Policy Paper

Lessons from Jewish Responses to anti-Semitism in Canada for Muslims Countering anti-Muslim Hatred.

Nakita Valerio
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About the Author
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Executive Summary

In this policy brief, I argue that Canadian Muslim community members and organizations stand to learn valuable lessons by examining contemporary Jewish responses to anti-Semitism across Canada for the purposes of developing better strategies for countering anti-Muslim hatred. I further argue that the strategies derived from these lessons cross a wide spectrum of methodologies and initiatives, from the individual, to grassroots, to institutional work. The implementation of these strategies must be multi-faceted, shared, and both internally and outwardly focused.
Introduction and Background

The presence of Jewish people and communities in Canada dates back to the 18th century and has consistently remained at approximately 1% of the Canadian population, proportionate with the growth of the rest of the country.¹ Throughout their presence in Canada, Jewish communities and individuals have experienced acts of hatred, violence and systemic oppression that can be classified as anti-Semitism. These incidents continue in varying capacities to the present day,² and thus remain an on-going (and increasing) concern which requires vigilance and attention;³ therefore, this study does not proceed from the assumption that Canadian Jews have entirely succeeded in the struggle against anti-Semitism.⁴ In examining the comparability of anti-Semitism with anti-Muslim hatred to extract useful lessons, it is clear that any minor differences in the content or manifestations of both hatreds are largely overshadowed by their shared foundations.⁵ Both anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim racism rely heavily on racialization while being simultaneously excluded from anti-racism discourse, and both hatreds have a similar psycho-physiological effect on the one who endures them. With anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim hate incidents and crimes at an all-time reported high in 2016 and 2017,⁶ knowledge sharing of past strategies, and ways to move forward as communities, is essential for mitigating future harm.

² According to the 2016 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents published by B’nai Brith Canada, 2016 was a record-breaking year for anti-Semitism in Canada, with an increase of over 26% in incidents from 2015.
³ This perspective is based on statistical evidence from Stats Canada and B’nai Brith Canada regarding the ever-increasing number of anti-Semitic hate crimes and incidents since at least 1982, as well as anecdotal evidence from interviewees working in the realm of countering anti-Semitism. It is noted, however, that there is much further to go by way of accounting for statistical and anecdotal increases by cross-examining whether or not these are due to an increase in reporting or online awareness, or an increase in actual crimes/incidents themselves. While this cross-examination is beyond the scope of this study, I recognize that there is a strong psychological impact of rising numbers and awareness in affected communities regardless of whether or not those increases are due to more thorough reporting/awareness or actual incidents.
⁵ Another key difference between the “Jewish” and “Muslim” experience with discrimination and hatred in Canada is that, very often, Jews in Canada are descendent from or are themselves members of previously minority populations and they continue to live a minority life in Canada. Muslims, on the other hand, are much more frequently descendent from or are themselves members of previously majority populations. The differences between minority-minority status and majority-minority status could be seen to directly affect the community’s imported resiliency practices – something which remains understudied in comparative work.
Methodology

The data acquired for analysis in this study comes from a diverse pool of sources, including meta-studies by academics in both English and French, newspaper and public police reports, statistical reports, and organic interviews conducted specifically for this study. Additionally, while an ethnography of Jewish responses to anti-Semitism is not the purpose of this study, personal interviews can illuminate trends identified in the textual sources. Therefore, in order to get a sense of how Jewish individuals might feel about (and respond to) anti-Semitism, I conducted 15 interviews. Interviewees were selected through existing warm-community connections as well as through cold-calling Jewish organizations and religious facilities across the country. Individuals were contacted in the ten Canadian municipalities with the largest Jewish populations; ultimately, those interviewed were located in Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Ottawa, and Toronto. All interviews were conducted in the English language and included a demographic survey as well as a 25-75 minute conversation revolving around 10 demographic questions and 20 open-ended questions. In some cases, questions of clarification were also asked. The demographic breakdown for those interviewed is as follows:

- 8 women and 7 men;
- the earliest year of birth was 1947 and the latest was 1992;
- all interviewees except one identified their ethnic origins as some variety of Jewish with 8 specifying Ashkenazim;
- 9 interviewees were born in Canada, 2 were born in the United States, 1 was born in Israel and 2 were unspecified;
- all respondents except for one had lived in multiple places throughout their lives, either within Canada or abroad;


7 All interviews were conducted through an online survey and over the phone.
8 The one non-ethnic Jew is a convert to Judaism who identifies as a “White Canadian.”
• over half of the respondents had obtained a Master’s degree, others had some college or university, a Bachelor’s degree, a Bachelor’s of law or Rabbinic ordination;
• 4 respondents did not have a denominational affiliation, 4 respondents identified as Reform, 1 respondent was Hassidic, 1 respondent was Conservative, 1 respondent was an atheist and the rest were unspecified;
• most of the respondents work in education or law, work or volunteer for Jewish organizations or religious institutions, or support in some way the various organizations working to countering anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination.

It should be noted that the seeming lack of dissenting viewpoints among Jews interviewed for this article may be due to the nature of the subject matter eliciting an existing self-selecting sample bias. Individuals who hold narrative preferences around cooperation, coexistence, and even historical “convivencia” (an imagined idyllic Muslim-Jewish belle epoch in al-Andalus⁹) are predisposed to want to answer questions about Jewish responses to anti-Semitism in order to assist Muslims with lessons in facing anti-Muslim hatred. On the other hand, Jews who find the comparison between anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim hatred unsubstantiated would decline participation in these interviews. It should be noted that some of the textual sources used in this article exhibit Jewish responses to anti-Semitism that are beneficial for instructing Muslims countering anti-Muslim hatred in spite of those sources coming from individuals or organizations who do not view these two forms of discrimination as comparable.

**Personal Responses**

Jewish individual, community and organizational responses to anti-Semitism vary according to a wide spectrum and are contingent on the immediacy and severity

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⁹ For a full exploration of the myth of interfaith coexistence and its pervasiveness in medieval and contemporary discourse, see: Mark Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*. Princeton University Press: Princeton & Oxford. 1994. While it was better comparatively (especially to circumstances under Christian polities), the historical tallying game of comparison is never really fruitful for writing nuanced histories and is usually grounded in the politics of the present.
of the anti-Semitism, the ethos of the communities they belong to, the opportunity for lobbying and programming, and other demographic factors, including resource access and socio-economic positionality.

**Reaching out for support** - One immediate avenue of personal response appears to be reaching out to friends and family (and, in some cases, the help of mental health professionals) in order to process these occurrences. In all cases where a criminal act was committed, respondents felt comfortable enough to notify law enforcement and trusted that those officials would follow through on the necessary actions.

**Ignore or downplay the hatred** - On more than one occasion, interviewees reported that it was important to ignore or downplay the hatred directed at their community. Downplaying, for them, does not imply pretending that anti-Semitism does not exist; rather, it means keeping such incidents in perspective and not letting them cause Jews to live in a state of fear. In cases of anti-Semitic vandalism, the main approach appears to be an immediate removal of the graffiti for the purpose of diminishing any attention given to it. In many cases, respondents did not inform media and even requested that law enforcement officials (if informed) refrain from doing so as well. In general, noting the lack of physical violence or the non-anomalous nature of anti-Semitic incidents in Canada, respondents emphasized keeping those incidents in perspective so they do not spread fear, negatively affect everyday life, or unintentionally legitimate or amplify the actions of the hateful.

**Assimilation** - Multiple respondents noted that the visibility of a Jew made it more likely to increase their chances of experiencing anti-Semitism. Not only did respondents who wore markers of their Jewishness report higher incidences of harassment throughout their lives, but respondents who did not also attributed their avoidance of harassment to a lack of visibility. As a result, some Jews are reluctant to wear identifying articles of clothing—such as a kippah or a Star of David—in certain public spaces, or are selective about whom they reveal their Jewishness to if it is not already apparent.

**Unapologetic Jewishness/Diversity Education/Support** - On the other hand, there are individuals (both interviewees and Jews more broadly) who argue that
precisely because anti-Semitism will exist wherever Jews go and regardless of what Jews do or do not wear, it makes little sense to assimilate. For some respondents, rejecting assimilation meant continuing to participate in Jewish holidays and traditions, and being heavily involved in synagogue life. For others, this meant participating, as Jewish members, in interfaith dialogue groups, or financially supporting organizations which counter anti-Semitism through similar means. Finally, some respondents took stronger personal initiatives, such as using their community positions as educators to teach about diversity, Jewish traditions, and Judaism to their non-Jewish audiences or classrooms. Respondents were careful to note that they participated with the intention of educating others about Judaism, building bridges with other communities and meeting allies, rather than spending too much time talking and thinking about anti-Semitism or related contentious issues directly.

**Jewish Community and Organizational Responses**

**Awareness and Data Collection** - The organization primarily associated with building awareness about anti-Semitism and related data collection is B’nai Brith Canada. Through their agency, The League of Human Rights, B’nai Brith has published the annual audit of anti-Semitic incidents in Canada since 1982, combining data from Statistics Canada, national police reports, and their own data collection methods (the most notable of which is the 24/7 Hate Hotline (1-800-892-BNAI), which also offers assistance to individuals experiencing anti-Semitism and hate-motivated acts). A large part of the League’s mandate is the awareness-building through publication, as well as the advancement of B’nai Brith’s human rights agenda to media outlets, government, and the public at large. To this effect, they use social media, email lists, petitions, online campaigns, and channels of governmental advocacy.10

10 http://www.bnaibrith.ca/league; The organization is not without its controversies, being accused of exaggerating the prevalence of anti-Semitism in Canada in particular instances and more generally. Some of the criticism about B’nai Brith include their equation of critiquing Israel with anti-Semitism bears no fruit and that their awareness-building campaigns verge on fear-mongering. Other Jewish and human rights organizations such as the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC - prior to its subsuming into CJJ in 2011) and Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) have voiced their concerns in public campaigns to reign in what they perceive to be B’nai Brith’s controversial tendencies. See: Jonathan Kay, “Jonathan Kay on B’naï Brith’s latest attempt to conjure anti-Semitism out of thin air,” The National Post. September 22, 2010. Accessed November 2, 2017. http://nationalpost.com/opinion/jonathan-kay-on-bnaï-briths-latest-attempt-to-conjure-anti-semitism-out-of-
Community Bridge-Building/ Diversity Training/Solidarity - Community bridge-building is an area that the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs (CIJA) works on through their local partner councils and participation in the Canadian Interfaith Conversation, among other multi-faith gatherings. The local partner councils are grassroots groups of community volunteers who access resources and support from their local Federation and CIJA to strengthen relationships with church groups, religious institutions, and ethno-cultural organizations.

Several Muslim-Jewish interfaith groups have been established across Canada in order to counter anti-Semitism as well as anti-Muslim racism. The Canadian Association of Jews and Muslims (CAJM) was established in June 1996 and has been meeting regularly in the Greater Toronto Area since 9/11. Similarly, multiple interfaith text-study sessions have been held through the University of Toronto’s Multi-Faith Centre in the last decade. The Sisterhood of Salaam-Shalom established their first Canadian chapter in Toronto in 2016, and has since opened chapters in Markham, Montreal and Edmonton. There are also other previously-established Muslim-Jewish women’s interfaith groups, many developed by grassroots women’s groups and operating with a similar mandate, despite being separate from, the official Sisterhood. Finally, the Christian-Jewish Dialogue group exists with a similar mandate in Toronto and involves engagement from the Catholic Archdiocese, the United Church, the Lutheran Church, CIJA and the Toronto Board of Rabbis.

Jewish Identity Projects - Organizations like the Jewish Federations of Canada, UIA, B’nai Brith Canada, and the Canadian Jewish Political Affairs Committee (CJPAC) have undertaken a number of programs that are advertised as Jewish identity


11 https://www.interfaithconversation.ca/
12 http://cija.ca/about-us/community-relations/
13 https://cajmcanada.wordpress.com/about/
projects. The Federations in particular invest in programs designed to make Judaism and Israel accessible for Canadian Jewish youth, with the purpose of building an unapologetic personal Jewish identity. Programming falls under the mandate of the following committees: Canada-Israel Experience (responsible for the Taglit Birthright Israel, Marah of the Living Canada, and Masa Israel Journey programs), National Young Leadership, and Hillel Canada (a Jewish undergraduate student support network). B’nai Brith Canada’s programming that would fall under a Jewish identity-building project is primarily their organization of Jewish sports teams as a way to give Jewish athletes in Canada sporting contexts where they can feel comfortable. CJPAC’s work tends to be involved around political and civic engagement, especially on university campuses through their Fellowship Program. There are also a number of summer camps that have been established for Jewish youth across Canada as a means of building a strong sense of Jewishness and a connection to both community and Judaism as a religion. One particularly controversial program for how it characterizes pro-Palestinian movements, that could be considered as a Jewish identity project is CIJA’s BUYCott campaign, developed in response to the perceived anti-Semitism of the BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) movement in Canada and globally. Lastly, ceremonial events, particularly related to Jewish holidays or events of importance, are another way that Jewish organizations facilitate public understanding of Jewish traditions.

Holocaust Education, Museums, Memorialization - For many Jewish organizations in Canada and globally, Holocaust education seems to be a natural place to start addressing anti-Semitism, primarily through historical inoculation and despite some evidence that Holocaust knowledge does not correspond to greater acceptance of Jews. Canadian Society for Yad Vashem (CSYV) has been a key organizational partner in encouraging the Government of Canada to support

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16 https://www.jewishcanada.org/jewish-identity
17 http://cjpac.ca/category/programs/
educational and commemorative initiatives about the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{19} Their programming includes a robust scholarship program aimed at providing Canadian educators with the opportunity to visit the Yad Vashem museum in Israel and take part in a three-week seminar for teaching Holocaust studies. CSYV is also responsible for facilitating the annual public ceremony for National Holocaust Remembrance Day on behalf of the Government of Canada. The organization facilitates the bringing together of high school students and Holocaust survivors in order to conduct guided group study sessions about the Holocaust; it also runs a unique Bar/Bat Mitzvah Twinning program, under which a young Jewish child is given an opportunity to learn about the Holocaust through the life of a child who perished. Lastly, CSYV erected and maintains a physical Holocaust Memorial Site with a monument in Toronto, and was a key member of the Development Council for the National Monument.

There is a long list of Holocaust Education Centers across the country. Each of these centres features museums with permanent or traveling exhibits, vast library and artifact collections, as well as highly developed educational programs meant to support teachers of primary and secondary students.

\textbf{Strategic Alliances - Government} - For nearly 100 years, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) was the primary Jewish government lobby group that aimed at developing strategic alliances in order to advocate for Canadian Jewish communities. It was subsumed into the mandate and operations of CIJA in 2011. CIJA’s primary objective as a political advocacy committee is to establish governmental relations at all levels to work on domestic and foreign-policy issues that affect Jewish Canadians.\textsuperscript{20} Their role is primarily an advisory one, offering information to parliamentarians and members of legislative assemblies as needed. The vast majority of their priorities seem to be focused on Canada’s Middle Eastern diplomatic policies and increasing Canadian-Israeli trade. Domestically, CIJA advocates for protecting schools, community centers, and places of worship against anti-Semitic speech and actions. CIJA also advocates for the prevention of terrorism and genetic

\begin{footnotes}
\item[19] https://yadvashem.ca/
\end{footnotes}
discrimination, and continues the CJC tradition of pushing for accountability for Nazi war crimes and genocide.

Another Jewish national human rights organization, Independent Jewish Voices (IJV), advocates for Canada and Canadian businesses to play a role in a just and peaceful resolution to the conflict in Israel and Palestine, while supporting the rights of all Canadians to criticize Israeli state policies through movements such as BDS. Beyond their foreign campaigns, IJV also has a specific mandate for countering domestic anti-Semitism, primarily through the issuing of statements, media relations, the preparation of reports for public use, and pushing for the Canadian government to be more vocal on these issues.

**Recommendations/Lessons for Muslims**

**Inward Focus**

1. **Be Unafraid to be Unapologetically Muslim** - Being unapologetically Muslim means being unafraid to appear as a visible Muslim in public spaces or to request reasonable accommodation for Islamic needs, but it also implies the continued creation of Muslim spaces while keeping these spaces open to non-Muslims as well. It further implies a knowledge of Muslim traditions, heritage and history (both locally and globally) in order to retain aspects of our identity associated with these inheritances, as well as being able to share them with others.

2. **Develop Methods to Educate Muslims on their Own Traditions, Heritage and History** - Only once Muslims begin to learn about themselves can they begin to accurately share the richness of their faith, cultures, and history with others. Thus, the facilitation of education (formal and informal) for Muslim communities about themselves is crucial. Sharing their knowledge of themselves with others is an approach Muslims can take to counter anti-Muslim racism and negative associations perpetuated about Islam and Muslims through cultural transmission.

3. **Expand Data Collection** - This is an area where Muslims have made significant progress, the National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM) being one

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21 [http://ijvcanada.org/](http://ijvcanada.org/)
example; however, more accessible means of reporting at the local level, as well as data sharing between collectors, are still needed. More accessible means of reporting can include the establishment of local data collection methods such as hotlines, formally commissioned surveys and the like; reports based on this information can then be shared with national organizations trying to develop a larger picture of anti-Muslim incidents and crimes across the country.

4. Improve Mental Health Access & Resources - Cultivating resiliency alongside a strong sense of Muslim identity and community is essential, lest Muslim communities operate from a fractured foundation and find themselves unable to carry out the necessary work of collecting data and countering anti-Muslim racism in the long-term. Providing culturally-sensitive, financially accessible psychological care—in the form of professional spiritual care practitioners and psycho-spiritual therapists, in individual or group settings—is thus an essential part of an effective community organizing strategy.

5. Prioritize extra-Mosque Muslim Engagement - The tendency for Muslims to cultivate their active populations from within mosque settings alone poses difficulties due to the vast majority of mosques in Canada not having formal membership, having transient populations, and not being well attended. Ideally, improvements in the mosque setting could lead to improved participation, but as it currently stands, finding ways to access and engage Canadian Muslims in the fight against anti-Muslim racism through alternative channels is an essential takeaway from the Jewish community’s experience.

Outward Focus

1. Take a Multi-faceted, Proactive Approach - Despite certain claims of centralization of representation and mandates in particular organizations, the reality on the ground is that Jews have spread out the work of countering anti-Semitism throughout multiple organizations, using multi-faceted strategies and taking proactive

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22 Envionics’ survey of national Canadian Muslims found that only 48% of respondents reported attending mosque once a week; one in six visit occasionally, one-quarter (24%) only at special times of the year, and one in ten (9%) never or almost never. “Survey of Muslims in Canada 2016,” http://tessellateinstitute.com/projects/national-survey/
approaches, especially around education. Muslims would do well to accept that no one or two organizations across Canada or in particular localities can accomplish, on their own, all that is needed by way of strategies listed above. The work must be shared in order to be comprehensive and effective in the long-term.

2. Build Cooperative, Focused Organizations - One way to ensure that the work of countering anti-Muslim hatred is shared effectively is to encourage both new and existing organizations which undertake this work to not only cooperate with one another, but to choose and focus on precise approaches without spreading themselves too thin. This may look like one organization focusing on data collection and governmental relations, while another organization develops resiliency programs within the community, and still another organization does community bridge-building with other faith groups. The replication of similar approaches across organizations, on the contrary, wastes valuable time, resources and energy that could otherwise be put to better use.

3. Focus on Dialogue and Solidarity - The continued proactive facilitation of dialogue with non-Muslims about Islam, Muslim traditions and history is essential. Offering public lectures, panels, seminars and workshops, as well as facilitating intercultural discussions is important. Equally important is lobbying for units on Muslim history and diversity to be included in formal curricula across the country. At the same time, it is essential to recognize (as many respondents from this study have) that anti-Muslim hatred and anti-Semitism exist alongside other interconnected hatreds that fall under the umbrella of racism. Muslim are ethically bound (and even religiously mandated) to address and counter racism in all its forms. Therefore, it is essential for Muslims to develop alliances in which they are not only stood up for, but where they also stand in as allies for other marginalized groups. This reciprocity serves two main purposes: it indirectly educates other marginalized groups on the social justice ethics in Islam (thereby mitigating lateral violence), and it builds sustainable long-term partnerships through contact and dialogue.

4. Have Difficult Conversations - One area of dialogue that was somewhat dismissed by Jewish respondents, and remains a rather neglected part of the literature on countering anti-Semitism, is the effectiveness of having difficult
conversations with hate groups. The mediation of dialogue between oppressed individuals and neo-Nazis (or other “white power” groups which foster oppression and hate propaganda) is a tactic of which there is little to no evidence among Jewish individuals or organizations in the Canadian context. It is worth examining, in future research, how other racialized groups have dealt with the lack of mediated interactions between oppressed and oppressing groups, and contemplating whether or not such difficult conversations have any effect on pre-existing hatred and prejudice.

5. Strengthen Media Relations - It might be a worthwhile education strategy for Muslim groups to get more proactive, positive Muslim stories (especially local) disseminated through established media outlets. One avenue to accomplish this could be the building of close positive relationships with non-Muslim journalists, or even the sponsorship of Muslim individuals to enter the journalistic field themselves.

6. Ally with Government and Law Enforcement - The importance of establishing strong governmental and law enforcement alliances (which are maintained even in periods of low incidence of hate incidents and crimes) cannot be overemphasized. The establishment of direct lines of communication with government and law enforcement, and the promotion of Muslim candidates for governmental office or police services, is an essential strategy for Muslims countering hatred going forward. At the same time, these advocacy groups and politically-inclined individuals need to remain in contact with the grassroots communities they represent. This can be achieved through survey work, the establishment of advisory committees, town hall meetings and other such methods, all to ensure that Muslim representatives' input brought to government and law enforcement alliances is an accurate representation of what Muslim communities want and need.