



UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO



Institute of
Islamic Studies



ISLAMIC
RELIEF
CANADA

Canadian Muslim Demographics, Socioeconomics, Social Attitudes, and Experiential Outcomes

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INTRODUCTION

This report on Canadian Muslim demographics, socio-economics, social attitudes, and experiences begins by introducing the background, research objectives, and research questions that animated this study. The Institute of Islamic Studies at the University of Toronto (hereinafter, IIS) undertook methodologically rigorous analyses of extant Canadian census data, and integrated findings from the Survey of Muslims in Canada administered through the IIS. The report was originally sponsored by Islamic Relief Canada (hereinafter, IRC), one of Canada's leading humanitarian charities. IRC recognized that the 2021 Canadian Census offered an opportunity to better understand and appreciate the diversity of the Canadian Muslim community, including how the community is evolving over time.

BACKGROUND

In 2023, IRC approached the IIS to conduct a demographic analysis of the Canadian Muslim community that would guide internal matters, particularly decision-making, strategy, and policy. At the same time, IRC agreed that the report would be openly published on the IIS digital platform as a joint IIS/IRC paper. The analysis herein serves three primary purposes:

1. To ensure leadership at IRC represents its stakeholders, namely the Canadian Muslim community, according to ethnicity, sectarian affiliation, gender, age, generation, income, and location.
2. To explore how the Canadian Muslim community is evolving over time and changing demographically.
3. To better understand social causes and concerns of Canadian Muslims across the country, especially as it relates to the primary mandate of Canadian civil society and charities.

To conduct these analyses, weighted data from the 2021 Canadian Census, 2011 National Household Survey, 2024 IIS Survey of Muslims in Canada, and 2016 Environics Institute Survey of Muslims in Canada were utilized.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In collaboration with the IIS, IRC identified the following items of importance:

1. Demographic and socioeconomic outcomes of Muslims in Canada
2. Social attitudes and experiences of Muslims in Canada
3. Changes over time for item 1 (compare 2021 and 2011 census data)
4. Intragroup (subsample/subgroup) comparisons for item 1 (compare 2021 census data)
 - a. Low-income status, identified by the low-income cut off
 - b. Gender identity
 - c. Racial/ethnic identity
 - d. Immigrant generation
 - e. Province

FOCAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The focal research questions for this study are based on IRC's interests in better understanding and serving the Canadian Muslim community. The questions are organized thematically and include:

1. ETHNICITY AND IMMIGRATION

- What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada by immigration status?
- What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada by age at immigration?
- What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada by country of origin (e.g., birth location)?
- What are the racial/ethnic distributions of Muslims in Canada?

2. CITIZENSHIP AND DOMESTIC MIGRATION

- What are the distributions of Muslims in Canada by citizenship status?
- What official languages¹ do they speak?
- What are the distributions of Muslims in Canada by residential mobility (e.g. how recently and how far residential relocation happens)?
- What are the distributions of Muslims across the Canadian provinces?
- Which provinces have faster growing Muslim populations?

3. HOUSEHOLD FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

- What are the age category distributions of Muslims in Canada?
- How many are minors (e.g. under age 18)?
- How many are seniors (e.g. 65 or over)?
- What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada across different gender identities?
- What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada across different marital statuses?
- What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada across different sexual identities?
- What is the size² of the average Muslim household?
- How many Canadian Muslim households have children?²

1. IRC had asked the research team to identify what languages Canadian Muslims speak—not restricted to official languages. However, of the languages spoken in Muslim majority contexts, only Arabic and Punjabi are uniquely identified in the Canadian Census data. The remaining languages are grouped together in ways that reflect the general approach Statistics Canada has, which favours data particularity for Canadians of European descent.
2. IRC had asked the research team to identify how many children, on average, Canadian Muslims have. The Census provides data on the number of people within a household and also has an indicator of if children are present within the household, but there isn't a direct measure of the number of children within the household.

4. EDUCATION AND WORK CHARACTERISTICS

- What are the education levels of Muslims in Canada?
- Where did they study?
- How many Canadian Muslims are employed or unemployed?
- Do they work full-time or part-time?

5. HOUSEHOLD FINANCIAL CHARACTERISTICS³

- What is the distribution of Canadian Muslims across income categories?
- How many Canadian Muslims are below the poverty line?
- What are the distributions of Muslims in Canada across residential status (e.g. family-owned home or rented)?

6. RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND PRACTICE

- What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada across different sectarian identities?
- How many Canadian Muslims identify as converts (or reverts) to Islam?
- How frequently do Canadian Muslims attend masjids or other Muslim spaces for prayer (salaat)?
- How frequently do Canadian Muslims attend masjids or Muslim spaces for other reasons?
- Do Canadian Muslims feel their religiosity has been impacted by immigrating to Canada?

7. SOCIOPOLITICAL ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS

- How satisfied are Canadian Muslims with the direction Canada is moving?
- How has this changed over time?
- What problems confronting Canada do Canadian Muslims identify?
- What do Canadian Muslims like most about Canada?
- What are Canadian Muslim voting behaviours?
- What types of civic engagement are Canadian Muslims involved in?

8. DISCRIMINATORY EXPERIENCES

- What types of discrimination do Canadian Muslims report?
- Where do these experiences of discrimination take place?

3. Regarding the variables included in questions for set 5, IRC had asked the research team to identify the outcomes for Canadian Muslim households. However, the unit of analysis is at the level of individuals, not households, and thus the results are presented accordingly.

The sets of questions 1–5 draw on data from the 2021 and 2011 Canadian census. The sets of questions from 6–8, as well as the question on sexual identities, draw on data from the 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada and where relevant, data from the 2016 Environics Survey of Muslims in Canada.⁴

While data from the 2016 Environics Institute Survey of Muslims in Canada is provided for appendix tables 6–8, we note the difference in sample recruitment may have yielded a marked difference in the levels of generalizability and representativeness between surveys. Thus, while data from the 2016 survey is presented in appendix tables, it is only referred to for qualitative (not statistical or quantitative) analysis.

Each of the above questions is answered in the Findings section. For each question in sets 1–5, when available, changes across time are noted.⁵ Comparisons with the Canadian non-Muslim population are provided in the appendix and discussed when relevant. For each question, where applicable, intragroup comparisons of Canadian Muslims are included by low-income status, gender identity, racial/ethnic identity, immigrant generation, and province.

Question sets 6–8 focus on social experiences and attitudes. Changes across time are noted qualitatively rather than statistically, as mentioned above. Comparisons with non-Muslim Canadians are provided, but intragroup comparisons are not provided due to the smaller sample size. Nonetheless, additional analyses IRC deems necessary may be available upon request. For all queries, please contact the principal investigator (sarah.shah@txstate.edu).

4. A portion of this analysis is based on the Environics Institute for Survey Research Microdata file which contains anonymized data collected in the 2016 Survey of Muslims in Canada. All computations on these microdata were prepared by the research team at the Institute of Islamic Studies at the University of Toronto, and the responsibility for the use and interpretation of these data is entirely that of the author(s).

5. To identify proportional change (increase or decrease) between 2011 to 2021, percent change is calculated as:
$$\left[\frac{(2021 \text{ percent} - 2011 \text{ percent})}{(2021 \text{ percent})} \right] \times 100 = \text{percent change}$$



Findings

Each research question is addressed in the subsequent pages. Note the tables below provide percentages of Canadian Muslims in 2011 and 2021. Please refer to the tables in the appendix, which correspond to each numbered set of questions below and provide both population estimates and percentages of Canadians, both Muslim and not, as well as subgroups of Canadian Muslims by low-income status, gender identity, race/ethnicity, generation of immigration, and province.

QUESTION SET 1: ETHNICITY AND IMMIGRATION

What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada by immigration status?

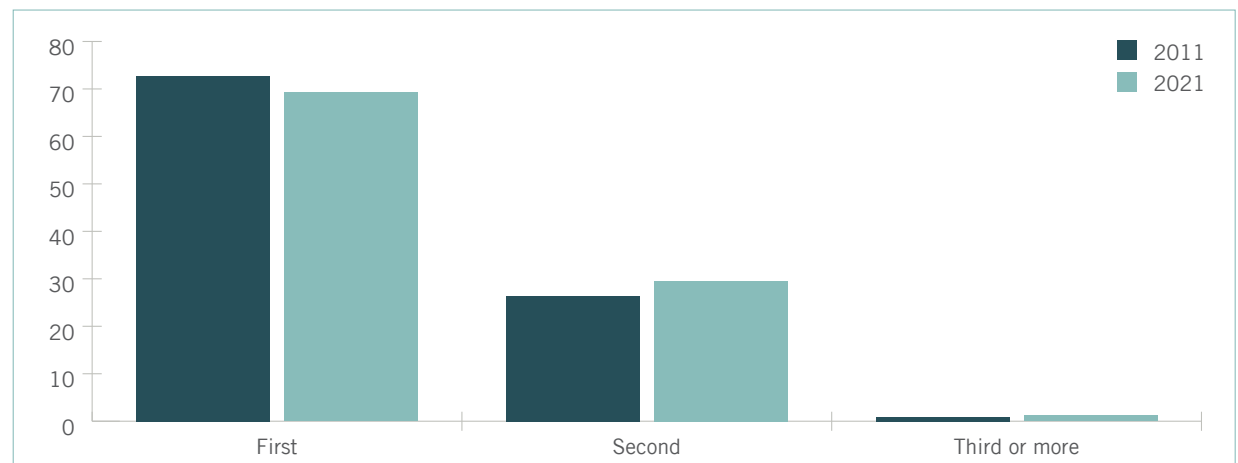
All Muslims

The *first generation* refers to those born outside of Canada who came to Canada; *second generation* includes those who were born in Canada but whose parents were not; and *third generation* captures those who were born in Canada to Canadian-born parents. Those who are third generation or beyond (e.g., fourth, fifth, etc.) are collapsed into one group (*third+*).

Table 1a. Canadian Muslim Immigrant Generation, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Immigrant Generation	2011	2021	% Change
First	72.74	69.21	-5.10
Second	26.37	29.58	10.85
Third or more	0.89	1.21	26.45
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 1a Canadian Muslim Immigrant Generation



In 2021, about 69% of Canadian Muslims were first generation, a decrease of about 5% from 2011. This decrease is not the result of fewer first-generation Canadian Muslims—indeed, the number of first-generation Canadian Muslims increased from just over 750k in 2011 to just over 1.2M in 2021. Instead, the decrease in the percent of first-generation Canadian Muslims represents the significant increase of second and third+ generations of Canadian Muslims.

About 30% of Canadian Muslims in the 2021 Census were second generation, an increase of nearly 11% from 2011. While only 1.21% of Canadian Muslims were third+ generation in 2021, this is a staggering increase of over 26% since 2011 (0.89%).

Taken together, these numbers and trends indicate that the Canadian Muslim population is growing faster through domestic growth (families and children) rather than through migration. While resources and supports for Muslim newcomers to Canada remain important, the data supports a growing need to prioritize community supports for latter generations of Canadian Muslims.

Subsample Comparisons

As mentioned above, intragroup comparisons are made to better understand the distribution of outcomes across the Canadian Muslim population by low-income status, gender, race/ethnicity, and province; when applicable, responses will also include breakdowns by immigrant generations.

All subsample comparisons followed the pattern described above for Canadian Muslims—namely, a first-generation majority followed by a significant second-generation minority as well as a much smaller minority of third+ generations Canadian Muslims.

Families below the **low-income** cut off were slightly more likely to be first-generation Canadian Muslims, and families above the cut off were more likely to be second- or latter-generations.

When considering **gender**, men were slightly more likely to be first generation Canadian Muslims, and women were slightly more likely to be second or latter generations.

All **racial/ethnic** groups followed the pattern described above for Canadian Muslims, with one notable exception: while almost all ethnic groups had less than 1% of third generation or beyond, nearly 8% of White Muslims are third or more generation Canadians. It would appear that the value of 1.21% third+ generations is skewed because of the larger share among White Muslims.

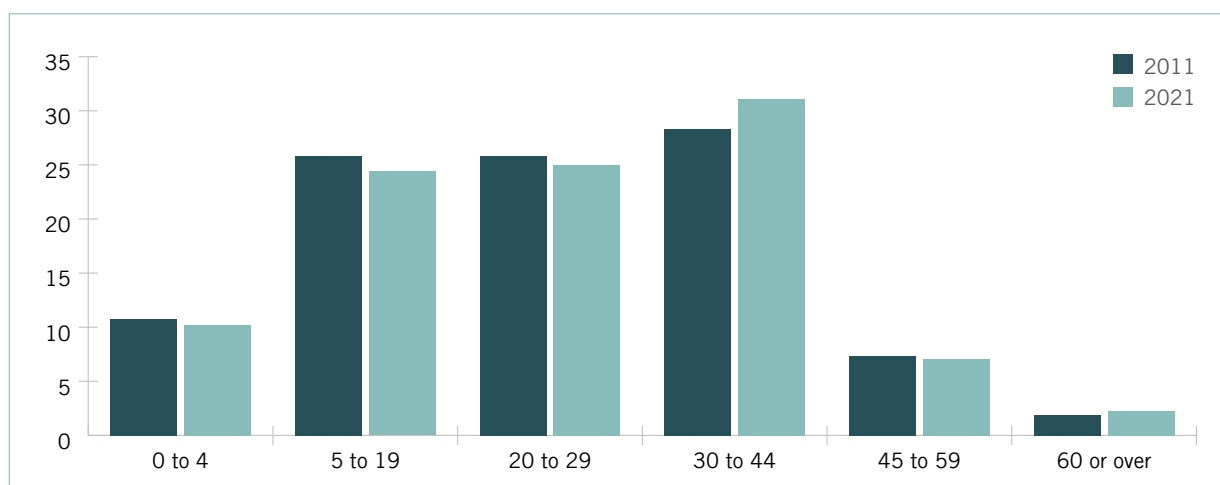
The general pattern was also observed by **province**, though the pattern is nuanced by specific context. The third+ generation population was either too small or nonexistent and therefore did not get picked up by the Canadian Census in Newfoundland and Labrador as well as Prince Edward Island and the Northern Territories. The largest proportion of first-generation Canadian Muslims was found in New Brunswick, where the population drops off at the second-generation. This would appear to indicate that first-generation Canadian Muslims are either not having children, or that they leave the province once they do (see also qualitative reports on the poor quality of Canadian Muslim life in New Brunswick in the IIS-CCMW reports *Still Overqualified and Unemployed?* and *Voices that Matter*.)

What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada by age at immigration?

Table 1b Canadian Muslim Age at Immigration, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Age at Immigration	2011	2021	% Change
0 to 4	10.74	10.23	-4.99
5 to 19	25.84	24.40	-5.90
20 to 29	25.82	24.98	-3.36
30 to 44	28.34	31.06	8.76
45 to 59	7.37	7.07	-4.24
60 or over	1.90	2.26	15.93
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 1b Canadian Muslim Age at Immigration



All Muslims

The majority (56%) of Canadian Muslim immigrants came to Canada between the ages of 20 and 44 in 2021. There is a notable decrease between 2011 and 2021 in those who report immigrating to Canada as children, while there has been a significant increase in those who arrive in Canada at 60 or older (16%).

Given the unique needs of the elderly, this is an important finding. Elderly immigrants to Canada face unique challenges to integration and assimilation that younger Canadians do not experience. While younger Canadian immigrants can access pathways to integration through school and work, the elderly typically do not. In addition to language barriers, isolation, and health concerns, elderly Canadian Muslim immigrants also face the loss of social networks and familiar surroundings upon immigration. The needs of elderly Canadian Muslim immigrants need to be assessed and addressed.

Subsample Comparisons

The subsample comparisons generally followed the pattern described above for Canadian Muslims—namely, a sizable minority of Canadian Muslim immigrants indicating a young (19 years or less) age at immigration, while the majority migrating to Canada in their prime adult years (20 to 44 years), and another small minority migrating to Canada in their middle adulthood or later (45 years and older).

When considering **low-income status**, a very nominal (nonsignificant) pattern appears: those who immigrated to Canada at very young ages (4 years or younger) and those who immigrated later in life (45 years or older) were more likely to report being in low-income families. Considering the finding above—that there is an increase in elderly Canadian Muslim immigrants—this is important to note given the unique needs of the elderly.

Turning to both **gender** and **racial/ethnic identities**, there were nominal differences across immigrant age categories and no discernable pattern separate from the trend of the overall Canadian Muslim sample.

However, when focusing on **provinces**, there were notable nuances. For those in Newfoundland and Labrador and Prince Edward Island, the populations of immigrant who arrived at age 45 or older were either nonexistent or too small to get picked up by the Canadian Census. The majority of immigrants

in these two provinces immigrated as children. The remaining provinces and the Northern Territories echo the pattern for the general Canadian Muslim sample.

What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada by country of origin?

(e.g., birth location)

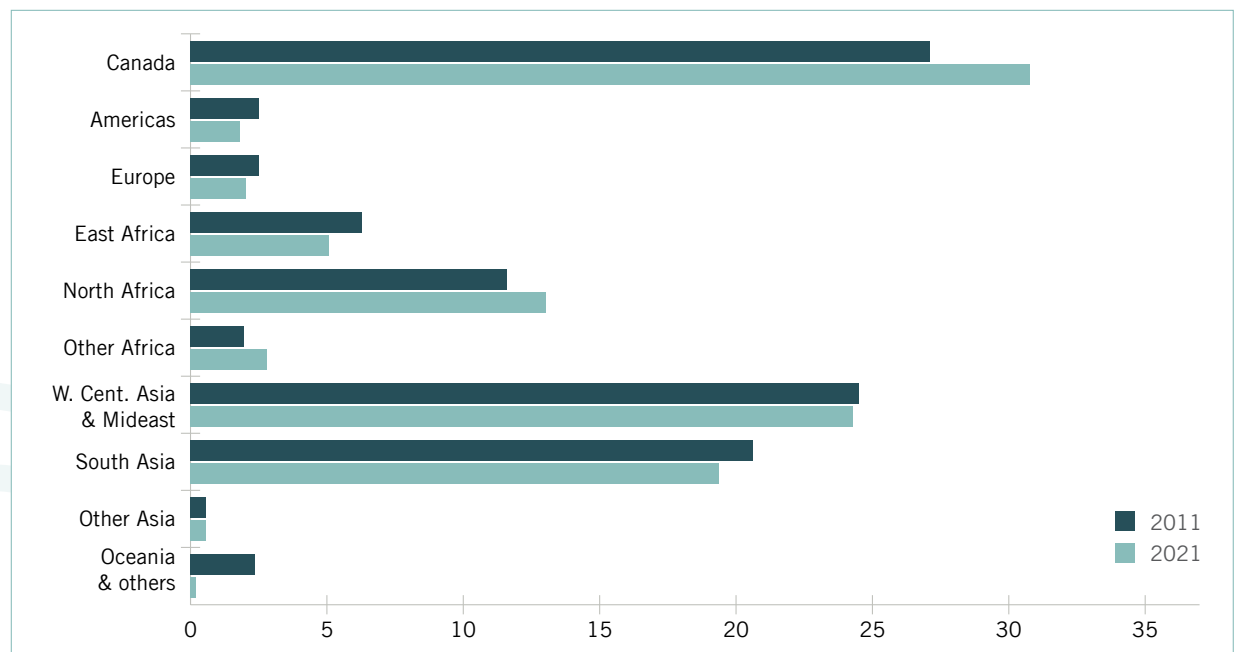
All Muslims

In lieu of specific countries, Statistics Canada releases birth-origin related data by global region. In 2021, nearly a third (31%) of Canadian Muslims were born in Canada, about a quarter (24%) were born in West Central Asia and the Middle East, a fifth (19%) in South Asia, and roughly 13% in North Africa. Five percent or fewer Canadian Muslims indicated birth in the remaining regions.

Table 1c Canadian Muslim Place of Birth, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Place of Birth	2011	2021	% Change
Canada	27.12	30.79	11.92
Americas	2.51	1.83	-37.16
Europe	2.50	2.03	-23.15
East Africa	6.27	5.09	-23.18
North Africa	11.59	13.02	10.98
Other Africa	1.96	2.81	30.25
W. Cent. Asia + Mideast	24.50	24.30	-0.82
South Asia	20.61	19.36	-6.46
Other Asia	0.56	0.55	-1.82
Oceania and others	2.37	0.21	-1028.57
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 1c Canadian Muslim Place of Birth



As mentioned above, the increase of latter generations of Canadians indicates a growing population of Canadian-born Muslims, and this is reflected in the percent changes between 2011 and 2021. There was an 11% increase in Canadian-born Muslims, while there was a decrease in Canadian Muslims born outside of Canada for almost every region. The exceptions were North Africa (11%) and African regions other than North and East Africa (30%).

While African-born Canadian Muslims represent a small portion of all Canadian Muslims, this is nonetheless a vulnerable population that may have unique needs other Canadian Muslim immigrants may not face. As Black Muslims, they are subject to both anti-Black racism and Islamophobia. Over half (54%) of Canadian Muslims born in other African areas report currently living in Quebec (results available upon request). Their social location renders them differentially vulnerable despite the growing awareness of anti-Black racism and Islamophobia. Thus, African Muslims immigrating to Canada may be entering social contexts where there remain few or limited tools to address their experiences within a context of multiple intersecting forms of oppression.

Subsample Comparisons

The subsample comparisons generally followed the birth-location pattern described above for Canadian Muslims, with no emerging nuances around **gender**.

When considering **low-income status**, those who were born in Canada are much less likely to report living below the low-income cut off, while those born in West Central Asia and the Middle East are slightly more likely to report living below the cut off.

Turning to **race/ethnicity**, as expected, Canadian Muslims of specific racial and ethnic identities reported a greater likelihood to be born in that region compared to the overall Canadian Muslim distribution—for example, South Asian Canadian Muslims were more likely to be born in South Asia compared with other Canadian Muslims. Those identified as West Asian were significantly less likely to be born in Canada compared to the general Canadian Muslim population and compared to other racial/ethnic groups.

When considering **province**, New Brunswick had the lowest rate of Canadian born Muslims (17%) while Alberta had the highest (36%). Moving from the east to west, Canadian Muslims born in West Central Asia and the Middle East comprise the largest group in Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and British Columbia. In Quebec, Canadian Muslims born in North Africa had the highest proportion, followed by Canadian-born Muslims. In Alberta, Ontario, and Manitoba, Canadian-born Muslims predominated. In Saskatchewan, Canadian Muslims born in South Asia rose to the top, followed by Canadian-born Muslims.

What are the racial/ethnic distributions of Muslims in Canada?

All Muslims

The racial/ethnic categories are: South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakistani), Arab (e.g., Iraqi, Jordanian, Lebanese, Syrian), West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Turkish), Black, White, and “Other.” These categories are limited by what Statistics Canada offers in categorizing responses.

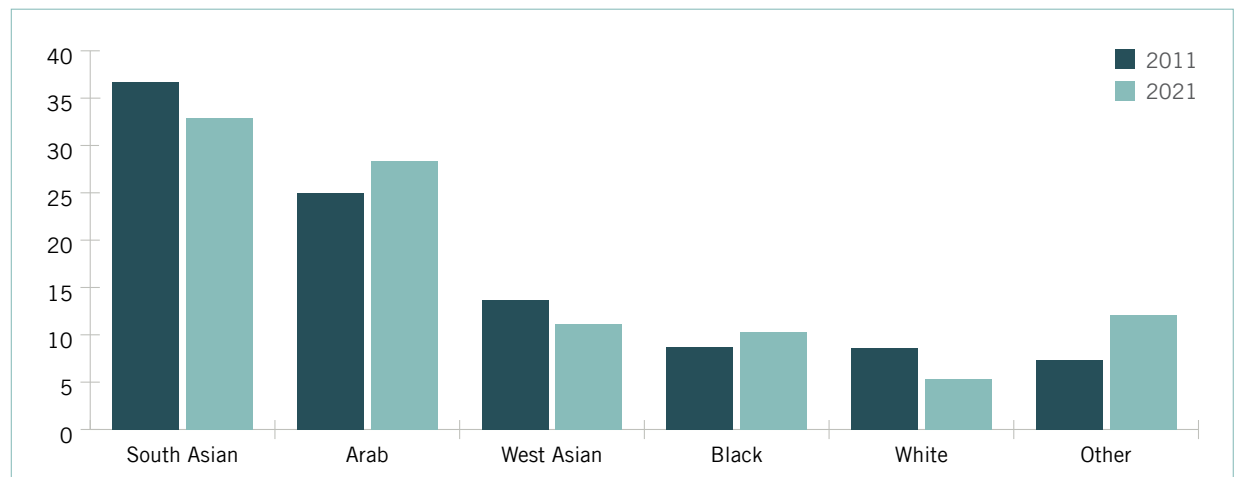
In 2021, nearly a third of Canadian Muslims identified as South Asian (33%), followed by Arab (28%), West Asian (11%), Black (10%), White (5%); the remaining (12%) identified as other race/ethnicities or refused to identify.

Table 1d Canadian Muslim Race/Ethnic Identity, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Race/ethnicity	2011	2021	% Change
South Asian	36.67	32.87	-11.56
Arab	25.01	28.35	11.78
West Asian	13.63	11.11	-22.68
Black	8.73	10.28	15.08
White	8.61	5.33	-61.54
Other	7.36	12.08	39.07
Total	100%	100%	

Between 2011 and 2021, there was a significant increase in the proportion of Canadian Muslims in the “other” category (39% increase since 2011), which represents a diversifying of the Canadian Muslim population. There was also an increase in those identifying as Arab (12%) and a decrease in those identifying as White (62%). Given earlier social constructions of Arab as White, it is possible that some of those who identified as White in 2011 may have changed to identifying as Arab in 2021, but without the ability to track individuals’ responses over time, this possibility cannot be confirmed.

Figure 1d Canadian Muslim Race/Ethnic Identity



The remaining trends reflect the patterns observed above regarding place of birth. While there was a decrease in the proportion of Canadian Muslims identifying as South Asian (–12%) and West Asian (–23%), there was an increase in the proportion of Canadian Muslims identifying as Black (15%). Given the increase of Canadian Muslims identifying as born in Africa, this increase may be the result of immigration rather than primarily domestic growth.

The proportional increases of Canadian Muslims who identify as Arab, Black, and “other” indicate that the Canadian Muslim population is becoming more racially/ethnically diverse.

Subsample Comparisons

When considering **low-income status**, those who identify as Arab or Black are more likely to report living in households below the low-income cut off, while those who identify as South Asian are likely to report living in households above the cut off. There were no notable differences from the remaining racial/ethnic groups.

There were no notable patterns for race/ethnicity by **gender** nor for the first two **generations of immigration**. However, for Canadian Muslims who are third generation and beyond, there were markedly more who identify as White or “Other” and fewer who identify as the remaining race/ethnic identities.

Turning to **provinces**, there is a clear divide where the largest ethnic group of Canadian Muslims is Arab in eastern provinces (Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec) and South Asian in the remaining provinces (Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia).

QUESTION SET 2: CITIZENSHIP AND DOMESTIC MIGRATION

What are the distributions of Muslims in Canada by citizenship status?

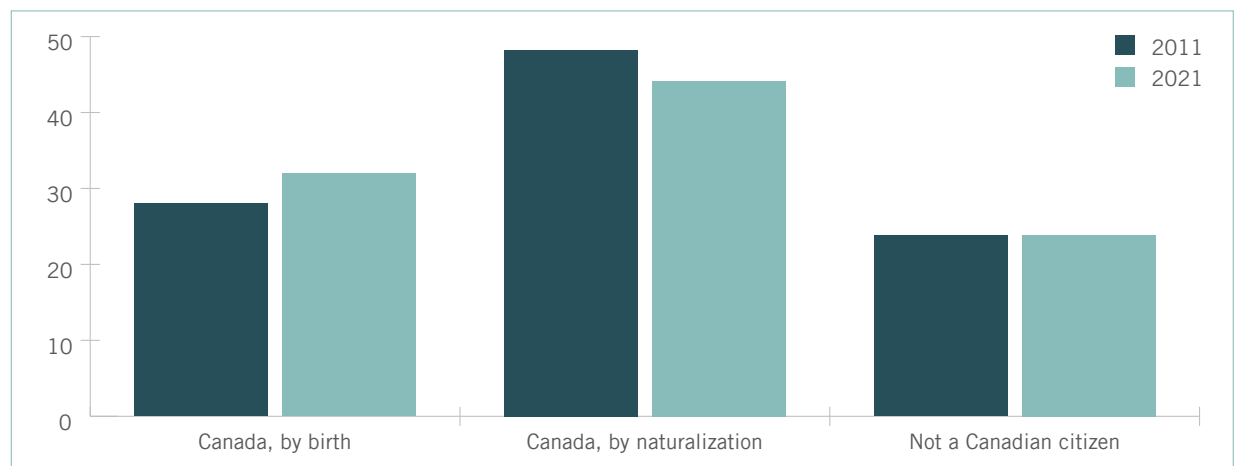
All Muslims

The categories of citizenship are Canadian citizen by birth, Canadian citizen by naturalization, and not a citizen of Canada (“non-citizen”).

Table 2a Canadian Muslim Citizenship, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Citizenship	2011	2021	% Change
Canada, by birth	28.01	31.97	12.39
Canada, by naturalization	48.21	44.12	-9.27
Not a Canadian citizen	23.78	23.91	0.54
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 2a Canadian Muslim Citizenship



In 2021, nearly half (44%) of Canadian Muslims identified as citizens by naturalization. Less than a third (32%) identified as citizens by birth. Just under a quarter (24%) identified as not citizens of Canada. The vast majority of non-Muslims in Canada identify as citizens by birth (77%) while a minority identify as citizens through naturalization (15%) or non-citizens (8%). Thus, compared with non-Muslims, Muslims in Canada are less likely to report citizenship by birth and more likely to report citizenship by naturalization and non-citizen status.

Between 2011 and 2021, the share of Muslim Canadian citizens by birth increased (12%) while the share of citizens by naturalization decreased (9%). The share of those without Canadian citizenship remained relatively consistent across the 2011 and 2021 census data. Among non-Muslims in Canada, there was a slight decrease in citizenship by birth (5%) and a slight increase in citizenship by naturalization (5%) based on relative shares in the 2011 and 2021 census. There was a surprising increase in the population of non-Muslims without Canadian citizenship (35%); this contrasts with Muslims in Canada, who experienced a consistent rate of non-citizenship status during the same time frame.

Subsample Comparisons

When looking at subsample comparisons, there were no notable differences in patterns from the larger sample for **gender**. While the general pattern held true for most **racial/ethnic** groups, similar proportions of Black and White Canadian Muslims identified as citizen by birth and naturalization.

Muslims in Canada with citizenship were less likely to report living in households below the **low-income** cut off, while Muslims without Canadian citizenship were more likely to report the same.

While the central and western Canadian **provinces** loosely follow the pattern for the overall Canadian Muslim distribution across the citizenship statuses, the eastern provinces are notably different. A sizable portion of Muslims are not Canadian citizens in Newfoundland and Labrador (59%), Prince Edward Island (59%), Nova Scotia (48%), and New Brunswick (75%). It is possible these non-citizen Muslims in Canada may be international students; however, the census does not provide information on current school enrollment.

What official languages do they speak?

All Muslims

The categories of language proficiency include English only, French only, both English and French, and neither English nor French. Note, these measures refer to official languages only—as we know, Canadian Muslims speak a host of languages including Arabic, Farsi, Urdu, Somali, and additional languages.

The Census collects data on both first official language spoken and knowledge of official languages. Tables 2b and 2c provide results for both measures, but for the sake of brevity, only knowledge of official languages is discussed below.

Table 2b Canadian Muslim First Official Language Spoken, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

First Official Language	2011	2021	% Change
English only	74.57	72.65	-2.64
French only	15.13	18.12	16.50
Both English and French	5.46	5.03	-8.55
Neither English nor French	4.83	4.19	-15.27
Total	100%	100%	

Table 2c Canadian Muslim Knowledge of Official Languages, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Knowledge of Official Language	2011	2021	% Change
English only	69.40	67.97	-2.10
French only	9.20	9.88	6.88
Both English and French	16.31	17.93	9.04
Neither English nor French	5.09	4.22	-20.62
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 2b Canadian Muslim First Official Language Spoken

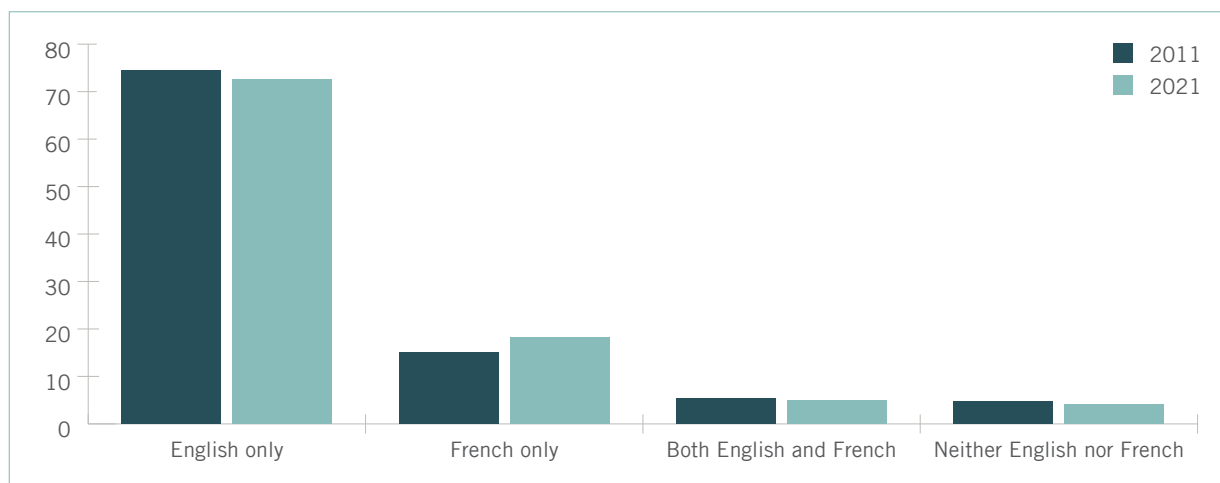
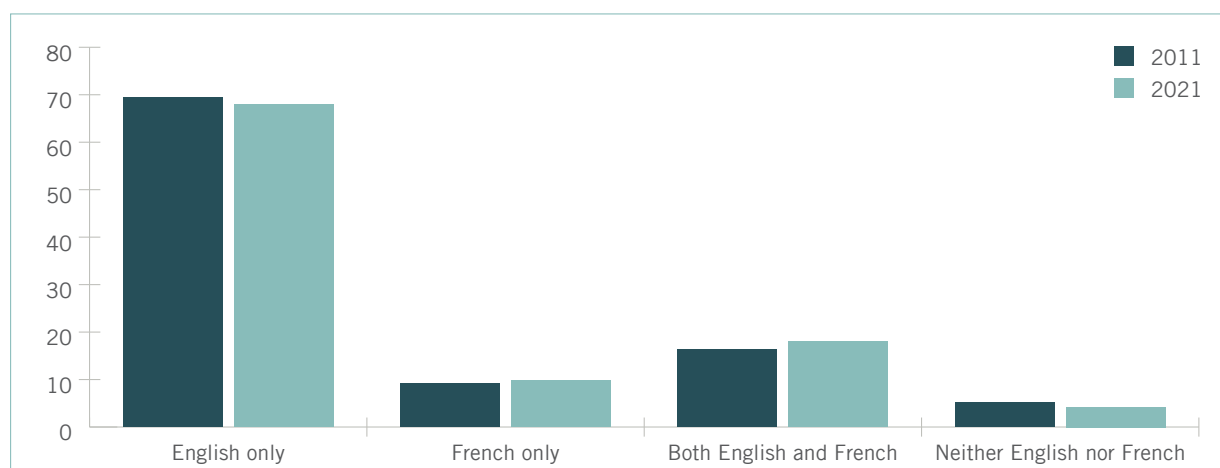


Figure 2c Canadian Muslim Knowledge of Official Languages



In 2021, the majority of Canadian Muslims reported knowledge of English only (68%), while sizable minorities reported French only (10%), both languages (18%), and neither languages (4%). Compared with non-Muslim Canadians, Canadian Muslims were slightly less likely to speak any official language and slightly more likely to report knowledge of neither official language.

Between 2011 and 2021, there was a significant proportional decrease in Canadian Muslims reporting knowledge of neither official language (21%), with an increase in those reporting knowledge of French (7%) or both official languages (9%).

Subsample Comparisons

When looking at subsample comparisons, there were no notable differences in patterns from the larger sample for **gender**.

There were not marked differences in the likelihood of living below the **low-income** cut off for those with knowledge of only English or French. However, those who know both official languages were somewhat less likely to live below the low-income cut off, while those without knowledge of either official language were more likely to live in households below the cutoff.

When considering **race/ethnicity**, some nuances emerge. Black and White Canadian Muslims followed the general pattern for the overall Canadian Muslim population. Canadian Muslims who identify as South Asian or West Asian were more likely to report knowledge of English only. Canadian Muslims who identify as Arab or “Other” were more likely to report knowledge of French or both languages.

The general pattern for the overall Canadian Muslim population also maps across **generations of immigration**, with one noted pattern: as generation of immigration goes up, knowledge of both official languages also increases slightly, while the proportion of those who have knowledge of neither language decreases.

The majority of Canadian Muslims in **provinces** other than Quebec has knowledge of English only. In Quebec, nearly half of Canadian Muslims speak both official languages (48%), with a sizable minority that has knowledge of French only (39%).

What are the distributions of Muslims in Canada by residential mobility?

(e.g. how recently and how far residential relocation happens)

All Muslims

The categories of residential mobility include those who did not relocate (“non-movers”), and several categories for those who have moved including:

- Movers who moved within the same census subdivision
- Those who moved to a different census subdivision (CSD) but within the same census division
- Those who moved to a different census division (CD) but within the same province
- Those who moved from a different province (“interprovincial migrants”), and
- Those who moved from a different country (“external migrants”)

These categories track the scope of mobility for Canadians. The Census collects data on residential mobility within the past year and within the past five years. Table 2 provides results for both measures, but for the sake of brevity, only residential mobility within the past five years is discussed below.

Table 2d Canadian Muslim Residential Mobility in the Past Year, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Mobility 1 year	2011	2021	% Change
Non-movers	82.21	83.94	2.06
Movers within CSD	10.32	9.66	-6.83
Different CSD, same CD	0.63	0.62	-1.61
Different CD, same PR	2.02	2.40	15.83
Interprovincial migrants	0.67	0.75	10.67
External migrants	4.15	2.64	-57.20
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 2d Canadian Muslim Residential Mobility in Past Year

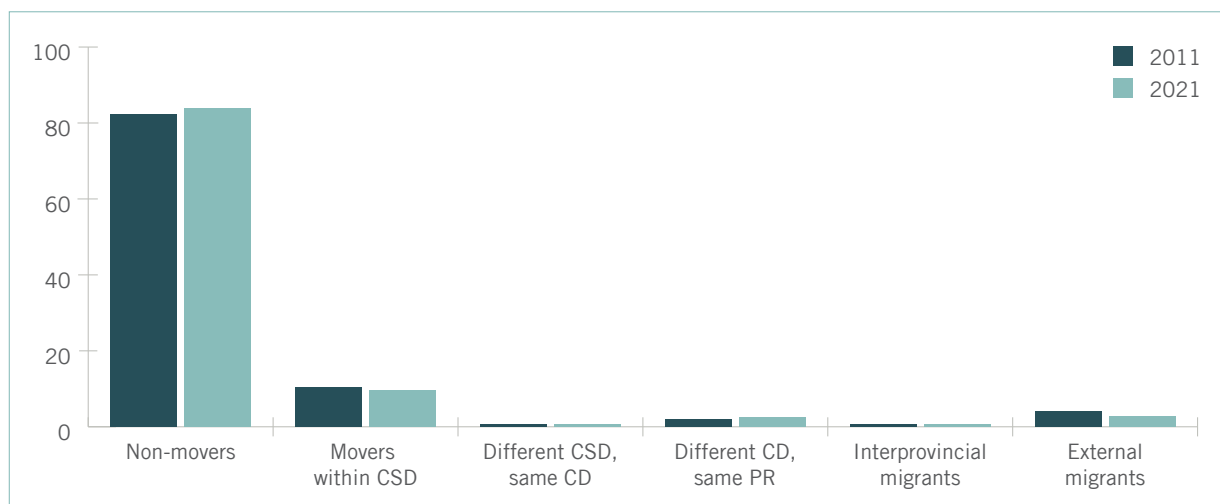
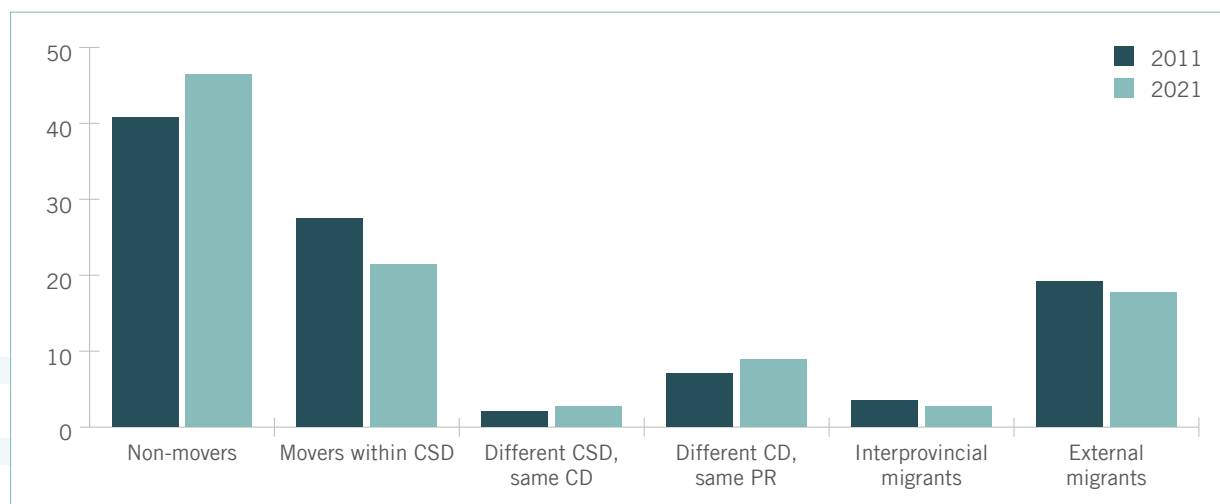


Table 2e Canadian Muslim Residential Mobility in the Past Five Years, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Mobility 5 year	2011	2021	% Change
Non-movers	40.74	46.44	12.27
Movers within CSD	27.50	21.41	-28.44
Different CSD, same CD	2.03	2.75	26.18
Different CD, same PR	7.09	8.92	20.52
Interprovincial migrants	3.46	2.74	-26.28
External migrants	19.18	17.73	-8.18
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 2e Canadian Muslim Residential Mobility Past Five Years



In 2021, almost half of Canadian Muslims (46%) were non-movers. Over one-fifth had moved within the same census subdivision (21%) while almost one-fifth were external migrants (18%). The remaining had moved within the same census division (3%), within the same province (9%), or between provinces (3%). Compared with non-Muslim Canadians, Canadian Muslims were much less likely to be non-movers and much more likely to be external migrants.

Between 2011 and 2021, there was a proportional increase of Canadian Muslims who are non-movers (12%), and a proportional decrease of Canadian Muslims who came from other countries (8%), other provinces (26%). While there was a proportional decrease in Canadian Muslims moving within the same census subdivision (28%), there was a proportional increase in those who moved within the same census division and province (26%, 21%, respectively).

Subsample Comparisons

When looking at subsample comparisons, there were no notable differences in patterns from the larger sample for **gender** nor **race/ethnicity**.

There was a slight nuance in residential relocation patterns for Canadian Muslims by **low-income** status: those who report living in a household above the cut off were more likely to be non-movers, while those who report living in a household below the cut off were more likely to be external migrants.

The general pattern for the overall Canadian Muslim population also maps across **generations of immigration**, with one noted pattern: for generations beyond first, non-mover status increases, while the proportion of external migrants drops significantly.

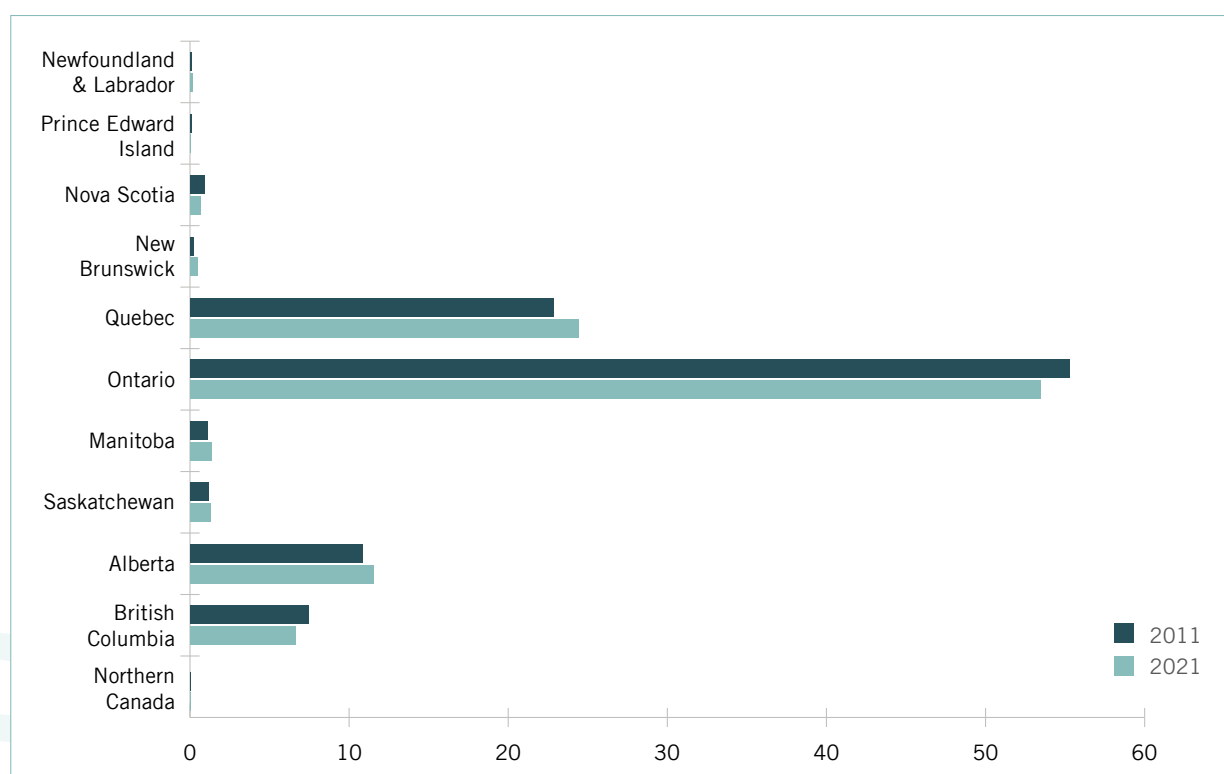
When considering **province**, only Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia host residentially stable Canadian Muslim populations (e.g., non-movers). A significant proportion of Canadian Muslims in the remaining provinces are external migrants. This would indicate that Canadian Muslims may be landing in certain provinces—especially those in the east like Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, where over half of Canadian Muslims are external migrants—and relocating to other geographic areas. Because the census tracks individuals' current location, and not previous locations, it is difficult to assess from where these Canadian Muslims ultimately relocate.

What are the distributions of Muslims across the Canadian provinces? Which provinces have faster-growing Muslim populations?

Table 2f Canadian Muslim Province of Residence, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Province of Current Residence	2011	2021	% Change
Newfoundland and Labrador	0.12	0.13	7.69
Prince Edward Island	0.08	0.05	-60.00
Nova Scotia	0.92	0.65	-41.54
New Brunswick	0.23	0.45	48.89
Quebec	22.82	24.43	6.59
Ontario	55.30	53.45	-3.46
Manitoba	1.08	1.37	21.17
Saskatchewan	1.17	1.29	9.30
Alberta	10.82	11.56	6.40
British Columbia	7.46	6.61	-12.86
Northern Canada	0.01	0.02	50.00
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 2f Canadian Muslim Province of Residence



All Muslims

In 2021, the majority of Canadian Muslims resided in Ontario (53%), followed by a minority in Quebec (24%), Alberta (12%), and British Columbia (7%). About 1% or less of the Canadian Muslim population reported residence in the remaining provinces. Among non-Muslim Canadians, a somewhat similar pattern emerges with the bulk residing in Ontario (38%), Quebec (23%), Alberta (12%), and British Columbia (14%). The remaining provinces boast small minorities (less than 5%) of the total non-Muslim Canadian population.

Between 2011 and 2021, provinces that saw proportionate increases in Canadian Muslim populations include Newfoundland and Labrador (8%), New Brunswick (49%), Quebec (7%), Manitoba (21%), Saskatchewan (9%), and Alberta (6%). There was also a proportionate increase in the Northern Territories (50%). Provinces where there was a proportionate decrease in the Canadian Muslim population include Prince Edward Island (60%), Nova Scotia (42%), Ontario (3%), and British Columbia (13%).

When considering which Canadian provinces have growing Muslim populations, it is important to keep residential mobility in mind. While there were significant proportional increases in New Brunswick, this population is largely comprised of external migrants who may relocate to a different province. Provinces with stable populations of non-movers that also observed proportionate population increases include Quebec and Alberta.

Subsample Comparisons

The subsample comparisons using **race/ethnicity** and **immigrant generation** across provinces are provided above.

When considering **low-income** status, there was an overrepresentation of Canadian Muslims living in households below the low-income cut off in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Manitoba. No province had an especially notable proportion of Canadian Muslims living above the poverty line.

The general patterns of the distribution of the population was not **gendered**, with one exception: there seem to be many more Canadian Muslim men than women in Prince Edward Island. Note the figures provided are estimates, only, and reflect errors in sampling and weighting procedures; thus, the actual distribution may be less gendered in PEI.

QUESTION SET 3: HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

What are the age category distributions of Muslims in Canada? How many are minors (e.g. under age 18)? How many are seniors (e.g. 65 or over)?

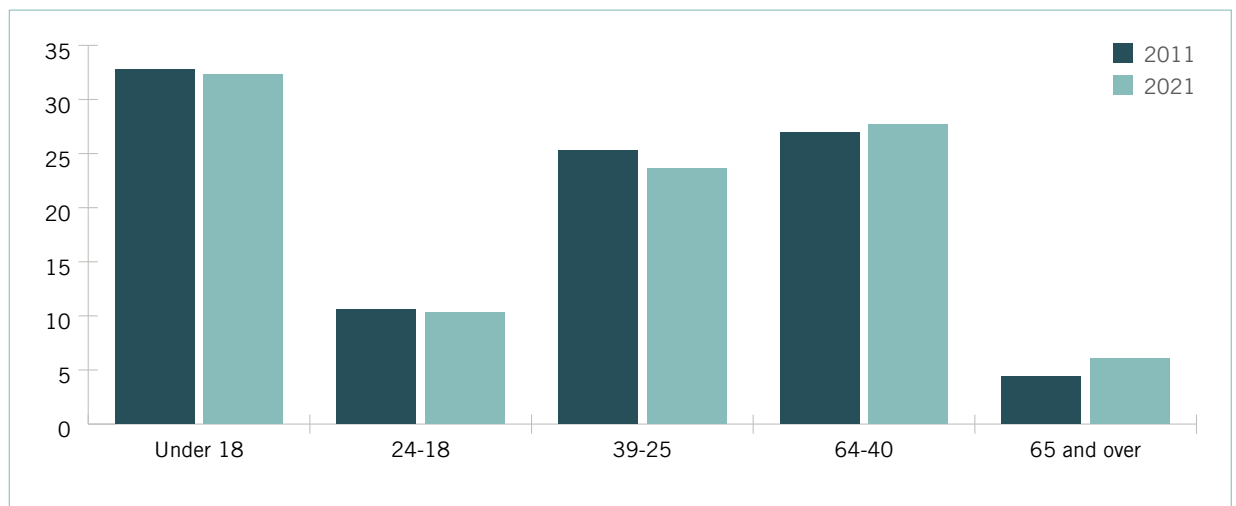
All Muslims

The age ranges include minors (under 18 years old), university aged adults (18–24), young adults (25–39), middle aged adults (40–64), and older adults (65 and over).

Table 3a Canadian Muslim Age Category, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Age	2011	2021	% Change
Under 18	32.77	32.30	-1.46
18-24	10.59	10.29	-2.92
25-39	25.27	23.64	-6.90
40-64	26.98	27.69	2.56
65 and over	4.39	6.08	27.80
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 3a Canadian Muslim Age Category



In 2021, roughly one-third (32%) of Canadian Muslims were minors (under 18 years old), a tenth were university aged (10%, 18–24 years old), under a quarter were young adults (24%, 25–39 years old), over a quarter were middle aged (28%, 40–64 years old), and a small minority were older adults (6%, 65 and older). Compared with non-Muslim Canadians, Canadian Muslims are more likely to be 39 years or younger while non-Muslim Canadians are more likely to be 40 years or older.

Despite the overrepresentation of Canadian Muslims in younger ages, the population does appear to be aging somewhat. Between 2011 and 2021, there was a proportional increase among Canadian Muslims aged 40 or older, while Canadian Muslims aged 39 or younger decreased proportionally.

This implies that while the majority of the Canadian Muslim population is still young, the population of older aged Canadian Muslims is expanding.

Subsample Comparisons

When looking at subsample comparisons, there were no notable differences in patterns from the larger sample for **low-income**, **gender**, nor **race/ethnicity**.

Turning to **generation of immigration**, nuances do emerge. Children and university-aged adults (age 24 or younger) are underrepresented among the first generation of Canadian Muslims; this generation is much more likely to be 25 years or older. Conversely, those of the second generation are significantly more likely to be age 24 or younger, and those third generation and beyond are more likely to be under 18.

The general pattern was consistent across **provinces**, with some exceptions. The population of Canadian Muslims is much younger in eastern provinces, specifically Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick. The population is somewhat older in British Columbia. The remaining provinces follow the pattern of the overall Canadian Muslim distribution across age categories.

What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada across different gender identities?

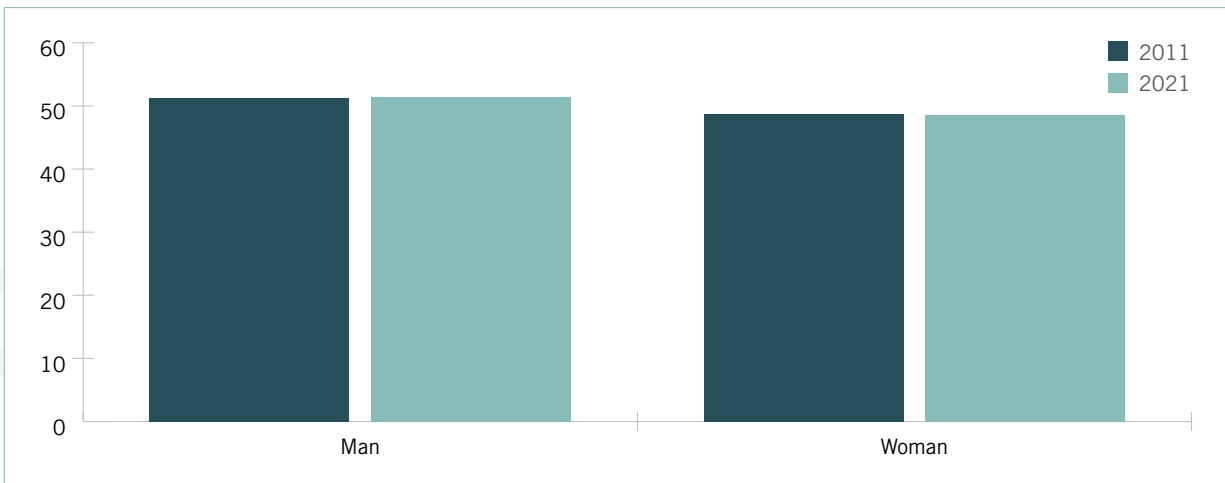
All Muslims

Although the 2021 Canadian census allowed for nonbinary gender identities and expressions, this following analysis treats gender as a binary (man and woman).

Table 3a Canadian Muslim Gender Identity, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Gender	2011	2021	% Change
Man	51.33	51.36	0.06
Woman	48.67	48.64	-0.06
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 3b Canadian Muslim Gender Identity



In 2021, there were slightly more men than women in the Canadian Muslim population (51% vs 49%). This distribution is inverted for the non-Muslim Canadian population, for whom women have a slight numerical majority.

Between 2011 and 2021, there were not notable proportionate increases nor decreases between men and women.

Subsample Comparisons

Across subsamples, there were no meaningful gendered differences when considering low-income status, race/ethnicity, or immigrant generation. The one gendered finding related to provinces, namely Prince Edward Island, is described above.

What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada across different marital statuses?

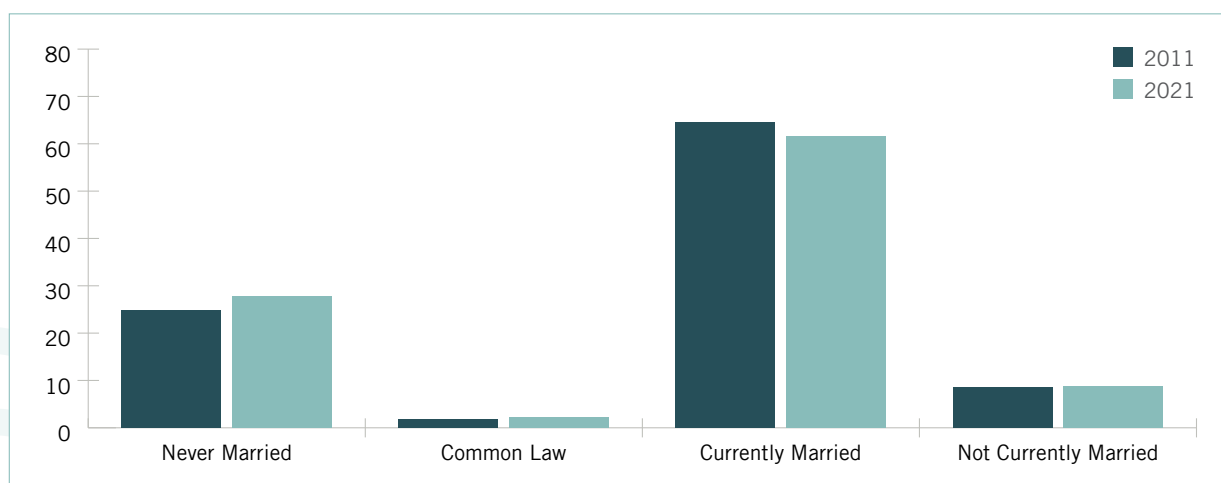
All Muslims

The marital status categories include never married, common law, currently married, and not currently married (widowed and divorced/separated). This subsample includes those who are 18 years and older, only—minors (those under 18 years old) were excluded from the analyses.

Table 3c Canadian Muslim Marital Status, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Marital Status*	2011	2021	% Change
Never Married	24.91	27.69	10.04
Common Law	1.87	2.16	13.43
Currently Married	64.60	61.48	-5.07
Not Currently Married	8.63	8.67	0.46
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 3c Canadian Muslim Marital Status



In 2021, a sizable minority of Canadian Muslim adults reported being never married (28%). Nearly two-thirds (61%) of Canadian Muslim adults reported being currently married. The remaining reported being in common law unions (2%) or no longer being married (9%). Compared with non-Muslim Canadian adults, Canadian Muslim adults are as likely to be never married, more likely to be currently married, and less likely to be common law or no longer married.

Between 2011 and 2021, there was a slight proportional decrease among currently married Canadian Muslim adults, while there was a proportional increase among Canadian Muslim adults who have never been married as well as those who are in common law unions. This might indicate nontraditional choices—including opting out of traditional marriage—may be gaining traction among Canadian Muslims.

Subsample Comparisons

When looking at subsample comparisons, there were no notable differences in patterns from the larger sample for **race/ethnicity**, with one exception: Black Canadian Muslim adults were more likely to report being never married and less likely to report being currently married.

Turning to **low-income** status, Canadian Muslim adults who were never married and not currently married (e.g. divorced or widowed) were more likely to report living in households below the low-income cut off. Those who were currently married or in common law unions were less likely to live below the cut off.

In terms of patterns around **gender**, compared with Canadian Muslim men, Canadian Muslim women were less likely to report being never married or in common law unions, but more likely to report being no longer married (divorced or widowed).

Generation of immigration also emerged as salient. While the distribution of marital status for first generation Canadian Muslims holds fairly consistent with the overall Canadian Muslim population, there are nuances for the second generation as well as the third and beyond generation subsamples. Among the second generation, Canadian Muslims are significantly more likely to report being never married while they are also significantly less likely to report being currently married. It is important to note that 88% of the never married second generation Canadian Muslims are between 18–29 years old—and are likely to enter into marriage within the next few years (analyses not shown but available upon request). Regarding the third+ generations, these Canadian Muslim adults surprisingly reflect the general pattern observed for the overall Canadian Muslim adult distribution of marital statuses, with one notable nuance: they are more likely to be in common law unions when compared with Canadian Muslims more generally.

The pattern in distribution of marital statuses by **province** largely reflects the overall Canadian Muslim distribution, with some exceptions. The distributions in Newfoundland and Labrador and Prince Edward Island reflect an overrepresentation of traditional families compared with the general distribution across Canadian Muslim adults—the numbers of Canadian Muslim adults in common law unions, widowed, or divorced are too small to be captured by the Census sample.

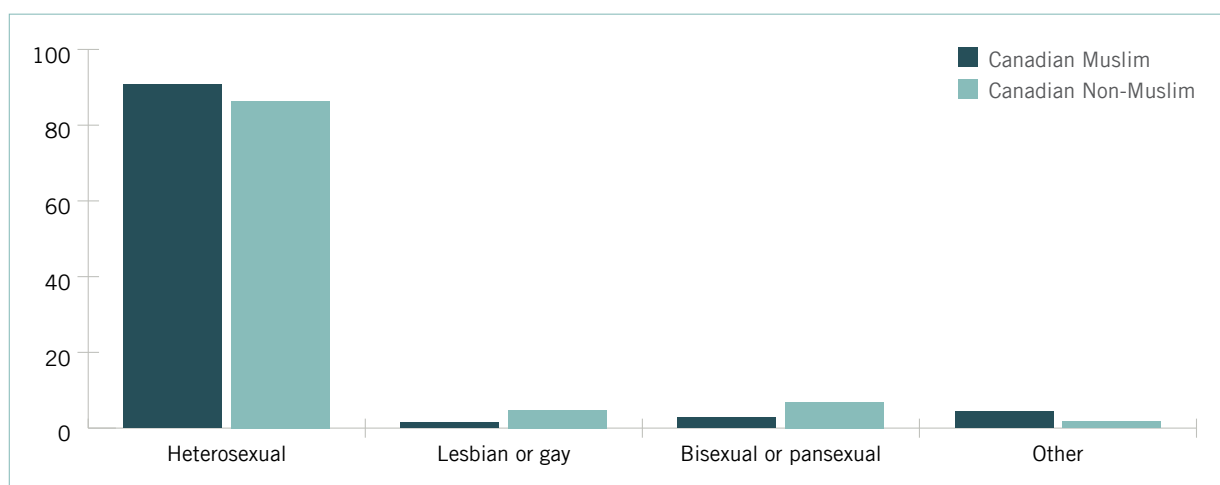
What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada across different sexual identities?

Given the restrictions in data access on sexual orientation through the Canadian census, data for sexual orientation is taken from the 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada.

Table 3d Canadian Sexual Orientation by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Sexual Orientation	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Heterosexual	90.83	86.38
Lesbian or gay	1.47	4.76
Bisexual or pansexual	2.87	6.91
Other	4.31	1.68
Total	100%	100%

Figure 3d Canadian Sexual Orientation by Muslim Identity



Slightly more Canadian Muslims identify as heterosexual compared with the non-Muslim Canadian population (91% vs 86%). Proportionately fewer Canadian Muslims identify with the other dominant sexual orientations compared with non-Muslims, including lesbian or gay (1.5% vs. 4.8%) or bisexual or pansexual (3% vs. 7%). However, Canadian Muslims were more likely to identify as “other” (4.3%) compared with non-Muslim Canadians (1.7%).

There were five survey respondents who indicated their sexual identity is Two Spirited. However, only one of the survey participants who identified as Two-Spirited also reported their racial/ethnic identity as Indigenous or North American; the remaining four identify as Middle Eastern or Arab, South Asian, or Black or African American—in other words, not Indigenous to North America. Given the sacredness of Two Spirit identity to Indigenous and First Nations peoples, and the fact that people who are not Indigenous using Two-Spirit identity is a form of cultural appropriation, these results are not discussed.

What is the size of the average Muslim household?

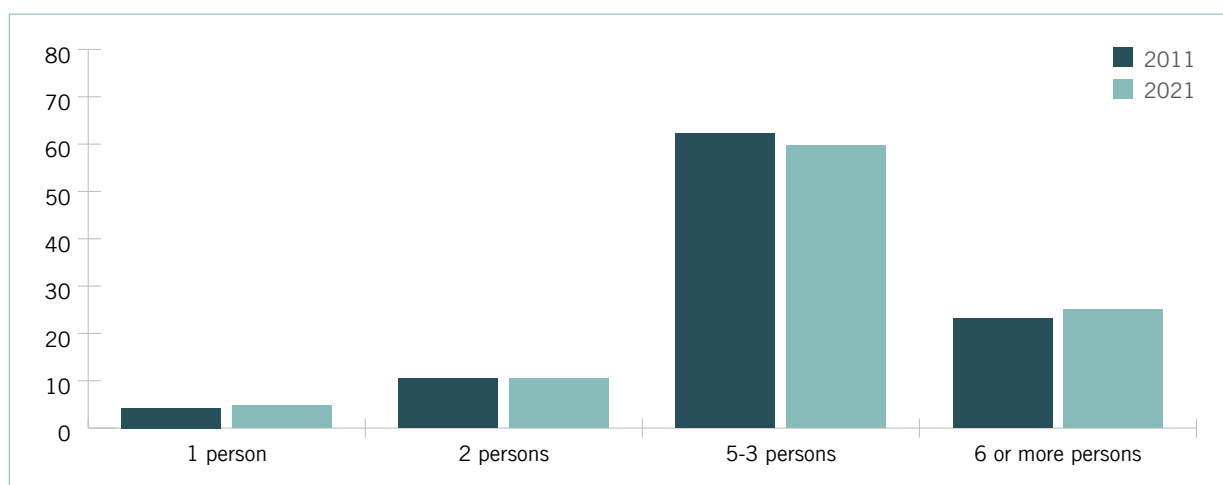
All Muslims

In 2021, over half of Canadian Muslims (60%) lived in households consisting of 3–5 people while about a quarter (25%) lived in households of 6 people or more. A small minority (11%) lived in 2-person households, and even fewer (5%) lived alone. Compared with non-Muslim Canadians, Canadian Muslims are much more likely to live in large households and much less likely to live alone or with one other person.

Table 3e Canadian Muslim Household Size, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Household Size	2011	2021	% Change
1 person	4.23	4.73	10.57
2 persons	10.47	10.55	0.76
3-5 persons	62.16	59.64	-4.23
6 or more persons	23.14	25.08	7.74
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 3e Canadian Muslim Household Size



Between 2011 and 2021, there was a slight proportional decrease in the share of Canadian Muslims living in 3–5 person households (4%). There were increases in Canadian Muslims living alone (11%) or in households of 6 or more (8%).

Subsample Comparisons

There were no noticeable nuances when comparing the pattern for Canadian Muslims by **gender**.

In terms of differences by **low-income** status, Canadian Muslims living alone or with another person were much more likely to report living below the low-income cut off. Canadian Muslims living in households of 3–5 persons or 6 and more were somewhat more likely to report living above the low-income cut off.

When looking at household size by **race/ethnicity**, it appears that the pattern for Canadian Muslims generally holds consistent, with a notable nuance. South Asian Canadian Muslims are less likely to live alone compared with Canadian Muslims overall, while West Asian, Black, and White Canadian Muslims are slightly more likely to live alone.

Turning to **immigrant generation**, the general pattern is again nuanced. Second generation Canadian Muslims are more likely to live in larger households compared with first and latter generations, and they are much less likely to live alone. The third+ generations of Canadian Muslims are as likely as the first generation to live alone, but less likely to live in larger (6 persons or more) households.

When looking at **provinces**, the distribution of Canadian Muslims across household sizes is unique to each province such that a clear pattern is not discernible. This is likely the outcome of settlement patterns from west to east Canada as well as the nuances observed by generation of immigration.

How many Canadian Muslim households have children?

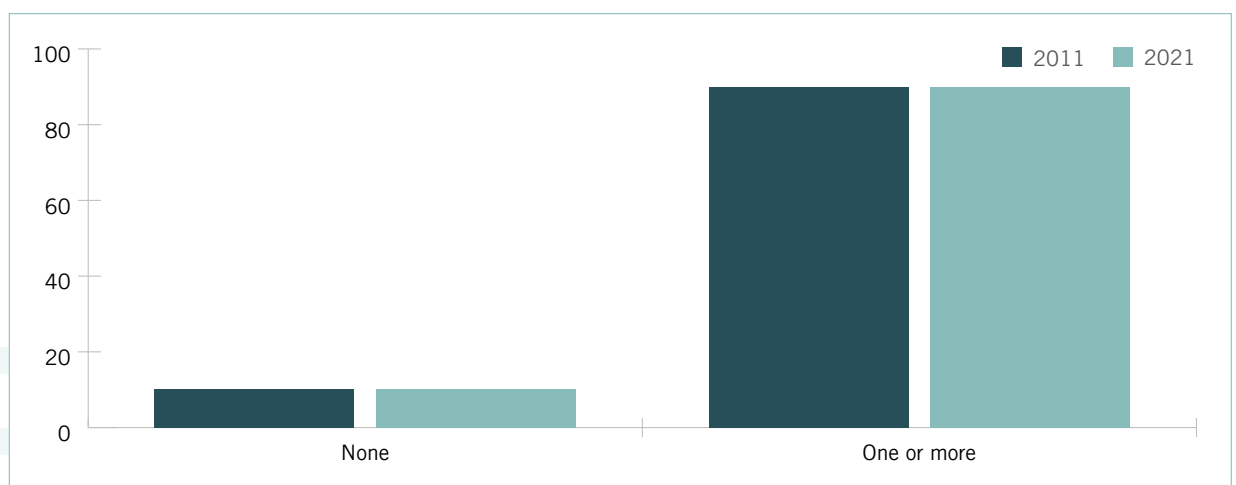
All Muslims

In 2021, the majority (90%) of Canadian Muslims lived in households with children. While the majority of Canadian non-Muslims also live in households with children (72%), it is clear Canadian Muslims are more likely to have children present in households.

Table 3f Canadian Muslim Children in Household, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Children Present	2011	2021	% Change
None	10.08	10.06	-0.20
One or more	89.92	89.94	0.02
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 3f Canadian Muslim Children in Household



Between 2011 and 2021, the proportion of Canadian Muslims with children present in the household was consistent. During the same time, there was a proportional decrease in non-Muslim Canadians with

children present, and an increase in non-Muslim Canadians in households without children. This is important to note when child-centered social services and funds are considered. Cuts to such services and resources would disproportionately impact Canadian Muslims vis-à-vis Canadian non-Muslims.

Subsample Comparisons

There were no noticeable nuances when comparing the pattern for Canadian Muslims by low-income status or gender.

The pattern was nuanced by race/ethnicity. Compared with the overall Canadian Muslim distributions, those who identify as South Asian, West Asian, or White were more likely to live in households without children, while those who identify as Arab or Black were more likely to have children present.

While the general pattern mapped on to first and third+ immigrant generations, second generation Canadian Muslims were significantly more likely to live in households with children present. This finding relates to the previous measure on household size.

Similar to household size, the distribution of Canadian Muslims across households with children present is unique to each province such that a clear pattern is not discernible. However, the pattern largely matches that of Canadian Muslims generally: the vast majority of Canadian Muslims live in households with children present.

QUESTION SET 4: EDUCATION AND WORK CHARACTERISTICS

What are the education levels of Muslims in Canada?

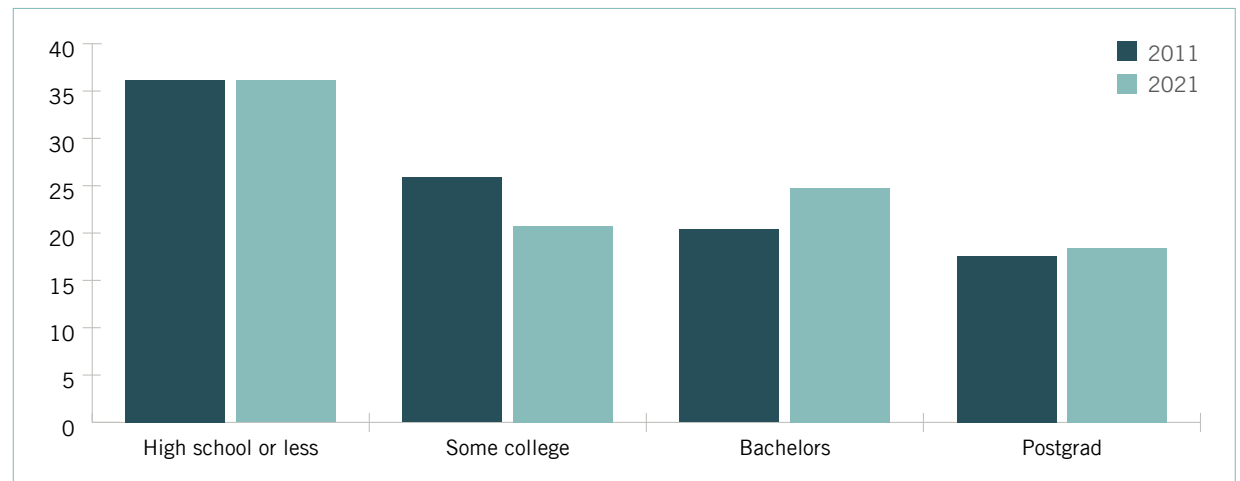
All Muslims

The educational attainment categories include high school or less, some college, bachelors (university degree), and postgrad (professional or advanced degrees). Minors (those under 18 years old) were excluded from the following analyses.

Table 4a Canadian Muslim Educational Attainment Status, Ages 18 and Older, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Education Status	2011	2021	% Change
High school or less	36.20	36.12	-0.22
Some college	25.86	20.73	-24.75
Bachelors	20.37	24.74	17.66
Postgrad	17.57	18.42	4.61
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 4a Canadian Muslim Educational Attainment



In 2021, about a third (36%) of Canadian Muslim adults had high school or less education, about a fifth (21%) had some college, a quarter (25%) earned a bachelors degree or equivalent, and rough a fifth (18%) had earned a postgrad degree. Compared with non-Muslim Canadians, Canadian Muslims were much more likely to have a bachelors or more education and much less likely to have less education.

Between 2011 and 2021, the proportion of Canadian Muslims with some college or less decreased, while the proportion of Canadian Muslims with a bachelors or higher education increased. The rate of change across categories of educational attainment were similar for non-Muslim Canadians, though the rate of decrease among those who have some college was notably greater for Canadian Muslims compared with non-Muslims.

Subsample Comparisons

When considering **low-income** status, only Canadian Muslims with high school or less education were slightly more likely to live in households below the low-income cut off. Those with some college or more tended to be more likely to live above the poverty line, though this difference was nominal.

Turning to **gender**, Canadian Muslim women were more likely to have high school or less education, while Canadian Muslim men were more likely to have postgrad degrees.

The educational attainment pattern for the general Canadian Muslim population mapped on to distributions by **race/ethnicity**, with some nuances. Black and White Canadian Muslims are somewhat more likely to have high school education or less, and less likely to have a bachelors degree or higher.

In terms of **immigrant generations**, the educational pattern for first generation Canadian Muslims reflects the overall distribution of Canadian Muslims. Among second generation Canadian Muslims, nearly half (47%) reported high school education or less. The educational attainment pattern among third+ generation Canadian Muslims reflects the pattern among non-Muslim Canadians better than that of Canadian Muslims.

When looking at **provinces**, the distribution of Canadian Muslims across categories of educational attainment is unique to each province such that a clear pattern is not discernible. This is likely related to the nuances observed by generation of immigration and settlement patterns.

Where did Canadian Muslims study?

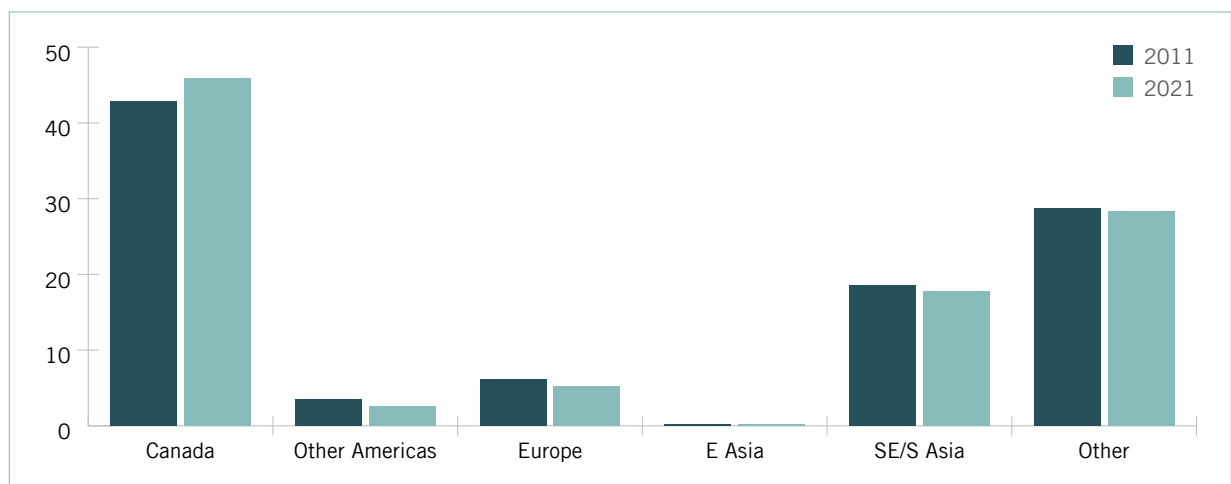
All Muslims

Location of studies refers to the geographic setting for the most recent education received. The categories for location of studies includes Canada, “Other Americas” (e.g. North or South America not including Canada), Europe, East Asia, South and Southeast Asia, and “other” (Africa, other parts of Asia, etc.).

Table 4b Canadian Muslim Location of Studies, Ages 18 and Older, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Location of Studies	2011	2021	% Change
Canada	42.89	45.91	6.58
Other Americas	3.52	2.53	-39.13
Europe	6.10	5.18	-17.76
E Asia	0.18	0.26	30.77
SE/S Asia	18.57	17.75	-4.62
Other	28.74	28.36	-1.34
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 4b Canadian Muslim Location of Studies



In 2021, almost half (46%) of Canadian Muslims had Canadian education. This is a proportionate increase since 2011 (by 7%); however, this still lags the non-Muslim Canadian population, of whom the majority (82%) had education in Canada. A sizable minority of Canadian Muslims were educated in South/Southeast Asia (18%) and in “other” settings (28%).

Subsample Comparisons

In terms of **low-income** status, Canadian Muslims who studied in Canada were underrepresented in households below the low-income cut off. The differences for other areas of study were nominal.

Differences by **gender** were also nominal, with Canadian Muslim men being slightly more likely than women to study in the other Americas or Europe, and Canadian Muslim women being slightly more likely than men to study in “other” contexts.

Location of studies by **race/ethnicity** followed a bimodal pattern per each group: while a majority of South Asian Canadian Muslims reported studying in Canada and Southeast/South Asia, the remaining racial/ethnic groups reported studies in Canada and “other” contexts.

When considering **generation of immigration**, it is notable that the second and latter generations of Canadian Muslims overwhelmingly pursue education in Canada. The fact that these latter generations of Canadian Muslims continue to experience unemployment and underemployment at higher rates than the non-Muslim Canadian population challenges the assumption that unfavourable Canadian Muslim employment outcomes are the result of foreign education.

When looking at **provinces**, the distribution of Canadian Muslims across locations of study is unique to each province such that a clear pattern is not discernible. Similar to patterns related to categories of educational attainment, this is likely related to the nuances observed by generation of immigration and settlement patterns.

How many Canadian Muslims are employed or unemployed?

All Muslims

The Canadian census collects data on employment status at the time of taking the survey. The categories include employed, unemployed and looking for work, unemployed and not looking for work, and never worked or not applicable.

Table 4c Canadian Muslim Current Employment Status, Ages 18 and Older, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Employment status (current)	2011	2021	% Change
Employed	56.13	54.66	-2.69
Unemp, looking for work	7.59	9.00	15.67
Unemp, not looking	21.10	22.28	5.30
Never worked/NA	15.19	14.05	-8.11
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 4c Canadian Muslim Current Employment Status



In 2021, just over half (55%) of Canadian Muslims reported current employment. This is somewhat less than the proportion of non-Muslim Canadians reporting current employment (63%). Conversely, the share of Canadian Muslims unemployed and looking for work (9%) was higher than that of non-Muslim Canadians (4%). While proportionately fewer Canadian Muslims reported being unemployed and not looking for work compared with their non-Muslim counterparts (22% vs. 28%), relatively more Canadian Muslims reported never working (14% vs. 5%).

Between 2011 and 2021, there was a proportionate increase in Canadian Muslims who were unemployed and looking for work (16%); this rate was approximately the same for non-Muslims (15%). There was a slight proportionate decrease in Canadian Muslims reporting current employment (-3%), and non-Muslim Canadians faced a greater proportionate decrease (-8%). Taken together, while the current employment is worse for Canadian Muslims in 2021 compared with 2011, the rate of decline was even worse for non-Muslim Canadians during the same time period.

Subsample Comparisons

Not surprisingly, only Canadian Muslims who are currently employed were more likely to report living in households above the **low-income** cut off. Canadian Muslims with either unemployment statuses as well as for those who never worked were more likely to report living in households below the poverty line.

Likewise, in terms of **gender**, Canadian Muslim men were more likely to report current employment compared with women. Canadian Muslim women were more likely to report having never worked or being unemployed and not looking for work. Surprisingly, Canadian Muslim women were also somewhat more likely to report being unemployed and looking for work compared with men.

In terms of **race/ethnicity**, the distributions of work status across the Canadian Muslim population mapped on to racial/ethnic subgroups, with one noted nuance: Black Canadian Muslims were more likely to report being unemployed and looking for work, while White Canadian Muslims were less likely to report the same.

When looking at **immigrant generation**, the overall pattern for Canadian Muslims generally held, though each latter generation reported increasing rates of employment and decreasing levels of those who report never working. The second generation had the highest proportion of Canadian Muslims reporting unemployment while looking for work.

The overall employment pattern for Canadian Muslims held by **province** as well, though it is important to note each province has unique nuances such that a general province-level pattern cannot be specified. It is important to note that the census does not indicate if those who are currently employed are also looking for work; thus, higher employment rates in provinces like Quebec need to be understood as incomplete information. Better survey measures, including asking currently employed Canadians if they are looking for work, satisfied with work, or experiencing discrimination at work would help better unpack employment related outcomes.

Do they work full-time or part-time?

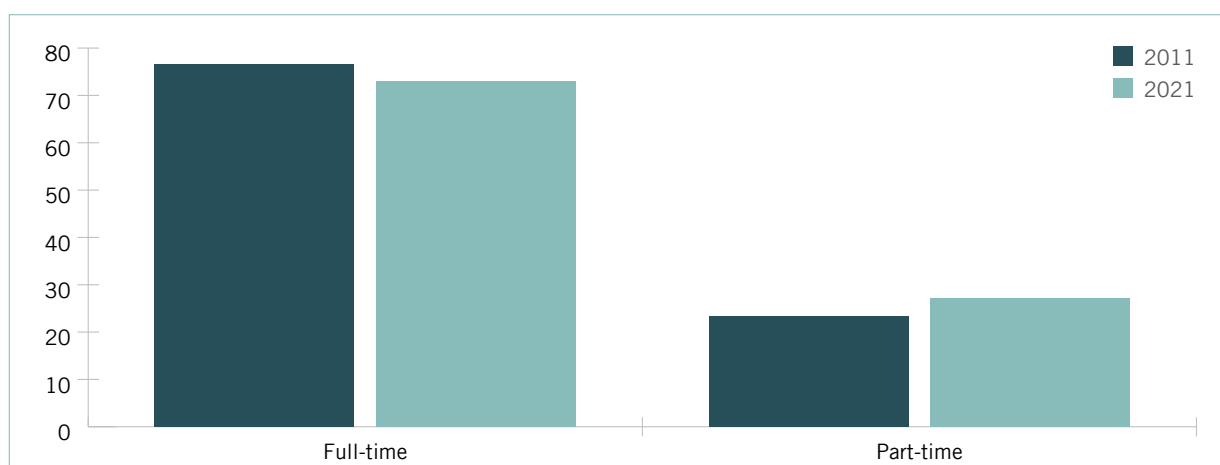
All Muslims

The Canadian census records work status (full-time or part-time work) for those reporting employment in the previous year; thus the 2021 census records work status for 2020.

Table 4d Canadian Muslim Previous Year Work Status, Ages 18 and Older, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Work status (previous year)	2011	2021	% Change
Full-time	76.60	72.89	-5.09
Part-time	23.40	27.11	13.68
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 4d Canadian Muslim Previous Year Work Status



According to the 2021 Canadian census, the majority (73%) of Canadian Muslims who worked in 2020 worked full time. There was a proportionate decrease from 2011 of about -5% for Canadian Muslim full-time work, but a 14% increase for Canadian Muslims reporting part-time work.

Compared with Canadian Muslims, Canadian non-Muslims reported higher rates of full-time employment (80%). And while Canadian Muslim full-time work status decreased proportionately between 2011 and 2021, the rate remained consistent for non-Muslim Canadians. Likewise, while Canadian Muslim part-time work status increased proportionately between 2011 and 2021, the rate actually decreased nominally for non-Muslim Canadians. Taken together, despite the relatively better outcomes for Canadian Muslim employment status vis-à-vis non-Muslim Canadians, the work status comparisons reveal Canadian Muslims are still experiencing less favourable outcomes.

Subsample Comparisons

The pattern of work status among the Canadian Muslim population was reflected in subgroup patterns by **race/ethnicity** and **generation of immigration**, though second-generation Canadian Muslims were somewhat more likely to report part-time employment and less likely to report full-time employment compared with the general population of Canadian Muslims.

The pattern was also loosely consistent across **provinces**, though Canadian Muslims in Newfoundland and Labrador were less likely to report full-time employment and more likely to report part-time employment compared with the general population of Canadian Muslims.

Not surprisingly, Canadian Muslims reporting full-time work status were more likely to report living in households above the low-income cut off, while those who report part-time work status were more likely to report living below the cut off.

Similarly, in terms of **gender**, Canadian Muslim men were more likely to report full-time work while Canadian Muslim women were more likely to report part-time work.

QUESTION SET 5: HOUSEHOLD FINANCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

What is the distribution of Canadian Muslims across household income categories?

All Muslims

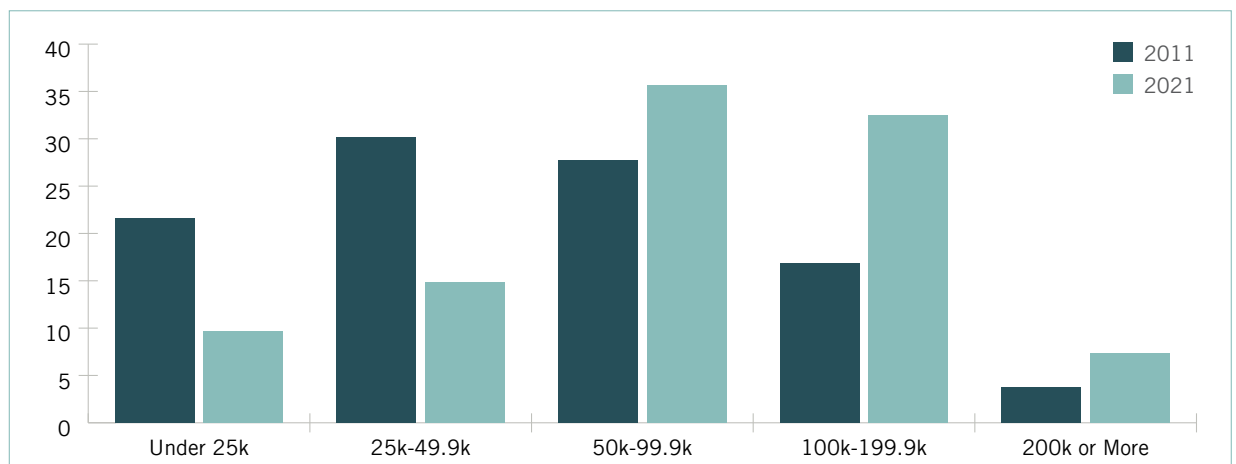
In 2021, the largest minority (36%) of Canadian Muslims lived in households with incomes of \$50,000 – \$99,999, followed by another sizable minority (32%) in households with incomes of \$100,000 – \$199,999. The remaining population of Canadian Muslims live in households with incomes of under \$25,000 (10%), between \$25,000 – \$49,999 (15%), or \$200,000 and above (7%).

Compared with non-Muslim Canadians, Canadian Muslims are more likely to live in households with incomes under \$100,000, and less likely to live in households with incomes \$100,000 or more.

Table 5a Canadian Muslim Household Income, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Household Income	2011	2021	% Change
Under 25k	21.58	9.69	-122.70
25k-49.9k	30.19	14.81	-103.85
50k-99.9k	27.68	35.70	22.46
100k-199.9k	16.81	32.49	48.26
200k or More	3.75	7.31	48.70
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 5a Canadian Muslim Household Income



Between 2011 and 2021, there was a significant proportional decrease in Canadian Muslims living in households with incomes under \$50,000, while there were proportional increases in Canadian Muslims living in households with incomes \$50,000 or more. During the same time, there were significant decreases in non-Muslim Canadians living in households with incomes under \$100,000.

These analyses are not corrected for inflation, and thus the general increase in income is overstated. Since 2011, Canada has suffered higher rates of inflation due to COVID19 pandemic, which had an impact on the economy. However, in comparing the change over time between Canadian Muslims and non-Muslims, it is clear Canadian Muslims did not experience the same increase in household income that non-Muslim Canadians enjoyed over these two reporting periods.

Subsample Comparisons

Household income differences were negligible by Canadian Muslim **gender** or **race/ethnicity**, with one nuance: South Asian Canadian Muslims were slightly less likely to report living in households with very low-incomes and slightly more likely to report living in households with higher incomes.

Not surprisingly, Canadian Muslims in households with incomes less than \$50,000 were overrepresented in households below the **low-income** cut off. While there were still some households below the low-income cut off at the \$50,000–\$99,999 income category, Canadian Muslim households with incomes \$50,000 or more reported being above the poverty line.

Patterns by **generation of immigration** emerge such that first generation Canadian Muslims loosely follow the pattern for the overall Canadian Muslim population. Both the second and third+ generations of Canadian Muslims are less likely than the first generation to report living in households with incomes less than \$50,000, and the third+ generation is much more likely than the other two generations to report living in households with incomes \$200,000 or more.

When considering the patterns of household income by **province**, it appears Canadian Muslims are overrepresented in households with very low incomes in Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The provinces with higher distributions of Canadian Muslims in households with incomes \$200,000 or more include Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia—namely, the provinces with well-developed and longstanding Canadian Muslim settlement. The remaining provinces loosely follow the general pattern of household income for Canadian Muslims, though each province presents a unique distribution.

How many Canadian Muslims are below the poverty line?

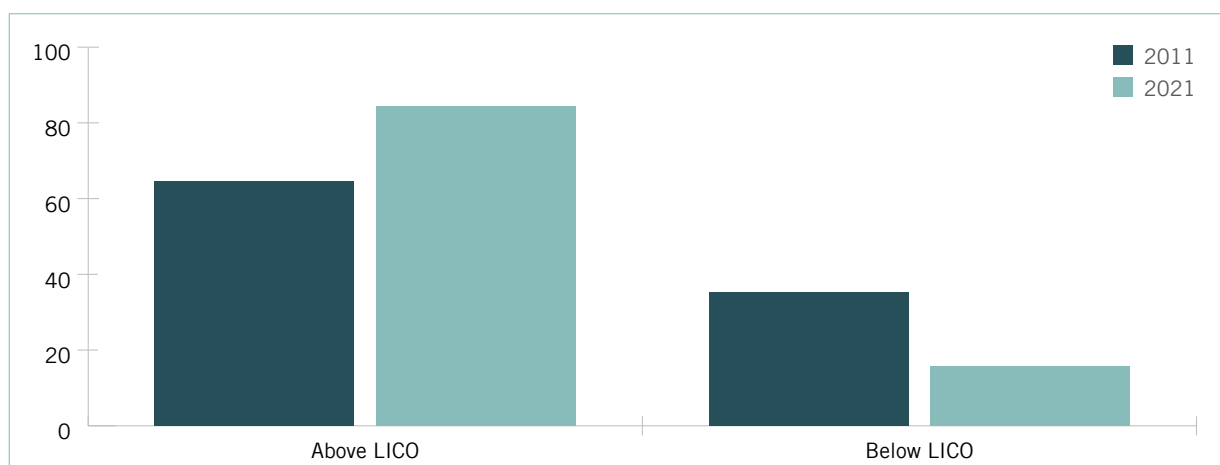
All Muslims

In Canadian contexts, the poverty line is referred to as the low-income cut off. This measure is geo-specific and calculated by context, household composition, and living standard needs.

Table 5b Canadian Muslim Low-Income Status, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Low Income Cut Off	2011	2021	% Change
Above LICO	64.62	84.40	23.44
Below LICO	35.38	15.60	-126.79
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 5b Canadian Muslim Low Income Status



In 2021, a minority of Canadian Muslims (16%) reported living in households below the low-income cut off. This is a significant proportional decrease from the proportion of Canadian Muslims living below the cut off in 2011. While a smaller minority (7%) of Canadian non-Muslims reported living in households below the poverty line in 2021, the rate of decrease from 2011 was smaller for Canadian non-Muslims when compared with Canadian Muslims.

Subsample Comparisons

The subsample comparisons for low-income status by gender, race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and province are provided above.

What are the distributions of Muslims in Canada across residential status (e.g. family-owned home or rented)?

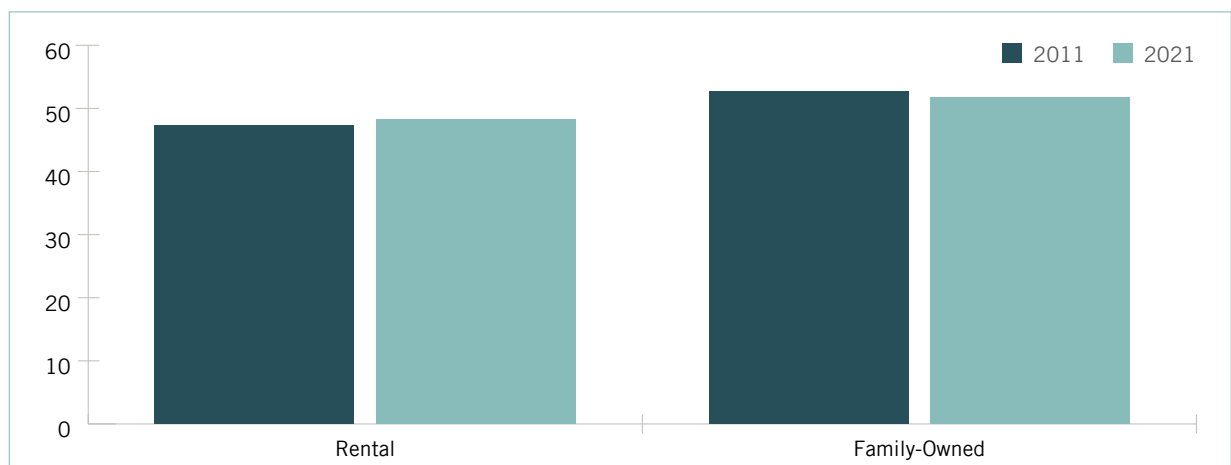
All Muslims

In 2021, the Canadian Muslim population was roughly split between those who live in family-owned homes (52%) and those who live in rented homes (48%). Compared with non-Muslims, Canadian Muslims are significantly more likely to live in rented homes. Among non-Muslim Canadians, the majority live in family-owned homes (72%) and a minority in rented homes (28%). This is despite the proportional increase of non-Muslim home rentals since 2011, whereas the proportion of Canadian Muslims in rental homes did not increase greatly. There was a slight proportionate decrease for both Canadian Muslim and non-Muslim family-owned home residence between 2011 and 2021.

Table 5c Canadian Muslim Residential Ownership, All Ages, 2021 Canadian Census and 2011 NHS Weighted Data

Household Ownership	2011	2021	% Change
Rental	47.25	48.25	2.07
Family-Owned	52.75	51.75	-1.93
Total	100%	100%	

Figure 5c Canadian Muslim Residential Ownership



This finding can be explained through a few factors. The federal government has recognized a profound shortage of affordable housing in Canada. The 2024 Budget centered on creating incentives that would create access to affordable homes in Canada. Because of the high cost of home ownership, it naturally follows that census data on home ownership reflects the reality of intergenerational wealth: the bulk of Canadian Muslims are relatively newer in Canada than the non-Muslim population and presumably would not have access to such forms of wealth distribution. Religious concerns around interest and banking also preclude some Canadian Muslims from pursuing mortgages, a route to home ownership. The 2024 federal budget offers the promise of relief by creating a pathway for halal mortgages, and we are awaiting data to review the efficacy of such measures. Additionally, compared with non-Muslim Canadians, Canadian Muslims experience more residential mobility (described above); this mobility may be a consequence of living in rented, rather than family-owned, homes.

Subsample Comparisons

Residential ownership patterns were negligible by Canadian Muslim **gender** or **race/ethnicity**, with one nuance: Arab and especially Black Canadian Muslims were less likely to report living in family-owned homes.

As can be expected, the majority of Canadian Muslims living in rented homes live in households below the **low-income** cut off, while those who live in family-owned homes were less likely to live in households below the poverty line.

When looking at **immigrant generations**, each latter generation reported increasing rates of family-owned home residence and decreasing levels of residence in rental homes compared with the first generation of Canadian Muslims.

Turning to province specific patterns, Canadian Muslims in Ontario and Alberta were somewhat more likely to report living in family-owned homes. Canadian Muslims in the remaining provinces were more likely to rent their residences, especially in the Atlantic provinces.

As mentioned before, Question Sets 1–5 were addressed using the 2021 (and 2011) Canadian census data. The data for Question Sets 6–8 come from the 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada. Comparisons to the 2016 Environics Institute survey should be made qualitatively and conservatively.

QUESTION SET 6: RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND PRACTICE

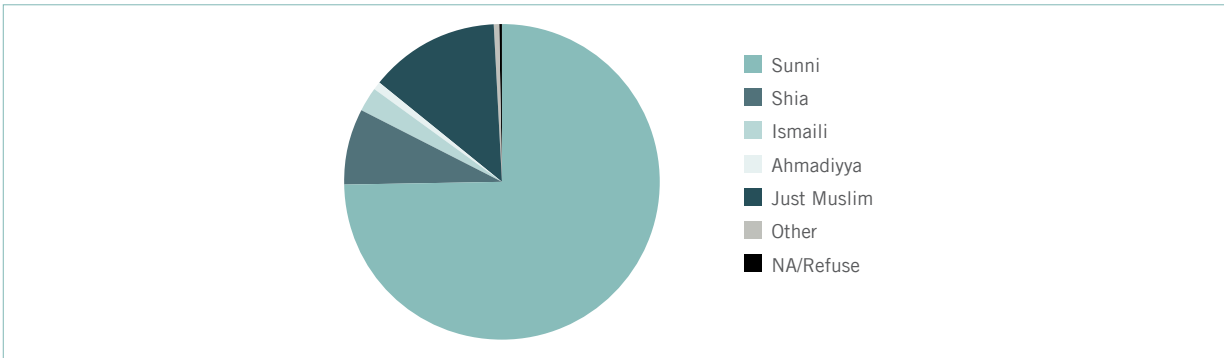
What is the distribution of Muslims in Canada across different sectarian identities?

In 2024, the majority (75%) of Canadian Muslims identified as Sunni. Minorities of Muslims identified as “just Muslim” (13%), Shia (8%), Ismaili (3%), Ahmadi (1%), and other (1%). This is roughly consistent with the distribution of Canadian Muslims in 2016, with a Sunni majority and sizable proportions of sectarian minorities.

Table 6a Canadian Muslim Sectarian Affiliation, Adults 18 years and Older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Sectarian Affiliation	Canadian Muslims
Sunni	74.96
Shia	7.78
Ismaili	2.53
Ahmadiyya	0.80
Just Muslim	13.17
Other	0.69
NA/REFUSE	0.07
Total	100%

Figure 6a Canadian Muslim Sectarian Affiliation



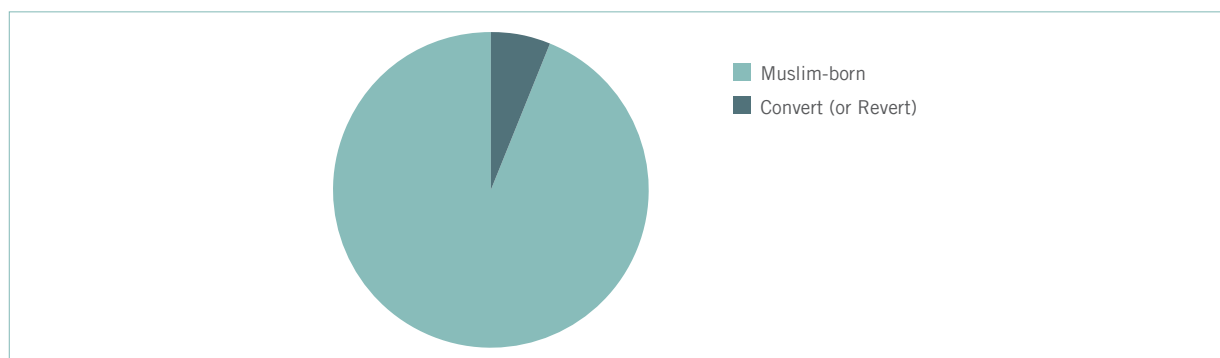
How many Canadian Muslims identify as converts (or reverts) to Islam?

In 2024, roughly 6% of Canadian Muslims identified as converts (reverts) to Islam.

Table 6b Canadian Muslim Convert Identity, Adults 18 years and Older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Convert to Islam	Canadian Muslims
Yes	6.21
No	93.79
Total	100%

Figure 6b Canadian Muslim Convert Identity



How frequently do Canadian Muslims attend masjids or other Muslim spaces for prayer (salaat)? How frequently do Canadian Muslims attend masjids or Muslim spaces for other reasons?

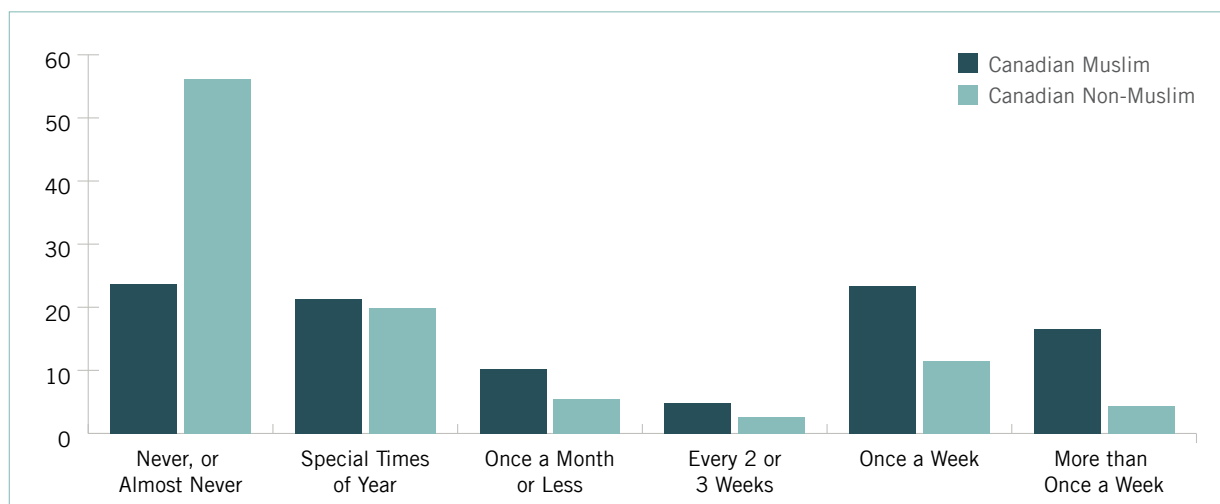
Generally, Canadian Muslims report attending mosques for religious services (e.g. salaat) with higher frequency when compared with Canadian non-Muslims (at their respective places of worship). Less than a quarter of Canadian Muslims report never or almost never attending prayer service, whereas over half of non-Muslim Canadians report the same. Roughly one fifth (21%) of Canadian Muslims attend at special times of year and a small minority report attending every two or three weeks or once a month (15%). An impressive minority reported attending once a week (23%) or more than once a week (17%). Responses were consistent for attending religious spaces for reasons other than prayer.

These results indicate that places of worship continue to be important to Canadian Muslims in ways that may not map onto non-Muslim Canadian experience. It also indicates that when violence at these spaces occurs—e.g., the Quebec mosque shooting, vandalism at mosques in various provinces, etc.—Canadian Muslim communities may be especially vulnerable given their greater reliance on these spaces in comparison with the non-Muslim Canadian sample.

Table 6c Canadian Prayer Service Frequency by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Prayer Frequency	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Never, or Almost Never	23.68	56.23
Special Times of Year	21.33	19.94
Once a Month or Less	10.27	5.49
Every 2 or 3 Weeks	4.76	2.56
Once a Week	23.40	11.49
More than Once a Week	16.56	4.30
Total	100%	100%

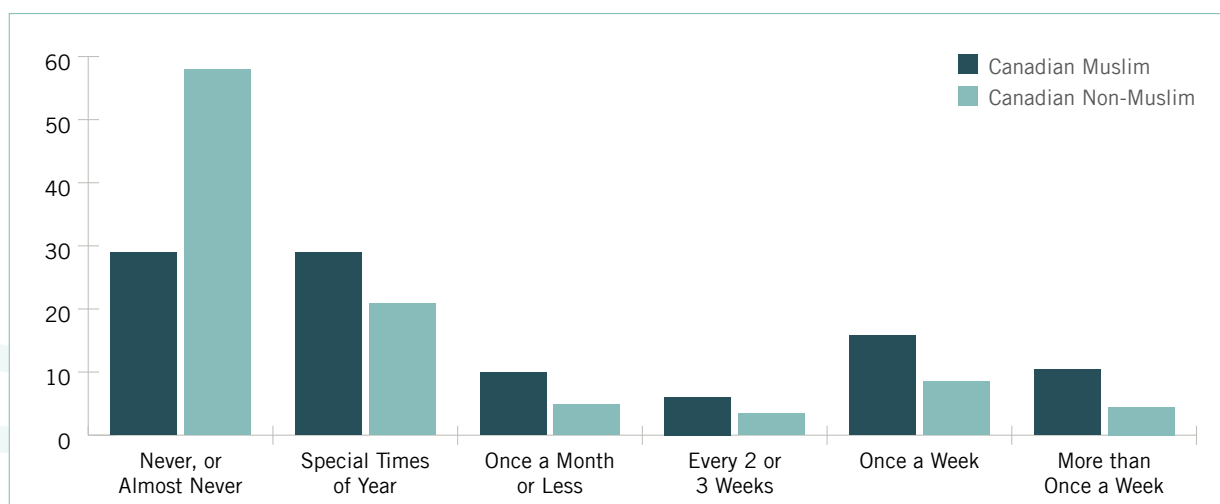
Figure 6c Canadian Prayer Service Frequency by Muslim Identity



**Table 6d Canadian Service Frequency, Other than Prayer, by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024
Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data**

Other Frequency	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Never, or Almost Never	28.90	57.91
Special Times of Year	28.96	20.86
Once a Month or Less	9.90	4.91
Every 2 or 3 Weeks	6.05	3.40
Once a Week	15.80	8.47
More than Once a Week	10.39	4.45
Total	100%	100%

Figure 6d Canadian Non-Prayer Service Frequency by Muslim Identity



Do Canadian Muslims feel their religiosity has been impacted by immigrating to Canada?

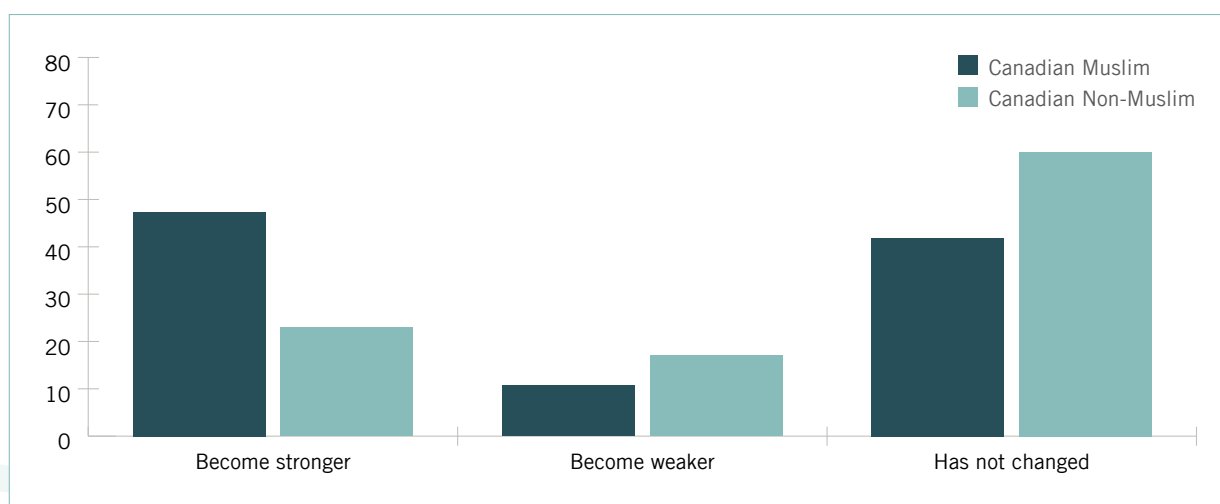
When asked if they felt their religiosity became stronger, weaker, or had not changed upon immigrating to Canada, a significant minority (47%) of Canadian Muslims reported it became stronger (compared with 23% of Canadian non-Muslims), while a similar minority (42%) of Canadian Muslims felt it had not changed (compared with 60% of Canadian non-Muslims). The remainder (11%) of Canadian Muslims reported they felt it had become weaker (compared with 17% of Canadian non-Muslims).

The results may reflect a selection factor, where Canadians who immigrated to the country as Muslims but who left Islam may self-select out of the survey on Muslims, artificially deflating the rate of response for those who would indicate their Muslim religiosity became weaker. While the survey includes questions for respondents to indicate conversion to Islam, it does not include questions indicating how many respondents left Islam. Nonetheless, for those who maintain Muslim identity, religiosity is clearly salient.

Table 6e Canadian Religiosity Since Immigration by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Immigrant Religiosity	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Become stronger	47.36	22.93
Become weaker	10.77	17.03
Has not changed	41.87	60.04
Total	100%	100%

Figure 6e Canadian Religiosity Since Immigration by Muslim Identity



QUESTION SET 7: SOCIOPOLITICAL ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS

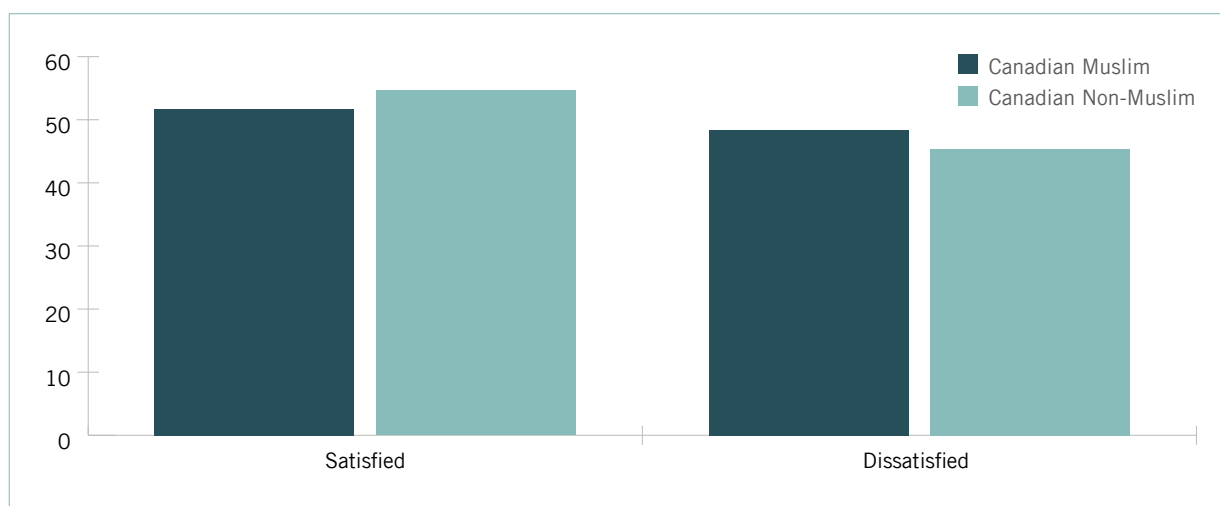
How satisfied are Canadian Muslims with the direction Canada is moving? How has this changed over time?

A slight majority (52%) of Canadian Muslims are satisfied with the direction Canada is moving, slightly less than non-Muslim Canadians (55%). This is significantly lower than the reported rate of Canadian Muslim satisfaction in 2016 (92%), but as noted above the different sample recruitment methodologies may have resulted in different sample representativeness.

Table 7a Canadian Satisfaction in Country's Direction, by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Canada's Direction	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Satisfied	51.67	54.62
Dissatisfied	48.33	45.38
Total	100%	100%

Figure 7a Canadian Satisfaction in Country's Direction by Muslim Identity



What problems confronting Canada do Canadian Muslims identify?

All problems named by survey respondents are provided in the table. The top three problems Canadian Muslims reported in 2024 include the economy and cost of living (45%), housing (15%), and anti-Muslim discrimination (13%). While both the economy and cost of living as well as anti-Muslim discrimination were top concerns in 2016, housing was not among the concerns listed.

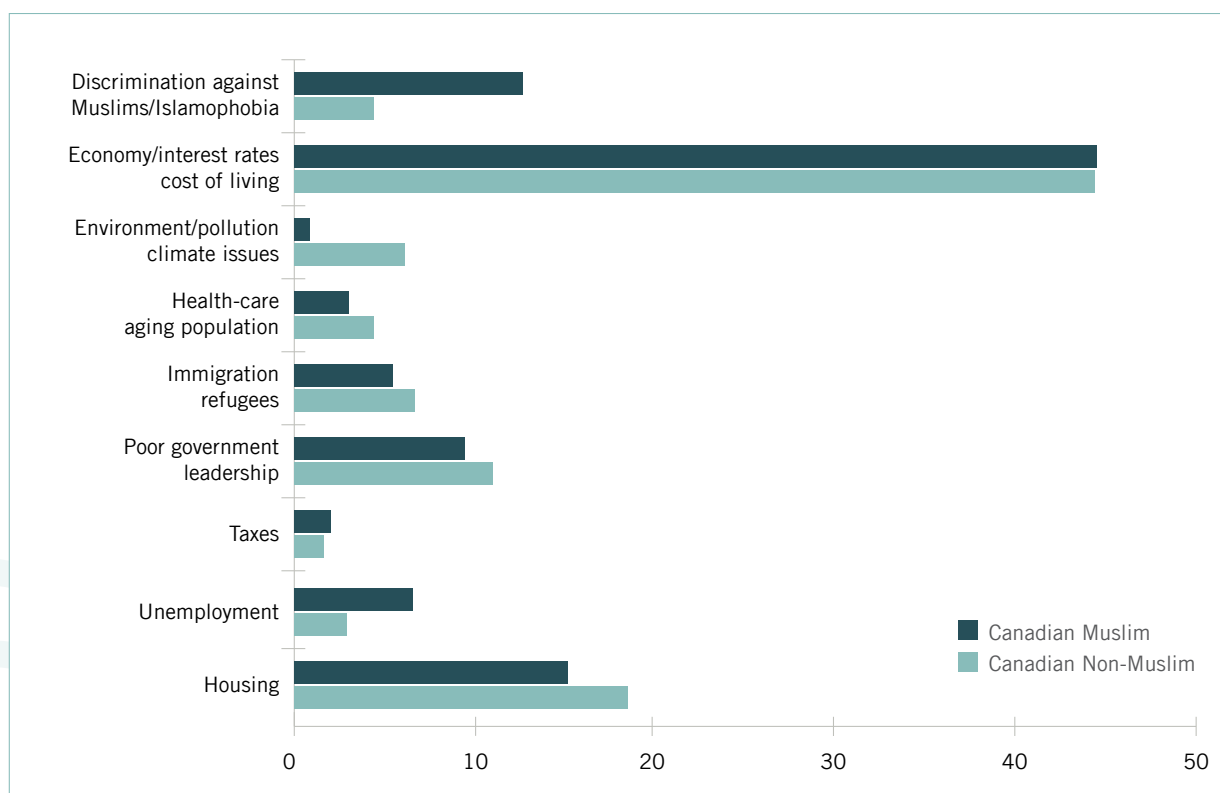
Similar to Canadian Muslims, Canadian non-Muslims named the economy and cost of living (45%) and housing (19%) as top concerns, though the third highest concern was poor government and leadership (11%).

The fact that housing was not a named concern in 2016, yet a second highest concern in 2024, for both Canadian Muslims and non-Muslims may reflect the national housing crisis. This issue may be felt especially keenly by Canadian Muslims who, compared with non-Muslim Canadians, are more likely to live in rented homes, are more likely to experience residential instability, and are more likely to live in urban areas where rental rates are inflated due to excessive demand.

Table 7b Canadian Concerns Regarding the Country, by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Problems facing Canada	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Discrimination against Muslims/Islamophobia	12.74	4.14
Economy/interest rates/cost of living	44.77	44.67
Environment/pollution/climate issues	0.83	6.28
Health-care/aging population	2.87	4.14
Immigration/refugees	5.40	6.83
Poor government/leadership	9.45	10.91
Taxes	1.89	1.57
Unemployment	6.73	2.73
Housing	15.31	18.72
Total	100%	100%

Figure 7b Canadian Concerns Regarding the Country by Muslim Identity



What do Canadian Muslims like most about Canada?

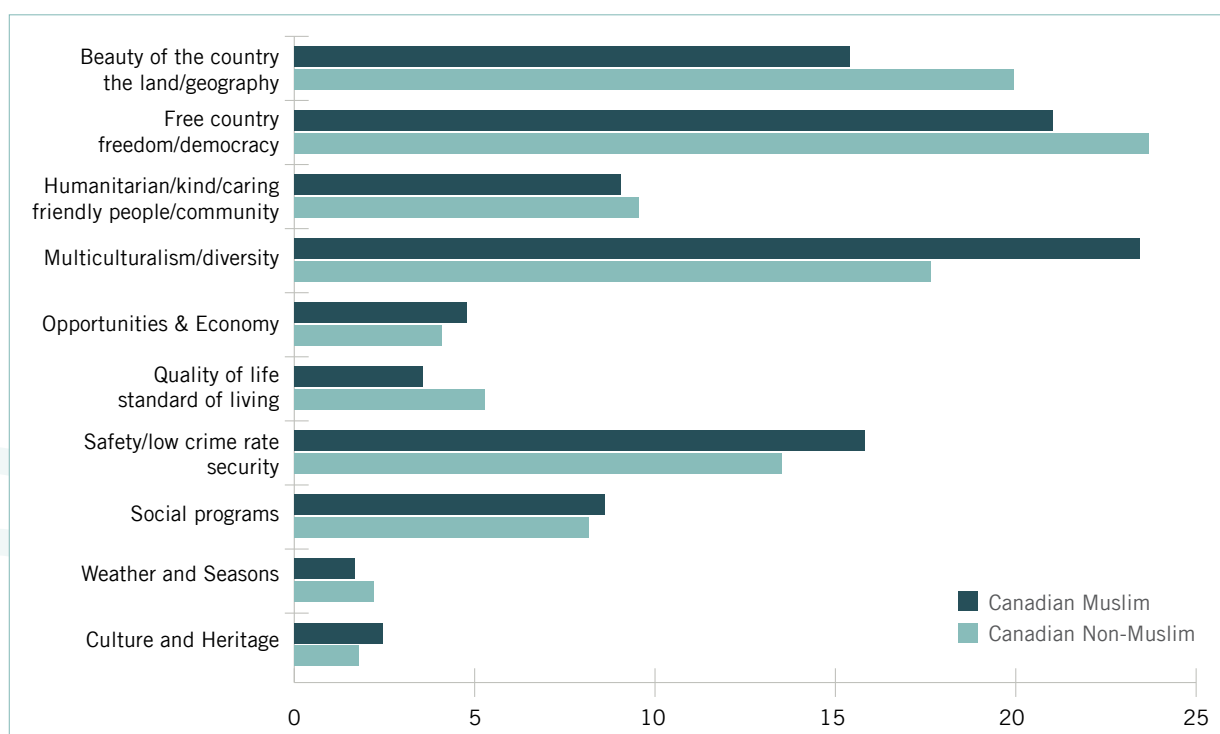
The top three items Canadian Muslims reported liking about Canada in 2024 include multiculturalism and diversity (22%), freedom and democracy (20%), and safety and security (15%). This was consistent with responses provided in 2016.

The top three items non-Muslim Canadians reported in 2024 include freedom and democracy (22%), the beauty of the land and geography (19%), and multiculturalism and diversity (17%).

Table 7c What Canadians like about Canada, by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Like most about Canada	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Beauty of the country/the land/geography	14.56	18.83
Free country/freedom/democracy	19.86	22.37
Humanitarian/kind/caring/friendly people/community	8.56	9.01
Multiculturalism/diversity	22.15	16.68
Opportunities and Economy	4.53	3.87
Quality of life/standard of living	3.36	4.98
Safety/low crime rate/security	14.94	12.77
Social programs	8.13	7.72
Weather and Seasons	1.59	2.08
Culture and Heritage	2.31	1.69
Total	100%	100%

Figure 7c What Canadians like about Canada by Muslim Identity



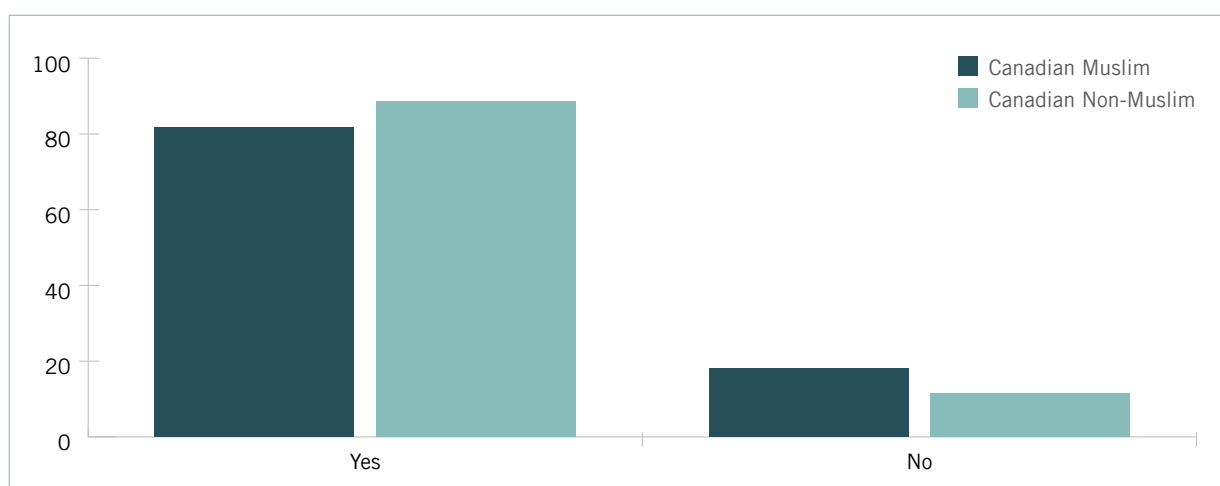
What are Canadian Muslim voting behaviours?

In 2024, about four in five (82%) Canadian Muslims voted in the previous election, a slightly lower rate than that of Canadian non-Muslims (89%).

Table 7d Canadian Voter Status, by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Voted in Previous Election	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Yes	81.78	88.58
No	18.22	11.42
Total	100%	100%

Figure 7d Canadian Voter Status by Muslim Identity



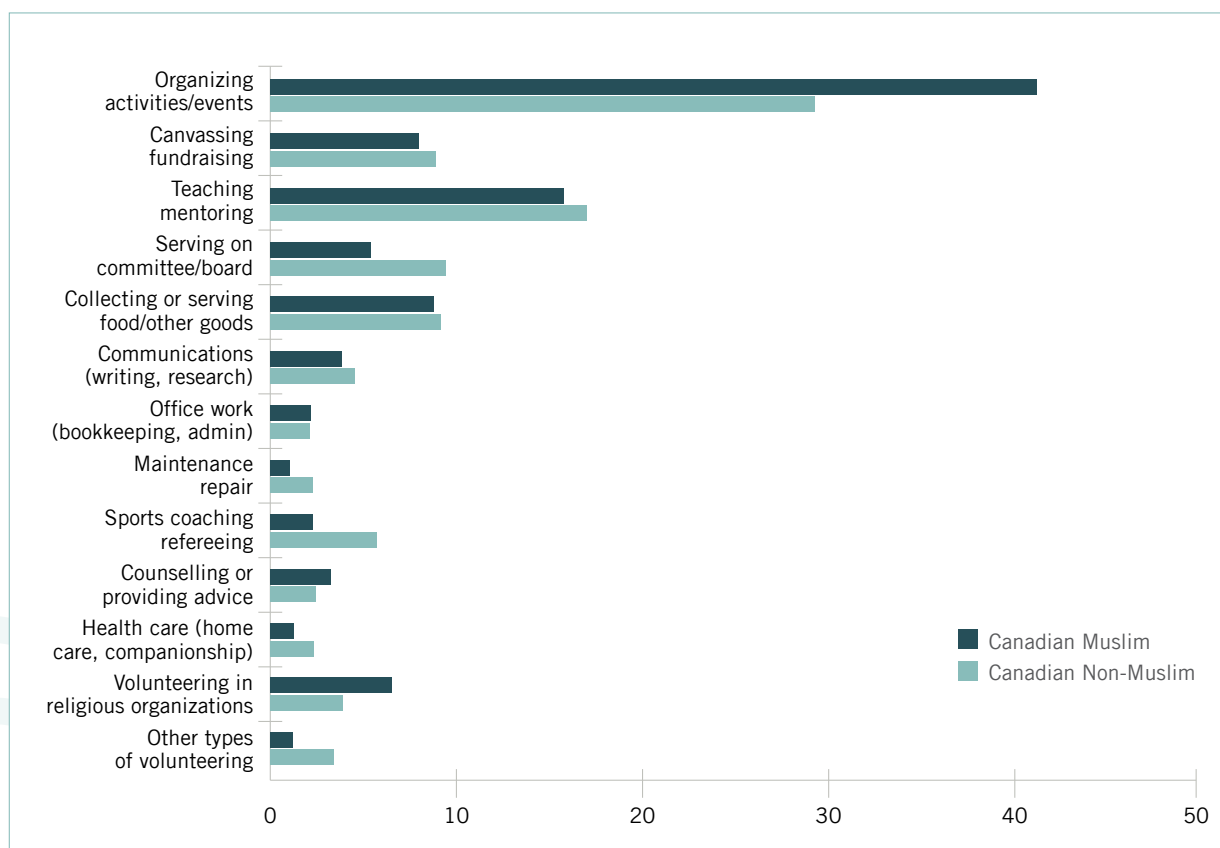
What types of civic engagement are Canadian Muslims involved in?

The top three types of civic engagement Canadian Muslims engaged in include organizing events and activities (41%), teaching or mentoring (16%), and collecting or serving food and other goods (9%). This was similar among Canadian non-Muslims, for whom serving on a committee or board (9%) was tied for third along with collecting or serving food and other goods (9%), following organizing events and activities (29%) and teaching or mentoring (17%). Canadian Muslims reported a lower proportion of volunteers serving on a committee or board (5%).

Table 7e Canadian Civic Engagement, by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Types of Civic Engagement	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Organizing activities/events	41.14	29.29
Canvassing/fundraising	7.78	8.91
Teaching/mentoring	15.88	17.06
Serving on committee/board	5.28	9.44
Collecting or serving food/other goods	8.81	9.20
Communications (writing, research)	3.76	4.45
Office work (bookkeeping, administratio	2.10	2.09
Maintenance or repair	1.01	2.21
Sports coaching/refereeing	2.24	5.58
Counselling or providing advice	3.16	2.39
Health care (home care, companionship)	1.25	2.30
Volunteering in religious organizations	6.38	3.78
Other types of volunteering	1.20	3.31
Total	100%	100%

Figure 7e Canadian Civic Engagement by Muslim Identity



QUESTION SET 8: DISCRIMINATORY EXPERIENCES

What types of discrimination do Canadian Muslims report?

The types of discrimination typically recorded in social surveys (including the 2016 Environics Institute Survey of Muslims in Canada) include religious-based, ethnicity-based, gender-based, and language-based discrimination. In the 2024 Survey, to better assess the diversity in experiences, we also included race-based, appearance-based, sexual orientation-based, age-based, and disability-based experiences of discrimination.

Categorizing types of discrimination experienced by Canadian Muslims is difficult, though, precisely because Muslim Canadians occupy social locations that can be shaped by multiple oppressions simultaneously. For example, Muslim women who experience hijab-based discrimination are experiencing both religious- and gender-based discrimination¹. The women themselves may refer to other categories when reporting this form of hate (e.g., ethnicity- or language-based discrimination) based on their subjective understanding of the situation and context.

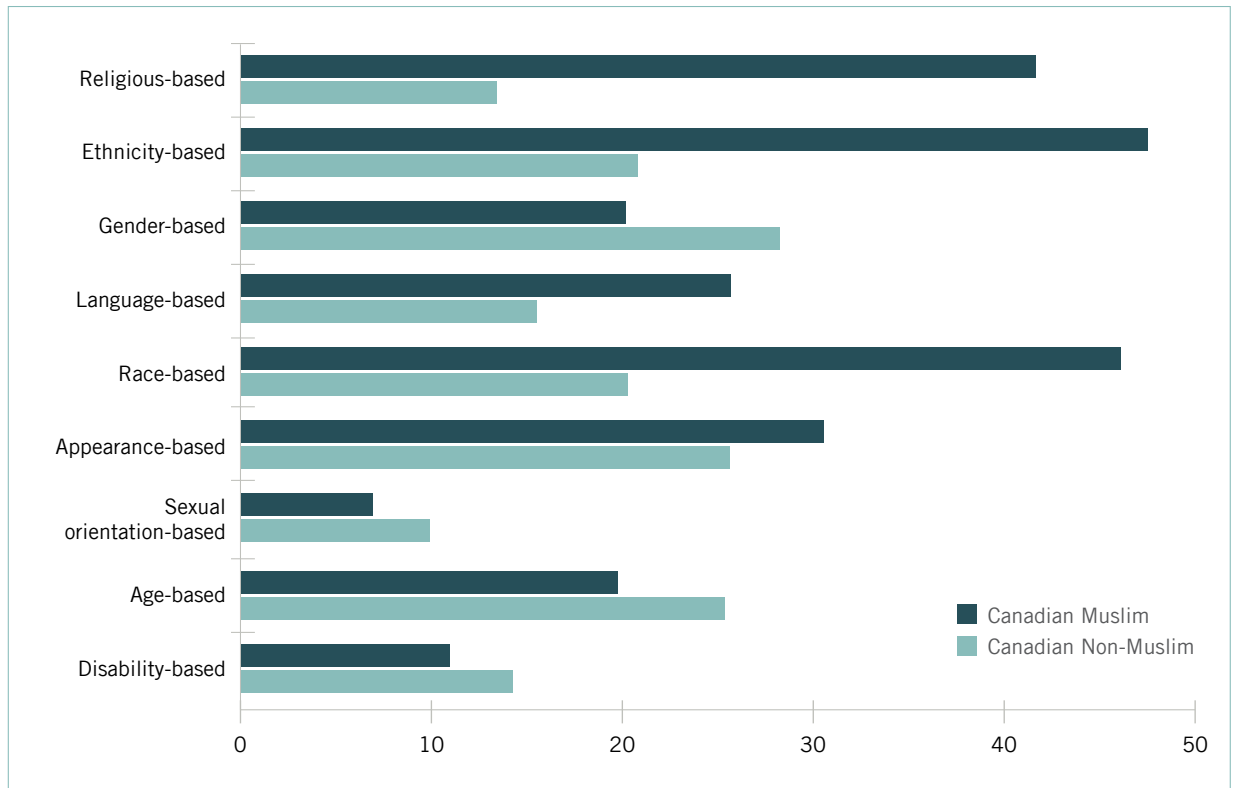
Almost half of Canadian Muslims report ethnicity-based discrimination (48%) or race-based discrimination (46%), while two-fifths reported religious-based discrimination (42%). Almost one-third of Canadian Muslims report appearance-based discrimination (30%), about a quarter (26%) experience language-based discrimination while about one-fifth (20%) experience gender-based discrimination.

Table 8a Discriminatory Experience, by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Types of Discrimination	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Religious-based	41.61	13.37
Ethnicity-based	47.48	20.77
Gender-based	20.12	28.21
Language-based	25.65	15.48
Race-based	46.06	20.23
Appearance-based	30.51	25.56
Sexual orientation-based	6.89	9.89
Age-based	19.71	25.31
Disability-based	10.91	14.21

1. On gendered Islamophobia, see Jasmine Zine, “Unveiled sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and experiences of veiling among Muslim girls in a Canadian Islamic school,” *Equity and Excellence in Education* 39 no. 3 (2006): 239–52.

Figure 8a Discriminatory Experience by Muslim Identity



Canadian Muslims were somewhat less likely to report gender-based, sexual-orientation-based, age-based, or disability-based discrimination compared with non-Muslim Canadians. However, Canadian Muslims were much more likely to report each of the other forms of discrimination when compared with their non-Muslim counterparts, sometimes more than twice as likely when considering religious-based, ethnicity-based, and race-based experiences of discrimination.

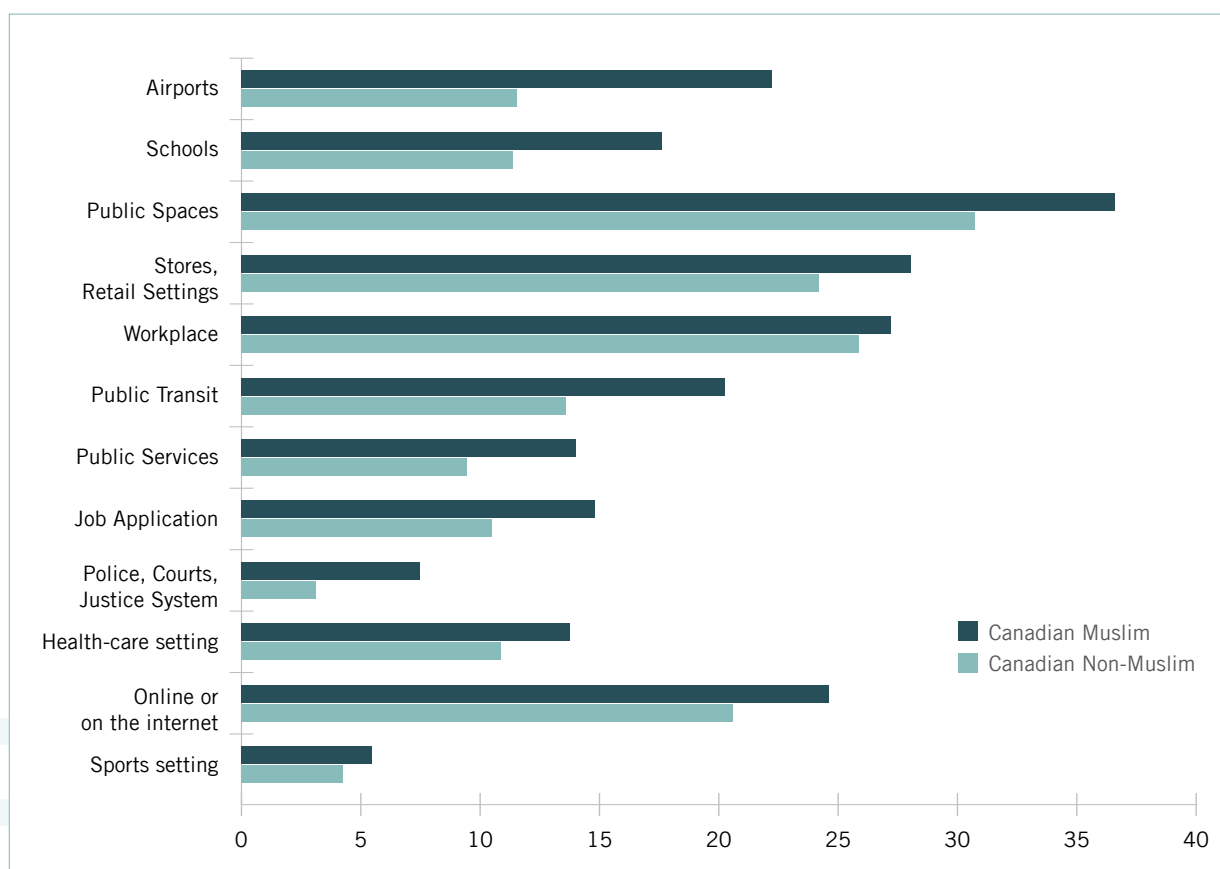
Where do these experiences of discrimination take place?

The complete list of contexts where Canadians experience discrimination are provided on Table 8. The top three contexts where Canadian Muslims report experiencing discrimination include in public spaces (37%), stores and retail settings (28%), and airports (22%). Across all contexts, Canadian Muslims were much more likely to experience discrimination compared with non-Muslim Canadians, sometimes at twice the rate that non-Muslims report. These findings indicate Canadian Muslims are experiencing significant levels of social exclusion and a lack of social integration within Canadian mainstream society.

Table 8b Contexts of Discriminatory Experience, by Muslim Identity, Adults 18 years and older, 2024 Survey of Muslims in Canada, Weighted Data

Contexts of Discrimination	Canadian Muslims	Canadian Non-Muslims
Airports	22.21	11.53
Schools	17.61	11.39
Public Spaces	36.59	30.72
Stores, Retail Settings	28.05	24.18
Workplace	27.20	25.88
Public Transit	20.26	13.58
Public Services	14.03	9.45
Job Application	14.80	10.51
Police, Courts, Justice System	7.47	3.13
Health-care setting	13.77	10.86
Online or on the internet	24.60	20.61
Sports setting	5.48	4.26

Figure 8b Contexts of Discriminatory Experience by Muslim Identity





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Canadian Muslim Demographics, Socioeconomics, Social Attitudes, and Experiential Outcomes

