Developing localized strategies to improve resiliency and security of mosques in the Greater Toronto Area

By

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ABSTRACT

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It is a precarious time for Muslims in North America. In January 2017, at the Islamic Cultural Center in Quebec City, Canada, an attacker stepped inside the mosque and opened fire while attendees were performing evening prayers. The resulting violence killed six persons and wounded over a dozen others. This event is an example of how mosques across North America are subject to threats. It is clear that there exists an urgent need to assess and prepare Muslim communities for potential threats to their places of worship. Therefore, this study examines issues regarding mosque safety and resiliency in the Greater Toronto Area. To support this study, academic and practice-based literature was reviewed concerning Islamophobia, hate crimes, community resiliency and security practices related to soft target hardening through an emergency management framework. Qualitative methods were used for interviewing mosque personnel, security personnel, and academic researchers. During summer and fall of 2017, 22 interviews were conducted in the Greater Toronto Area. The data collected from the interviews was then analyzed and coded to discern common themes. Physical aspects of security such as cameras, guards, and gates were found to be one aspect of mosque security. While investing in

sophisticated security technologies is certainly very useful, it cannot replace good operational measures. For example, key control by mosque administration is crucial to ameliorate the threat of the insider. Of equal, if not greater importance, are the community building efforts within mosques themselves that can contribute to overall resiliency. A problem commonly observed in mosques was the relative inactivity surrounding emergency planning and safety measures, and issues of governance that obstruct the ability of mosques to progress in this regard. Therefore, it is recommended that mosque administrations need to create strong relationships both within and outside of the mosque. These relationships extend to the administration itself, community groups operating within the mosque, the attendees of the mosque, the local government, local law enforcement, the surrounding community and the general public. Should these relationships be strong, the mosque has a significantly higher chance of being able to pull together resources to respond during a crisis, recover and build back better. However, this kind of change will require that the mosque have a certain level of competence and dedicated manpower. In order to ensure a safe and secure Muslim community, the mosques must make security a part of their organizational culture. The strongest tools that mosques have to increase their security are their own volunteers.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

The rise in Islamophobia in the West has increased the likelihood of terrorist attacks and hate crimes against Muslim communities and the mosques they utilize. This threat has become realized in Canada in the form of numerous hate crimes, including the very prominent Quebec City mosque attack. The Quebec City mosque attack occurred on a Sunday night, January 29th, 2017 at the Islamic Cultural Center, eradicating the lives of six men and injuring 14 others. Alexandre Bissonette would open fire upon the attendees for evening prayers, and the actions of Azzedine Soufiane, a victim who charged the attacker in an attempt to disarm him, lessened the casualties of the incident (Lalancette). It was a deemed a terrorist attack by Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Quebec Premier Phillipe Couillard (CBC News, 2017). While it is not the only example of a hate crime against Muslims in Canada, (NCCM, 2016)it is certainly the most dramatic example in recent memory and has set a dangerous precedence for the future. The growing Islamophobia in Canada, defined by the Cambridge Dictionary as "unreasonable dislike or fear of, and prejudice against, Muslims or Islam," has only been increased as a result of significant international events and attitudes, such as the "War on Terror," the rise of ISIS and 9/11. These events, which have all involved an intensely antagonistic relationship between governments and terrorist[1] organizations that are linked to Islamic extremism, have had a spillover effect in the Western public consciousness. Alt-right groups, including the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi organizations are becoming more prominent and powerful. Events such as the recent U.S. government's attempts to suspend "U.S. visas to foreign nationals of six Muslim majority countries" have had the effect of greatly magnifying negative attitudes about Muslims

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[1] For the purposes of this study, Hesterman's (2015) definition of terrorist will be utilized as an individual carrying out acts of extreme violence to further an agenda (p. 10). This definition covers both large organizations such as Al Qaeda and the Lord's Resistance Army, but also lone wolves such as Alexandre Bissonette.

(von Hlatky and Ibrahim, 2017, p. 2). Hate crime targeting Muslims in Canada has skyrocketed 250% in the last four years with 139 incidences reported in 2016, though Statistics Canada has noted that "the number of hate crimes presented in this release likely undercounts the true extent of hate crime in Canada, as not all crimes are reported to police" (Scotti, 2017).

Mass shootings continue to be a huge concern for the Muslim community: a 69-year old in Jacksonville, Florida was thwarted, before planning to carry out a mass shooting at a local mosque with as many as 5 AR-15 rifles and at least one suppressed firearm, before being discovered by an undercover FBI agent and subsequently arrested prior to December 4th (Lohr, 2017). The Islamic Cultural Center in Quebec City had been previously targeted in a hate crime, in which a pig's head was left outside the mosque (Freeman et al., 2017). In Peterborough, Ontario on November 14, 2015, Masjid Al-Salaam (masjid is the Arabic term for mosque, and like many other terms is used interchangeably by all Muslims) was the site of an arson attack, rendering the facility, a converted house, unusable by the community due to the extensive smoke damage (Freeze). Such attacks can be catastrophic: It can tear apart communities and creates fear that could to significant communal repercussions as members stop attending due to a fear of their own safety. Members of the community will become afraid of publicly displaying their identity as Muslims, or being involved with attending Muslim events.

Within the new environment of increased vulnerability, it becomes very clear that there is a pressing need for Muslim communities to be protected from hate crime, which involves every scenario from threats to mass casualty incidences. The definition of hate crime used in this study is the one utilized by the Criminal Code of Canada s. 718.2, where a crime is deemed a hate crime where there is " evidence that the offence was motivated by bias, prejudice or hate based on race, national or ethnic origin, language, colour, religion, sex, age, mental or physical

disability, sexual orientation, or any other similar factor" (Janhevich, 2001, p. 8). This study focuses on the tactics and strategies that are best suited to protecting mosques and their communities, focusing specifically on grassroots organization by the community. For the purposes of this study, a "community" is defined by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary as "a group of people with a common characteristic or interest living together within a larger society" (2017). How do Muslim communities think about security? What preparations are in place to protect facilities from potential terrorists attacking them? How well organized is the community to recover from such incidences? How cohesive is the community? What is the capacity of the community to invest in security and resiliency? What underlying reasons cause would-be perpetrators to desire to commit actions of harassment and violence against Muslims?

Such questions are addressed and hopefully answered in the course of the study. From the emergency management standpoint, a clear focus needs to be placed on all four aspects of the emergency management cycle. Mitigation is important in creating a community where such incidences are less likely to occur. Appropriate preparedness will help prevent or lessen the effects of an attack, by giving the community the tools to be ready to respond and measures to protect victims. Response is crucial to reducing the impact and perhaps eliminating the threat entirely. The ability of the community to recover through resiliency measures is extremely crucial to ensure that a terrorist attack will not derail community life.

In the aforementioned Peterborough attack, the community was able to recover, despite the motives of the attack "strike fear and create divide"; instead the "Muslim and non-Muslim communities united over the arson, creating an enhanced level of engagement between the two that didn't exist before," with Muslims speaking at schools and churches on the nature of Islam, the local synagogue and churches offering its services for Friday prayers, and a significant

"outpouring" of community support (Nyznik, 2016). Kenzu Abdullah, head of the Kawartha Muslim Religious Association that runs the mosque, notes that "We always found it funny because the door was actually open. We never had to lock the doors. Security was no issue for us" (CBC, 2016). A graduate student at Trent University named Duane Rousselle began a campaign which would raise over a hundred thousand dollars for the mosque (CBC, 2016). After using the insurance coverage and the campaign money to repair the mosque and invest in a security system, the remaining $80,000 was donated to two local charities (CBC, 2016).

The case of the Peterborough mosque community, both within and without the mosque, coming together to support one another, is a fine example of resiliency. The examples of both the Quebec City and Peterborough attacks demonstrate that the community is a crucial factor in lessening the impact of such events. This study aims to further understand, not only the reasons for hate crime against Muslims and their resulting vulnerabilities, but also the ways in which the community contributes to safety, whether it be investing in preparedness and mitigation strategies or promoting community resiliency.

After examining the available literature and reviewing the research methodology, the study will then discuss the findings reported from a series of 22 interviews from individuals who had knowledge of mosques and security, ranging from administrators to community volunteers, researchers, security consultants and law enforcement personnel. Through these analyses, recommendations can be formed on the best practices to improve safety at mosques from terror attacks. It is hoped that these takeaways can serve to better protect the Muslim communities in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). As other minority community also face threats to places of worship, it is hoped that this work can also contribute to ideas that can applied to other communities who are looking to improve their safety and security.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Introduction

This section will use the literature to examine useful information to help protect Muslim communities. It does this by first analyzing hate crimes and the Muslim community in Canada, including the various complex issues that are faced by Muslim Canadians. It will then look at Islamophobia and the multiple anti-Muslim conglomerates which have sprung up. After this, it will then look at these issues through an emergency management framework, aiming for the Muslim community to understand the threats it faces and the potential for mitigation actions, pulling specifically from Jennifer Hesterman's 2015 work on soft-target hardening.

Hate Crimes and Security Threats Facing Muslims

Since 9/11, hate crimes against Muslims, and anti-Muslim attitudes in general, have undergone an alarming increase. Incidents such as the Quebec City Mosque Attack demonstrate the need to protect Muslim communities from hate crimes and potential terrorist attacks. Due to the intense amount of media attention focused on religious extremists and their actions, it is clear that public risk perception of terrorist attacks committed by Muslims is much higher than other menaces like right wing groups. Police reported hate crimes against the Muslim population in Canada rose by 61% from 2014 to 2015, most victims being female (Leber, 2017, p. 3, 19). A database and subsequent study of hate crimes and terrorist incidences in the United States from 2008 to 2016 by the Center for Investigative Reporting demonstrate that while there were 63 cases of Islamist domestic terrorism, 76 percent of which were foiled, within the same timeframe, right wing extremists were responsible for 115 incidents, 35 percent of which were foiled (Neiwert et al., 2017). Important to note is that 48 percent of the Islamist incidences were sting operations (Neiwert et al., 2017), defined as "a deceptive operation designed to nab

criminals" (USLegal). This statistic is very different to that of the far right: only 12 percent of these incidences were sting operations (Neiwert et al., 2017). From this, it can be surmised that law enforcement resourcing is disproportionately spent on trying to stop Islamist terrorists as opposed to the far more prevalent right wing, or "alt-right" groups. On the other hand, hate crime against Muslims is increasing. A 2017 Statistics Canada report notes that "police-reported crimes motivated by hate against the Muslim population rose 61% in 2015" compared to 2014, along with a 33 percent increase in hate crime against the Arab and West Asian populations (Leber, 2017), many of whom are predominantly Muslims.

Within the specific Canadian context, there are a multitude of examples which illustrate the danger towards Muslim Canadians. According to Sabreena Ghaffar Siddiqui, communications lead at the Canadian Council of Muslim Women Toronto Chapter, who states that this number is lower than the reality of the situation, as "vulnerable populations like refugees, new immigrants and marginalized people" maintain a complex relationship with authority, who they feel may not be on their side (Rattan, 2017). Within Canada, there is much evidence of anti-Muslim sentiment, with anti-Muslim protestors organizing outside of a secondary school in Peel on June 22nd in 2017 (Xing), and a November 14th 2015 fire attack on the Masjid Al-Salaam in Peterborough (Nyznik, 2016). The most dramatic example is of course the Quebec City mosque shooting that took place on January 29th, 2017, where six men were killed in a terrorist attack at the Islamic Cultural Center in the Sainte-Foy neighbourhood (Lum, 2017). Haroon Siddiqui argues that numerous politicians within the Canadian legislature promote anti-Muslim policy, such as proposing monitoring of immigrants for "anti-Canadian values" and the conflation of Muslims with extremist militant organizations (2017).

On the local level, the social situation is quite uncomfortable and can at times prove to be physically dangerous. A teacher in Richmond Hill, Ontario was fired following anti-Muslim posts on social media, namely an anonymous Twitter account (Bateman, 2015). There were 21 attacks on "Muslim institutions/property" in 2016, along with 6 physical attacks against an individual or groups of individuals, figures which have risen dramatically since 2014, not counting the verbal harassment, propaganda, or threat incidences (NCCM 2016). Events like the Syrian refugee resettlement have also bolstered Islamophobia, with a school in Calgary, Alberta being vandalized with anti-Syrian vulgarities (NCCM 2016). Al Jamia mosque in Vancouver, British Columbia and Ibrahim Jame mosque in Hamilton, Ontario were also subject to arson attacks that did not result in injuries (NCCM 2016). The list of attacks goes on to include multiple vandalisms of mosques and physical and verbal assaults, particularly of women wearing head coverings (NCCM 2016). Some common themes from these assaults involve the Syrian refugee crisis and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's program to bring them to Canada, the hatred for head coverings adorned by Muslim women, the connection with terrorist groups like ISIS, and the combination of Islamophobia with stigmatisms like race. With the number of serious attacks made on Muslims in 2016 alone, it is understandable that Muslims would be fraught with anxiety over possible attacks. Certainly it would affect decisions made about whether to attend the mosque or any community events or services, especially when viewed in the light of parents looking to protect their children. There are around 100 white supremacist groups who also oppose Muslims and immigrants in general who reside in Canada (Siddiqui, 2017).

Media portrayals of Muslims tend to only exacerbate negative viewpoints that conflate being Muslim with extremism, terrorism and intolerance. Ignoring how the media covers Muslims in other Western nations such as the US, the UK and Australia, countries in which

Poynting and Perry (2007) note that the media tends to have a very heavy "anti-Muslim bias",

she notes that Canadian media tends to heavily disparage those who follow Islam (p. 158).

Ismael and Measor note that "media consumers in Canada [were provided] with a clear path to

the conclusion that Islam was a faith in which acts of unspeakable violence were acceptable and

that terrorism was endemic to Muslim and Arab culture," instead of the reality of what is an

intensely diverse group of human beings and limiting reporting of Muslims endorsing peace

(Poynting and Perry, 2007, p. 158). As of 2015, the global population of Muslims was 1.8

billion, living predominantly in the Asia-Pacific and the Middle East-North Africa regions,

though a significant number have emigrated from these countries to North America and Europe

(Lipka, 2017). Believing in one God (referred to as Allah, the Arabic[2] term for God) and the

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him)[3], those who follow Islam represent an exceptionally

diverse group of individuals, with different sects, schools of thoughts, cultures, languages and

ideologies (Lipka, 2017). Peucker (2017) argues that the misconceptions about Islam being a

"cultural threat" have had the consequences of fuelling widespread hostility towards Muslims in

the Western public sphere, consequences which manifest themselves in conflicts on the

community level, such as the numerous drawn-out and heated debates regarding establishments

of new mosques, with surveys in the US, Australia and West Germany finding significant

resistance to potential mosque construction projects (p. 36).

Anti-Muslim Hate Groups

The dialogue being generated in the public sphere can lead one to the conclusion that

Muslims are a menace and even existential threat to society. Anti-Muslim hate groups are

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[2] The Arabian peninsula is where the religion of Islam originated, and Arabic is considered the primary language of the religion; the Qur'an, its holy text, is written in the language
[3] It should be noted that Muslims also believe in previous Prophets such as Jesus, Moses and Abraham, though Muhammad (peace be upon him) is considered the final one.

relatively recent, coming into prominence after the September 11th, 2001 attacks. The Southern Poverty Law Center (2016) states that among other things, these hate groups "portray those who worship Islam as fundamentally alien and attribute its followers an inherent set of negative traits," including being "irrational, intolerant and violent, and their faith is frequently depicted as sanctioning pedophilia, coupled with intolerance for homosexuals and women" ("Anti-Muslim).These groups maintain beliefs that the Muslim community are a "fifth column," who through "civilization jihad"[4] intend on replacing American democracy with an oppressive Islamic state, which is described more in terms of a violent political ideology rather than a religion (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016).

In her book, "Because They Hate," Brigette Gabriel (2006) strongly states that Islam, in its basic tenets, preaches hatred and "intolerance to anything non-Muslim", "Muslims are taught to fight the infidels, to consider them the enemies of Allah" and that "the Arab Muslim world, because of its religion and culture, is a natural threat to civilized people of the world, particularly Western civilization" (p. 109). Gabriel (2006) states that all attempts by Muslims and their "apologists and propagandists" to demonstrate that their religion is one of peace is instead a strategy of mass lying through a religiously ordained process known as taqiyyah, or "deception" (p. 149). Throughout her book, Gabriel (2006) uses her considerable standing as a well-known journalist to propagate hatred against Muslim communities, making it clear throughout her text that those who devoutly follow Islam are intent on subjugating those who would not convert and

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[4] Despite the connotation of the waging of a religious holy war against unbelievers that has been the mainstay of terror groups like ISIS and Al Qaeda, "Jihad" literally means "exerted effort," and usually refers to an inner struggle for the betterment of the soul: this is the meaning that is typically espoused by mainstream Islamic academia. Jihad as understood by mainstream Islam "is consistent with modern international forms of non-violence", and allows "Muslims to defend themselves from aggression, while also limiting warfare to the purpose of preserving security, freedom and human rights" (Parrot, 2016).

are conspiring to destroy Western civilization, while simultaneously denying any counterargument as misinformed or as part of a massive campaign of deception.

Gabriel founded the American Congress for Truth (ACT) in 2007 after the publication of her aforementioned book, created as an anti-Muslim grassroots activist collective, boasting 280,000 members in over 1,000 chapters in the United States (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017). Through a highly impassioned campaign of legislating, lobbying and targeting certain groups, ACT has established itself as the largest hate group against Muslims in North America (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017). Its actions include the Thin Blue Line Project, an initiative in collaboration with former FBI agent John Guandolo to provide Law-Enforcement personnel with "training videos, tips on catching terrorists, a live stream of news, a message board, and, most importantly, a national map that geo-locates Muslim targets," such as Muslim student associations and mosques, seen as potential jihadi havens (Pishko, 2017). 2016 saw 101 active anti-Muslim groups in the United States, which include organizations such as ACT, the Center for Security Policy, III% Security Force, the American Freedom Law Center, Bureau on American Islamic Relations, the David Horowitz Freedom Center, Jihad Watch, and the Soldiers of Odin, organizations which can have multiple chapters across the United States (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017, "Anti-Muslim").

In Europe, publications like Bloomberg, the Intercept and Snopes (2016) have published at length on the vast amount of anti-Muslim sensationalism spreading throughout Europe, writing about organizations that claim that "entire neighborhoods of Paris, London, and other European cities have become Muslim-run "no-go zones," off-limits to law enforcement and governed by Islamic sharia law," or that "the European Union had ordered the media not to report when terrorism suspects were Muslim" (Matlack, 2015; Snopes, 2016; Fang, 2017) The

Gatestone Institute, headed by philanthropist Nina Rosenwald, publishes content for the far-right Alternative for Germany party, which creates and circulates anti-Muslim propaganda in order to support its anti-immigrant rhetoric (Fang, 2017).

Certain former Muslims such as Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Chadort Djavann have strongly advocated against Islam, engaging with these anti-Muslim networks to further ingrain the idea that Islam is effectively an oppressive patriarchy, oppressing women and forcing them to use veils and using these as justifications to support banning immigration of Muslims (Vintges, 2016, p. 154). Vintges (2016) compares women who have risen to prominence mostly on media attention and "hype," such as Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Chadort Djavann, to Muslim women who have made scholarly contributions such as Talpade Mohanty, Fatema Mernissi, Leila Ahmed, Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas. Each has made significant contributions regarding Islamic feminism, perspectives which are not only academic and researched, but also far more positive on women's role in Islam and the resulting "gender justice" (Vintges, 2016, p. 157).

In regards to the role of women in the context of Muslim people in the West, the topic is both complex and out of the scope of this paper, yet it will be briefly touched upon in order to illustrate critical factors in the Muslim community that need to be addressed in any attempt to critically analyze any issue of safety in the Muslim community. Muslim women face unique threats that men do not, brought about not just by gender differences, but also due to specific misperceptions. The multiple factors of religion, race, gender and class can make both the professional and social lives of Muslim women difficult, as they face intersectional threats and stigmatisms which can have severe negative repercussions. One key difference that Muslim women possess that Muslim men do not is the prevalence of outwardly visible religious symbols,

such as the hijab[5] or niqab[6]. Far from being the stereotypical instruments of female subjugation,

these veils, an adopted choice by many who follow Islam, are meant to be worn when in the

presence of non-familial males and represents the expression of modesty, promoting the de-

emphasizing of a woman's physical beauty as central to their identity (Rizvi, 1997, p. 10-11), a

multifaceted decision whose complexities dwarf the scope of this study. The topic of women in

Islam, specifically those wearing the hijab/niqab or veil, (in some cases, the full facial covering

of the niqab) in the Western world is a turbulent one, and as the recent passing of Bill 62 in

Quebec shows, this issue is only set to become more salient, as an Ipsos Public Affairs poll

shows that an average of 68% of Canadians support it (Abedi, 2017). Bill 62 is a piece of

legislation designed to promote "religious neutrality" by banning those with face coverings from

accessing numerous public services, and has been criticized as taking aim at the small minority

of Quebec Muslims who wear niqab (Wells, 2017). The veiled woman, in the Western context, is

perceived as "the bearer of a difference that is too far, and an irreducible difference in total

opposition to the values of the host society... a symbol of submission and inferiority," thus

Muslim women are not only robbed of their individuality by being pre-categorized into a

homogenous group, but are also subject to pre-existing assumptions which negatively affect

social and professional relationships, which leads to tremendous personal pressure as Muslim

women struggle to define themselves in spite of their ethnicization, as opposed to the majority

group, who are differentiated based on their values and not their race or religion (Bendriss, 2016,

p. 192-3). Muslim women are cast as victims who must be saved from the last vestiges of an

archaic patriarchy, "a strategy in the imperialist rhetoric, which aims to give to projects of

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[5] Refers to the Islamic practice of females covering all parts of their body in public with the exception of their hands and face.
[6] Refers to the Islamic practice of females covering all parts of their body in public, similar to the hijab, but with an additional face covering.

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invasion and occupation of Arab and Muslim territories a moral justification" (Bendriss, 2016, p. 191). Muslim women remain among the most vulnerable sub-sects of Canadian Muslims, for the reasons that they feel stigmatized and disenfranchised.

Time-Tested Strategies of Hate

Through these examples, it can be demonstrated that large, well-funded and networked groups of interested individuals are executing a campaign of paranoia and anxiety to target the Muslim population and "otherize" them into a potentially hostile threat. The European examples can be seen to galvanize the same attitudes in the United States and Canada. Categorizing certain identifiable groups as possible existential threats to the nation is a very common tactic, having been used on groups like Japanese immigrants and Jews in decades past. Events such as Japanese internment and the Holocaust, both of which occurred in the Second World War, are stark reminders and lessons of the strategies and tactics used by those who vilified certain groups of people, the consequences of which have scarred human memory and continue to have consequences nearly a century after. Poynting and Perry (2007), applying Gramsci's theory of hegemony utilizing "prevailing sentiments," note that both Canada and Australia have a history that normalizes the supremacy of white males and promotes the mistreatment of all "of those who do not appropriately conform to the preconceived hierarchies" (p. 162). Insights can be gained from Louis Althusser's work on ideology, in which the machinery of the numerous aspects of society continue to reinforce preset beliefs that may or may not be true, but instead status quos in a way that is difficult, if not impossible to overcome (Sharma and Gupta, 2006, p. 99). The events of the 21st century, from the 9/11 attacks to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, have lead to conditions that have deeply ingrained specific thoughts into the public consciousness, namely those implying inherent relationships between Islam and terrorism,

oppression and violence. With every additional event involving Muslims, this idea becomes continually reseeded and the apparatuses for ideology enforcement, coined by Althusser as "Ideological State Apparatuses," are empowered in a perpetual cycle. This phenomenon has had an untold number of cascading effects, from the US Executive Order 13769, also known as the "Muslim Ban," at the global level to the increasing hate crime against Muslims at the local level. On its third attempt, despite the widespread legal opposition across the U.S., this travel ban was finally successful, and had the effect of banning travel from Chad, Iran, Somalia, Libya, Syria and Yemen, all Muslim-majority nations (BBC News, 2017).Hannah Arendt, discussing totalitarianism, says that "many people in the modern world want to relieve themselves of the burden of independent judgment and action, and are all too willing to blindly follow their leaders" (Vintges, 2016, p. 155). Research and advocacy coordinator Zainab Arain, working for the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) states that 2017 is "gearing to the worst year on record for incidents of anti-Muslim bias" with 195 hate crimes in America, coupled with "a disturbing trend of perpetrators invoking (U.S. President Donald J.) Trump to express racial and religious animosity" (Buncombe, 2017). CAIR's founder, Ibrahim Hooper, states that several episodes of anti-Muslim violence have made international headlines in 2017, such as "an incident in May, when two men were killed and a third badly injured, after they tried to intervene on a train in Portland, Oregon, when a man started screaming anti-Muslim insults at two women" (Buncombe, 2017). It becomes more apparent that the issue of safety in Islamic communities is one that is deep rooted in a highly complicated sociopolitical history.

A Gallup (2011) poll from 2010 reports that 48% of Muslim Americans are likely to have experienced racial or religious discrimination at some point in the past year, similar to Hispanic Americans at 48% and African Americans at 45%. A 2011 Gallup poll shows that between 16 to

21% of people in France, Germany and the U.K. did not want Muslims as neighbours. Also of interest from these polls was the substantial percentage of the population who felt that Islam was not tolerant of other religions, and that individuals living in mixed communities seemed to be the most open and tolerant of Muslims (Gallup, 2011). The 2008 poll shows a 27% reduction in dislike of Muslims from 31%, when comparing isolated (typically keep to their own groups, do not respect other groups) to more integrated communities (actively seek to learn more about other religions) (Gallup, 2011). Suspicion against Muslims remains high: 58% of Americans also favored stricter screening for Arabs (Arabs are predominantly Muslim) in airports, and 49% were in favor of Arabs carrying a special form of identification with them (Disha et al, 2011). Media-based contact with Muslims tends to increase negative attitudes towards them, while direct contact reinforces positive attitudes towards Muslims (Saleem et al, p. 620).

The idea that even the majority of the Muslims in the Western world are secretly all engaging in a campaign of mass deception is far-fetched, to say the least. Regular Friday sermons, or khutbas, establish the basic moral code of the religion, which fundamentally forbids any of the behavior Muslims are being accused of above, such as deception, unjust warfare, the killing of innocents. In larger mosques, these sermons are often made publicly available. Aside from these public lectures, there exist vast amounts of religious information dissemination, like the myriad of podcasts, educational materials, videos, speeches, lectures and books being created each year, many of which are regularly listened to by practicing Muslims. Popular preachers such as Omar Suleiman, Hamza Yusuf, Dalia Mogahed, Yasmin Mogahed and Mufti Menk are highly publicized and represent sources of moral guidance for most Muslims. Any mass conspiracy to dominate the Western world involving a significant amount of the Muslim population would have to be hidden behind all of these teachings, teachings which in turn negate

the very things that anti-Islamic advocates accuse them of being. Peucker (2017) concludes that in opposition to the stereotype that Muslim communities are exclusionary islands, mosques become the social hubs for these communities, where positive opportunities for civic engagement and social cohesion with the outside community occurs in ways which do not engender isolation, but rather is built on the encouragement of "mutual recognition, respect and the ability to negotiate differences" (Peucker, 2017, p. 53).

The Muslim community in Canada faces many challenges and struggles that are unique to Muslims, with a rapidly growing immigrant population that is being forced to acclimatize during a turbulent period for Muslims. Being the second-largest religion in the world, they possess both a wide diversity of cultures, lifestyles, moral codes and opinions that are often not congruent with each other. This diversity is completely contradictory to the predominant conception of a monolithic society that has been disseminated and portrayed regarding Muslims in the Western context and more specifically, Canada. Hailing from 85 different countries and being the largest growing ethnic religious group in Canada despite their relatively recent expansion, Muslims are highly heterogeneous, all bringing unique cultures, languages and social etiquettes from countries with vastly different conditions (Moghissi, 2016, p. 91). With Moghissi's analysis, it is evident that even the term Muslim "community" may not do this group justice, as the inherent difference present, which range across gender, class and culture, make it difficult to pinpoint commonalities between Muslims.

The above issues are all exponentially complicated by the difficult sociopolitical situation that Muslims find themselves in. Economically things are not well, Moghissi (2016) writes in early 2016, as "Canadian Muslims, with a postsecondary education level twice that of the Canadian average, and an unemployment rate twice the Canadian average, and median income

37 percent lower than the Canadian median, are in a disadvantageous position (p. 96). Given these conditions, Muslim Canadians are more likely to be in more economically precarious situations than other demographics, which undoubtedly heightens tensions and anxiety within the personal lives of Muslims, not only having rippling community effects, but also depriving them of social mobility and the resources with which to strengthen their communities. Geopolitical events can often have very defined social effects, which force Muslims Canadians to confront their identities in ways which are uncomfortable and can cause psychological insecurity, as wars in Libya, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and "the post-9/11 policy security measures" which have "sowed the seeds of further discontent and anger" (Moghissi, 2016, p. 97). Moghissi (2016) contends that as Muslim youth are unable to receive much needed "support and connection, freedom from judgment, and disrespect [sic]," they are attracted to religious and/or ethnic groups which not only reinforce "gender and age hierarchies, inflexibility and intolerance," but "function in virtual isolation from the larger society and make the goal of integrative multiculturalism more unachievable," and reducing citizenship to legal documentation, something which the post-9/11 securitization of citizenship has not made attractive (p. 98). With the 2013 revelation by Edward Snowden that the NSA was engaging in mass surveillance in the United States, this attitude towards citizenship is unlikely to have improved.

Factors to Consider for the Provision of Mosque Security

Given the above issues, it would seem that the problems facing the Muslim community are vast and at times irresolvable. There is also the creeping sense of anxiety that an increased escalation of hate-incidents are bound to occur, which could range from social exclusion of Muslims to hate crime perpetrations such as the 2017 Quebec City Mosque attack. How then, do Muslim organizations protect their communities from the approaching specter of hatred? How do

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communities begin to deal with a world and society that has become fearful of them, where the name of their religion is mostly famous for its associations with fanatical terror organizations and the stereotypical, oppressive culture those organizations have adopted? These are questions bereft of easy answers. In fact, while many effective strategic recommendations can be made, the tactical methods are dependent on the specific context they are placed in. As mentioned earlier, the Canadian Muslim conglomerate is a group so vast and diverse that it transcends categorization as a homogenous group. Differing languages, socioeconomic status' and cultural practices all collide to create a group of people that can appear more different than similar. The answers lie within each individual community, to understand themselves. With that being said, the underlying principles of such an analysis need to be developed, to view this issue from the grassroots community level. This paper will next aim to analyze these situations from the emergency management context, using principles of resilience and security literature to affect positive changes in the community with the purpose of improving the safety of mosques.

The goal of building security for mosques may seem impenetrable, difficult. These organizations are typically charity based, running on donations and utilizing mostly volunteer staff to run operations, which can complicate matters: volunteers within these organizations may have other more pressing responsibilities than community safety which may take precedence. However, being that mosques are charitable organizations, it is unlikely that these organizations have significant funds to employ workers beyond the imam and perhaps some selected staff. Asal et al. (2009) point out that terrorists often look to maximize the value of an attack by taking the most efficient path towards achieving the goal of eliciting panic, and do this by attacking the least well defended of targets, those who are not usual suspects (p. 261). The lack of resources drastically limits the abilities of mosques to invest in significant physical security measures,

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making them prime targets for terrorist actions. The degree to which mosques can be physically secured is, in part, dependent on the level at which the community is able to gather resources. But viewing this issue as one that is based on funding has its limits, as even "with unlimited resources, it is highly unlikely that a community can prevent or protect itself from all the possible dangers it may face" (Longstaff et al, 2010, p. 1). Instead, Longstaff et al. (2010) argue, there needs to be a focus not just on resisting the threat, but also on resilience, or the ability of the community to recover, as the conditions which create disaster are often unpredictable and can be beyond the capacity of the community to absorb, which allows a much more flexible planning approach that allows an adaptive capacity to different incidences (p. 2).

Resilience

It is important, then, to clearly define what resilience means, and Longstaff et al. (2010) define this as the "capacity of a system to absorb disturbance, undergo change, and retain the same essential functions, structure, identity and feedbacks," (p. 3) a definition which applies to a range of entities and events from natural disasters in a country to individuals suffering Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and allows for a more holistic approach to disaster and emergency management. The United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction definition of resilience states that it "means the ability to 'resile from' or 'spring back from' a shock. The resilience of a community in respect to potential hazard events is determined by the degree to which the community has the necessary resources and is capable of organizing itself both prior to and during times of need" (Etkin, 2016, p. 123). Resiliency is understood by Tierney (2014) as having four separate dimensions:

(1) robustness, or the ability to withstand stresses and demands without loss of function;

(2) redundancy, or the degree to which other units of analysis or elements can be

substituted for those that are lost or disrupted when disaster strikes, while still

maintaining functionality; (3) resourcefulness, or the ability to identify problems and

subsequently to mobilize material, informational, monetary, and other resources to

address those problems; and (4) rapidity, or the time it takes to restore the units of

analysis to the level of functionality they exhibited before they experienced disruption (p.

168).

Mosques, being donation-funded organizations that do not have the financial strength of a

corporation's revenue or a government body's taxes, are less likely to be guaranteed to be able to

resist a calamity or have the resources to immediately replace lost assets. Instead, mosques

should focus on their ability to mobilize the resources they do have in order to provide

"creativity" in their post-disaster solutions in order to recover (Tierney, 2014, p. 170). Groups

must be able to adapt and adjust themselves to their own conditions and make use of finite

resources (Etkin, 2016, p. 124). The element of rapidity, or rebuilding the community as quickly

as possible, should not unnecessarily undermine the endeavour to build both a better community

and one that is better prepared for disasters (Tierney, 2014, p. 171).

Within the context of the mosque, resilience can be seen as the ability of the community

to band together during a disaster and provide inter-communal support to resolve the issue and

assist in recovery. Resilience is also conceptualized as the communities' ability to apply lessons

learned and recover to the best of their ability. Establishing any sort of generalized framework is

difficult, as the diversity of the Muslim community and the varying differences in resources and

networks add innumerable factors. There can be no "cookie cutter" solutions: each community

requires its own resiliency strategy that is tuned towards the community it is deemed to support.

These strategies must feature extensive contributions from the community, as local authority has

the greatest ability to execute recovery operations due to their extensive local knowledge, years of relationships and ability to control their own recovery (British Columbia Provincial Emergency Management Program, 2006, p. 1.6). Thus, the best hands to handle resiliency is the community's own.

Two elements of the community are prevalent here: the adaptive capacity, defined as the institutional memory and innovative learning culture, and the "resource robustness," which involves the combination of performance and diversity/redundancy of the valued resources, which can refer to objects, wealth or human capital (Longstaff et al., 2010, p. 6, 9). An alternative method of viewing factors behind resiliency could be viewing resources and the management effectiveness of the institutions as primary drivers of resiliency. Also crucial, and relevant to the particular issue of mosque communities are physical infrastructure and civil society organizations (Longstaff et al., 2010, p.12). In the context of mosques, physical infrastructure refers to the physical and digital machinery that are important parts of the mosque community, from doors, alarms and driveways to on-site computers. Civil society organizations refer to "formal and informal modes of social organization and collective action outside of governmental authority... [which] contribute to community values, provide forums for civic action and dialogue, and enhance quality of life and social welfare", and will often be key players in disaster recovery, though their volunteer nature means that these resources cannot always be considered reliable (Longstaff et al.,2010, p. 13). Longstaff et al.(2010) conclude with the affirmation that the communities, given their familiarity with themselves, are the best equipped to make "value judgements" and discover what works best for them (p. 17).

If Longstaff's et al. (2010) assertion is to be believed, then it is clear that there is a need for communities to develop grassroots, inwardly-sourced methods of augmenting security and

resiliency. For this to take place, it is necessary for communities to possess the understanding of how best to utilize their local expertise. This can be achieved through proper security and emergency training so that the community can stand to protect themselves. In order to improve the level of safety at mosques, the training of personnel for emergency purposes is paramount in further developing security measures. Even training that is low cost and requires a minimal investment of time can have highly positive effects, as a study in 2008 found that even one hour of violence risk assessment training had a major impact in improving risk assessment skills among mental health professionals when compared to untrained professionals, a conclusion that was supported by similar results when training criminal justice professionals (Storey et al., 2011, p. 555, 561). Carolan (2007) notes the importance of expertise when conducting risk assessments, stating that local knowledge is combined with more formal theoretical approaches, and is done so in a manner that does not allow either entity to "talk past each other" (p. 12).

Vulnerabilities and Soft Target Hardening

Places of worship feature unique vulnerabilities due to the specific factors involved in their operations. Comparisons can be made between churches and mosques, as both are institutions which not only act as religious centers, but are both unique in the sense that they are invitational and open to all members of society for all sorts of services and activities, and are classified as symbolic targets whose exposures are difficult to mitigate (Hesterman, 2015, p. 122). Religious sites can become prime targets for religious extremist groups, such as Christian extremists killing other Christians, the Italian Mafia bombing two of the most venerable churches in Rome, and ISIS bombing numerous mosques, some of which are historic religious sites (Hesterman, 2015, p. 124). On November 5th, 2017, Devin Patrick Kelley would enter The First Baptist Church in Sutherland Springs, Texas, firing upon parishioners during their Sunday

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morning service, killing 26 (Montgomery et al, 2017). He began first firing from the outside of the building, moving to the right of it before moving inside, later fleeing as an armed neighbour exchanged fire with him, leading to a car chase in which Kelley crashed and died (Montgomery et al, 2017). With attacks such as these in mind, the physical aspect of security must be examined in order to understand best practices to prevent such a future occurrence. The following sections on physical security will draw heavily upon Dr. Jennifer Hesterman's landmark work on the subject of soft target hardening.

According to Hesterman (2015), terrorists are not confined to any specific socioeconomic group, and seek to advance an agenda of some sort, which can range from a political goal to a religious one (p. 10). Terrorists, being often constrained by budgets, are out to create the illusion that their capabilities are more potent than reality, and it is entirely possible that terrorist organizations conduct operations in such a way as to make target organizations spend "obscene" amounts of money on expensive security measures, as Al Qaeda proved when a failed cargo bomb operation costing a few thousand dollars US galvanized the US to spend billions in security measures (Hastings and Chan, 2013, p. 778). Terrorists are interested in attacking symbolic threats for the psychological value (Hastings and Chan, 2013, p. 785), which, in the case of those targeting Muslims, would mean spaces designated as centers for the Muslim community, namely mosques. The most likely categories of locations for a terrorist attack remain public venues, specifically due to their ease of access and lack of target hardening security measures, a list which includes social hubs and public events (Santifort et al., 2014, p. 89). It is through this that terrorists seek to turn democracies strengths of open discourse and freedom of movement into weaknesses. Terrorists aim to psychologically instil fear into their targets' hearts, and affect behavioural change, and they are aided by the lack of preparedness of organizations

who sincerely believe that such events would never take place at their premises (Hesterman, 2015, p. 15, 193). In the context of protecting Muslim communities, individuals such as the Quebec City shooter have the effect of placing the community in an uncomfortable position. Attendees of the mosque now have to make a decision whether the numerous activities they engage in at the mosque are worth the risk of being present for another attack. A valid argument would be to not attend the mosque at all, thus safeguarding oneself and one's family. But this has the effect of severely hampering community life for those who heavily utilize the mosque and are well connected to it. Thus, the terrorist has achieved the goal of suppressing the Muslim communities' activities and keeping Muslim families in constant fear. Hesterman (2015) states that to "become heavy handed in the face of a terrorist threat and overreact, stripping away elements of the very democracy our enemies seek to destroy, we have played into their hands" (p.175).

Hastings and Chan, (2013) concluding that the benefits of target hardening become more and more marginal as the spending increases, recommend instead to choose "low hanging fruit" (i.e. metal detectors in airports) and devote more resources to intelligence and the disruption of terror entities (p. 794). In order to secure the facility being targeted, Hesterman (2015) recommends effective emergency planning/training and physical modification during times of "steady-state leadership," with adequate "crisis leadership" being a function of effective training and familiarity, noting that the minor inconveniences of maintaining proper security will pay off big dividends during the time of an actual emergency, also mentioning that the sense of intuition is a critical part of both mitigation and response, especially when confronted with a possible suspect (p. 179). Going through the process of emergency exercises is critical to success during a crisis incident, as the insights on deficiencies gained through these activities allows a better

understanding of best practices and highest priority investments (Hesterman, 2015, p. 188). The comments here by Hesterman (2015) make it clear that mosques need to invest even a miniscule amount of time in emergency preparation in order for effectiveness during an emergency, and that threats can often be deterred through listening to one's intuition and approaching a suspicious person, enquiring if said person requires help while taking precautions such as detailed descriptions of identifying information (p. 181). Gasaway (2013) states that during a dynamically changing environment such as a crisis incident, commanders cannot take longer than 5-15 seconds to gather information and make an informed decision or incident action plan, which must lead to an improvement in the situation (p. 28).

Hesterman (2015) also notes the importance of effective hiring practices to screen out "insider threats," or possible attacks carried out by those with intimate knowledge of the organization, recommending effective screening processes for hiring, especially for volunteers, as potential terrorists can exploit the informal nature of accepting volunteers as a means to gain unprecedented access to the facility (183, 186). The "no dark corners" approach is a useful method, relying on surveillance and panoptic measures. It relies on using all employees as security assets, creating a culture of safety by ensuring they are all jointly responsible for safety measures, having regular audits of the grounds and facility, including the borders, storage areas and access points, as several notable terror attacks have had multiple months in which explosives and/or weapons were pre-positioned (Hesterman, 2015, p. 184). If this methodology is to be utilized, then the employees, volunteers and community members become an extension of the mosque's security program.

During the response phase of an attack, situations can become even more complex, as terrorists can take hostages as human shields, to prevent first responders from neutralizing them,

a feature that is unfortunately too common in many terror incidents (Hesterman, 2015, p. 188).

Another concern is secondary attacks, or attacks meant specifically to target the first responders, such as a secondary or even tertiary bomb that can also be deployed to target fleeing civilians. The "double-bombing" tactic is highly popular among terror groups and has, according to former US intelligence agent Louis R. Mizell, been utilized over 300 times from 2005-2015, thus, first responder groups must not only focus attention on saving the wounded and dispersing crowds, but also hunting down and neutralizing a potential second bomb (Hesterman, 2015, p. 190). Biological and chemical weapons are another concern, as certain compounds such as chlorine are easily accessible and can be used to great effect to both kill or severely weaken targets, which is entirely possible within a smaller physical premises such as a mosque, where food contamination or attacking through the ventilation systems or enclosed spaces could prove catastrophic (Hesterman, 2015, p. 192).

Several actions are typically taken by potential hostiles prior to committing an attack, and knowledge of these methods may spell the difference that safeguards the would-be victims. The "actor" may survey the area to determine strengths or weaknesses, taking pictures, making notes or drawing maps, scanning entrances and exits, gaining information by asking facility personnel about certain operational details like prayer times, making specific adjustments to onsite equipment and/or placing certain supplies in particular areas, and doing practice "dry runs" one or more times before the operation, usually following the exact same path as the planned assault (Hesterman, 2015, p. 195). Should the attacker be interrupted during the operation and engaged, he/she may instead begin trying to do as much damage as possible, which has been the case with several suicide bombings, which leads Hesterman (2015) to conclude that if clearly evident signs

are seen of such an activity, the attacker should generally not be engaged; instead, contact law

enforcement (p. 196).

The U.S. Transportation Research Board notes in a Special Report written in 2002 that

even suicidal terrorists will be deterred if it can be demonstrated that their attack can be

effectively deterred, a phenomenon that is especially likely should an institutions' innovative use

of privacy and security creates a "curtain of mystery" which produces significant uncertainty in a

terrorist's plans by lowering the amount of information he/she has about a target, which may

factor into reducing the likelihood of an attack(p. 34). Effective monitoring of potential

explosives or other methods of attack are crucial, along with establishing "communication paths,

equipment, and protocols" in advance in conjunction with emergency response protocols, along

with sizable capacity of resources to respond (Transportation Research Board, 2002, p. 36, 38).

Blueprints and floor plans of facility should be available to administrative staff, along with plans

for scenarios ranging from best to worst case scenarios, and how to create an emergency

operations/command center to utilize during an incident (Hesterman, 2015, p. 219). The

administration should also be keenly aware of community assets, for example the different

professions and resources of the community (Hesterman, 2015, p. 219), such as an plumber who

can provide his expertise to the water systems or a paramedic who can help with the

implementation of first aid kits and training. The administrators must have a keen understanding

of how resources, staff and communication will be used during an emergency, and should have a

sufficient number of easily accessible resources that can rapidly be deployed should the need

arrive. In the active shooter's case, this would be seen as first aid kits and hotlines to the local

police. Staff should have appropriate training on how to deal with threat calls, staying calm and

trying to gather as much information as possible (Hesterman, 2015, p. 221). Also critical are the

dialogue and relationships built with law enforcement to promote community safety and protection (Hesterman, 2015, p. 226).

Operational Measures

Effective behavioral profiling can also make a huge difference in deterring an attack. Hesterman (2015) extrapolates on the Suspicion Indicators Recognition and Assessment method in order to conduct behavioral profiling, as it "is a powerful tool as humans are unable to suppress certain physical changes that occur due to stress and adrenaline surges," such as the "face of rage" which indicates such a hormonal change (p. 193, 196). Along with this, personnel should be wary of any sorts of "threatening mannerisms", "unusual nervousness" or "body language that could indicate having a concealed weapon", all signs of the "face of rage" which will contribute to the person having tunnel vision, increased tolerance to physical pain, a diminished sense of hearing and increased strength and endurance (Hesterman, 2015, p. 196). However, some terrorists may be more methodical and calmer, often due to higher experience and better planning and not exhibit these characteristics (Hesterman, 2015, p. 196).

Hesterman (2015) states that "effects-based hardening" as a theoretical methodology understands that plans must be fluid to adapt to constantly changing situations, the "fog of war" meaning that nobody will know everything about evolving situations ("inescapable unknowables"), and possibly no experience for the situation (p. 203). Stress and time constraints have dramatic effects upon individuals: while standard human conditioning is set to relatively low stress environments where information is easily accessible, during a chaotic incident it becomes increasingly difficult to make good decisions (Gasaway, 2013, p. 38), meaning that mosque administrators must make it a priority to conduct exercises in such environments that require excellent decision making under time constraints and high stress. There is positive news,

as the fact that the administration of the facility know the territory the best and they are in a favorable position to shore up vulnerabilities, regardless of the surveillance and preparation the attacker(s) have gone through, and this is magnified by "baking" security into your everyday operations, utilizing the full spectrum of organizational assets and not just a security personnel (Hesterman, 2015, p. 203). Each person should have different possibilities during an emergency, and Hesterman (2015) uses the example of an active shooter incident: "one predesignated person calls 9/11, one makes an announcement on the loudspeaker, and one locks and barricades the door", actions that take training and practice, preferably simulating worst case scenarios (p. 204). It is important to touch upon communications within this context, as effective communications may spell the difference between life and death. The multitude of communication errors possible further complicates the matter, and Gasaway (2013) notes that responders and commanders must be able to communicate effectively, using repetition of orders and previously-agreed-upon phrases to signal desired objectives (p. 111-115).

Hesterman (2015) goes over a smorgasbord of physical security measures that, taken together, will make large improvements in deterring and responding to an attack. During emergencies, often minute details can end up causing major problems, such as a particular phone system having to dial a specific number before dialing 9/11 (Hesterman, 2015, p. 222), which means that the susceptibility of any system to fail is extraordinarily high. Hesterman (2015) goes over many measures such as traffic control (especially choke points, which can block evacuees), intensive parking lot monitoring, doors which are located far away from windows and are secured with more sophisticated, electronically accessed locks instead of easy-to-defeat home locks, alarm systems which, according to one study, could deter burglars at a rate of 73%, duress buttons, CCTV systems which compress an attackers timeline, a public announcement system to

communicate with attendees, use of telephone landlines and a panic/hold room with supplies for extended emergencies (p. 209-218).

The practice of "red teaming," or playing the role of an aggressor attempting to assault the facility, is one that will pay dividends in emergency preparation at the mosque, as it provides a forum for questioning policies and strategies by the organization, questions assumptions, breaks rules, acts as the "devil's advocate," exposes vulnerabilities that would not otherwise be conceived and looks to deconstruct the security infrastructure present (Hesterman, 2015, p. 234).

In closing, it is useful to look at a recent United States example of a hate crime against the Muslim community and the resulting response by the community. Al Salam mosque in Fort Smith, Arkansas was vandalized in October 2016 by three young men who drew "swastikas, curses and the words "Go home"" on the windows and doors of the mosque, resulting in fines and community service (Pavia, 2018). One of the vandals, a man named Abraham Davis who was unable to pay off his fine, sent a letter of apology from jail to the mosque expressing his regret, leading the mosque administration to pay his fine and attempt to lessen the legal penalties (Tavernise, 2017). These actions drew national media attention and an outpouring of support, with both Hisham Yasin, and Dr. Louay Nassri, the social director and the president of the mosque respectively, mentioning calls of well-wishers from Atlanta, Cincinnati, London and Switzerland and a "generous donation" from the Jay Pritzker Foundation (Tavernise, 2017). The incident and resulting New York Times article "put Fort Smith on the map," and drew significant public support praising the positivity and forgiveness of the administration (Tavernise, 2017). This incident is a very clear example of the effectiveness of a good response to a hate crime incident. It demonstrates that should a hate crime occur against the Muslim community, a response based on empathy and forgiveness will have a very positive effect on the larger

community's perception of that mosque, with a potential effect on general perceptions towards Muslims. In the case of Masjid Al Salam, their response created an enormous positive effect and created significant goodwill that had ripple effects abroad as praise concerning the event circulated, vastly improving the reputation of the Muslim community within Fort Smith.

The situation the Muslim community finds itself in Canada is not ideal. This literature review attempted to view the problem through the lens of sociological factors and the more traditional counter-terrorism literature. The review makes it very clear that greater contextualization is needed in order to understand the needs of the Muslim communities that reside within the GTA. Through this, it is hoped that a basis can be formed for increasing security at mosques and the Muslim community.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Foundations

This research utilized elements of action research combined with grounded theory. Grounded theory was chosen, as it fit the mode of inquiry: the study had originally been conceptualized in the wake of the Quebec City Mosque Attack at the Islamic Cultural Center. With the increasing numbers of Islamophobic incidences occurring, not just in Canada but across the Western world, the likelihood of more attacks against mosques increased. The decision was made to conduct research into this largely unexplored area, hoping to understand how Islamophobic hate crime threatens security and resiliency at mosques and best practices to prevent and recover from such events. For the purposes of this study, certain terms will be used rather frequently and as such must be defined. The terms "mosque" or "masjid" refer to the formal house of worship utilized by Muslims. The "Muslim community" is a term referring to Muslims in general as a segment of society, though the term "Muslim communities" will also be used to refer to the different ethno-cultural groupings within the Muslim community, such as the Pakistani, Guyanese or Arab sectors of the Muslim community. "Muslim organization" refers to any organization which is run by Muslims and with a specific orientation toward Muslims, such as the National Council of Canadian Muslims or the Islamic Council of North America. This term will often be used to refer to the mosques, as they also fit this definition.

The pathway of action research was chosen because of the nature of the project. This project aims primarily at creating social change at the community, grassroots level at mosques and attempts to understand what methods work best. Greenwood and Levin (2000) argue that action research attempts to provide "effective support for the stakeholders' actions, organizations and/or communities in their processes of self-determining social change" (p. 94). It relies on

"cogenerative inquiry", or the process in which the researchers engage with local stakeholders in order to define problems, gather and analyze information about the problem, and create a solution via these analyses, also known as "social change interventions" (Greenwood and Levin, 2000, p. 96). While this project does not conduct the meetings that Greenwood and Levin (2000) have suggested in their work here, it is taking the route of using the key takeaways from each interview that are vital to understanding best practices. Action research takes priority on changing the status quo through documenting a problem and exploring possible solutions (Rubin and Rubin, 2005, p. 8) This study specifically uses certain principles of critical action research, defined by Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) as committing to bringing together broad social science analyses aimed at improving things, through understanding the root causes of injustice and vulnerability (p. 568). Within this light, the research being conducted is most definitely embedded within a desire to create actionable social change through research, contributions from interviewees at the community level, and critical analysis utilizing sociological theory and emergency management literature. The interviews conducted most closely resembled responsive interviewing, which Rubin and Rubin (2005) describe as an understanding that the interviewer and interviewee are not "neutral or automatons" and are instead human beings, pursuing an analysis focused more on depth and flexibility in interviewing (p. 30). Elements of feminist theory were used, in particular the concept of the empowering the silenced interviewee to speak (Rubin and Rubin, 2005, p. 26). It is important to note that within the responsive interviewing paradigm, interviewers must be aware of their own biases and self-reflect upon how that modifies the research (Rubin and Rubin, 2005, p. 32).

With the goal of self-reflection in mind, I had to confront my own biases as a researcher. Being a Muslim male of Pakistani descent, I had to understand the possibility that I may project

my own presumptions upon the interviewees based on what I thought I was correct. Being that my personal existence has been profoundly affected by the consequences of 9/11, through facing racism and presumptuous attitudes from other North Americans, to living in constant anxiety for potential negative effects that such hatred may have upon people I know, I needed to be careful to not infuse the study with an agenda fueled by these emotions. The process of detaching and attempting to objectively understand the phenomena at study required that I keep the primary objective of the study, improving safety at mosques, in mind. I needed to be cognizant in order to not vilify any particular group that I felt was being unjust. Being embedded with the community did have its advantages: as a Muslim I was not considered an "outsider" and therefore was able to explore the issues with an effective amount of depth. I also possessed a level of trust and common understanding with the mosque administrations due to my identity as a Pakistani Muslim, and therefore there was a level of comfort present between the interviewees and myself. This level of comfort allowed them to safely divulge information that contributed towards the study. I approached mosques with complete honesty as to my intentions, which were to improve safety at mosques. I was also aware of socio-cultural norms within mosques, and to this end no major issues were encountered regarding any cultural barriers.

The background literature review sourced information across a broad spectrum of social science and emergency management literature, utilizing the understanding of the sociopolitical context of the Muslim community to better understand its place, but also to better apply the principles of soft target hardening and community resiliency to understand best practices in safety augmentation. Since the research was primarily focused on preventing hate crime against mosques and their communities, the literature review looks at the rise of Islamophobia and hate crime incidences against the Muslim community. It also reviews the Muslim community as a

whole within Canada, attempting to understand the context within which Muslims reside within Canada. Islamophobia is also a major focus, looking at anti-Islamic sentiment raised by political groups and activist organizations within the North American context. The recent upsurge in right wing, white supremacist groups is a still evolving threat, therefore an effort was made to cover it from the perspective of actions and attitudes. The literature review also looks at emergency management literature, to understand the importance of resiliency and security in improving the Muslim communities' safety. Specific physical security and organizational measures are included within the literature review along with community resilience building and anti-terrorism, aiming to understand the plethora of emergency management methodology.

Interviewees

Research was conducted through a series of structured interviews from July to November of 2017. A range of 15 - 25 interviews were planned to be conducted, which resulted in 22 actual interviews. Security professionals were from across Canada. Mosque administrators were interviewed in the Greater Toronto Area. A number of interviews were conducted over phone, although the majority were done in-person. Interview notes were written on paper. Field notes were also taken. I elected not to mechanically record interviews, as I felt that it may intimidate the mosque personnel, to the point of not providing authentic answers. Ancillary to this, the time expenditure of the process of transcribing notes from recordings was extremely laborious and would be a deterrence for acquiring more interviews. The research interview process was kept as transparent as possible, and interviewees curious about the nature of the research were answered to the best possible degree.

The focus of this study was in the Greater Toronto Area. This region was chosen for a number of factors, the first being that the research team inhabited the region, therefore making

transit, networking and general operations much easier. Research could be conducted with relative ease and there was a lot of flexibility allowed for interviewees. Beyond this, the Greater Toronto Area is host to a large Muslim community, the largest in number within Canada. It is also extremely diverse, in culture, race, religion and languages. Such a mosaic of different ways of life creates or derails unique opportunities for community building. It also can have the affect of raising tensions due to the large number of different groups of people residing in the area.

Two interview sets existed: one focused on Mosque administration and attendees and another focused on safety and security authorities. The first category refers to mosque administrative staff such as the Imam or managers, but also refers to involved volunteers within the Muslim community. Individuals from this category were able to provide their perspective on the issue of safety in the Muslim community and what were the most salient items of interest. Certain interviewees brought along their experience with numerous different mosques. The second category regards professionals who were in some way involved with the protection of communities or entities. This category included law enforcement, security consultants, and academic researchers. These individuals utilized their professional expertise to provide important takeaways on improving safety for Muslim communities.

Interviewees were recruited through finding emails, or using personal connections to arrange interviews. The interviews themselves were conducted from July to November of 2017. Contacting mosque administration through official means, defined as contacting through publicly available emails or phoning was frequently difficult and, after approximately 6 months of contacting various mosques throughout the GTA, only one interview was able to be gleaned from this method. This was compounded by the fact that interviewing began during the aftermath of the month of Ramadan and Islamic celebration Eid-ul-Fitr, which was followed within a

couple months by the celebration of Eid-ul-Adha. These three events typically entail a very heightened time of business for Muslim organizations and can be highly stressful for administration. Combined with the fact that summertime is often used as an opportunity to greatly increase community events, certain times of the year, in large part the summer, remained impossible times to conduct any sort of research or even contact members of Muslim organizations. Even when approaching directly or through individuals close to the mosques, extracting interviews was never guaranteed.

The research initially aimed to incorporate the perspectives of the Sunni, Ahmadiyya and Shia communities, as well as any other Islamic sects. This proved impossible: the mosques that were reached remained silent after an initial communication. The only mosques that could be interviewed were Sunni mosques, and most of these interviews had been arranged through connections with the Sunni community. Interviews conducted were extremely pleasant and informative, and at no point was there any sign of disapproval. Individuals seemed happy to provide information and were passionate about the topic. The vast majority of interviewees were male, and only 2 of the mosque personnel interviewed were females. The mosques interviewed were all run by males, and had mostly male administrations. There was also a higher percentage of interviewees of South Asian descent. A relatively smaller amount of Arab and West Indian Muslims were also interviewed. Besides this, certain other demographics were present in smaller numbers, but the predominance of mosque administration seems to be predominantly South Asian, specifically Pakistani. At no point was I asked to terminate an interview, indicating that all questions seemed appropriate and inoffensive. Security professionals were much easier to get in touch with, through utilizing personal networks and email contacts. Security professionals were made up of three groupings: 3 were law enforcement personnel, 1 was a private security

consultant, and 3 more were academic researchers who had knowledge of the issues faced by Muslims. The law enforcement personnel and security consultant were well versed in security measures, and had experience protecting religious sites. Academic researchers had keen insights into sociological factors behind Islamophobia. Security professionals were very happy and seemed open to discuss various issues about mosques.

As this study involved interactions with human subjects for the interviews, the York University Masters in Disaster and Emergency Management Program research ethics review took place for this study. Once research ethics approval was granted, the interviews commenced. Interviewees were informed of the anonymity with which they would be able to talk, and also informed that interviews could not proceed without a signed informed consent form.

The Interview Process

After informed consent was granted, interviewees were then asked questions that looked at key vulnerabilities, characteristics, and best practices regarding mosque security. They were also informed that the focus of the study would be on improving resiliency as opposed to physical security, in order for them to emphasize that aspect of the questioning. Interviews were conducted in such a way that while questions from the pre-existing question sets were asked, often the conversation would go deeper and would result in information gathered that was not otherwise asked about in the question sets. To this end, the interviewees were given free rein to delve into the particular aspects of mosque safety that they felt best qualified to talk about. Many interviews were highly structured and for the most part, involved all the questions prepared. Certain other ones had questions removed due to these questions already having been answered in previous questions. Some quotations were noted down verbatim, and where necessary these quotations were utilized in the study. Certain interviews changed into long-form discussions

whose scope exceeded the questions provided, falling into the category of extended conversations, in which case follow-up questions had to be asked, similar to Rubin and Rubin's (2005) concept of a more informal conversation (p. 12) Interviews ranged in length: while some lasted as short as 20 minutes, the vast majority spanned around 90 minutes, and yet others expanded into 3 hour discussions, in which great depth on different issues was uncovered.

The interviewees provided information that could be considered sensitive. To protect their anonymity, all interviewees are referred to by codenames within the study. These codenames indicate the type of interviewee and a designated number provided. Codename abbreviations will be provided when needed in the Findings and Discussion section. For example, a law enforcement interviewee will be provided the name "Law Enforcement Personnel #30", which will be abbreviated to LEP#3 for the remainder of the paper. "MP#2" is representative of Mosque Personnel #2, and "MP#4" represents Mosque Personnel #4. Community Volunteer #2 is represented by CV#2. "SC#1" is an abbreviation for Security Consultant #1. "R#1" is an abbreviation of Researcher #1.

Capturing the diversity of opinion here was important. Security professionals had varying views and interesting perspectives, a combination of the particular field they were present in and the history they had experienced. Mosque personnel's opinions on safety depended on the sociopolitical context the mosque was situated in, the scope of the mosque (larger, well-funded mosques had different opinions than smaller mosques), the history of the area and the general day-to-day operations of the organization. Bigger, heavily funded and established mosques were typically more outspoken and had a richer history with which to delve into. Each interviewee also focused on different aspects of safety. Some interviews delved heavily into the physical security aspects, others were more informative of the community social structure, and yet others

were more focused on a macro, strategic level view of the Muslim community. Mosques that

were situated further away from major population centers were typically more community

focused and rural, while mosques in city centers, while mosques closer to population centers

were more metropolitan in nature, with more funding and inflow of attendees. No two interviews

were completely redundant, and every single one made a valuable contribution to the research,

through unique insights and approaches. With this in mind, certain interviews were almost

certainly more informative than others, and created new dimensions to be aware of in the

research.

  A diversity of opinion was required of the research, as the conditions of mosques

necessitated different answers and approaches. Through this method of obtaining answers, it was

hoped that commonalities could be found across mosques that could be used to develop a set of

guidelines that would be flexible enough for all communities to use. Focusing solely on one

mosque, such as conducting extensive interviews with the entirety of a single mosque's

command staff and volunteers, while a highly in-depth undertaking, would not have provided an

accurate portrayal of the quandaries facing Muslim organizations.

The data collected was then analyzed, taking themes from each interview and collating

them into a set of general ideas. Each interview was summarized into less than 10 main points.

Within these 10 points, themes were developed that shared commonality with other interviews.

After this, a very short list of summarized themes was created in order to bring focus to the

study. Data analysis took place via a coding process. A coding process is described as examining

the collected data to "make judgements about the meanings of contiguous blocks of text" (Ryan

and Bernard, p. 780). Each interview was summarized into main points. These main points were

formed into common themes. These themes were then expounded upon in the Findings and

Discussions section.

From each of these interviews, discussions were had on the implications of future

research. The majority of mosque authorities expressed interest in being involved with the

research in the future. They were informed of the intent to use this study as a starting point

towards improving security in the Muslim community. The intention of this study was made

immediately clear from the beginning of the interview: to improve safety at mosques via a

collaborative grassroots process. Oftentimes, there was a request by interviewees to get better

details on the interview questions in order to prepare themselves. Emails with general

information about the questions were provided in these cases.

Reflections

The combination of the literature review and the extensive interviews provided me with a

more nuanced portrayal of the issues surrounding the Muslim community, both for the macro

level regarding North America, and the community level for the Greater Toronto Area. It also

clearly defined threats against the Muslim community, and key vulnerabilities that need to be

addressed. The literature review made it clear that there was a significant set of hurdles Muslims

had to overcome in terms of public perception, which had implications for security. Reviewing

emergency management literature made it clear that even well-resourced organizations cannot

harden themselves against all threats, reinforcing this study's focus on resiliency. The interview

process was extremely insightful in understanding the psyche of Muslim communities, and the

approaches already being taken by security professionals, some of which only confirmed items in

the literature review. At every stage, I attempted to actively involve the community with the

research process, emphasizing that their interviews would be making direct contributions to the

community. This had a very positive effect, and many expressed an interest in a continuing

collaboration after the research was completed. The drive of this research is towards grassroots,

community collaboration on issues of safety, and this notion proved universally popular and

received extensive support throughout the interview process.

Chapter 4 - Findings and Discussion

Introduction

As a result of the analysis of the data gathered from the 22 interviews in the Greater Toronto Area, along with the review of relevant literature, I was able to discern a set of key findings which are detailed in this chapter. Prior to getting into the detail of the findings, establishing facts of the mosques themselves are provided as a context in which to place the findings. First and foremost, an understanding of the nature of how one enters the site is then discussed. Mosques have unique challenges related to the frequency of daily use, openness, and the number of persons entering the building on a daily basis. Physical infrastructure and security as then presented as one of the basic foundational elements of mosque security. However, despite the best physical efforts that can be made, I have also found that methods of bolstering security at mosques necessitate other efforts, such as cooperation with law enforcement agencies. The next section of this chapter addressed specific preparedness activities at mosques. While mosques consider the tradeoffs between hiring outsourced security personnel and making use of internal security volunteers, I make the recommendation of the creation of an organization to facilitate the professionalization of a new volunteer security cadre for mosques in Canada. This proposed organization, perhaps called the Canadian Muslim Safety Force, would be replete with standardized equipment, procedures, and designations. Despite the best efforts of mosques towards security and resiliency from threats, problematic public perceptions shaped by media and the challenges of Islamophobia contribute to an environment where security concerns are both necessary and evolving. This discussion then closes with a consideration of governance issues at mosques. A common theme emerged concerning organizational stagnancy or

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complacency that negatively impacted the ability of mosques to remain both resilient and secure during times of enhanced threats.

Establishing facts of the mosques

This study's objective was to augment security and resiliency in mosques in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) through a grassroots community process. The questions asked of interviewees were chosen for this purpose. It attempted to understand how Muslim communities and security personnel thought about community safety. This chapter on findings will report the results of this qualitative inquiry. It will note the important details gleaned from the interviews. It shall also discuss and analyze the data collected.

There are two dimensions of community safety explored within the study: security from crimes (ranging from burglary to active shooter incidences) and resiliency. Interviews discussed the pressing issues and best practices to augment both dimensions. Security looked at physical security measures and operational procedures that these organizations could partake in. Along with threatening security, all of the issues explored, including but not limited to organizational ineffectiveness (including the lack of planning and stagnancy) and the lack of outreach are exceedingly also related to community resiliency, or the adaptive capacity of the community and its ability to bond together during times of crisis (Longstaff et al, 2010). Such issues which plague security will also play a role in improving the ability of the community to recover after a major crisis. An effective organization with good social networks can pull together and reorganize its resources during the management of post-crisis recovery. Community resiliency was considered extremely important across all interviews, and Law Enforcement Personnel #2 (LEP#2) states that "out of 10, it's an 11." Community resiliency was emphasized by the

interviewees as the crucial factor allowing communities to work together in a cohesive manner. There are many issues that apply to both sides of this equation, and often the two are combined.

The mosques (translation in Arabic is masjid, both terms are used interchangeably by Muslims) interviewed were highly diverse, ranging from small, with 100 members showing up for Friday prayers, to large, with as many as 3,000 congregants on Fridays. Fridays constitute the busiest day of the week. The attributes of the congregation varied, with members having professions in medicine, engineering, information technology, taxi driving, plumbing, accountants, business owners, law, dentistry, etc. The ethnicities were similarly varied, including those from South East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean and Europe. They also differed in resources, some being endowed with a great deal of resources and others being underprivileged. All of the mosques had educational and children focused programs, ranging from night and weekend classes to some having fully fledged schools. For adults, these programs included classes in the Qur'an along with separate and combined halaqas (religious lectures) for men and women. For youth, these programs usually involved a weekend and/or evening class replete with Qur'an and religious education. Every mosque also had many social events and programs such as potluck dinners and charity events.

Entering the Site

A powerful problem that distinguishes a mosque from other places of worship is the frequency with which it is used during the day. Muslims offer five daily prayers defined as 1) Fajr (prayed at sunrise); 2) Zhuhr (afternoon); 3) Asr (late afternoon); 4) Maghrib (sunset), and; 5) and Isha(nighttime). While these prayers can be offered wherever is deemed fit, certain areas like washrooms are not permitted for cleanliness reasons. Offering the prayers together and/or at the mosque site is encouraged in the religion. Therefore, most mosques function as a site of

attendance for all these five prayers. These prayers typically can last from 5-10 minutes in length. Daily prayers usually attract a small minority of the mosque's community. Far more large scale is the Friday prayers (known in Arabic as jummah), which take place at the Zhuhr timeslot every Friday of the year. These prayers will usually attract a large proportion of the community, and often includes attendees who work nearby on their break. This prayer is preceded by a half-hour long sermon. Certain highly significant prayers include the two Eid prayers, offered twice a year, including a sermon and a congregational prayer. There are also Taraweeh prayers, long prayers offered in the nights during the month of Ramadan. With this long list of prayers, the mosque needs to be open to the public for frequent, short intervals, which makes it vulnerable to possible soft-target attacks. Many interviewees were adamant about the fact that the openness and frequency of these openings were a key feature of the mosque community (MP#2).

Of the many common themes perhaps this issue was one of the most prevalent and was mentioned in nearly every interview. Law Enforcement Personnel #1 (LEP#1) notes that mosques are "open all day, people go in and out," which puts them in a unique position compared to churches and synagogues, installations where large public gatherings happen with less frequency. This is reinforced by Mosque Personnel #4(MP#4)'s assertion that proper locked doors are impractical, slowing down operations; because of it being a mosque, people cannot be prevented from coming in, leading to a constant struggle of the "balance between safety and access". Law Enforcement Personnel #2 (LEP#2) states that the "doors are open at all times" due to the "five daily prayers," a situation that is not present in churches or synagogues. Issues pertaining to the relative ease of entry were noted by the majority of respondents.

The very nature of the mosque and its frequency of openings creates a very specific problem but also has attached to it many strengths. The frequency of usage means that any

glaring security issue that may arise during daily operations, such as an unlocked door after morning prayer, can be quickly detected and remedied at the following prayer. It also means that a significant number of people are attending the mosque on a daily basis, which means that there is some regular surveillance and opportunity for course correction. It also means that those who wish to enter the mosque while it is unoccupied have to carefully plan this around the five daily prayers, increasing the obstacles that allow mission success. Yet it creates a large amount of vulnerability, because of the number of opportunities for would-be miscreants to enter the site multiplies.

Related to this was the issue of access control to the physical site. Various measures are possible to improve security, such as LEP#2's advocacy of a key card system with enabled tracking, and Security Consultant #1 (SC#1) states that 2 years is the maximum "effective time" for key control." SC#1 states that keys need to be continually changed, and there is a real risk of disgruntled employees using the access provided to cause harm. A key carding system with electronic access is ideal, a system which few mosques have implemented. Of the mosque personnel interviewed, only Mosque Personnel #3 (MP#3) and Mosque Personnel #12 (MP#12) mentioned that their facilities utilized an electronic key card system, which they both stated made it much easier to secure the facility. Mosque Personnel #9 is currently in the stages of developing a proposal to implement a new system with electronic key cards. In some mosques the issue of inadequate key control is pervasive, with keys being freely provided to numerous people, and often leading to situations in which administrators lack any form of tracking and cannot even remember who the keys were given too, as related by Mosque Personnel #8(MP#8). SC#1's comments here provide a keen insight into the importance of procedure in securing a premises.

Physical Security Infrastructure and Planning

A single point that was made universally clear was that many mosques simply had no security planning, or if they did have any it was inadequate, with some exceptions. In many interviews, this was an extremely common theme. SC#1 states that proper procedures, also known as operational security, would result in the facility being fairly secure. SC#1 mentions Canadian Bill C45, which is federal legislation attributing legal responsibility to organizations and their representatives to take "reasonable steps to prevent bodily harm to that person, or any other person, arising from that work or task" (Canadian Center for Occupational Health and Safety). He states that those in positions of authority can be held criminally accountable for negligence. With this in mind, SC#1 states that while each site is different, having a set of standard operating procedures that are "done right" will keep individuals "reasonably secure." SC#1 goes on to state that security has two major subdivisions: operational and physical/electronic, both of which are important, but possess a need to be fully integrated, which can protect personnel in especially compromised conditions, such as late nights. SC#1 notes that having a person within the administration dedicated to security is extremely important. This is problematic within the mosques interviewed, as only MP#4, MP#11 and MP#10 had an emergency response or security team. No mosque personnel reported ever feeling unsafe at mosques despite their frequent attendance. While operational procedures may not seem like a large obstacle to an armed gunman forcing entry, even in these situations correct procedures can lead to the delaying of the shooter, effective evacuation and timely alerting of response agencies such as police units.

Measures to enhance physical infrastructure security for the mosque were cross-correlated with Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles, a facility

security methodology promoted by LEP#1, LEP#2 and SC#1for their effectiveness. CPTED is defined as the "the design, maintenance, and use of the built environment in order to enhance quality of life and to reduce both the incidence and fear of crime," which involves security measures through landscaping, grounds keeping, lighting, access control and maintenance (Office of Neighborhood Involvement Crime Prevention Program, 2015, p. 1). With CPTED principles in mind, it must be emphasized that mosques are not military establishments, prisons or "Fort Knox," they are not meant to be secure to the point of inaccessibility, rather they must maximize safety and be as transparent as possible to attendees in order to increase public confidence and comfort (SC#1). Many interviewees discussed the principles of this philosophy to reduce vulnerability through physical adjustment of mosque facilities' environments. This can include shrubbery, secure doors, fully visible sightlines, well-lit premises, and reducing excessive numbers of entrances (SC#1, LEP#1). Structures that are secure will present themselves as more difficult targets, a situation improved by infrastructure such as camera and alarm systems (LEP#1). The "broken window" theory of facility infrastructure is important to note, as SC#1 noted that should a damaged property not get repaired, the image of it with invite more vandalism attempts. Barring this, attackers can still gain access through "social engineering," or the use of psychological manipulation through diverse strategies including identity fraud or communicating with personnel under false pretenses to divulge information, which SC#1 notes as the most effective method of infiltrating any organization.

The level of physical security infrastructure at various mosques observed during interviews varied, from non-existent to sufficient and up-to-date. It heavily depended on the professionalism present within the institution. Existing physical security infrastructure at the mosque in some form was often present, though like many other security measures, few

commonalities can be formed across all mosques. Some mosques simply had no security/safety

equipment besides a fire extinguisher, simple door locks and a computer password (MP#7,

CV#1). One mosque had a large number of cameras covering nearly all aspects of the property

(MP#3). MP#1, MP#2, MP#4, MP#6, MP#8, MP#9, MP#10, MP#11, MP#12, and MP#13 all

mention camera and alarm systems with varying levels of advancement, some with aging

infrastructure and others with sophisticated alert systems to notify private security and the

administration staff, including remote access to security feeds. Some mosques did have some

form of Information Technology (IT) security, such as firewalls and encryption (MP#10, MP#3,

MP#11, MP#12). Funding was frequently mentioned as an issue preventing any improvements in

security, and mosques had to rely upon community sourced funding in order to achieve it.

Methods of Bolstering Security at Mosques

Frequently mentioned was the important free services that are provided for mosques: not

only can police provide free physical security audits, applications are available through Public

Safety Canada for communities at risk to receive funding for security projects, an opportunity

which many mosques are taking part in (MP#3, MP#4, MP#12). While these programs were

mentioned by Law Enforcement Personnel, it was clear that most mosques had not heard of these

opportunities when inquired about. Police across the GTA had taken initiatives to protect

mosques, including the identification and analysis of each mosque and other noteworthy

locations for the Muslim community, protocols for periods of high political tension and

community outreach initiatives. Every mosque respondent mentioned a positive relationship with

law enforcement, and readily utilized their assistance in larger events where such help was

necessary. The impression given by mosque personnel during these interviews was that of a

cordial, trusting relationship with law enforcement. That being said, LEP#1 mentioned that many

ethnic communities were resistant to uniformed police officers, due to preconceived notions

based on their experiences in their countries of origin, where law enforcement may have played a

less positive role and instead occupied a position of fear, not trust. Researcher #1 (R#1) suggests

that traditional means of policing, seeing the suspect as a barrier and employing mass

surveillance and securitization has led to a mistrust of the police by the Muslim communities.

The level of security required is entirely up to the mosque administration's discretion and

depends on the needs of the mosque. As the mosque is a place where access should be open to

everyone, attempts to build security can be hampered by the mosques' very function: it is a place

for the community to freely gather and worship, welcoming anyone from the outdoors to join. In

the case of security, the features of houses of worship become the antithesis of security

measures, because they detract away from the goals of the institution. Security features also

require significant financial and temporal investments, as well as the continued maintenance and

the expertise required to operate such systems. It also takes money away from the limited funds

the mosque can gather. Many mosques have taken this step and many mentioned financial

burdens as reasons barring them from taking further measures. It is noteworthy that police

officers were viewed with suspicion from many communities. While mosques state a positive

relationship with police and all utilized their services from time to time, the comments of LEP#1

make it clear that the level of trust is still in development.

Within the overall history of mosque hate crime incidences, the frequency and severity of

violent attacks is low, however, this does not discount any low frequency, high impact events,

such as the Quebec City mosque attack, which was referenced as part of the interview. Law

Enforcement Personnel #3 (LEP#3) mentions that all local police were notified immediately

when the Quebec City mosque attack occurred, which was followed by a campaign of reaching

out and providing reassurances and safety to all mosques in the area. The level at which this destructive incident had an effect on policy change in mosques was limited, mostly augmenting existing systems such as cameras (MP#1), and an overall cultural push towards higher security. This push, however, seems to have been limited to large amounts of community discussion and some short-lived drives towards establishing security programs which have not been realized. One mosque appointed volunteers to watch the doors of the facility, an effort which lasted only a few weeks (MP#8). There are exceptions, with some mosques using the event as a driver to install improved security infrastructure (MP#12), and others having police information sessions on safety (MP#12 and MP#2), and R#2 reflects that the "scenario has changed now," leading to "alertness in organizations". Researcher #3 (R#3) expresses that it is "sad that it had to get to that point. [It] didn't make as much of a difference as it should have... considering the gravity" and that the attack is considered a "one-off."

The Quebec City mosque attack did have a profound psychological impact. It marked a clear paradigm shift in the Canadian context in terms of the dangers facing mosques. It showed that an attack of such a scale in Canada was possible as opposed to some unlikely event. Muslims within Canada had to open themselves up to the distinct possibility that both themselves and their loved ones could possibly be the target of such an attack. There was a definite air of quiet contemplation around each interviewee when this attack was mentioned. An attack of this scale upon Muslims up until this point had not occurred in North America. The psychological impact of this attack cannot be overstated: Should attacks like this continue, a logical conclusion that many attendees may make is that the mosque is no longer a safe space, that it is open to terrorist attacks and cannot be safely attended without the danger of an active shooter incident. Following this, attendance will likely drop, especially when considering that parents may be

unwilling to allow their children to attend a potential terror target. Thus, due to fear of attack, the number of persons attending mosque functions decreases, leading to a weakening of the community, a victory for Islamophobes. R#3's mention of the Quebec City mosque attack being a "one-off" is descriptive of the attitude shown by the administrators of some mosques: it was a freak event, not a trend that has any chance of a repeat occurrence. This attitude is complimentary to the actual community result of the incident: the changes made to mosques in terms of security were not satisfactory. Many interviewees bemoaned a lack of significant change to mosque security measures. That being said, there is clear evidence of some action being taken, with security systems being upgraded and police workshops being mentioned by LEP#2, MP#2 and LEP#3. These workshops are described to have provided valuable education on protecting mosques and understanding how to utilize police services during a high threat situation. The police have mentioned that they themselves have taken numerous actions to increase communication with mosques in order to improve security.

Preparedness at Mosques

The issue of lack of planning was pervasive. With the exception of MP#10, not a single mosque had a security plan or had invested time in developing operational procedures, with a lack of motivation, time and resources being key elements of this shortfall. This was excepted in mosques that had professionalized full-time education programs for children, which had fire drills mandated by provincial legislation (MP#3, MP#12). MP#8 also mentions a lack of motivation for any sort of security planning by the leadership, citing other priorities as taking a higher precedence. With regards to continuity of operations plans, the mosque administration did not possess any, with one exception. MP#4 mentions a backup musallah (musallah is an Arabic word referring to a more informal space to pray) that was the former site for the community.

Besides this, there are no pre-existing Disaster Recovery or Business Continuity plans for the

eventuality should the facility be compromised, an issue in most Muslim organizations (MP#12).

With the exception of a few mosques, there was no approach to having dedicated staff with first

aid training, there was an assumption that the few people within the administration who had first

aid training would always be present should a crisis arise. There was very little investment in

planning for the needs of people with vulnerabilities (this category includes people with special

needs, mobility constraints, pregnancies and children) during emergency situations, besides a

strong commitment to prioritizing them. R#2 notes that mosques are "under-resourced,

volunteer-run," and lack effective risk management because of this lack of invested

professionals. Emergency preparedness drills or exercises were not present in these organizations

to troubleshoot vulnerabilities. Only one mosque interviewed had these measures in

place(MP#10). LEP#1 concludes that attitudes towards emergencies are a chief cause of concern;

that the religious belief in protection from God (referred to in Islam as Allah) is utilized to

stymie any efforts in building emergency response protocols (ironic considering that highly

popular mainstream Islamic teachings, or hadith, stress the importance of planning and "tying

your camel" in conjunction with trusting God) (Rutgers University Muslim Student Association,

2014).[7] LEP#1 states that mosque administrations do not believe such events could happen to

their own communities.

The mosques interviewed had very little history regarding emergencies, with the

exception of certain extremists protesting, a false alarm regarding a misunderstanding of a

potentially suspicious package, some assaults, social media threats, threat calls burglaries,

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[7]This particular Islamic teaching goes as follows: The Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) once saw
a Bedouin "leaving his camel without tying it and he asked the Bedouin, "Why don't you tie down your
camel?" The Bedouin answered, "I put my trust in Allah." The Prophet (peace be upon him) then said,
"Tie your camel first, then put your trust in Allah" (At-Tirmidhi)." This teaching is meant to demonstrate
the importance of planning along with the faith that God will protect you and your belongings.

vandalism, threats, some incidences of attendees causing mischief and one notable case of public urination (LEP#1, LEP#2, LEP#3, MP#2, MP#8, MP#11, MP#4, MP#3, MP#12, MP#13). Related to the lack of planning is the lack of personal safety preparedness: LEP#1 believes that while men have a sense of "bravado" that they can take care of themselves, females are often vulnerable to physical attacks, as seen with assaults on Muslim females in Europe. Particular attention needs to be paid to personal safety at the individual level as well. The lack of any sort of preparedness and a reliance on ad-hoc response represents a major oversight when viewing mosque security. It also carries additional legal and reputational risks, such as Bill C45's emphasis on administration taking reasonable measures to ensure safety[8] (SC#1). In terms of reputational risk, the fallout from an incident at a mosque could be extremely detrimental to the governance of the mosque. Should a mosque repeatedly prove to be unsafe, it will lose significant amounts of community support and confidence.

Appropriate preparedness can save lives during a critical incident, and "facility managers should engage in planning emergency situations, including an active shooter scenario," especially considering that such situations "are unpredictable and evolve quickly," and are "often over in 10 to 15 minutes" (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, p. 9, p. 3). Proper evacuation procedure can allow attendees to efficiently exit the premises during a fire, active shooter incident, or other emergency. Hiding and fighting the attacker must also be conceptualized and programmed as potential options for an active shooter event (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, p. 4). Should a life-threatening emergency occur, the ability of mosque personnel to respond and deliver first aid is crucial. Responsibility for possessing this skill set cannot be placed on one person, as that person will occasional not be on site. Rather, it is the responsibility

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[8]One of Bill C45's provisions "establishes a legal duty for all persons "directing the work of others" to take reasonable steps to ensure the safety of workers and the public" which would include mosque administration (Canadian Center for Occupational Health and Safety, 2017).

of the administration to incorporate a culture of preparedness within mosque personnel. This approach will not only ensure that there is always someone present at a mosque to prevent injury and loss of life for an emergency, but that there is a higher chance of effective response surge capacity. Much of these issues could be easily resolved by training personnel through police workshops and first aid training courses, along with creating a culture of safety within the mosque. While mosques are important structures to protect and represent the subject of this study, it must be noted that these measures need to also include personal safety preparedness, to prevent hate crimes against Muslims from happening on the individual level. The mosque leadership needs to begin promoting safety in a way that holistically incorporates it into the communities' culture.

While the lack of planning is a clear and present issue, it must be noted that many of these mosques possess organizational flexibility to modify operations based on their needs. Many of the mosque administrations mentioned extensive use of rental spaces, either presently as their facilities, or in the past when extenuating circumstances or a lack of funding prevented the acquisition of a facility (MP#1, MP#2, MP#12, MP#7), meaning that they would be comfortable when having to use such measures. At least two communities utilized rental spaces on a semi-regular basis for special events such as Eid prayer (MP#1, MP#2, MP#7). Thus, while mosques may not have prepared business continuity plans, they are flexible enough to undergo a variety of circumstances.

Having an active security presence can be an extremely effective deterrent for potential miscreants. For LEP#2, the most important measure is the usage of a security force sourced from mosque volunteers. Mosques always have the option of hiring paid duty officers, (LEP#2), and several mosques utilize these services during large gatherings for traffic control and security

purposes. Beyond this, private security services are sometimes hired and can be seen at mosques. But volunteers hold several advantages that these other two categories would not have. There is a significant additional cost brought on by police or private security details, which can be a serious drain on community resources. A volunteer security force is not only free, but it is integrated within the community and it understands the context of the community (LEP#2). LEP#2 notes that volunteer training presentations conducted by police have had very positive effects: volunteers are taught what their rights are as security officers, their powers of arrest, and methods to understand what is deemed suspicious. LEP#2 states that this training is something security volunteers "love," since they previously lacked the basic training to conduct effective security. It "empowers them," and they can take actions such as noting license plates and physical descriptors which would greatly improve the security of the mosque (LEP#2). LEP#2 states that no group of individuals are better equipped to provide security to mosques than trained security volunteers, as they are aware of the context of the mosque and possess a keen awareness of suspicious activity. The mosque's population must take matters into their own hands. That being said, mosques often do attempt to build security teams, albeit in a short-lived manner (MP#8, MP#3). There are many successful exceptions to this, such as three mosques possessing fully fledged security teams (MP#4, MP#11, MP#10), and another mosque which has volunteers who watch the entrance during prayer (MP#7).Security teams were made up of a committee of volunteers appointed by the administration. One mosque's security team had CPR and First Aid Training (MP#10), while another was only responsible for planning, not response (MP#11). CV#3 questions why prayer shifts are not enacted, wherein part of the congregation watches the entrances while the other worshippers pray. In other mosques, security duties are handled by administrative staff as part of their normal duties.

The assertion that security volunteers are more effective than other security measures such as hiring paid security contractors is important on many different levels. From a practicality standpoint, it is the best method of implementing human monitoring without incurring high costs on the mosque. The prohibitive expense of private security takes away resources from other operations at the mosque, and should there be circumstances wherein a mosque is unable to continue to fund security professionals, they would be vulnerable. With this in mind, having a regular presence of security guards would only be possible during highly vulnerable occasions such as special events or prayers. Security guards bring experience and enhanced capabilities to the table, and in many situations would be preferable. However, the critical juncture where they may not be optimal is their lack of experience with the community, as mentioned by LEP#2. Volunteers also have many deficiencies: they will lack the professionalism and experience of full-time security guards, and the lack of pay means that their reliability may be called into question as opposed to a hired service. Every mosque interviewed had at least a sufficient supply of volunteers, on which the mosque depends on for the proper running of daily operations. A pattern emerged with a certain amount of paid staff, which ranged from just the imam at smaller mosques to at least a dozen staff at in a few mosques (MP#3, MP#11). Many of these organizations utilize a certain number of core, regular volunteers who are depended upon for administration positions, followed by a number of less frequent volunteers. Many volunteers may back out unexpectedly due to other obligations, or not correctly perform the task properly. A possible solution lies in a professionalization of such a program by the mosque, wherein volunteers are selected and vetted through a training process with assistance from law enforcement and/or private security. Performance could be tied to some sort of incentivization program, similar to the Scout Movement (Boy Scouts of America, 2017) or Canadian Cadet

Organizations (Government of Canada, 2017), replete with standardized equipment, procedures and designations. Similarly to these organizations, experience in such a capacity could lead to supporting career advancement, thereby further encouraging recruitment and good performance. The scope of such an organization would depend upon the mosque's political investment in such a program, which could be called the "Canadian Security Corps," "Canadian Muslim Safety Force," "Soft-Target Protection Corps" or a similar name that invokes respectability and professionalism (any combination of the above names would be sufficient). It would also create a strong and positive public image of Muslims committed to protecting their communities against terrorist threats. Naming priorities may change, as such a force does not want to be compared to designated hate and extremist groups such as the Jewish Defense League, a radical group which preaches violent Jewish nationalism and is deemed a right wing terrorist group by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017, "Jewish Defense League").

Public Perceptions, Media Influences, and Islamophobia

To understand the issue of security of mosques, one must understand the root cause of the situations that would put Muslims in Canada in danger. With the Quebec City mosque attack and the Peterborough arson incidents in mind, it is evident that the potential for Islamophobic attacks is a clear and present danger. A common thread among all respondents was the rise of Islamophobia, and its potential to lead to threats against individuals who practice Islam. Thus the nature and state of Islamophobia in the region must also be examined. LEP#2 mentions the saliency of the "rise of the alt-right spectrum," a group that is "anti-everything" and "tend to target Muslims the most." LEP#1 strongly states that certain events have had serious effects on Canadian society, like "the Omar Khadr payout...angered 70% of the population" and could lead

to retaliation attempts. LEP#3 emphasized the "impact of international events on local diaspora communities that could fuel a climate of fear," which "can contribute to acts of violence." Omar Khadr payout case involved a Supreme Court of Canada ruling that a former combatant in the war of terror in Afghanistan and subsequent Guantanamo Bay prisoner had his Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms protections violated. The conclusion to the decade-long Omar Khadr case has had 71% of Canadians surveyed in an Angus Reid poll believing that the Canadian government did the "wrong thing" by not fighting Khadr in court, along with 64% believing that he "remains a potential radicalized threat" (Grenier, 2017). LEP#3 states that this is in part due to the Western portrayal of "acts of terror, war, civil war, unrest," such as 9/11 and the Arab Spring, which have had ripple effects (R#1). Reactions to global events have created a misperception that Muslims are "warlike," and the modus operandi of groups like ISIS, extremist groups whose individuals would "grab a young girl, rape her, and decapitate" are compared to regular Muslims who "like the rest of us"[9] (SC#1). SC#1 compares the Muslim experience to Jews who have been "systematically oppressed for centuries." Violence committed by Muslims is perceived to be higher, despite the fact that since 1985-2014, the ratio of right-wing violent incidences to Muslim-perpetrated acts is 122:7 (R#1). Because Muslim females often wear outward and visible religious symbols like the hijab and the niqab, they can often be very easily targeted by Islamophobes (R#3).

Given that Muslims often hail from non-white backgrounds, it is very common to see intersectional hatred against certain individuals (R#3), such as an attack against a female Somali Muslim, which could involve sexism, racism and Islamophobia. This state of affairs is supported by Community Volunteer #3(CV#3), who articulates that mosques seem to be a "black box, no

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[9] "Us" here having the meaning of the general Western public, used in the context that Muslims did not desire harm on others and wished to live law-abiding existences.

idea what's inside," and that this inaccessibility can draw people to make assumptions and jump to conclusions, such as possible terrorist connections and female abuse within the institutions. In the Canadian context, a highly important issue of contention has been the arrival of Syrian refugees escaping civil war, which has heightened tensions and general xenophobia (LEP#3). Due to the massive changes in the demographics of the GTA, with 50% of the population being visible minorities, it is more important that police within the GTA make every effort to dialogue with the numerous communities in through "strategic community outreach" to understand their historically complex vulnerabilities and conditions (LEP#3). Chief among the concerns listed is that many potentially violent individuals can be stopped from committing deeds of destruction through proper guidance and treatment. For example, a young man indoctrinated into white supremacy was provided with effective mental health services in conjunction with familial support which prevented him from further difficulties or violent acts (LEP#3). LEP#3 concludes by saying that "diversity is outdated," instead, society must focus on "equity." This equity needs to be focused on trying to help all members of society escape hatred and racism.

Researcher #1 (R#1) offers a different viewpoint to law enforcement and security professionals, saying that CPTED measures and surveillance are "necessary, but not sufficient," and can instead have the effect of closing off the community and sending an uninviting message to those unfamiliar with Muslims, deterring engagement. Resiliency was emphasized by R#1, as the important lesson for Muslims is to "build the capacity to come together," "feel empowered," and "engaged with the broader community." In the Canadian context, the most highly technologically advanced weaponry being used for terrorist attacks are shotguns and automobiles, with explosives being non-existent, making a focus on high tech security unimportant for attacks that are, by their nature, unpredictable (R#1). R#1 states that it is

important to keep the mosque open to the public in order to foster better understandings of Muslims, and that extensive physical security is an "artificial response," a "band-aid" solution when "we need precision surgery on the actual issue, which is Islamophobia". R#1 suggests that instead of trying to bolster physical security, the mosque administration should consider the importance of breaking down the underlying causes of hate crime through outreach, by methodically analyzing right wing groups and creating programs specifically aimed at them. R#1 maintains that it is far more important to "challenge" far-right groups like the Sons of Odin and the Three Percenters (R#1). This method is unlikely to eliminate the core supporters of the group, but will instead educate the less-committed fringes of the groups and therefore would "deter them." Muslim communities need to build solidarity not just with other Muslims, but with "those who would be opposed" (R#1).

Mosque interactions with the media have generally not been optimal, with many mosques raising concerns of their portrayal in the press. Collected below are various interviewees' experiences with the media. R#2 states that, having followed the media across the world, the Canadian media is "probably the fairest in the world on reporting Muslim events," noting that many Muslims work in the media and that compared to the US, the Canadian media do not tend to vilify Muslims. One mosque representative mentioned that local media had published news articles insinuating that the mosque was promoting terrorism (MP#2). One mosque had a policy of inviting local reporters to events and contributing to the local paper regularly; they were also conducting outreach and education programs on Islamophobia, which had resulted in positive relations (MP#4). Another account relates that certain unfortunate issues in years past, which had since been remedied by strong actions, had continued to be rehashed by the media, damaging the reputation of the organization (MP#3). Another mosque reported that there had been a number of

incidences where the media "distorted the picture" based on "someone from the mosque saying something that was not right," "searching for things in a way to boost ratings" and always coming up with a bias, leading to a situation in which the mosque administration was now apprehensive of media contact (MP#11). Yet another personnel for mosques states that the media pursues "certain angles," which has led to "scandalous allegations" such as Anti-Semitism, despite long-standing bonds with the Jewish community (MP#13). Community Volunteer #1(CV#1) states that most mosques have spokespeople, and that media relationships depend on the political context; those that preach a "fearmongering" attitude towards Muslims results in negativity, whereas approaches similar to Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's result in a more "relaxed" environment. Perhaps the best opportunities to improve the Muslim population's public perception lies during times of less negative political attitudes. From here, a foundation can be built within public perception that aims to disentangle the parameters of groups like ISIS from the larger Muslim society. At least two mosques broadcast their own television programs, of which they are very proud as it provides them with their own media presence. This allows them to provide their own media perspective and remove misconceptions of Muslims from the public eye. The effectiveness and viewership of these programs remains to be seen. With this context in mind, it seems that mosque relationships with the media range from fairly positive to very negative.

The challenge of tackling Islamophobia becomes a difficult struggle considering the decades of hatred spewed at the religion and negative media perception of Muslims, only reinforced by events such as 9/11, the Iraq War, the Afghanistan War, the Syrian Civil War and the resulting rise of ISIS, along with specific Muslim-committed terrorist attacks across the West such as the Orlando Pulse nightclub shooting. This creates an enormous uphill struggle for

Muslims to defuse notions of radicalism and fundamentalism, assumptions that are made by many in the public and Islamophobes in particular.

The underlying cause of the Muslim community's vulnerability is Islamophobia, something which every interview has touched upon in some way and must be explored first within the context of the Muslim communities. R#3 states that the Islamophobic attacks are only getting worse and are underrepresented by the data, as Muslims often do not report hate crimes happening to them. Comparisons are made between the Muslim communities and that of the Jewish and Sikh communities, in the level of hate crimes and xenophobia launched at them (R#1, R#3). In fact, R#3 argues that a major driver of Islamophobia has been Western culture itself, with its rapid move towards "secularization," antireligious nature, the valuing of superficiality and individualization. Mosques do not exist in a vacuum outside of world events and international context. Events such as 9/11 and the campaigns of Al Qaeda and ISIS are identified as Muslim, leading the people receiving such information to conflate these organizations with Muslims and Islam, a highly reductive consideration; R#3 clearly states that people who follow Islam are impossible to homogenize, as within the spectrum of Muslims are a smorgasbord of vastly different cultures, languages and sects, who do often do not interact and are "ethnically isolated," even within the same mosque (CV#1). Communities are sharply divided with political power struggles, organizational disunity and institutional complacency (R#3, CV#3). R#2 mentions that because these poorly resourced Muslim communities are often just establishing themselves, they lack the power to partake in many measures such as risk management because they are looking to strengthen themselves first. There is a pressing need for a regulatory board that sets standards for mosques in order to bring about organizational change to improve safety within the community(R#2). Part of the reason for the conditions of these communities is that

many of these communities are first generation immigrants who have escaped countries that do not possess the same level of freedoms as Canada; content with their newfound liberty, they eagerly accept the "romanticized idea of the West" (R#3). Within the West, education is specifically Western biased, not disseminating certain phenomena like colonization (R#3), which had a profound effect upon the countries from which immigrants arrived. Muslims must develop the "audacity of equality" and question social practices, states R#3.

R#3's believes that a significant portion of the negativity towards Islam in the West stems from Islamic values being at odds with many of the negative aspects of Western culture, such as individuality, superficiality and the spread of anti-religious zealotry which has led to churches being shut down. As Muslim immigrants attempt to integrate into Western societies, they navigate unfamiliar social spaces and attempt to integrate while preserving their values, which can sometimes cause tensions within Muslims. But as Muslim communities are diverse and often completely separate, Western portrayals will lump together these complex and differentiated groups of people, essentializing their existence into simplistic stereotypes that are easy to understand. Media portrayals of Muslims, as mentioned above, further enhance these qualities. Thus the average person digesting Western media is left with the coupling of Muslim with labels like "terrorist," "fundamentalist," "fanatics," "oppressors" and "female abusers." With 1.8 billion Muslims in the world as of 2017, to even conflate them with terrorist groups because of the actions of groups like ISIS is akin to labeling Christians in the same way due to the actions of the Lord's Resistance Army or the Ku Klux Klan. But with the constant media activity trying to tie Muslims to terror, it becomes understandable why mosques, due to their own experiences, have now become afraid of the media. The perpetuation of media vilifying Muslims globally only reinforces the belief that all Muslims are like that. It may strengthen Islamophobic attitudes,

and thus result in hate crimes against them. Crucial, then, is a media program designed specifically to engage media stakeholders in the area and try to defuse these types of tensions at a local level. MP#10 relates of a campaign to provide volunteer counselling and clothing to a local prison ministry, among whose volunteers included dozens of women wearing the niqab (also referred to as niqabis), an unexpected incident which was deemed as "extremely successful with media." MP#4's report of inviting the media to social events and writing columns in the local paper should be noted, as these disseminations to the mass media have strong potential: the general public gets to see Muslims firsthand and hear their viewpoints. These methods of outreach need to be modeled and utilized in order to better improve the public perception of Muslims and therefore reduce Islamophobia.

Governance at Mosques

The governance of mosques was a very common and pressing theme across many interviews, a characterized by a sort of stagnancy that plagued the ability of the administration to affect positive change in the community. The relative stagnancy of the Muslim communities is often traced back to complacency across the conducted interviews, and this complacency presents itself as a lack of innovative drive across communities to solve problems through effective management practices, but also a real lack of motivation to undergo any sort of change, as related by MP#3, MP#8, LEP#1. MP#10 strongly concludes that "we will never figure out safety, never resolve it," as "Muslims are causing insecurity," due to the fact that they have forgotten basic tenets of the religion. He posits that Muslims have stopped following their own religious practices, not following the Qur'an and refusing to change their own practices (MP#10). Within the context of increasing safety at mosques, these comments implicate that the biggest sources of insecurity for Muslims originate from the communities' practices themselves.

This has led to the different Muslim communities bringing cultural difference which has caused "upheaval" and social conflict within mosques (MP#10).It is MP#10's opinion that Muslim communities have become a "lip service nation," not interested in integrating with the broader Canadian society and unwilling to take simple measures such as even physically voting for Muslim politicians, so that their voices can be heard in government. MP#3 believes that as compared to other religious communities within the GTA, the Muslim community is not "in the middle tier yet" and has a long way to go compared to communities like the Ahmadiyya, Hindu, Jewish, and Sikh. MP#3 says this situation is due to lack of political engagement, a paradigm that will shift within the next decade as young Muslims become involved in politics. Within the mosque environment, MP#10 tells of people who would wish to exclude and vilify those who have different viewpoints within the Muslim community and call them kaafirs (Arabic word for "unbelievers") and therefore practice social exclusion as a punitive measure for difference.

MP#10 states that there are also many difficulties regarding ethical behaviours within the community: there was an incident where nearby business owners' parking lots were being utilized by mosque attendees, in a manner that was not authorized; the mosque administration took "definitive and descriptive actions" by utilizing police and tow truck services to take away a car (MP#10). This incident not only had a lasting impact on mosque attendees, but it also positively transformed the dynamic of the relationships between the business owners and the administration of the mosque (MP#10). The overall complacency and stagnancy of mosque leaderships and their communities is noted by multiple interviewees as a salient barrier to the improvement of safety in mosques (LEP#1, MP#3, CV#1, CV#2, CV#3, MP#8, R#3).

With R#1's comments that building specific programs for groups opposed to the Muslim community, it becomes apparent that community outreach and social programming is vital to any

strategy to reduce Islamophobia. All mosques conduct some sort of charity program, whether ad-hoc and intermittent or regular and consistent. At the time of this study, the most popular outlets for charity seem to be the Syrian and Myanmar crises, both of which involve Muslims heavily and were frequently mentioned by mosque personnel. There were also mentions of involvement with food banks, First Nations donations and some other charities. Every mosque had some involvement with other religious communities. However, this is limited to mostly "diplomatic unity" between mosques (R#2) and little in terms of resource sharing. Many mosques have antagonistic relations with one another due to political turmoil, which can also extend to the inter-organizational relationships within the mosque (MP#12, MP#7). Many mosques sit on a multi-faith board in conjunction with synagogues and churches (MP#1, MP#2, MP#3, MP#13), and there are multiple instances of a "ring of peace" formed by Jewish community members outside of mosques, in response to the Quebec City mosque attack (CV#2, CV#3), though CV#3 notes that in this case, some of the Muslims entering were dismissive of the efforts by community members by disrespectfully pushing them aside.CV#3 observes that the connections the Sunni-Muslim community has with other communities is "non-existent, only in time of crisis," reminiscing that when regional police had an event supporting First Nations in the region, every single religious community was present, with the exception of the Sunni Muslim mosque organizations, all of whom were invited. CV#3 was extremely unhappy that the level of community work seemed only focused upon Muslim issues, an issue which is supported by R#2's statement of Muslim communities being focused only on trying to establish their own communities.

CV#3 also mentions that much of the outreach work done by Muslim communities is done through auxiliary community organizations. LEP#2 expresses the importance of having

open, constructive dialogue even between completely opposed groups, ensuring that no matter the degree of political difference or historical animosity, there should be a respectful dialogue between two sides is important. Open house events run by mosques in order to introduce the public to Islam are also very common, and many mosques try to attend multiple public events in their municipality (MP#6, MP#3, MP#8, CV#2). MP#6 mentions a novel method of outreach: This personnel takes it upon themselves to approach and welcome any newcomers to the mosque, which has the added effect of being able to screen potential miscreants.

Results of Findings and Discussion

The interviewees provided many interesting insights and provided the basis for many approaches to improving security at mosques. This section has attempted to synthesize the important points from each interview. Should any issue potentially be the biggest vulnerability for mosques, it is the issue of complacency within the institutions. Interviewees frequently mentioned this issue as a major stopgap in improving security. Without the political will to engage in decisive action to fix the problems that have been raised in this study, security cannot be effectively augmented at mosques. Effective preparedness through drills, exercises and guided instruction can make significant improvements to mosques. Planning and community networking also become crucial, along with the use of the mosque's volunteers as part of the security culture. However, from these findings it can be gathered that improving safety at mosques is absolutely within reason and does not necessarily imply a strain on the budget of mosques.

Episode 5 - Conclusion and Final Recommendations

This section of the study will provide closing remarks along with strategic-level policy considerations in order to enhance security and resiliency at mosques in the Greater Toronto Area. To gather data for this study, 22 interviews were conducted. In total, the interviews provided a large amount of data, all of which was highly diverse and provided new dimensions to better consider the issue of mosque security and resiliency. In addition, the depth provided for by the utilization of the qualitative methodology allowed for both the discovery of new problems and the consideration of novel solutions to for making mosques safer in the Greater Toronto Area. Muslims represent dozens of different nations with different cultures and languages that defy any considerate attempt to homogenize them: rather than being a single Muslim community, there can be said to be multiple Muslim communities. Each mosque varies in terms of the predominant culture, and are also very different in terms of resources, with some being extremely underfunded and others being very wealthy and established, with a brand name and identity. Some have large congregations, others are smaller in nature. Some have nightly or evening education programs for adults and/or children, yet others also double as fully functioning schools for children. It can often be difficult to make generalizations due to the overwhelming diversity present with the Muslim landscape, with Canadian Muslims ethnic identities hailing from dozens of different countries. With this complication in mind, there are some very clear commonalities that can lead to overall guiding principles. These principles apply across the different mosques interviewed and all contributed something useful to the study.

The various Muslim communities in the Greater Toronto Area can be seen to exhibit traits that produce unique vulnerabilities. The most salient issue separating Muslims from other ethno-cultural groupings is the recent rise in discrimination against them as a result of global

events. From the interviews, it is clear that tackling Islamophobia is the fastest way to reduce vulnerability for this group. By utilizing community outreach methods, mosques can establish for themselves a perception in the community based on their actions and not of outside events. Muslims must engage with society on the local level in order to dispel Islamophobia, whether it be through charitable efforts, political involvement, community participation or other means. This will not only educate the community, but also create bonds that will be crucial during times of emergencies, both for the Muslim community and also the larger community. This is key to building the resiliency that allows communities to come together and rebuild during times of crises. Mosques have made some notable efforts in this regard, but are so focused on establishing themselves that this activity is not sufficiently prioritized. Many mosques stated that the Muslim communities need to embrace the idea of becoming more close-knit with Canadian society. In an even more proactive stance, these societies can take steps to specifically address hate groups such as the various alt-right organizations recently gaining power, and it is critical that as per one of the interviewees recommendation Researchers #1's suggested, they be educated on Muslims. Such programs involve researching different groups' stances on Islam to understand local context of Islamophobia, which will inform Muslim communities how best to interact with the larger public in order to defuse such tensions. By specifically targeting these groups with programs built for them, mosques can weaken these groups via engaging with their misconceptions. This must also include a robust media communications protocol that works to provide the media with the mosque's own perspective. Most mosques have tense relationships with the media due to negative press in the past; they must have an effective media communications protocol along with designated personnel who are able to effectively deal with the media to avoid negative repercussions from any possible occurrence.

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In the realm of physical security, it must be understood that the resource base of mosques make them more of less capable of implementing various levels of security, depending on funds available. Some mosques can afford fully functioning cameras and electronic locking systems, while others are struggling to remain in business. Even within the tightest of budgets, there exists highly effective operational security measures that can render a facility reasonably secure. In these cases, it is critical that volunteers and the mosques' administration have competent operational procedures that improve security, such as door locking, first aid training, emergency response guidelines, grounds keeping and security volunteers with basic, police provided training. Police within the Greater Toronto Area provide free security audits, and the Canadian Federal government has a program in place to at least partially cover the costs of physical security infrastructure for religious communities. Important is the need for an overall governing body of enforceable standards that mosques should observe, in order to professionalize the Muslim organizations. It also ties into the larger need for Muslim communities to network with each other and build stronger relationships beyond the more diplomatic unity seen in many mosques.

The critical flaw in Muslim communities appears to be systemic disorganization and institutional complacency, described by many interviewees as the key factor behind the lack of any improvement in mosque security. The capability to improve security was definitely present; all of the organizations interviewed had gaps that could be remedied. Mosque Administrations need to be aware of security issues and understand how best to fill these gaps. A cultural shift is required for mosques to improve their security and resiliency, one that makes provisions for regular research and development. This involves testing security and providing for its improvements. Processes need to be created to ensure that there is focus provided to mosques in

order for there to be a constant evaluation and modification procedure.R#2's recommendation of a regulatory board to create standards and auditing for mosques would work towards building rules that mosques must adhere to in order to promote safety. Such regulations must not inhibit the development of a culture of flexibility and adaptation.

But what is seen as vulnerability from some corners presents itself as a strength by others. For example, the open door policy espoused by those interested in physical security is seen as a glaring flaw: Anyone intent on doing harm to Mosques could easily enter the site and begin the execution of an act of destruction and/or violence. But to those more interested in developing community resiliency, this policy has the exact opposite effect, inviting those unfamiliar with the religion with open arms and thus playing an important role in improving relationships. And relationship-building, with law enforcement, the community, and other Muslim groups, is one of the main aspects that is seen to improve resiliency. Unity must extend beyond diplomacy and become a long-term, integrated relationship. Many mosque personnel spoke of strong relationships with police and other local religious organizations, frequently churches, which had led to very positive support from such organizations. These kinds of bonds should be a template for further attempts to increase the safety and well-being of Muslim communities. Physical security cannot be ignored, and instead must be routinely evaluated and augmented. Along with this, a robust community resiliency strategy focused on fostering good will and friendships will succeed in creating a safer Muslim community.

This research certainly has many ways of being expanded. To be clear, this study has applications limited to mosques in the Greater Toronto Area. Near-term future application of this study would involve, the development of a pilot project in which applications of Mosque security and resiliency can be applied, tested, and evaluated within some of the mosques considered in

this study. Expanding such work to the Province of Ontario and sourcing information from a larger pool of interviewees would be of use to provide further verification of emerging themes and perhaps be useful to also provide new lessons learned from the diverse Muslim community of Canada. With additional resources, another area of consideration for future research would be the expansion of this type of work to a general North American setting, taking in consideration both Canadian and United States-based informants views of Mosque security and resiliency issues.

In conclusion, mosques in the Greater Toronto Area have been for the most part safe, but they do not exist in a vacuum. While it needs to be noted that in general Canadian society is known for its freedoms, tolerance, acceptance of diversity, and inclusiveness, on rare occasion ethnic minority groups have faced targeted violence. A case in point is the January 2017 Quebec City Mosque shootings. Geopolitical events in the Middle East, global terrorism, and even localized misguided negative attitudes towards Muslims can contribute to Islamophobia leading to anti-social actions of miscreants who desire to harm mosques. As mosques are primary symbolic sites of the Muslim community, they can be considered as soft targets. Unfortunately, in 2018, threats do exist to the security of mosques sites themselves and therefore dangers exist for Canadian Muslims who frequent these mosques as a way of life. The intention of this work was to take a 2017 snapshot of mosque safety and security issues in the Greater Toronto Area and present and analyze the findings. Physical aspects of security such as cameras, guards, and gates are one aspect of mosque safety. Of equal, if not greater importance, are the community building efforts within mosques themselves that can contribute to overall resiliency. Should any issue potentially be the biggest vulnerability for mosques, it is the issue of complacency within the mosques themselves. Mosque security and resiliency within the GTA is certainly a feasible

and achievable goal. Even in situations where mosques have a limited budget, enhancements to safety can take place provided that the political will is present and critical resources such as community volunteers can be effectively managed.

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