post*, February 20, 2017, [http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/charmaine-nelson/modern-racismcanada\\_b\\_14821958.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/charmaine-nelson/modern-racismcanada_b_14821958.html).



As such, perhaps by the continuous “othering” of Muslims, Islamophobia has become yet another example of the ways in which colonial thinking can successfully co-exist in an optimistically egalitarian society. We need not look too far into Canada’s history to see how racism from the past has transformed into racism of today. Ling Lei and Shibao Guo assert that:

Multiculturalism has in effect, sustained a racist and unequal society of Canada with racism entrenched in its history and ingrained in every aspect of its social structure. Multiculturalism tolerates cultural difference but does not challenge an unjust society premised on white supremacy.<sup>38</sup>

The four articles contained in this issue begin to uncover the various ways in which Muslim communities and individuals are impacted by, and navigate Canadian multiculturalism as a policy and part of Canada’s national identity. Each article addresses distinct topics and questions, but they can be grouped into two overarching themes: constructing identity in the context of colonialism, racism and multiculturalism; and filling the gaps where multiculturalism fails or does not meet the needs of Muslims.

In ““The way to someone’s heart is through their stomach”: Anti-Orientalism in the Cookbooks of Habeeb Salloum,” Amani Khelifa examines the writings of Arab-Canadian cookbook writer Habeeb Salloum. Khelifa identifies three “decolonizing moves” by which Salloum constructed and expressed his Syrian heritage through food and in relation to both mainstream Canadian narratives and Indigenous cultures. While food is a characteristic aspect of the flattened “heritage caricatures” of Canadian multiculturalism, Salloum’s writings and Khelifa’s analysis - demonstrate how food is also an avenue for decolonization and navigating the tensions (both internal and external) between immigrant, Canada and place or culture of origin. Salloum’s story also provides an interesting complement to this issue’s critiques of multiculturalism from Muslim perspectives since Salloum was Arab Christian. Salloum therefore shared a religious identity with the Canadian majority, while being a cultural minority but, at the same time, a religious minority within the wider Arab culture. The lens of Orientalism in relation to Islamophobia and the racialization of Arabs and Arab Muslims becomes important here. The shifting, positional, and overlapping nature of identity reveals the impossibility of the “mosaic” image of multiculturalism, which conflates and calcifies ethnic-religious identities into interlocking cultural tiles.

Motahareh Nabavi delves further into the issue of identity formation in “Canadian Muslim Reactive Identity Formation in the Face of Discrimination: The Possibilities of Imagined Localities.” Nabavi posits that Canadian Muslims form their identities as Muslims in reaction to their experiences of colonization, racism and multiculturalism, highlighting particular factors that impact Canadian Muslim identities such as negative media representation, discrimination and the experience of being a minority (versus being Muslim in a Muslim majority society). Far from a stifling Muslim identity, Nabavi argues that these forces have motivated a reclamation and

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<sup>38</sup> Ling Lei and Shibao Guo, “Beyond multiculturalism: Revisioning a model of pandemic anti-racism education in post-Covid-19 Canada,” *International Journal of Anthropology and Ethnology* 6, no.1 (2022): 1. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41257-021-00060-7>.

strengthening of Muslim identity. This reclamation does not come without a toll however, as Muslims have felt compelled to deepen their knowledge of Islam to defend their identities against Islamophobic discourse and young Muslims in particular struggle to create a unified sense of self as multiple binary identities are projected on to them. Nonetheless, as young Muslims actively engage in forming hybrid identities, they create a “third space” of cultural hybridity that confounds dichotomous narratives such as Muslim/Canadian, religious/secular and tradition/modernity.

Dr. Asma Ahmed also focuses on Muslim youth in “A Framework to Assess the Supports Provided for Muslim Students in a Public School.” Ahmed identifies frequent challenges faced by Muslim youth - especially those who are practicing and are outwardly identifiable as Muslim - in public schools and provides a conceptual framework to guide educators in assessing the supports provided for Muslim students in their schools. Many of the challenges faced by Muslim students highlight the limitations of multiculturalism to incorporate practice- and legal-based religion. While Ahmed focuses on multicultural education, she makes the crucial distinction that while multicultural education can provide a basis for including and supporting Muslim students, anti-racist education is needed to create deeper, systemic equity.

Lastly, Fatima Chakroun provides a high-level overview of the history, development patterns, and scope of activities of Muslim organizations across Canada in an I-RSS report, “Muslim Organizations in Canada: A Composite Picture of Service and Diversity.” This large-scale depiction identifies several patterns in Muslim organizations in Canada. Chakroun finds that Muslim organizations have consistently been created to meet the needs of Muslims that are not met by mainstream, multicultural Canadian society and institutions. Perhaps the most pertinent point for this journal issue is that these organizations provide services that go well beyond the scope of traditional “religious” activities, indicating that mainstream multicultural society does not automatically meet all the “non-religious” needs of all groups.

The diversity of these four articles demonstrates the myriad of ways in which multiculturalism informs and impacts Muslim life and ways of being in Canada. As a deeply fraught, yet central tenet of Canadian national narratives, multiculturalism requires close and critical attention from many vantage points. Muslim perspectives on multiculturalism are particularly telling, as Islam and Muslims so frequently find themselves at the margins or fractures of multiculturalism - sometimes with deeply harmful consequences. Yet it is not always so dire. As some of our authors demonstrate, Muslim ways of interacting with, participating in and resisting multiculturalism also show a way forward towards a more truly pluralistic society.

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