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Canadian Attitudes toward Jews and Muslims, 2025¹

Abstract

Jews and Muslims are two of the most dissimilar groups in Canada society in terms of their sociodemographic characteristics. Layered on top of those differences is antagonism over the Israel–Palestine conflict. Yet this report, based on a January 2025 web panel survey of 2,821 Canadian adults, shows that Jews and Muslims have some things in common.

Notably, a considerable number of Canadians have negative attitudes toward both groups. Negative attitudes toward Jews and Muslims are correlated with more general racist sentiment. And although more Canadians express negative attitudes toward Muslims than Jews, negative attitudes toward both groups are stronger than the Canadian average in Montreal and especially Quebec City. They are weaker than the Canadian average in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, and especially Winnipeg.

However, intercity differences fail to reach statistical significance at standard levels once other factors are taken into account. In other words, the reason some cities have populations with more negative attitudes toward Jews and Muslims is that they have a greater percentage of people who have other characteristics associated with these negative attitudes. Specifically, the non-Jewish Canadians most likely to have negative attitudes toward Jews say have had negative experiences with Jews. They tend to be Quebecois and place themselves on the right of the political spectrum. They are likely to lack even a single Jewish acquaintance and to be relatively young. They are unlikely to support the New Democratic Party and they tend to identify as male. Similarly, the non-Muslim Canadians who are most likely to have negative attitudes toward Muslims say have had negative experiences with Muslims and are likely to place themselves on the right of the political spectrum. They, too, tend to be Quebecois. There is a disproportionately large number of Conservative Party supporters among them. Finally, they lack even a single Muslim friend.

Compared to the general population of Canada, individuals on the political left tend to have less negative attitudes towards Jews and more negative attitudes toward Israel. Leftists often claim they are not antisemitic, but most Canadian Jews disagree because strongly negative attitudes toward Israel effectively deny Jews a core part of their identity as Jews, namely support for a Jewish state.

One of the key findings of this survey is that even Muslim respondents who say they have had good experiences with Jews tend not to have negative attitudes toward Jews, while even Jews who say they have had good experiences with Muslims tend not to have negative attitudes toward Muslims. The report ends by considering the implications of this finding for Jewish–Muslim relations in Canada.

Résumé

Les Juifs et les musulmans sont deux des groupes les plus dissemblables de la société canadienne pour ce qui en est de leurs caractéristiques sociodémographiques. À ces différences s'ajoute l'antagonisme sur le conflit israélo-palestinien. Pourtant, ce rapport, basé sur un sondage en ligne mené en janvier 2025 auprès de 2 821 adultes canadiens, montre que les personnes juives et musulmanes ont des traits en commun.

Notamment, un nombre considérable de Canadien.nes ont des attitudes négatives envers les deux groupes. Les attitudes négatives envers les personnes juives et musulmanes sont corrélées avec un sentiment raciste plus général. Et, bien que plus de Canadien.nes expriment des attitudes négatives envers les musulman.es qu'envers les Juif.ves, les attitudes négatives envers les deux groupes sont plus fortes que la moyenne canadienne à Montréal et surtout à Québec. Elles sont plus faibles que la moyenne canadienne à Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton et surtout Winnipeg.

Cependant, les différences entre les villes n'atteignent pas la signification statistique aux niveaux standard une fois que d'autres facteurs sont pris en compte. Autrement dit, la raison pour laquelle certaines villes ont des populations ayant des attitudes plus négatives envers les Juif.ves et les musulman.es est qu'elles ont un pourcentage plus élevé de personnes qui ont d'autres caractéristiques associées à ces attitudes négatives.

Plus précisément, les Canadien.nes non juif.ves les plus susceptibles d'avoir des attitudes négatives envers les Juif.ves disent avoir eu des expériences négatives avec les Juif.ves. Iels ont tendance à être Québécois.es et à se situer à droite de l'échiquier politique. Iels sont susceptibles de ne pas avoir une seule connaissance juive et d'être relativement jeunes. Il est peu probable qu'iels soutiennent le NPD et iels ont tendance à s'identifier comme des hommes. Pareillement, les Canadien.nes non musulman.es qui sont les plus susceptibles d'avoir des attitudes négatives envers les musulman.es disent avoir eu des expériences négatives avec les musulman.es et sont susceptibles de se placer à droite du spectre politique. Elleux aussi ont tendance à être québécois.es. On compte un nombre disproportionné de partisans du Parti conservateur parmi elleux. Enfin, iels ne possèdent aucun.e ami.e musulman.e.

Il est important de noter que les répondants musulmans qui disent avoir eu de bonnes expériences avec les Juif.ves n'ont généralement pas d'attitudes négatives envers les Juif.ves et, de manière similaire, les Juif.ves qui disent avoir eu de bonnes expériences avec les musulman.es n'ont généralement pas d'attitudes négatives envers les musulman.es.

Comparativement à la population générale du Canada, les membres de la gauche politique ont tendance à avoir des attitudes moins négatives envers les Juif.ves et des attitudes plus négatives envers Israël. Les personnes de gauche prétendent souvent qu'ils ne sont pas antisémites, mais la plupart des Juif.ves canadiens ne sont pas d'accord, car des attitudes fortement négatives envers Israël nient effectivement aux Juif.ves une partie essentielle de leur identité en tant que personnes juives, à savoir le soutien à un État juif.

L'une des principales conclusions de cette enquête est que forger des liens amicaux avec des personnes juives et les musulmanes est associé au développement d'attitudes positives à leur égard. Le rapport se termine par l'examen des implications de ce constat au sujet des relations judéo-musulmanes au Canada.

I. The Jewish Question and the Muslim Question in Canada

Few groups in Canadian society are as different as Muslims and Jews. Muslims form 5 percent of the country's population, having increased in number more than sevenfold between 1991 and 2021. By comparison, Jews form 1 percent of the population, with their growth over the same period failing to reach 5 percent.² Examining the median annual household income of Canadian Protestants, Roman Catholics, Orthodox Catholics, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Muslims, and Jews, one finds that Muslims have the lowest income and Jews the highest. That ranking holds even for Jews and Muslims born in Canada.³ Although Jews and Muslims tend to live in Canada's biggest cities, they remain at a distance. Examining all combinations of two religious groups (Roman Catholics and Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists, and so on), the two groups least likely to reside in the same neighborhood are Muslims and Jews.⁴ Sixty-three percent of Muslims are immigrants, mainly from Asia and Africa. In contrast, 27 percent of Jews are immigrants, mainly from Europe. The median age of Jews is forty-two, compared to thirty for Muslims.⁵ The survey on which this report is based found that 87 percent of Canadians with an opinion on the subject consider Jews "mainly White," while 7 percent consider Muslims "mainly White."

Lack of understanding and animosity are layered on top of these sociodemographic differences. Roughly three-quarters of Canadian Muslims are of Arab, Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, Iranian, Afghani, and Turkish origin.⁶ Recent surveys conducted in fifteen Arab-majority countries, the West Bank and Gaza, Iran, and Turkey find that an average of 74 percent of the population of these places have antisemitic attitudes.⁷ A 2024 survey found that 52 percent of Canadian Muslims with an opinion on the subject hold negative attitudes toward Jews, substantially more than a dozen other categories of the Canadian population that were examined. Muslim attitudes toward Jews are doubtless influenced by the destruction of life and property in the ongoing Gaza war and the daily barrage of media reports on the conduct of the IDF.

Admittedly sparse data on the subject indicate a concomitant decline in the empathy of Canadian Jews toward Muslims after the Hamas pogrom of October 7, 2023.⁸

Notwithstanding these differences, Jews and Muslims have something in common. They are often objects of vilification, discrimination, and violence. To date, Jews have been spared attacks like those suffered by Muslims in the 2017 Quebec City mosque shootings, which killed six worshippers and seriously injured five others, and the 2021 London, Ontario, truck ramming that killed four family members, including two women wearing traditional Pakistani garb, and wounded a fifth. However, since October 7, 2023, police have foiled three plots by Canadians planning mass attacks on Jews.⁹

Meanwhile, since 2014, hate crimes have been increasing—almost steadily against Jews and somewhat more erratically against Muslims. In 2023, Jews were the object of nine hundred police-reported hate crimes directed at religious targets (just over 70 percent of the total) and Muslims were the object of 211 such crimes (more than 16 percent of the total). There was a nearly 71 percent jump in the number of anti-Jewish hate crimes since 2022 and a 94 percent jump in the number of anti-Muslim hate crimes over the same period.¹⁰ Given that the Muslim population is about five times larger than the Jewish population, there was approximately one hate crime for every 450 Jews in 2023, compared to one for every 2,370 Muslims. Partial data for 2024 indicate still more of the same.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Europe was beset with the Jewish Question—the issue of how Jews, lacking a homeland since 70 CE and occupationally and residentially segregated from the surrounding population, could be integrated into European society. Analogously, sociologist Abdolmohammad Kazemipur, a leading student of Canadian Muslims, makes a case for the existence of a Muslim Question in Western societies today. His case is based on the discrimination Muslims tend to face in the labour market, their extremely high level of residential segregation, their relative lack of upward income mobility, and the limited degree to which they are accepted as cultural and social equals.¹¹ Kazemipur's point is valid. I would add only that the Jewish Question has recently resurfaced.¹² Research shows that, especially in the wake of skyrocketing anti-Jewish hate crime, most Canadian Jews now feel unsafe and believe that their situation is unlikely to improve in the near future.¹³ For about six decades—from the early 1960s to the early 2020s—most Canadian Jews came to feel very much at home in Canada. Now they again worry about their lack of integration into Canadian society.

Little research examines the social factors underlying Canadian attitudes towards Jews and Muslims. Most of that small body of research measures associations between attitudes and one social factor at a time (age, educational attainment, province,

and so on).¹⁴ Little attempt has been made to measure the unique effect of each factor and the combined effect of all factors on attitudes. The most rigorous research that makes such an attempt is based on data concerning Muslims collected in 2011, which seems like a different era in terms of this paper's subject matter.¹⁵ Thus, my chief aim in this paper is to assess the unique and combined effects of a variety of social factors on attitudes toward Jews and Muslims today, in 2025.

Along the way, I address several subsidiary questions: To what degree are Canadians' attitudes toward Jews and Muslims related? Are they distinct phenomena or part of a racist syndrome?¹⁶ What are Canadians' opinions about the Israel–Palestine conflict? How do Jewish and non–Jewish perceptions of antisemitism differ? And what are the implications of this study for Muslim–Jewish relations in Canada?

This paper is based largely on a web panel survey of 2,821 Canadian adults conducted from January 3–23, 2025. Uniquely in this survey, oversamples of at least three hundred people living in each of Canada's eight largest metropolitan areas (Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec City) permit comparisons of attitudes across Canada's main cities.

In a web panel survey, a polling firm assembles a list of one hundred thousand or more adults who form a cross section of a country's population and say they are willing to participate in surveys for payment. Members of the panel are then invited to respond to polls. Researchers stipulate the characteristic(s) and number of respondents they want to sample, and when these quotas are reached the poll is closed.

To help maximize representativeness, I weighted this survey's sample by 2021 census data on age, gender, province and territory of residence, educational attainment, and median annual household income. I also compared the distribution of religion in the sample with the corresponding results of the 2021 census and the distribution of voting preferences in the sample with the results of approximately concurrent 2025 polls.¹⁷ On the latter variables I found negligible differences between the sample and these other sources. Based on these considerations, I was led to conclude that the sample is broadly representative of the Canadian adult population and that I could credibly use tests of statistical significance to distinguish meaningful from chance findings. In a similar probability sample, the maximum margin of error would be ± 1.8 percent for the full sample. Margins of error decline as findings exceed or subceed 50 percent.

I wrote this report largely with the non–specialist educated reader in mind. However, parts 3 and 4 are more technical than the other parts. In those two parts I use as little technical language as possible and explain as simply as I can the logic behind

what I've done. However, to be fully appreciated they require a basic understanding of factor analysis and multiple regression analysis.

Of course, I am entirely responsible for any errors that may appear in this study and the judgments I express in it.

2. Canadian Attitudes toward Jews and Muslims

2.1 The Rise and Decline of Canadian Multiculturalism

Canada's multicultural era began in 1971, when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau declared in Parliament that all communities in the country would henceforth enjoy full and equitable participation in Canadian society. Partly as a result of multiculturalist policy, the number of immigrants per year was 287 percent higher in 2023 than in 1971, while the country's visible minority population grew from less than 5 percent to about 27 percent of Canada's population.¹⁸

Having reached its apogee in the first half of Justin Trudeau's nearly decade-long tenure as prime minister, the multicultural era is now in decline.¹⁹ Evidence of its demise is found in the January 2025 survey of 2,821 Canadian adults on which this report is based: 69 percent of Canadians now believe the country's level of immigration is too high, compared to 24 percent who say it is too low or about right, and 42 percent of respondents say they are somewhat or strongly opposed to Canada becoming more racially diverse, compared to 26 percent who say they are strongly or somewhat in favour of increased racial diversity.

Canadians' attitudes toward minorities vary from one group to the next. Table 1 compares the favourability of Canadians toward ten minority groups in January 2025. Pay particular attention to the net favourability score of each group in the bottom row of Table 1. It subtracts the percentage of respondents who say they have a very unfavourable, unfavourable, or somewhat unfavourable opinion of each group from the percentage who say they have a very favourable, favourable, or somewhat favourable opinion of each group.

Table 1 “Please indicate if you have a very favourable, favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable, unfavourable, or very unfavourable opinion of people in each of the following groups,” in percent										
	Muslim	Palestinian	Transgender	Israeli	South Asian	Gay & lesbian	Chinese	Jewish	Indigenous / Aboriginal	Black
Very favourable	11	11	13	13	14	21	16	17	20	22
Favourable	25	22	24	25	27	29	34	34	34	37
Somewhat favourable	18	18	18	20	25	20	24	22	22	21
Somewhat unfavourable	14	13	13	10	10	7	7	5	7	5
Unfavourable	8	7	6	7	5	3	3	4	3	2
Very unfavourable	9	7	10	6	5	6	3	3	3	1
Don't know/ no answer	16	21	17	20	14	13	12	16	12	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Net favourability*	23	24	26	35	46	54	61	61	63	72
*The net favourability score is the percentage of respondents who say they have very favourable, favourable or somewhat favourable opinions of a group minus the percentage who say they have very unfavourable, unfavourable or somewhat favourable opinions.										

The groups with the lowest net favourability scores are Muslim, Palestinians, and transgender Canadians, with scores between 23 percent and 26 percent. At the opposite end of the scale, in the 61–63 percent range, we find Chinese, Jewish, and Indigenous/Aboriginal Canadians, with Black Canadians, in a striking difference with the United States, having the highest score at 72 percent.

We know from previous research that Canadian attitudes toward Israel are more negative than attitudes toward Jews.²⁰ It is therefore unsurprising that the net favourability score for Israelis (35 percent) is lower than corresponding score for Jews (61 percent). These findings likely reflect the ability of most Canadians to distinguish their generally favourable attitudes toward Jews from their often negative attitudes toward the way Israel is prosecuting the war in Gaza and dealing with the Palestinian issue in general.

Respondents were also asked to “indicate whether you think each of the following groups is often, sometimes, rarely, or never the object of hate in Canadian society today.” Table 2 presents the results.

Table 2
“Please indicate whether you think each of the following groups is often, sometimes, rarely, or never the object of hate in Canadian society today. Hate may be expressed as insults, harassment, vandalism, or physical assault,” in percent

	Muslim	Transgender	Gay & lesbian	Israeli	South Asian	Indigenous/ Aboriginal	Black	Palestinian	Jewish	Chinese
Never	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	6	6	7
Rarely	9	11	15	13	15	16	18	14	19	23
Sometimes	40	34	41	41	45	37	42	41	40	45
Often	37	41	31	27	25	33	28	25	25	14
Don't know / no answer	9	10	8	14	11	9	8	15	10	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Net perceived hate*	63	59	52	50	50	48	47	46	40	29

*The net perceived hate score is the percentage of respondents who say that members of a group are sometimes or often the object of hate minus the percentage who say they are rarely or never the object of hate.

The net perceived hate score of each group is arrayed in the bottom row of Table 2. It is equal to the percentage of respondents who say that members of a group are sometimes or often the object of hate minus the percentage who say they are rarely or never the object of hate.

Respondents see Muslims and transgender people as the groups that are most often the object of hate in Canadian society, with net perceived hate scores of 63 percent and 59 percent respectively. At the other extreme, Chinese are viewed as the group that is least often the object of hate, with a net perceived hate score of 29 percent. Jews are in second place with a score of 40 percent.

As with the net favourability scores, Canadians are more likely to see Israelis than Jews as objects of hate (50 percent versus 40 percent respectively). Perhaps surprisingly, Palestinians, with a net perceived hate score of 46 percent, are much less likely to be seen as objects of hate than are Muslims, with a net perceived hate score of 63 percent. The difference between Palestinians and Muslims is perhaps a reflection of the fairly widespread empathy toward Palestinians in the Israel–Hamas war.

2.2 Focus on Jews and Muslims

To get a better sense of what Canadians think about Jews and Muslims today, I asked respondents to react to a set of eight statements concerning each group. Three of the statements are common to both groups. Five of the statements are unique to each

group. I alternated positively-worded and negatively-worded statements. Table 3 presents responses to the questions about Jews. Table 4 presents responses to the questions about Muslims. In both tables, negative responses are shaded grey.

Table 3										
Attitudes of Canadians toward Jews, in percent										
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Total disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total agree	Don't know/ No answer	Total
Jews should be admired for their resilience in the face of adversity.	5	5	7	17	19	27	15	61	23	100
Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.	17	22	16	55	9	5	6	20	24	100
I wouldn't mind if my next door neighbours were Jews.	3	2	4	9	12	34	34	80	12	100
Jews have too much control over the economy in our country today.	15	19	14	48	10	5	7	22	31	100
Jews should be included in the diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) policies of government, educational, medical, and business institutions.	9	7	8	24	15	20	11	46	30	100
Jewish people talk too much about the Holocaust.	21	24	15	60	8	4	4	16	26	100
In Canada, Jewish people generously contribute to non-Jewish charities.	4	5	8	17	8	12	6	26	57	100
Jewish people have too much control over the media in our country today.	13	20	13	46	8	6	6	20	32	100

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Total disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total agree	Don't know/ No answer	Total
Muslims should be admired for their resilience in the face of adversity.	10	11	9	30	18	15	7	40	29	100
Muslims don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.	13	17	14	44	13	9	12	34	23	100
I wouldn't mind if my next door neighbours were Muslims.	7	5	9	21	17	26	25	68	12	100
Muslims are more prone to terrorism than are members of other groups.	11	12	10	33	20	11	12	43	23	100
Muslims should be admired for their important contributions to many fields, including architecture, mathematics, and astronomy.	8	5	9	22	18	23	11	52	27	100
Muslim women should not be allowed to wear the hijab in public settings such as schools and government offices.	20	17	11	48	12	9	17	38	15	100
Muslim immigrants adapt to Canadian society as well as non-Muslim immigrants do.	17	10	19	46	13	15	6	34	20	100
Muslims tend to be intolerant of non-Muslims.	8	12	12	32	18	12	12	42	27	100

The three statements common to both groups elicit more negative responses when applied to Muslims than when applied to Jews. Thus, 17 percent of respondents disagree with the statement that Jews “should be admired for their resilience in the face of adversity” compared to 30 percent for Muslims. Twenty percent agree with the statement that Jews “don’t care what happens to anyone but their own kind,” while 34 percent agree with that statement when applied to Muslims. When presented with the statement, “I wouldn’t mind if my next-door neighbours were Jews,” 9 percent disagree. When applied to Muslims, the corresponding figure is 21 percent.

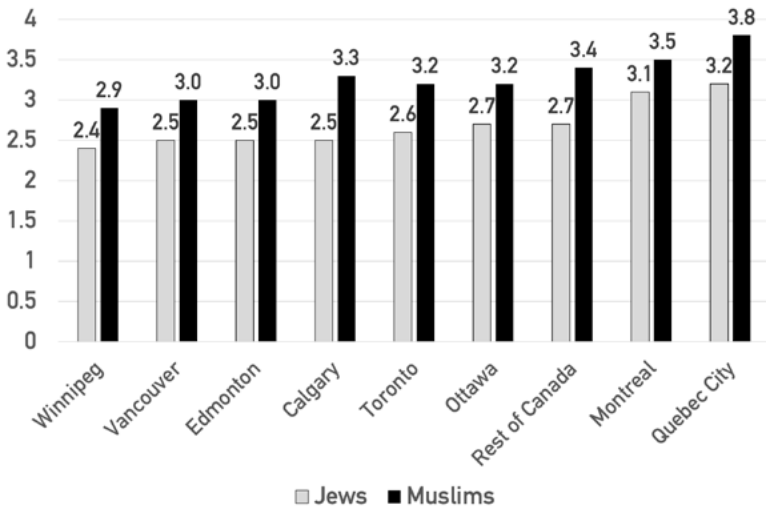
Some of the statements that are unique to each group repeat stereotypes about Jews and Muslims. For instance, 22 percent of respondents agree that Jews “have too much control over the economy in our country today” and 20 percent agree that Jews have “too much control over the media in our country today.” Meanwhile, 43 percent of respondents agree that Muslims “are more prone to terrorism than are members of other groups” and 34 percent agree that “Muslims tend to be intolerant of non-Muslims.”

Across all eight statements, an average of 12 percent of Canadians have negative opinions about Jews. The average for Muslims across all eight statements is 31 percent.

2.3 Cross-City Variation in Attitudes toward Jews and Muslims

To see how attitudes toward Jews and Muslims vary across Canada, I first coded positively-worded statements in Tables 3 and 4 as follows: strongly agree=1, agree=2, slightly agree=3, slightly disagree=4, disagree=5, and strongly disagree=6. I reverse-coded negatively worded statements and coded “don’t knows” and “no answers” as missing data. For each respondent, I then calculated the average score on all eight statements for Jews and Muslims. Finally, I calculated averages for respondents residing in metropolitan Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec City; and respondents residing outside those eight census metropolitan areas. In Figure 1, the higher the score, the more negative the attitude toward Jews and Muslims.

Figure 1
Mean attitudes toward Jews and Muslims across Canada on a scale of 1 to 6;
higher scores are more negative



As expected, regardless of where they reside, Canadians have more negative attitudes toward Muslims than Jews. The Jewish-Muslim gap in average scores, arrayed in column 3, varies by city. However, an approximate east-west pattern is evident in Figure 1. Western cities led by Winnipeg are the most benign metropolitan areas for both Jews and Muslims.²¹ Quebec City is the least benign metropolitan area for both groups, with Montreal not far behind. Ontario's major cities sit between the extremes of west and east. Places outside the eight large census metropolitan areas are about as congenial toward Jews and Muslims as are Toronto and Ottawa.

The maximum value of a positive correlation (r) is 1.0. In Figure 1, where the units of analysis are census metropolitan areas, the correlation between attitudes toward Jews and Muslims is very strong ($r = 0.906$).²² This result leads one to suspect that attitudes toward Jews and Muslims may be part of a racist syndrome. I take up this subject in the next part of this report.

3. Are Attitudes toward Jews and Muslims Part of a Racist Syndrome?

The high correlation I found between attitudes toward Jews and Muslims is not a new discovery. Annual surveys conducted between 2004 and 2008 found that negative views of Jews and Muslims increased in tandem over time in major continental European countries. A scatterplot of attitudes toward Jews by attitudes toward Muslims in France, Germany, Poland, Russia, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States in 2008 yields a strong correlation of 0.800; the greater the degree to which a country displays negative attitudes toward Jews, the greater the degree to which it displays negative attitudes toward Muslims.²³

In this part I take a step further than earlier research. I test whether negative attitudes toward Jews and Muslims in Canada are associated with an undercurrent of racist sentiment, as some scholars have suggested.²⁴ I do so by first creating scales of attitudes toward Jews, attitudes toward Muslims, and racism.

Why are scales more desirable than individual questionnaire items? Because individual questionnaire items run the risk of low validity. That is, they may not be accurate. To improve the validity of measures, researchers typically develop scales composed of multiple questionnaire items by assessing the degree to which the items are correlated with each other. Scales composed of multiple questionnaire items that are highly correlated with each other are more valid or accurate than are individual questionnaire items.

I used factor analysis to create three scales. Factor analysis determines the degree to which selected questionnaire items are correlated with each other. It assigns each

questionnaire item a “factor loading,” that is, a score indicating how well the questionnaire item hangs together with the other items in the scale. Often, factor loadings of 0.4 or higher are interpreted as indicating that a questionnaire item is sufficiently correlated with the other items to justify inclusion in the scale.

I selected the following four questionnaire items as indicators of racism:

- Please indicate if you have a very favourable, favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable, unfavourable, or very unfavourable opinion of people in each of the following groups:
 - Black people
 - South Asian people
 - Indigenous or Aboriginal people
 - Chinese people

- To measure attitudes toward Jews, I selected the following three items:
 - Jews should be admired for their resilience in the face of adversity.
 - Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.
 - I wouldn't mind if my next-door neighbours were Jews.

- Finally, to measure attitudes toward Muslims, the following three items were selected:
 - Muslims should be admired for their resilience in the face of adversity.
 - Muslims don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.
 - I wouldn't mind if my next-door neighbours were Muslims.

To prepare for factor analysis, I recoded questionnaire items as necessary so that high scores for all items indicate more negative attitudes.

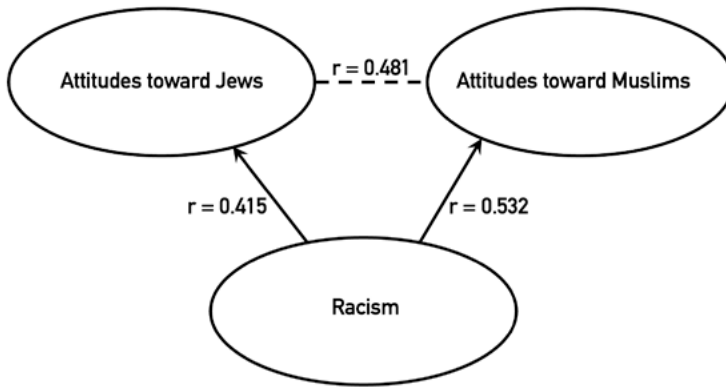
For each of the three sets of items just listed, Table 5 shows the results of the factor analysis. The very high positive factor loadings, ranging from 0.769 to 0.837, indicate that the items in each of the three sets of items are tightly connected.

Table 5			
Factor loadings for questionnaire items relating to Jews, Muslims, and various racial groups			
	Factor		
	Jews	Muslims	Racism
Black favourability			0.837
South Asian favourability			0.802
Indigenous/Aboriginal favourability			0.769
Chinese favourability			0.811
Jews: resilience	0.830		
Jews: own kind	0.794		
Jews: neighbours	0.838		
Muslims: resilience		0.824	
Muslims: own kind		0.841	
Muslims: neighbours		0.835	
Note: The factor loadings derive from principal components factor analysis using varimax rotation. To calculate the "Jews" factor, Jewish respondents were deselected from the sample. To calculate the "Muslims" factor, Muslim respondents were deselected from the sample. The full sample was used to calculate the "Racism" factor.			

Finally, I calculated correlations among the three scales.²⁵ I found correlations (r 's) of 0.532 between the Muslims and Racism factors, 0.415 between the Jews and Racism factors, and 0.481 between the Jews and Muslims factors. All three correlations are highly statistically significant; in 19 of 20 similar random samples, the chance of *not* finding them is less than 1 in 1,000. Conventionally, positive correlations between 0.500 and 1.00 are considered strong, while positive correlations between 0.300 and 0.499 are considered moderate. The findings are thus consistent with the view that negative attitudes toward Jews are moderately associated with attitudes toward Muslims; that attitudes toward Jews are moderately associated with racist attitudes; and that attitudes toward Muslims are strongly associated with racist attitudes. Canadian Jews and Muslims may often be at loggerheads, but that apparently matters little to racists, who dislike them both.

This result raises the question that I address in the next part of this report: What are the characteristics of Canadians who tend to hold negative attitudes toward Jews and Muslims?

Figure 2
Correlations between Jewish, Muslim, and racism scales



4. Correlates of Attitudes toward Jews and Muslims

4.1 Of Storks and Newborns

While correlations can be useful for examining the relationship between variables, they can be misleading. A classic example involves the positive correlation between the frequency of stork sightings and out-of-hospital human births in parts of northern Europe.²⁶ The existence of the positive correlation is consistent with the view that storks bring babies. However, when the correlation is examined for urban and rural settings separately, the correlation vanishes. In other words, rurality/urbanity is correlated with the frequency of both stork sightings and out-of-hospital births but the correlation between stork sightings and human births is spurious. Evidently, rurality/urbanity (here a “control variable”), not frequency of stork sightings, determines the frequency of out-of-hospital births.

This example highlights the importance of statistical control: the examination of how correlations change when examined within categories of other variables. Control variables may turn out to be part or all of the reason for the initial correlations.

Multiple regression is a statistical technique that permits one to control for many variables simultaneously and discover the unique effect of each variable and the combined effects of all variables. In this part, I conduct two multiple regression analyses to discover the unique and combined effects of a range of variables on attitudes toward Jews and Muslims.

4.2 Regression on Attitudes toward Jews

Table 6 presents the results of a regression analysis predicting each non-Jewish respondent's score on the scale of attitudes toward Jews developed in part 2. It lists sixteen predictors divided into three groups.

The top group, shaded grey, consists of five demographic correlates of attitudes toward Jews. They include five ascending categories of age; nine ascending categories of educational attainment; five ascending categories of annual household income before taxes; language (whether the respondent answers the questionnaire in English or French); and gender identification (whether respondents consider themselves male or female).²⁷

Table 6 Ordinary least squares regression predicting attitudes toward Jews, showing regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, excluding Jews from the sample		
	Regression coefficients and standard errors	Influence rank†
Older age	-0.087 (0.014)***	2
Gender (male=0; female=1)	-0.116 (0.043)**	7
Higher educational attainment	0.015 (0.012)	
Higher annual household income	0.008 (0.016)	
Language French	0.342 (0.084)***	3
Religion (reference: no affiliation)		
Christian	-0.056 (0.045)	
Muslim	0.163 (0.170)	
Federal party (reference: Liberal)		
Conservative	0.002 (0.058)	
NDP	-0.231 (0.064)***	4
Bloc Québécois	0.032 (0.112)	
More right-wing	0.054 (0.020)**	5
No Jewish acquaintances	0.125 (0.050)*	6
No Jewish friends	-0.056 (0.050)	
No Jewish extended family	0.058 (0.080)	
No Jewish immediate family	0.161 (0.118)	
Negative experience with Jews	0.560 (0.019)***	1
Constant	-1.598 (0.156)***	
Adjusted R ²	0.585	
* p < .05; ** p < .01; ***p < .001		
† Ranks are based on beta coefficients, not shown here.		

The unshaded middle group of predictors pertains to respondents' religious identification, political party preference, and position on the left–right political spectrum. Answers to the question “What is your religion?” establish respondents' religious identification. The effect of religion is shown as the degree to which the attitudes of Christians differ from the attitudes of those who identify with other religions or no religion, and the attitudes of Muslims differ from the attitudes of those who identify with other religions or no religion. Political party preference is measured by responses to the question, “If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?” The effect of party preference is shown as the degree to which (1) the attitudes of Conservative Party supporters differ from the attitudes of supporters of other parties; (2) the attitudes of New Democratic Party (NDP) supporters differ from the attitudes of supporters of other parties; (3) the attitudes of Bloc Québécois supporters differ from the attitudes of supporters of other parties; and (4) the attitudes of Green Party supporters differ from the attitudes of supporters of other parties. The Liberal Party is the reference category. Finally, position on the left–right political spectrum is measured by responses to a question asking survey participants to locate themselves on a scale ranging from one (“extremely left”) to seven (“extremely right”), with the mid–point, four, meaning “in the centre.”²⁸

The bottom group of predictors, shaded grey, deals with respondents' personal ties to Jews. Individuals were asked to respond “yes” if they count at least one Jewish person among their acquaintances, among their friends, within their extended family, and within their immediate family—and to respond “no” if they do not. They were also asked, “Generally, would you describe the experiences you have had with Jews as very positive, positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, negative, or very negative?”

The regression coefficients and standard errors in Table 6 show that, controlling for all other variables in the equation, negative attitudes toward Jews are significantly associated at standard levels with the following factors:

1. having negative experiences with Jews;
2. youth;
3. answering the questionnaire in French;
4. not supporting the NDP;
5. placing oneself on the right of the political spectrum;
6. not having any Jewish acquaintances; and
7. identifying as male.

Thus, the “ideal–type” Canadian with negative attitudes toward Jews is a young Quebecois who lacks even a single Jewish acquaintance, claims to have had negative experiences with Jews, and supports a party other than the NDP.²⁹ Contrariwise, the ideal–type Canadian with positive attitudes toward Jews is an older left–leaning

non-Quebecois woman who supports the NDP, has at least one Jewish acquaintance and says she has in general had positive experiences with Jews.

The finding that NDP supporters tend to have positive attitudes toward Jews may surprise some readers. I will interpret this finding in part 5 of this report. Perhaps even more surprising is that Muslim respondents do *not* have negative attitudes toward Jews net of the other variables in the regression equation. In fact, Muslim respondents who claim to have had good experiences with Jews tend to have *positive* attitudes toward Jews. For Muslims in the sample ($n=59$), the bivariate correlation (r) between claiming to have had good experiences with Jews and having positive attitudes toward Jews is 0.627. I will have more to say on this subject in the concluding part of this report.

To complete Table 6's story, I draw your attention to the fact that the variables in column 3 explain more than 58 percent of the variation in attitudes toward Jews—a high percentage by social science standards. Finally, the column labelled “Influence rank” indicates how much variation in attitudes toward Jews is explained by each of the seven statistically significant variables in column 3, net of other variables, with the most influential variable ranked one and the least influential variable ranked seven. The numbered list immediately above also ranks the statistically significant variables in descending order of what may be regarded as their causal weight.

4.3 Regression on Attitudes toward Muslims

Table 7 repeats the preceding exercise, this time predicting each non-Muslim respondent's score on the scale of attitudes toward Muslims developed in part 3.

Five variables predicting attitudes toward Muslims reach statistical significance at standard levels. Controlling for all other variables in the regression equation, negative attitudes toward Muslims are significantly associated with the following factors:

1. having negative experiences with Muslims;
2. placing oneself on the right wing of the political spectrum;
3. answering the questionnaire in French;
4. not having a single Muslim friend; and
5. supporting the Conservative Party.

Table 7 Ordinary least squares regression predicting attitudes toward Muslims, showing regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, excluding Muslims from the sample		
	Regression coefficients and standard errors	Influence rank†
Older age	0.013 (0.013)	
Gender (male=0; female=1)	-0.061 (0.040)	
Higher educational attainment	-0.000 (0.006)	
Higher annual household income	-0.006 (0.014)	
Language French	0.326 (0.070)***	3
Religion (reference: no affiliation)		
Christian	0.077 (0.042)	
Jewish	0.030 (0.129)	
Federal party (reference: Liberal)		
Conservative	0.149 (0.055)**	5
NDP	-0.048 (0.059)	
Bloc Québécois	-0.081 (0.096)	
More right-wing	0.112 (0.017)***	2
No Muslim acquaintances	-0.029 (0.045)	
No Muslim friends	0.164 (0.044)***	4
No Muslim extended family	-0.043 (0.096)	
No Muslim immediate family	-0.103 (0.142)	
Negative experience with Muslims	0.464 (0.015)***	1
Constant	-2.015 (0.144)***	
Adjusted R ²	0.692	
* p <.05; ** p <.01; ***p < .001		
† Ranks are based on beta coefficients, not shown here.		

The ideal-type Canadian with negative attitudes toward Muslims is in several respects similar to the ideal-type Canadian with negative attitudes toward Jews, which one might expect given the association between racist attitudes and negative attitudes towards Jews and Muslims found in part 3. Specifically, the ideal-type Canadian with negative attitudes toward Muslims is a right-leaning male Quebecois who lacks a single Muslim friend, reports having had negative experiences with Muslims, and support the Conservative Party. Also noteworthy is that Jewish respondents do not have negative attitudes toward Muslims controlling for other variables in the regression equation. In fact, Jewish respondents who claim to have had good experiences with Muslims tend to have *positive* attitudes toward Muslims. For Jews in the sample (n=56), the bivariate correlation (r) between claiming to have had good experiences with Muslims and having positive attitudes toward Muslims is 0.613. The concluding part of this report explores this finding further.

Examining the bottom row of Table 7, we see that the regression equation explains an impressive 69 percent of the variation in attitudes toward Muslims. The column labelled “Influence rank” and the list immediately above rank the statistically significant variables in descending order of what may be regarded as their causal weight.

Not shown in either Table 6 or Table 7 is that city of residence has no effect on respondents’ attitudes toward Muslims or Jews. That is, variables found in Table 6 and Table 7 fully account for the intercity differences noted in part 2.3.

5. The Left and Jewish–Muslim Relations

5.1 Anti–Zionism and Antisemitism

Many commentators argue that, in recent decades, the political left has become the main locus of negative sentiment towards Jews.³⁰ This study finds that Canadians’ self-assessments are inconsistent with that viewpoint. Specifically, as shown earlier, when Canadians are asked to locate themselves on the left–right political spectrum and name the federal political party they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow, the evidence points in the opposite direction. Leaning left and supporting the social–democratic NDP are associated with a lower level of negative sentiment toward Jews than is expressed by the general population.

Attitudes toward Israel are a different matter. A 2024 survey demonstrates that Canadians in general have much more negative attitudes toward Israel than toward Jews. Moreover, people who lean left and support the NDP tend to express a significantly higher level of negative sentiment toward Israel than do members of the general population.³¹ This tendency is illustrated by Table 8, which compares all Canadians and NDP supporters on three attitudinal questions regarding the Israel–Palestine conflict.

The current survey asked respondents to apportion blame for the war in Gaza among the Israel government, the Israeli people, Hamas, the Palestinian people, the United States, and Iran. Nearly twice as many NDP supporters as members of the general population place more than half the blame for the war on the Israeli government (36 percent versus 19 percent). More than twice as many members of the general population as NDP supporters place more than half the blame on Hamas (33 percent versus 14 percent).

In addition, three times more members of the general population than NDP supporters say only Jews are indigenous to Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza (12 percent versus 4 percent), while 1.3 times as many NDP supporters as members of the general population say only Palestinians are indigenous to the area (25 percent versus 19 percent).

Table 8						
Attitudes of Canadian adults and NDP supporters toward issues concerning the Israel-Palestine conflict, in percent						
"Who is most to blame for the war in Gaza?" Percent who place more than half the blame on...						
	Israeli government	Israeli people	Hamas	Palestinian people	United States	Iran
Canadians	19	1	33	2	1	1
NDP supporters	36	0	14	1	0	1
"In your opinion, which of the following groups do you think is indigenous to Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza?"						
	Jews	Palestinians	Both	Neither	Total	
Canadians	12	19	61	8	100	
NDP supporters	4	25	67	3	100	
"Would you describe your feelings about Zionism as very positive, positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, negative, or very negative?"						
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total		
Canadians	26	36	38	100		
NDP supporters	14	24	62	100		

Finally, respondents were asked to describe their feelings about Zionism. Members of the general population are nearly twice as likely as NDP supporters to describe their feelings toward Zionism as positive (26 percent versus 14 percent), while 1.6 times as many NDP supporters as members of the general population describe their feelings toward Zionism as negative (62 percent versus 38 percent). Much of the Canadian public cares little about events in the Middle East.³² However, Canadians with opinions on the Israel-Palestine conflict are sharply divided, with those supporting the NDP and, more generally, those leaning to the political left significantly more likely than others to favour the Palestinian cause.

This is where things get complicated. About two-thirds of Canadian Jews consider extreme anti-Israel attitudes antisemitic.³³ Suggesting that Jews have no right to their own state in Israel expresses one such attitude. So does failing to apportion much if any blame on Hamas for the Gaza war and claiming that only Palestinians are indigenous to Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. Members of the left who adopt such positions typically assert that these attitudes have nothing to do with their attitude toward Jews and are therefore not antisemitic. But most Canadian Jews, even those who are critical of the current Israeli government and its policies regarding the Palestinians, regard such opinions as thoroughly antisemitic because more than three-quarters of Canadian Jews are emotionally attached to Israel and consider support for Israel a core element of their identity *as Jews*.

People who place themselves on the political left correctly argue that majority group members often fail to notice forms of discrimination that are apparent to minority group members. Unfortunately, many leftists refuse to apply this insight to the Jewish minority. Thus, they may reject the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state and claim they are not antisemitic. And in fact their attitudes toward Jews are less negative than those of the general population, as I have shown. However, denying Jews a core part of their identity as Jews—their support for Israel—is undeniably antisemitic in the eyes of the most relevant beholder, whatever those on the left may think. Many leftists ignore this form of discrimination, which is only too apparent to most Jews.

5.2 Jewish–Muslim Relations

The February 2024 web panel survey that I cited earlier shows that Canadian Muslims have significantly more negative attitudes toward Jews than do members of the general population. The 2024 survey also shows that Canadian Muslims have significantly more negative attitudes toward Israel than do members of the general population. For instance, 46 percent of Canadian Muslims with an opinion on the subject, compared to 20 percent of the general population, say that the Jewish people are not entitled to a state of their own.³⁴ The current survey also shows that Muslims have significantly more negative attitudes toward Jews than do Canadians with no religious affiliation—but *not if they have at least one Jewish acquaintance and positive experiences with Jews*. In the latter case, their attitudes toward Jews do not differ significantly from the attitudes of Canadians with no religious affiliation.

The current survey also shows that Canadian Jews are on average no more likely than members of the general population to have negative attitudes toward Muslims. However, it seems that Jewish empathy toward Muslims declined after the October 7, 2023, Hamas pogrom. Thus, in 2018, 51 percent of Jews said that Canadian Muslims often face discrimination, ranking them the group experiencing the second highest level of discrimination in Canadian society.³⁵ In February 2024, Jews said Muslims experience the fifth-highest level of discrimination in Canadian society, with 39 percent of Jews saying Muslims often face discrimination.³⁶

The attitudes of Canadian Jews toward Palestinians has, to my knowledge, never been the subject of survey research, but the silence of most Canadian Jews on this subject speaks loudly. The devastation that Palestinians have endured in Gaza, the lack of Palestinian rights in the West Bank, the failure of the Israeli government to prosecute the overwhelming majority of Jewish vigilante actions against Palestinians, and the right of Palestinians to a sovereign state are subjects that are rarely discussed in the Canadian Jewish press or Jewish public forums.³⁷ And on the infrequent occasions when these issues are publicly discussed, they are typically treated with skepticism or denial.

Many Muslims tend to regard the unwillingness of many Jews to address these issues or deny them as “anti-Palestinian racism,” in much the same way that most Jews regard the extreme anti-Israel attitudes of many Canadian Muslims as antisemitism.³⁸ The result of this mutual acrimony is evident. When Jews ignore or deny Palestinian rights and Muslims assert extreme anti-Israel views that most Canadian Jews see as antisemitic, antagonism increases and extreme positions on both sides become more deeply entrenched.

5.3 A Way Forward?

“Out beyond the ideas of wrong doing and right doing, there is a field. I’ll meet you there.”

—Jalal al-Din Rumi³⁹

“All real living is meeting.”

—Martin Buber⁴⁰

The relationship between Jews and Muslims in Canada may remain as it is at present. The relationship may worsen. However, these are not the only alternatives because a considerable number of people on both sides of the divide share common ground.

For example, in the February 2024 poll cited earlier, Jewish respondents were asked whether Israel has the right to build Jewish settlements in the West Bank. More respondents said “no” than “yes.”⁴¹ An August–September 2024 web panel survey of 588 Canadian Jewish adults asked whether respondents think Jewish settlements in the West Bank help or harm Israel’s security. More answered “harm” than “help.”⁴² And, on the other side, the February 2024 survey found that more than one-half of Canadian Muslims with an opinion on the subject think Jewish people are entitled to a state of their own, while more than one-half of Canadian Jews with an opinion on the subject think “a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other.”

If readers remember just one finding from this study, I hope it is the fact that Jews who have good experiences with Muslims tend to have positive attitudes toward Muslims; and Muslims who have good experiences with Jews tend to have positive attitudes toward Jews.

Some people don’t need this study to understand these tendencies. First steps are being taken on the margins of some Canadian universities and communities to bring Muslims and Jews together with the aim of getting the two sides to know each other better and respectfully discuss areas of commonality and disagreement. However, neither the mainstream Jewish community nor the mainstream Muslim commu-

nity has seen fit to embark on such projects, instead for the most part denying the legitimate interests of the other side and trumpeting the legitimacy of their own perceived interests.

I have heard mainstream Jews and Muslims say it is better to wait for quieter times to enter into dialogue because, in wartime, members of both communities would reject out of hand any attempt at rapprochement. Yet scant efforts to achieve mutual understanding were attempted in quieter times in the past, so it is unclear why one should think that quieter times are propitious circumstances for dialogue. On the other hand, wartime is precisely when the need for rapprochement is most acute. It therefore seems to me that the Jewish and Muslim mainstreams might now start down a different path by attending to this study's main finding and then reading works by philosophers and poets such as those quoted above.

Appendix

Table 9	
Frequency distribution of weighted sample characteristics	
Age	
18-34	26.7
35-44	16.5
45-54	15.4
55-64	17.5
65+	23.9
Total	100.0
Gender	
Male	47.8
Female	51.4
Non-cisgender	0.9
Total	100.0
Province/Territory	
BC	13.9
AB	11.1
SK	3.2
MB	3.2
ON	38.7
QC	22.9
NB	2.1
NS	2.6
PE	0.4
NL	1.6
NT & YT	0.2
Total	100.0

Educational attainment	
Grade 8 or less	0.5
Some high school	5.4
High school diploma or equivalent	32.1
Registered apprenticeship or other trades certificate/ diploma	6.7
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	20.3
University certificate or diploma below bachelor's level	3.4
Bachelor's degree	20.5
Master's degree	8.3
PhD	0.8
MD, LLB or other professional degree	2.1
Total	100.0
Annual household before-tax income	
< \$40,000	19.2
\$40,000-\$69,999	21.7
\$70,000-\$99,999	18.3
\$100,00-\$149,000	20.3
\$150,000+	20.5
Total	100.0

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1

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2

Robert Brym, "Canada's Jewish Population 2024: Focus on Attitudes toward Jews and Israel," in *American Jewish Year Book 2024*, ed. Arnold Dashefsky and Ira M. Sheskin (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, forthcoming 2025a); Jim Torczyner and Shari L. Brotman, "The Jews of Canada: A Profile from the Census," in *American Jewish Year Book 1995*, ed. David Singer and Ruth R. Seldin (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1995), 227-260; Statistics Canada, "1991 census area profiles" (2019), <https://tinyurl.com/muc2w5wk>; Statistics Canada, "Census profile, 2021 Census of Population: Profile table" (2024a), <https://tinyurl.com/5e3zh37m>; Statistics Canada, "Hate crime in Canada" (2024b), <https://tinyurl.com/3kav3y56>.

3

Abdolmohammad Kazemipur, "Religion in the Canadian Ethnic Landscape: The Muslim Factor," in *Immigration, Racial and Ethnic Studies in 150 Years of Canada: Retrospects and Prospects*, ed. Shibao Guo and Lloyd Wong (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 161-180; Abdolmohammad Kazemipur, "Islamophobia in Canada between Populism and Political Correctness," in *Racism, Islamophobia, Antisemitism and the Future of Canadian Society*, ed. Robert Brym (Oakville ON: Rock's Mills Press, 2020), 7-27;

Naomi Lightman, "Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Income," in *The Ever-Dying People? Canada's Jews in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Robert Brym and Randal F. Schnoor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023), 100-113.

4

Abdolmohammad Kazemipur, "From the Jewish Question to the Muslim Question," in *The Ever-Dying People? Canada's Jews in Comparative Perspective*, 165-178.

5

Statistics Canada, "The Canadian census: A rich portrait of the country's religious and ethnocultural diversity" (2022a) <https://tinyurl.com/y955wm3s>; Statistics Canada, "Religion by visible minority and generation status: Canada, provinces and territories, census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations with parts" (2022b), <https://tinyurl.com/y2j67m8s>; Statistics Canada, "Custom tabulation on Jews in the 2021 Census of Canada" (2023).

6

Statistics Canada, "Religion by visible minority and generation status."

7

Anti-Defamation League, "Middle East and North Africa" (2024), <https://tinyurl.com/3dharxdj>.

8

Robert Brym, "Jews and Israel 2024: A Survey of Canadian Attitudes and Jewish Perceptions," SPSS data set (2025b); Robert Brym, "The Decline of Canadian Multiculturalism and the Rebirth of the Jewish Question," *Society* 62 (2025b), <https://tinyurl.com/2p8d8b2y>.

9

Ehsanullah Amiri, "The Six Canadian Terror Plots Police Have Foiled since October 7," *National Post*, September 12, 2024, <https://tinyurl.com/3d9bs5n3>.

10

Statistics Canada, "Religion by visible minority and generation status."

11

Abdolmohammad Kazemipur, "From the Jewish Question to the Muslim Question."

12

Brym, "The Decline of Canadian Multiculturalism."

13

Brym, "Jews and Israel 2024."

14

For example, Brym, "Jews and Israel 2024"; Michael Bueckert et al., *Marginalized and Misunderstood: Survey on Attitudes on Arabs and Anti-Arab Racism in Canada* (Montreal and Toronto: Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, Canadian Arab Federation, and Arab Canadian Lawyers Association, 2021); Environics, *Focus Canada 2006* (2006), <https://tinyurl.com/4nf4hykv>; Environics Institute, *Focus Canada 2011* (2012), <https://tinyurl.com/4ffhkzz2>; Environics Institute, *Survey of Muslims in Canada 2016* (2016), <https://tinyurl.com/yc5hanhz>; Keith Neuman, *Race Relations in Canada 2024* (Toronto: Environics Institute and Canadian Race Relations Foundation, 2024), <https://tinyurl.com/4n47972x>.

15

Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme, "Islamophobia in Canada: Measuring the Realities of Negative Attitudes toward Muslims and Religious Discrimination," *Canadian Review of Sociology* 55, no. 1 (2018): 86-110.

16

I use the term "racist" and its cognates because they are widely employed and generally understood to denote prejudice, ignorance, and stereotypy. In common usage today, and in my usage, the terms do not imply that race is a determinant of attitudes and behaviours.

17

Statistics Canada, "The Canadian census."

18

Statistics Canada, "Visible minority by gender and age: Canada, provinces and territories" (2025) <https://tinyurl.com/27n9ardt>; Wikipedia, "Opinion polling for the 2025 Canadian federal election" (2025b), <https://tinyurl.com/mr3rss39>.

19

Brym, "The Decline of Canadian Multiculturalism."

20

Brym, "Jews and Israel."

21

In the 2018 *Survey of Jews in Canada*, Jews in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal were asked whether they had experienced

discrimination because of their religion or ethnicity in the past five years. Winnipeg Jews were least likely to say they experienced such discrimination, followed by Jews in Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto, though the difference between Montreal and Toronto was negligible Robert Brym, Keith Neuman, and Rhonda Lenton, *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada* (Toronto: Environics Institute, 2019), <https://tinyurl.com/mr3chmr4>.

22

When the units of analysis are individuals rather than census metropolitan areas, the correlation is understandably weaker but still moderate and highly significant (see part 3, Figure 2).

23

Pew Research Center, "Unfavorable Views of Jews and Muslims on the Increase in Europe" (2008), <https://tinyurl.com/5d56hvcx>.

24

For example, William Hobbs et al, "From Anti-Muslim to Anti-Jewish: Target Substitution on Fringe Social Media Platforms and the Persistence of Online and Offline Hate," *Political Behavior* 46 (2024): 1747-1769; Nasar Meer, "Racialization and religion: Race, culture and difference in the study of antisemitism and Islamophobia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (36, 3: 2013a), 385-398; Nasar Meer, "Semantics, scales and solidarities in the study of antisemitism and Islamophobia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (36, 3: 2013b), 500-515.

25

See table 5 for the questionnaire items used to calculate the three scales.

26

Thomas Höfer, Hildegard Przyrembel, and Silvia Verleger, "New Evidence for the Theory of the Stork," *Paediatric and Perinatal Epidemiology* 18 (2004): 88-92.

27

There were too few non-cisgender respondents in the sample to include them in the regression.

28

Many Canadians lack a clear understanding of the left-right political spectrum. Therefore, the question asking respondents their position on the spectrum explained it as follows: "Some people place their political opinions on

a “left-right” scale. People on the “left” want government to lower economic inequality and provide a wide range of services to all members of society. They also support gender equality, racial equality, and LGBTQ+ rights. In contrast, people on the “right” want a small role for government in the economy and in providing various services. They stress the importance of individual freedom in creating jobs and increasing wealth, and they support traditional family values. People in the “centre” take moderate positions on all these policies. How would you describe your political opinions? Please use a scale from one (“extremely left”) to seven (“extremely right”), with the mid-point four meaning “in the centre.”

29

Ninety-three percent of respondents who answered the questionnaire in French reside in Quebec.

30

For example, David Hirsh, *Contemporary Left Antisemitism* (London: Routledge, 2018); Alan Johnson, ed. *Mapping the New Antisemitism: The Fathom Essays* (London: Routledge, 2024).

31

Brym, “Jews and Israel.”

32

Forty-seven percent of respondents in the general population (compared to 52 percent of NDP supporters) say they listen to, watch, or read news about the Middle East weekly or daily. The rest say they listen to, watch, or read news from the Middle East “about monthly” (11 percent versus 15 percent for NDP supporters), “rarely” or “never” (42 percent versus 34 percent for NDP supporters).

33

Brym, “Jews and Israel.”

34

Ibid. The poll consisted of four sub-samples: 1,121 non-Jewish adults from the general population, 1,010 non-Jewish university students, 414 Jewish adults from the general population, and 312 Muslim adults from the general population.

35

Brym, Neuman, and Lenton, *2018 Survey*.

36

Brym, “Jews and Israel.”

37

Yesh Din, “Data sheet, December 2022: Law Enforcement on Israeli Civilians in the West Bank (Settler Violence) 2005-2022,” February 1, 2023, <https://tinyurl.com/muvp3ccu>; Yesh Din, “Data Sheet: Law Enforcement Against Israeli Soldiers Suspected of Harming Palestinians and Their Property—Figures for 2018-2022,” (February 4, 2025, <https://tinyurl.com/ms3u4zdy>).

38

Arab Canadian Lawyers Association, *Anti-Palestinian Racism: Naming, Framing and Manifestations* (Toronto: 2024), <https://tinyurl.com/454aenkr>. Unfortunately, the definition of anti-Palestinian racism proffered by the Arab Canadian Lawyers Association effectively denies Israel the right to exist as a Jewish state and is in that sense antisemitic. See Cary Kogan, Deidre Butler, Pamela Walker, Mark Sandler, Carly Baldachin, and Yasmine Mohammed, “The Legal and Societal Perils of Introducing the Concept of Anti-Palestinian Racism in Canada,” *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* (forthcoming 2025).

39

Jalal al-Din Rumi, *The Essential Rumi*, trans. Coleman Barks (San Francisco: Harper, 1995 [circa 1250]).

40

Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, 2nd ed., trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: Scribner’s (1970 [1923])).

41

Brym, “Jews and Israel.”

42

Brym, “Canada’s Jewish Population 2024.”