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Xenoracism and the Crisis of Multiculturalism: Is Canada Exempt?

by

John Simon McCoy

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Abstract

"Multiculturalism" is in crisis, or so we are told by some of the world's most powerful political leaders. According to the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, multiculturalism has "failed utterly"; for the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, the "doctrine of state multiculturalism" has not only failed as public policy but has also opened a space in which extremism can flourish among minority communities. Alana Lentin & Gavin Titley (2011) have described this narrative as the "crisis of multiculturalism"; Paul Ryan (2010) as "multicultiphobia"; Ben Pitcher (2009), Geoffrey Levey and Tariq Modood (2009) have carried out similar studies. According to Liz Fekete (2009) and her associate Ambalavaner Sivanandan of the London based Institute of Race Relations, such narratives are "shot through" with institutionalized racism – or, as they have conceptualized it - xenoracism. It is a form of racism situated in what is presented publically as concerns over public security and the social threat of non-integrated minorities. In this ideology newcomers and even long-standing residents are portrayed as "the enemy within", under the re-imagined "monocultural" state.

To date, a majority of the scholarly work in this area has taken place in the context of Europe. Recognizing the potential interconnection between xenoracism that targets Muslim communities and the crisis of multiculturalism narrative, this dissertation will seek to critically examine these trends in the state that first adopted state multiculturalism – Canada. The dissertation will explore the life experiences of the primary target of xenoracism - Muslims - and through doing so critically examine what has been portrayed as the relative success of the Canadian model of state multiculturalism. It will pose the following question: Is xenoracism that targets Muslims present in Canada, and what can the life experiences of Canadian Muslims tell us about the relative success of state multiculturalism in Canada?

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The worldwide hegemony of Orientalism and all it stands for can now be challenged, if we can benefit properly from the general twentieth-century rise to political and historical awareness of so many of the earth's Peoples - Edward Said, 1979, *Orientalism*.

Multiculturalism, we are told, is in crisis; it has "failed", it is to blame for a host of social, economic and political ills. We are told this by those who hold political power in Western European states. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, has attacked "state multiculturalism"; Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, has publicly stated that multiculturalism has "failed utterly" in Germany; Dutch Vice President of the Council of State, Piet Hein Donner, has stated, "The government shares the social dissatisfaction over the multicultural society model and plans to shift priority to the values of the Dutch people."[1] For many these statements were a stunning declaration. Centrist political parties of Europe had rejected multiculturalism, not only as public policy, but also as an image of society: they had blamed immigrants and minorities for their social and economic ills – they had become the new nativists of Europe.

In Europe the crisis of multiculturalism has been accompanied by the rise of the political far-right who actively propagate racism as a means of mobilizing increasingly polarized voters and achieving electoral gain. The specter of economic and demographic crisis has acted to draw together concerns over the economy and immigration and deflected blame from increasingly impotent political elites who have proven unable to manage the effects of globalization. The National Front in France, the Freedom Party in the Netherlands, the True Finns and Norway's Progress Party are just a few examples of newly emboldened far-right parties in Europe. In Greece, arguably the heart of the European economic and supranational crisis, the Golden Dawn party, whose party flag displays a swastika-like symbol and whose members engage in Nazi style salutes and torch lit-parades, won 6.9 percent of the national vote and 18 parliamentary seats in June of 2012.[2] For the far-right the ills of a continent can be traced to the social and economic impositions of newcomers

and the non-integrated “other”. Racism has penetrated the political discourse in Europe. For noted migration scholars Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, these trends are significant concerns for liberal democratic societies: “Racism is a threat, not only to immigrants themselves, but also to democratic institutions and social order. Analysis of the causes and effects of racism must therefore take a central place in any discussion of international migration and its effects on society.”[3]

Scholars from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds have sought to deconstruct and decode these trends. Alana Lentin & Gavin Titley (2011) have analyzed what they refer to as the “crisis of multiculturalism”; Paul Ryan (2010) has deconstructed what he calls “multicultiphobia”; Ben Pitcher (2009), Geoffrey Levey and Tariq Modood (2009) have examined the role of racism in multicultural politics. Collectively their analyses have found that what lies behind the narrative is complex: the “crisis” analogy cannot be taken at face value as it conceals a series of politicized messages that can be linked, among other things, to the inability of politicians to effectively manage both the economic and migratory effects of globalization and a continuing “neoliberal” assault on the welfare state. Moreover, what is presented as “rehabilitative action” needed to fix the damage wrought by multiculturalism in effect contains ideologies of racism.[4] Thus, for social scientists, these trends raise a critical question: what has caused such a dramatic reversal in decades of multicultural policy?

For part of the answer to this question we can look at some of the comments that Ms. Merkel made when she declared multiculturalism a failure: “We kidded ourselves a while, we said, ‘They won’t stay, sometime they will be gone.’ But this isn’t reality.”[5] This comment betrays two readily apparent observations. First, Germany was never a state committed to multiculturalism as public policy: it was a state built on the model of the guest worker. The “they”, the minority non-German of whom Turkish peoples have been the most demonized in that country, were not supposed to

stay.[6] "They" were supposed to fulfill their economic role and go back where *they* came from. Second, the culpability for the failure of whatever form of token multicultural policy Germany ascribed to, can be placed not on the German host culture but rather on those who were never welcome in the first place, at least not for very long. As observed by Alana Lentin, what Merkel and others have presented is really quite a basic argument: "Immigration societies have been too tolerant of minority cultures. Minorities have been allowed too much leeway to practice their own traditions at the expense of integration with the wider community."[7] However, it is not necessarily all newcomers and minorities that are being singled out in the crisis narrative. "They" take the blame for the failure of multiculturalism, but who are the "they"? They are the refugee, the asylum seeker, the illegal immigrant, they are even established minority cultures and, most often in the context of the 9/11 decade, they are peoples who adhere to the diverse traditions of the religion of Islam. Recognizing this trend, Liz Fekete believes that, "Under the guises of patriotism, a wholesale anti-Islamic racism has been unleashed that itself threatens to destroy the fabric of multiculturalism."[8]

This dissertation argues that such rhetoric, such political discourse, represents a form of racism termed "xenoracism" – an institutionalized racism that targets victims based on a perception of foreignness (xeno). The success of the far-right in European states can be traced to their ability to harness public xenophobia directed at growing numbers of immigrants and asylum seekers from the global south.[9] These political forces have institutionalized xenophobia into a hierarchical and relational ideology – they have turned the fear of the foreign into an *ideology*, and, in this way, they have turned xenophobia into xenoracism. The European political centrists have seized on this ideology as they struggle to engage an increasingly alienated electorate. Those parties have failed to calm the host cultures anxiety over immigration and increasing racial, religious and ethnic diversity; they have failed to create prosperous and equitable economies in an era of mobile industry, labour

and capital.[10] In a decade that has been framed by security and concerns over cultural intractability between Western and Islamic cultures, xenoracism has been at the heart of the *crisis of multiculturalism* narrative. The failure to integrate the foreign other has been singled out as a threat not only to national security, but also national identity, and "multiculturalism" was the policy that opened the door to the danger.

There have been two significant and mutually reinforcing trends taking place since the events of 9/11 that have arguably lent themselves to the construction of Muslims as the dangerous "xeno" in the Global North. First, military action abroad in the Muslim world within the War on Terror and a series of "homegrown terrorist attacks" in cities like Madrid, London, Amsterdam and Boston have been used to paint Muslims as externalized and internalized physical threats: both the enemy "over there" and the enemy within. Second, there is an ideational threat posed by the values contained in Islam that is embodied by Muslims. In scaremongering books like Christopher Caldwell's *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West,* or Jim Sciutto's *Against Us: the new face of America's enemies in the Muslim World,* these two insecurities are pulled together as Islam is presented as a homogenous "hyper-identity" whose values threaten "Western" values and whose militancy threatens public safety. [11]

Canada, the original multicultural state, seems to stand apart from the troubles that plague Western Europe. The year 2011 marked not only the 10th anniversary of the attacks of September 11th but also the 40th anniversary of multiculturalism in Canada. Canadian social scientists have trumpeted our official policy of multiculturalism. John Biles et al. write, "Canada has long been a world leader in welcoming and accepting immigrants, which in turn has contributed to Canada's growth and prosperity, as well as helping shape our current society."[12] Pollster and author Michael Adams, in his 2007 book *Unlikely Utopia: the Surprising Triumph of Canadian Pluralism*, notes the

remarkable success Canada has had as a multicultural society: "There is ample empirical evidence to suggest that Canada *is* special, both in its social conditions and in the way its people (Canadians new and old) respond to those conditions."[13]

A series of Canadian scholars have also drawn positive conclusions on the efficacy of Canada's approach to integration, citizenship and "social cohesion": studies such as Banting's et al. (2007) analysis of shared citizenship and belonging; the work of Reitz et al. (2009) on discrimination and social cohesion; and the analysis of Biles et al. (2008) on immigration and integration. Noting these numerous areas of multicultural success, Adams claims that multiculturalism has penetrated the very soul of the nation, forming an essential aspect of our identity as a country: "What is sometimes called the 'multiculturalism experiment' isn't an experiment at all. It's a national aspiration at the very core of Canadian idealism. It's the *Canadian Dream*." [My italics][14] Moreover, outwardly, Canadian politicians seem committed to state multiculturalism: it is difficult to expose an explicit failure of multiculturalism narrative among political elites. If these contentions are accurate, the Canadian case may offer an example of a successful multicultural state in the Global North at a point in history marked by the increasing numbers of states rejecting the multicultural model as a failure. And one may assume that, considering some of the high praise of Canadian multiculturalism, this welcoming environment has been extended to all newcomers, even those who have suffered xenoracism in other western states, such as Muslims living in the Global North.

However, there exists another very different perspective on state multiculturalism today, as it is increasingly unpopular among not only the political elite of Western Europe, but also among a number of academics. Indeed, there is an increasing chorus of voices and opinions that see the policy as naïve, tired, and largely discredited.[15] These criticisms go deeper than the public

repudiations found in the discourse of the crisis of multiculturalism. As Will Kymlicka observes on this trend, "To use the word 'multiculturalism' today, unlike in the 1960s, is to talk the language of bureaucrats, and hence is deeply unfashionable amongst both the right and the left."[16] Therefore, there seems to be a considerable disconnect between what are the generally positive empirical findings among Canadian social scientists and what is increasingly becoming a shared, *common sense understanding* that multicultural policy has been tried and failed. This dissertation, from a normative standpoint, seeks to engage with these critics. It engages with them on grounds where state multiculturalism is said to be most problematic – the accommodation and integration of religious minorities.

Thus, the above argument and normative standpoint represent the core of this dissertation and will be subject to a critical analysis in the pages to come, an approach that goes beyond the statistics and existing empirical studies to examine the life experiences of those most prone to our contemporary xenoracist moment – Canadian Muslims. It is argued that the case study of Muslim minorities represents, to borrow a term from the current economic climate, a *stress test* of multiculturalism. In other words the true strength or lack thereof, of Canadian multiculturalism can be discerned by its ability to accommodate those most prone to xenoracism. This dissertation seeks to understand these trends in the context of Canada by exploring potential manifestations of xenoracism that target Muslims and the relative success of state multiculturalism. It asks: *Is xenoracism that targets Muslims present in Canada, and what can the life experiences of Canadian Muslims tell us about the relative success of state multiculturalism?* It asks whether Canada has "bucked the trend" in relation to the crisis of multiculturalism.

As prefaced above, Canadian multiculturalism has, according to many scholars, been successful in comparison to its peers. And based on these initial observations the hypothesis is that

state multiculturalism in Canada, as indicated by the experiences of Canadian Muslims, is a success, and therefore the crisis analogy does not apply. In the pages below this hypothesis will be subject to a rigorous critical analysis.

However, before entering into a more substantive analysis, it should be made clear that this study does not extend to Quebec or the experiences of Muslims in Quebec. As the dissertation is focused on state multiculturalism and how it has influenced the experiences of Canadian Muslims with xenoracism, the analysis cannot be extended to a province that has never adopted a multicultural policy framework. The rejection of multiculturalism in Quebec will be discussed in the section on the historical development of the policy (within the chapter on multiculturalism). But, briefly, the repudiation of multiculturalism in Quebec can be linked to the rejection of the policies of the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau. As noted by Kenneth McRoberts, Trudeau's adoption of multiculturalism as a policy framework, and as a tool for nation building, was aimed at shifting the Canadian state away from a bi-cultural vision of Canadian. It was aimed at reducing the conflicts contained in the bi-cultural model by replacing it with a more individualistic and liberal rights-centred national model, while maintaining bilingualism as official policy.[17] In response, successive provincial governments in Quebec viewed multiculturalism, and the nation-building strategy it engendered, not only as undermining the bi-cultural vision of the state (a vision that many elites and politicians in the province greatly preferred) but also potentially detrimental to the sovereignty movement itself.[18]

Alternatively, Quebec has adopted what has been referred to as "interculturalism," a loose policy framework that is said to embody some elements of state multiculturalism, such as anti-racism, and the cultural recognition of minorities and their rights. However, what differentiates the policy from multiculturalism is that "interculturalism" maintains a central cultural core, or "host

culture" into which minority cultures are expected to integrate.[19] Moreover, "interculturalism" represents more of a guiding principle than constitutionally entrenched policy – as we find in the case of state multiculturalism in Canada. In the context of the recent debates over the Quebec government's proposed Charter of Values, and prior episodes of xenoracism in the province, the inadequacies of the "intercultural" framework may now be coming to light. As recognized by Will Kymlicka, "the rhetoric of interculturalism may not provide an effective check on either xenophobia or assimilationism."[20]

But Quebec's woes, in terms of its approach to diversity, should not be viewed in isolation - as suggested these debates are now a regular feature across the "Western" world - nor can it be suggested that multiculturalism is problem free. Rather, it should be noted that even a cursory examination of existing scholarly work reveals some troubling signs for state multiculturalism and Canadian Muslims. As University of Toronto sociologist and immigration and multiculturalism scholar Jeffery Reitz has indicated, Canada has not escaped the issue that has surfaced in Europe: "The questions in Canada as elsewhere have focused on religion, whether certain religious minorities have values, beliefs or practices that are difficult to integrate into Canadian society because they clash with Canadian ideas about gender equality or secularism in public institutions."[21] There are also some research findings that indicate that Canadian Muslims have suffered xenoracism. In Moghissi et al. (2009) *Diaspora By Design*, academics from York University have pointed to the fact that securitization of Muslim populations in states like Canada has both driven the development of a more unified identity among Canadian Muslims and negatively affected integration. Canadian Muslims, as in other states of the Global North, have also been subject to the securitized policies that emerged after the events of events of the 11th of September 2001, as exemplified by the experience of two Canadian citizens – Maher Arar and Omar Khadr.[22] Finally,

Paul Eid's (2007) study that focused on Muslims in Montreal found persistent experiences of discrimination among Quebec's Muslim population.

Moreover, under the Conservative federal government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper, several political initiatives have been launched that resemble some of the "rehabilitative" policies that have been employed in states where the crisis of multiculturalism is most apparent. These policies will be subject to a more rigorous analysis in the chapters to come. However, in brief they include changes to citizenship exams and guides, and a new public emphasis on mono-culturalism: one defined by British colonial history, the monarchy, and re-branded "royal" armed forces. [23] These trends and policies challenge the view that the troubles of Europe are quite distant from Canada and must be carefully considered before any conclusions are made on the relative success of state multiculturalism in Canada.

There are several key themes related to the central thesis question that will structure the analysis to follow: xenoracism, multiculturalism and security. In order to understand the possible manifestations of xenoracism in Canada, the dissertation will cast a fairly wide net, one that encompasses the key political and ideational influences that shape xenoracism. This is not simply a study that seeks to understand the manifestations of xenoracism in the Canadian Muslim community, but rather seeks to also measure the robustness of Canadian multiculturalism: for it is argued that the former can only be measured when the latter is understood. In the following sections these themes will be outlined and definitions will be given for some key terms.

Section I: Xenoracism

A central focus of the dissertation will be an improved conceptual development of xenoracism. The section will begin with an examination of some of the existing literature on race and racism as a point of departure for the conceptual development of xenoracism. In particular the

chapter will include a critical examination of the concept of racism. Rather than viewing racism as an incoherent or misinformed set of prejudices it is argued here that racism should be understood as an *ideology*. According to race and racism scholar Robert Miles, ideologies of racism contain ideas of a hierarchical "relational order" in which groups are assigned characteristics that are used to compare and contrast with other groups, in this sense characteristics "refract and define each other."[24] Chapter three on xenoracism will expand on this idea by looking at how particular characteristics have been assigned to Muslims in an ideology of xenoracism and how this "refracting" of characteristics between groups can be used to establish a relational order. Another focus in this section will be on how ideologies of racism may be associated with political programs such as colonialism, imperialism and nation-building. Nationalism in particular has been singled out for its role in structuring and supporting racist ideologies. Scholars like Alana Lentin have pointed out that, while racism cannot be reduced to nationalism, the two ideologies aid and abet each other, especially when nationalism is structured around ideas of exclusivity. [25] Since ideologies of xenoracism target those who are deemed to be foreign, ideologies of nationalism that assign ideas of cultural exclusivity may play a role in projecting understandings of belonging and foreignness.

However, the primary focus of this section is the ideology of xenoracism. The term "xenoracism" was first used by Ambalavaner Sivanandan, director of the London based Institute of Race Relations (IRR), as a means of describing emergent forms of institutionalized racism which he observed at the turn of the twenty-first century in the European Union (EU). Sivanandan sought to explain what he saw as institutionalized racism that targeted asylum seekers and economic migrants irrespective of skin colour, a form of racism that, "denigrates and reifies people before segregating and/or expelling them, it is a xenophobia that bears all the marks of the old racism. It is racism in substance but "xeno" in form."[26]

In the wake of the September 11th and London 7/7 attacks, Liz Fekete, Sivanandan's colleague at the IRR, sought to explain the prejudicial targeting of Muslim minority communities. For Fekete, Muslim populations in Europe, even those who have resided in Western Europe for multiple generations, had been caught up in the ever-expanding loop of xenoracism - targeted with structured and institutionalized racism.[27] On this form of the ideology Sivanandan notes that: "the racism directed at Muslims on the basis of religion, signified this time not just by race or immigration status (refugee, asylum-seeker, and so on), but by dress and appearance as well–combining the characteristics of both asylum seeker and terrorist, (reflects) the combined 'war' on asylum and on terror."[28]

What is noteworthy about the previous usages of xenoracism by members of the IRR is that the term was distinctly situated in the contemporary. There is little attention given to historical influences in this form of racism. Deconstructing the contemporary forms of discrimination and prejudice captured by the term *xenoracism* requires a theoretical lens that can capture not only the immediate effects and manifestations but also the historical, ideological and ideational roots of the phenomenon. Returning to the idea of ideologies of racism assigning a hierarchical and relational social order, the dissertation will explore how social relations are shaped by *historical knowledge* of the "other."

In part, the historical aspects of xenoracism that targets Muslim communities has been captured by the literary and cultural critic Edward Said in his influential work *Orientalism,* which traces centuries of Western discourse on the "other". Said presents a complex understanding of how the West has historically defined the Orient, and most especially Islam, as the *foreign* other. As Said notes in his 1979 work *Orientalism,* Muslims, and specifically Arabs, have tended to be represented (to borrow a term from Weber) as an ideal type – a static image of historical decline which has led

to a propensity for conflict.[29] Arguably this historical perception of difference, framed by historical discourse on the other, is a powerful influence on xenoracism that targets Muslims. While the focus of this study is contemporary xenoracism and its manifestations in the Canadian context, this phenomenon cannot be understood in isolation – neither geographic nor historical. Rather, an understanding of xenoracism requires an understanding of the roots of the phenomenon – the ways in which the other, specifically the Muslim other, has been constructed through literature, discourse, and historical and contemporary relations between the Orient and the Occident.

Outside of his analysis of representations of the Orient by the Occident in literature and various forms of discourse, Said was also a cultural critic, a Palestinian exile living in the United States who experienced first-hand what he termed "The web of racism, cultural stereotyping, political imperialism, [and] dehumanizing ideology" that characterized the Muslim experience in the West.[30] Said's work and the works of those who have followed - those who have experienced racism first hand - offer a great deal to this study. As seen in the opening quote of this dissertation, Said saw great possibilities in our collective experiences – the potential to benefit from our collective history and political struggles. Said's work, specifically his understanding of Orientalism, forms a central theoretical commitment in this analysis.

Section II: Multiculturalism

The second section will focus on multiculturalism – a term that is certainly marked by multiple meanings. Multiculturalism, among other things, can describe a lived reality; a government policy aimed at managing diverse societies; an ideological normative vision; or even a collective critical discourse of resistance and contestation.[31] But for many it is simply a fact of life, a lived reality on the streets of Sydney, London, Singapore, New York, Istanbul or Vancouver. It can be linked to the processes of migration and inter-cultural exchange through which we have historically

differentiated each other, and it exists, arguably, at least to an extent, in almost every society in the world. At its most basic level multiculturalism is about thinking and talking about each other's identities and how those identities are contained within the social relations at a given place and time.[32]

Driving this contemporary multicultural 'lived' reality is the endlessly debated and amorphous concept of *globalization*. As New York Times journalist and theorist Thomas Friedman has described it, today's globalization enables us to, "reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before."[33] Through the greater exchange of goods and people it has created complex interdependence between states and societies.[34] The faster and greater movement of peoples, especially from the post-colonial societies of the Global South to the Global North, has been one of the primary "engines" of globalization. The sojourners of globalization bring with them new ideas, values and practices - they live through multiple identities – and are transnationally situated. [35] Paradoxically, as global borders have been opened to trade and commerce, the freer movement of goods in an increasingly interdependent world, states have also sought control over the movement of people. In the case of Europe this has led to the "Fortress Europe" analogy.[36]

But this "lived reality" of multiculturalism must be differentiated from multiculturalism as public policy or state multiculturalism - the focus of this dissertation. This section will focus on defining state multiculturalism in Canada, look at its historical development and weigh some of the arguments for and against its success. In brief, at the policy level, state multiculturalism recognizes the disadvantages which immigrants and refugees face during and after their settlement process and their right to retain their identities. It is based on the understanding that disadvantages related to racial, cultural, ethnic or religious identity can deny newcomers *and* long-standing minority communities upward mobility and integration into the host society; thus, meeting their special needs

is a precondition for building an inclusive society. [37] As Kymlicka notes, these policies are intended "to contest inherited ethnic and racial hierarchies through the recognition and accommodation of ethnocultural diversity, inspired and constrained by norms of human rights and civil rights liberalism. As such, they fit together with other policies aimed at contesting status hierarchies, such as gender and sexual orientation, as part of a larger package of liberal-democratic reforms."[38] Within these policies there is a recognition that newcomers and minorities suffer, but more than that, state multiculturalism seeks, in the words of Augie Fleras and Jean Kunz, to create "A new symbolic order, along with a corresponding mythology," for a state, one that "help[s] to paper over any inconsistencies at odds with present realties.[39] In other words multiculturalism is not only the public "management of diversity" it is also nation-building – the re-imagination of nationalism in a way that is more reflective of the lived reality of multiculturalism.

Starting in 1971, under the stewardship of Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Canada was first to embrace this policy. In the Canadian context multiculturalism as policy took on the form of a mandated approach to pluralism which aimed to allow newcomers and ethnic minorities to maintain their cultural identity and participate equitably in Canadian society while adhering to the legal and normative standards of the state. And for a short period, in the late twentieth century, multiculturalism as public policy seemed a popular Canadian export, one that the Australians, the Dutch, the Swedes and the British were eager to consume - in their own culturally and historically determined manner.

But like many social policies born during the "golden era" of social democracy and the welfare state in the era of "neoliberalism" state multiculturalism has been attacked by critics in academia, the media, and as of late declared an abject failure by powerful politicians. And it is here where we encounter the "crisis of multiculturalism". Speaking from decades of work on issues of

race and racism in Europe Liz Fekete registers her surprise in relation to these trends, writing that she "could not have predicted… that the extreme-Right's call for an exclusive national preference and cultural identity would come to fruition … For a variant of the extreme-Right's call for national preference is today written into government social programmes that demand compulsory integration (i.e. assimilation) of minority ethnic communities into superior British, German, French (etc.) 'values'."[40] According to its critics, state multiculturalism is said to have endorsed illiberal practices among minority groups and even opened a space for extremism in Western societies: it has promoted moral relativism and encouraged separateness. [41]

This section will also focus on what has been presented as an answer to the crisis of multiculturalism: a re-packaged form of "integration", a euphemism for the assimilationist practices of the past.[42] What is presented as rehabilitative policy that aims to address the damaged caused by state multiculturalism contains a new set of policy priorities - new citizenship laws, compulsory civics and language tests, codes of conduct for religious leaders and in some cases guidelines for style of dress in public spaces – such as the banning of the headscarf.[43] As suggested by Liz Fekete, this is this area of policy where institutionalized forms of xenoracism can be manifested at the policy level and act to legitimize societal level prejudice.[44] According to Talal Asad, these rehabilitative policies have operated on the perception that the Muslim community's attachment to faith commits Muslims to values which are "an affront to the modern secular state."[45] Arguably, religion rather than ethnicity has become the centre of attention in what has been described as the politics of diversity, the focal point of policy approaches to immigration and social integration.[46] Whereas in past instances those at the margins of this citizen-foreigner divide may have been primarily outlined through ethnic or racial markers amongst policy makers, increasingly religion is being invoked in the public sphere as a form of difference.

But there are multiple approaches to and understandings of integration. Integration may operate in a more pluralistic model where identity groups may maintain boundaries while enjoying state mandated equality in public and private arenas. At the same time there are expectations for participation in the civil life of the state: to acquire citizenship, one of the official languages and to engage in the political life of the country. This is a simplified outline of the Canadian model. In the state multicultural model integration remains a stated goal of this policy, at least insofar as integration results in the inclusion of minorities into the civic life of the state.[47] On the other hand, assimilation is intended to incorporate migrants through a one-sided process in which they give up their language, cultural and other characteristics in order to become undifferentiated from the majority of the population.[48]

In effect, this section will seek to answer a central question of this analysis: has Canada developed a plural state model better able to withstand the crisis of multiculturalism and wave of xenoracism witnessed elsewhere? It is hoped that the answers to this question may, in some small way, provide potential avenues for normative change.

Section III: Security

The third section of the dissertation will focus on security. It will examine how security legislation, practices and discourse have shaped the portrayal of Muslims in the Global North and how securitized language has been employed in the crisis of multiculturalism. Following on observations above, much of the crisis of multiculturalism has been framed by “societal insecurity”, in other words concern that religious minorities like Muslims possess values and ideas that pose a direct threat to the integrity of “national values”, *and* physical security, framed by concerns over homegrown terrorism. This section will explore the premise that security policy, much like what is

presented as rehabilitative reform to state multiculturalism, may provide an avenue for institutionalized xenoracism.

In order to explore this form of "societal security" and securitization theory more generally, the dissertation will employ the constructivist security theory that is known as the Copenhagen School. According to the Copenhagen theorists, security is not an objective condition or process, but rather is highly subjective.[49] Here, security is understood as a particular set of discourses and practices carried out by relevant actors that rest upon shared and perceptual understandings. As one of the Copenhagen theorists, Ole Waever contends, "What is essential [to a case of securitization] is the designation of an existential threat . . . and the acceptance of that designation by a significant audience."[50] Such an understanding of security opens up the traditionally understood referent object of security (national security) to a host of potential objects, which, when portrayed as threatened, can lead to a state of insecurity where extraordinary measures can be justified as a means of pursuing security.

For example, in the case of social securitization, a politician may make reference to a nation being threatened by newcomers with cultural traditions that are "dangerous" or "barbarous" and opposed to the norms, values and laws of the national community. Here the referent object is national identity, and the security threat is minorities and the values they possess. The language of security, particularly in the post-9/11 era, has been used to justify extraordinary actions in the pursuit of "national security". As Rens Van Munster notes in his work *Securitizing Immigration: the politics of risk in the EU,* "References to security invoke some sort of pre-political priority ('if we don't act now, it will be too late!'), the invocation of security in policy discourses often works as a rhetorical device through which the legitimacy and political support for political action is legitimized."[51] A key point raised by Van Munster that will be explored in the third section is that

over the past decade security concerns have been institutionalized and bureaucratized into immigration and social policy - arguably in ways previously unseen. A key point raised by scholars like Van Munster is that the language of security and securitized practices are becoming normalized and integrated into the everyday workings of the state.[52] In the context of the war on terror the integration of security into domestic social policy can be viewed as just another avenue for the pursuit of security. According to Fekete, the assimilationist approach to migration and diversity is an "adjunct" to securitization embodied at the policy level through anti-terrorism laws. Simply put, it "is impossible to divorce the current debate on the 'limits of cultural diversity' from the war on terror."[53]

What Fekete highlights in this statement is that societal insecurity is accentuated by threats to physical security that exist both at "home" and "abroad". Thus Muslims in the Global North can be portrayed as the external enemy, as in the war on terror, and the internal and dangerous other – as portrayed in the crisis of multiculturalism. In this duality belonging is called into question and migrants may become the dangerous foreign "other". Since the attacks of 9/11 and terrorist attacks in cities such as Madrid and London, this sense of insecurity has driven the development of policies aimed to prevent future attacks.

Governments and security organizations across the Global North, including Canada and its Canadian Security Intelligence Service, have designated "militant Islam" as the primary threat to national security.[54] Political Islam or Islamism has become one of the most fetishized and misunderstood political-religious ideologies, and is often portrayed through the lens of Orientalism as uniformly extreme.[55] Groups like al-Qaeda, through their ability to carry out catastrophic terrorist attacks, have become representative of these fears. By successfully drawing attention to their cause and instilling fear in a target audience al-Qaeda and related groups have established themselves as

the replacement to the old Cold War Soviet enemy. The oft spoken concern among politicians and security personnel in the Global North is that political Islam, and its more extreme variants, could take hold in the socio-economically non-integrated, producing “homegrown” terrorism.[56] In this narrative an equivalency is drawn between a small extremist minority group and Muslims living in the Global North.

Canada, unlike the United States and Western Europe, has not suffered a terrorist attack since 9/11; however, it has been targeted in several alleged failed terrorist plots, such as the so-called Toronto 18 plot in 2006, the liquid explosives plot originating in the United Kingdom that same year and a recent alleged plan to attack passenger trains in the Toronto region. The Canadian government did pass security legislation after 9/11 that resembles security measures seen elsewhere: for example, the Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA) and Bill C-36. Despite reassurances that the ATA is a neutral piece of legislation that does not target Canadians based on their ethnic or religious identity, Canadian Muslims have expressed concerns that such legislation has resulted in the targeting of Muslims to the detriment of their civil liberties. While a more in-depth analysis of this legislation is warranted, one need look no further than the example of the ordeal suffered by Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen unlawfully detained, deported to Syria and tortured based on co-operative actions between American and Canadian security officials and the case of Omar Khadr, a child soldier abandoned by the Canadian state and allowed to reside in the extra-legal environment of Guantanamo Bay as a juvenile. Both cases illustrate how Canadian Muslim citizens have been treated under Canadian government security practices and suggest that post 9/11 security practices may represent another potential manifestation of xenoracism.

The preoccupation with issues like “homegrown” terrorists in Western media and academia has arguably played a significant role in constructing the external / internal Muslim citizen who

threatens the state from both the inside and the outside – thereby blurring belonging and citizenship.[57] These observations require further analysis in the pages to come. In short, any study of contemporary manifestations of xenoracism in relation to Western Muslim communities must examine the securitized post 9/11 world we inhabit.

Epistemology, Methodology and Normative Commitments

The dissertation rests in social constructivist and critical schools of academic thought and an inter-disciplinary approach to research. Ambalavaner Sivanandan and Liz Fekete's conceptual development of xenoracism; Edward Said's work on Orientalism; Ryan, Lentin and Titley's work on the crisis of multiculturalism; and the Copenhagen School's securitization theory are employed in the three primary sections of the dissertation. These are the lenses that filter the substantial body of research employed in this work.

Having said that, the dissertation is epistemologically and ontologically situated in an understanding of a political and social world that is constituted foremost through agency, norms and ideas. As the noted constructivist scholar Alexander Wendt has surmised, the political world, its structure, is constituted primarily through social relations, through "shared knowledge… [that] leads to an idealist view of structure as a distribution of knowledge or 'ideas all the way down'."[58] Material relations are not meaningless according to constructivists; however, they are moderated and shaped by the ideas that agents possess. Thus underlying political-social structures are both materially and ideationally defined, and agents mutually constitute identities and interests in politics. [59] Similarly, Katzenstein contends that, considering the complexity and problematic nature of socio-political phenomenon, it makes little sense to privilege material factors. Scholars must rather combine material, ideational and historical considerations - examine all these factors in order to develop a comprehensive approach to politics.[60]

Social constructivism, and other critical schools of thought, has responded to the epistemological criticisms of the positivistic theories within social science through the recognition of the inter-subjective and experiential nature of a socially constructed world. As observed by Richard Ashley, a purely empirical approach to social science has produced an ahistorical, positivistic approach that was inherently flawed, in that the roles of culture and history were left unexamined except in the most superficial manner.[61] Subsequently, critical scholars have argued that the era of "big narratives" is over and that we now require more contextualization (in terms of locality and temporality) in the narratives that researchers provide.[62]

A brief example of how constructivist ideas apply to some of the themes in the dissertation can be found in social scientific understandings of race. For instance, one cannot separate the category of race from European colonial and imperial projects, or from emerging ideas of nationalism in the 18th century. In order to frame and justify practices like colonialism, wars of imperial expansion, and political ideologies like fascism, a hierarchical and relational *idea* of human difference was required. [63] From this perspective the category of race can be viewed as a construct of colonial powers who sought to justify the material exploitation of colonized peoples.

Constructivist ideas can also be found in the study of nationalism. To highlight this, noted cultural anthropologist Ernest Gellner has shown how the ideology of nationalism was a product of a particular moment in European history, a constructed notion of group identity born out of agency - the musings of poets, writers and political leaders.[64] The idea of the nation was used to give meaning to the territorial boundaries of the state – an imagined national identity that drew peoples together under an idea of loyalty to a single political entity.[65] In total, constructivist and critical approaches recognize that ideas and historically situated knowledge shape our understandings of reality, of truth – for instance, portraying social relations as natural and timeless. Yet what is

revealed through the constructivist and critical lens is that social relations are far more dynamic than they may outwardly appear: "reality" is shaped by subjective and inter-subjective perception and knowledge is steeped in political power.

Finally, in terms of its methodological approach (methods, procedures etc.) the dissertation will employ what are seen as multiple complimentary methods.[66] Recognizing the relative complexity of the subject matter, methodological opportunism will be required at times. This approach of course is nothing new. As Adam Przeworski confesses, "I am a methodological opportunist who believes in doing or using whatever works. If game theory works, I use it. If what is called for is a historical account, I do that. If deconstruction is needed, I will even try deconstruction. So I have no principles."[67] The dissertation focuses on a single case, Canada (outside of Quebec) while drawing on comparative elements in examining, for instance, various states' experiences with xenoracism and the crisis of multiculturalism. As shown in the preceding discussion, much of the existing work on xenoracism and the most vocal opponents of state multiculturalism originate in Europe. In an interconnected and interdependent world where ideas, ideologies and agents operate transnationally, any attempt to understand subject matters such as the growing opposition to state multiculturalism without understanding transnational influences, is highly problematic.

However, while recognizing the growing prevalence of transnationalism in an increasingly globalized and inter-connected world, Canada is marked by differing social, economic, political and historical experiences that shape experiences with xenoracism and multiculturalism. It is argued that these local particularities can only be understood within an in-depth case study. Thus, the primary focus is a single state and therefore to what extent findings can be exported outside of Canada is debatable. As recognized by academics, small-N studies do not lend themselves to extensive

generalization beyond the case(s) at hand. Rather they are intended to act as intensive qualitative analysis that perhaps can later be included in larger studies with similar studies from other localities at a later date.[68]

As Guy Peters points out, the real problem for social scientists is making convincing statements about the causation of political phenomena.[69] Ultimately, for many academics this realization leads to the smaller contextualized narratives which small N studies offer - a "nomothetic approach" to casual analysis – that seeks to identify some key explanative factors and a probable explanation for outcomes, rather than positing objective truths.[70] In order to demonstrate connections between the three primary focuses of xenoracism, multiculturalism and security, the dissertation relies primarily on a narrative style that seeks to contextualize casual connections.[71]

Furthermore, the dissertation will employ a combination of quantitative and qualitative data in approaching the central research question. Having recognized the limitations and possibilities offered by these approaches used in isolation, a minority of innovative inter-disciplinary academics has been advocating for increased methodological fusion (e.g. Denzin 1989; Smaling 1994; Oleinik 2011). This combination of multiple methods has been termed 'triangulation'– the combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches aimed at strengthening an understanding of social phenomena.[72] In triangulation, methods operate in a complementary fashion with the ultimate intention of converging research methods on the issue(s) being studied.[73]

With this in mind, the dissertation will employ an extensive literature review related to the three key themes of xeno-racism, multiculturalism, and security – all contextualized within the case study. Second, the dissertation will make use of empirical data in the form of Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) of 2002. The EDS represents a unique and substantive analysis of cultural relations in Canada. Already the EDS has been subject to established academic study and

applied to subject matters such as multiculturalism. For instance, the Reitz et al. (2009) edited work *Multiculturalism and Social Cohesion: Potentials and Challenges of Diversity* heavily employed the study in its analysis. Critically, considering the focus on xenoracism in the Muslim community, the EDS provides indicators of experiences of discrimination and social, economic and political integrative indicators and represents a comprehensive examination of attitudes among Canadian religious groups. And, while the EDS has been the focus of past studies, there are a scarcity of studies that focus specifically on religious identities. It should be noted that the EDS sample contains a large number of "immigrants" – a term defined quite broadly by Statistics Canada that includes citizens and non-citizens as, "Persons residing in Canada who were born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada and those with student or working visas."[74]

The quantitative data provided by the EDS will be "triangulated" with qualitative data from semi-structured interviews in order to strengthen findings within the Canadian case study. This interview data was collected between spring 2010 and spring 2013 and is made up of two sample groups. The focus of these ethnographic, semi-structured and elite level interviews reflected the three primary sections of the dissertation. In combination with the EDS data the interviews provide evidence of the potential presence (or not) of xenoracism, its manifestations and effects. Both the EDS and the interview data are used to examine similar themes. For example, interviews focused on experiences of discrimination for religious minorities and general integrative indicators – data that can also be drawn out of the EDS.

The first group of interviewees is an "elite" level sample made up of leaders in the Canadian Muslim community and represents a sample size of n20. The sample provides a highly diverse (in terms of professional experience, religious affiliation (sect) / religiosity, ethnic background, and in

general life experience) group of individuals. It includes Imams, politicians, academics, lawyers and business people, heads of women's advocacy groups, and senior members of cultural-religious associations. The sample can be said to be reflective of the religious and ethnic diversity found in the Canadian Muslim community. Interviewees came from Sunni, Shi'a and Ismaili religious interpretations; some defined themselves as religiously conservative while others expressed more secular leanings. Interviewees were first and second generation Canadians from a variety of national backgrounds including Pakistan, Lebanon, Egypt, Palestine, India, Uganda, and Kenya– a reflection of the heterogeneity of individuals who practice Islam and of the Canadian Muslim community in particular. A central reason for the selection of Muslim leaders or "elites" was the community level insight these individuals can provide - for instance into potential experiences with xenoracism and multiculturalism in Canada.[75]

The use of semi-structured interviews and an elite level sampling offer some distinct advantages related to the dissertation as a whole. Semi-structured interviews allow a more reflexive interview style that sought to understand the complexities and uniqueness of individual experience in the context of a multicultural state.[76] In comparison standardized interviews containing closed-ended questions assume the interviewer is (mostly) fully informed about the subject matter he seeks to examine. The issue here, especially in ethnographic research, is omission, in that, by failing to account for the reflections of the interviewee, the interviewer may ask the wrong question or fail to critically examine his or her own preconceived notion and existing knowledge. [77] Unstructured interviews, on the other hand, are essentially more of a conversation than an interview and are typically employed when the interviewer has little knowledge of the topic he wishes to explore or when he seeks a purely "insider" perspective.[78] The primary drawback here is that the unstructured nature of the interviews leads to the generation of inconsistent data, in terms of comparability and

applicability to the central thesis and topic of the research. Resulting data can be diffuse and pulling out threads of correlation in the data can prove difficult.

Semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer to be partly informed by the interviewee, allowing the interviewee to frame, in his or her own words, how the question and/or problem you are seeking to examine is understood.[79] Certainly this offers advantages in critically framed ethnographic studies that seek to avoid Orientalist tendencies. In ethnographic study, especially in the area of Islamic studies originating in "Western" academia where the influence of Orientalism cannot be ignored, inter-cultural exchange and understanding are critical in creating ethical and reflective research. As suggested by Beth Leech, the "middle ground' between structured and unstructured approaches offers some advantages, "one that can provide detail, depth, and an insider's perspective, while at the same time allowing hypothesis testing and the quantitative analysis of interview response."[80] This middle ground approach, especially within the context of an elite level ethnographic study, leads to a professional and generally informed (i.e. containing some presuppositions) approach to the interview while offering deference to interviewee views and opinions.[81] In other words, you allow the interviewee to inform your presuppositions and thus offer a reflexive style that, in some ways, can generate greater insight in research, and, it is hoped, is less prone to reification. The ideas offered by interviewees can be used to challenge the presuppositions of the researcher and thereby shape understandings. Of course, as Clifford Geertz has noted, ethnographic study produces an inter-cultural exchange that is thick with the researcher's own presuppositions of the other.[82] Personal bias derived from the researchers own life experiences and identity cannot fully be removed from this form of study.

Elite level samples offer both advantages and drawbacks in terms of generating rigorous academic findings. One issue is "random error" – in other words when we extrapolate, from a small

sample group, estimations of a larger population's experiences. As elite level interviews are smaller in nature these extrapolations are certainly prone to such issues.[83] Within this type of sample the researcher selects members based on his or her own assumption of key traits with the research population.[84] Thus sampling is based on the researcher's own subjective interpretation of social stratification and who should be designated as an "elite". Indeed, this form of data collection is, by its nature, an exercise in eliciting subjective opinion and perception rather than seeking objective truth. As Walford argues, "At best, interviewees will only give what they are prepared to reveal about their subjective perceptions of events and opinions…It can be argued that identity is created rather than revealed through narrative."[85] Recognizing this limitation brings us back to the preference for multiple research methods or so-called triangulation.

However, it should be noted that the interviewees included in this study were almost all what Moore defines as "good informants": they demonstrated the necessary knowledge and experience required to meaningfully reflect on the subject matters contained in the research.[86] Due to careful selection, there were no "throw-away" interviews. With this in mind the use of an elite level sample provided significant qualitative depth in terms of the knowledge and insights, while lacking width (size).[87] Returning to the benefits of triangulation, the larger samples from EDS and other statistical data sources provide findings from larger sample groups and thereby act to reinforce the deeper contextualizing findings of the interviews.

The second interview group is also an elite level sample composed of policy officials from a variety of governmental bodies engaged with state multiculturalism, including current and former employees of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and the Multiculturalism Program, NGOs, community and settlement agencies, and anti-Racism and cultural advocacy groups. All of these individuals have been engaged with state multiculturalism, either directly as a civil servant or

indirectly as an advocate for community and minority rights. In total the sample size in this group was n13 bringing the cumulative sample to n33. Here questions focused primarily on the current state of affairs in official Canadian multiculturalism, integration and the role of religious minorities in the multicultural framework. The policy level sample provides another window into state multiculturalism in Canada and its inner workings. Interviewees were not asked directly about the "crisis of multiculturalism" but rather were allowed to express in their own words how they felt the state multicultural model was working in Canada. Their views provide another layer of data in a dissertation that prioritizes contextualization of research findings through individual life experience.

A Personal Statement on Normative Commitments

Finally, in favour of full disclosure, this dissertation contains a normative commitment – one that seeks to further inter-cultural exchange and provide social scientific research less encumbered by the legacies of orientalism and cultural misrepresentation. As Said points out, "Orientalism's failure" is a human as much as it is an intellectual one. He writes, "…for in having to take up a position of irreducible opposition to a region of the world it considered alien to its own, Orientalism failed to identify with human experience, failed also to see it as human experience."[88] This quote draws out the priority of this dissertation. A commitment to improving intercultural relations by seeking out human experience, drawing lessons from those experiences and identifying how public policy ought to approach policies like multiculturalism.

In a world of migrants, diasporas, and sojourners, to borrow some descriptions from my doctoral supervisor, W. Andy Knight, successful plural societies are essential for the development of more peaceful global relations.[89] Globalization is shrinking time and space; we are more interconnected than ever; we experience inter-culturalism in ways previously unseen; but we are also more prone to a host of contemporary dangers ranging from financial crisis to climate change.

Cultural difference can enrich us; shared experience and inter-cultural exchange can be the basis of successful nation-states and international communities. However, even a brief review of the last century of human history, of global wars and numerous genocides, reveals that conflict is in many ways tied to the ways in which we divide each other – racially, religiously, ethnically and so on. What explains this dichotomy – what is the difference between a successful plural society and one that tears itself apart? This is a question that I asked myself long ago, and in many ways the question has come out of my own experiences as a transnationally situated individual.

In 1967 my parents left Northern Ireland for Canada, seeking a new future away from the societal divisions and impending extremist violence that gripped their homeland. I became the first Canadian-born member of my family and, like many other first generation Canadians, I have an intimate and personal connection to my parents' homeland. My visits to Ireland have been frequent - from childhood to my adult years - and I believe those experiences very much shaped my view of the world. As I grew older these experiences took on a new meaning and a deeper, more academic interest. I found it difficult to understand why there was so much hatred in Ireland, a place that is so culturally rich and so warm to visitors, yet sometimes so horribly violent to its own.

Of course there were the obvious explanations: a history of colonization, religious divides, and frequent wars. However, I also believed, through my own experiences, that there were other, less publicized sources of the violence. There was the political and social marginalization of the Catholics through the gerrymandering which had been used by the protestant majority to guarantee political control. There was the poverty, the utter bleakness of the working-class catholic and protestant strongholds of, respectively, The Falls and Shankill Roads in Belfast and the catholic enclave of the Bog-Side in Derry, which seemed to breed discontent and violence. There was the ever present shadow of the violent clashes of centuries past – obsessively remembered, annually and

publicly celebrated by the right wing unionists of the Orange Order and bitterly deplored and denounced by the nationalists to whom the marching, banner waving, and drum-banging remain a constant thorn-in-the flesh. History, culture, poverty and wealth, all were woven together to shape contemporary social relations in ways that created what was seemingly an irreconcilable conflict. Of course since the Good Friday Peace Agreement in Belfast in 1998 this idea has been challenged and, despite the divides that remain in Ireland, there are great hopes for future generations.

Canada was of course a very different place in which to grow up. Canada became a sanctuary for my parents, and this is also true for many Muslim Canadians who have escaped war-torn states suffering from acute divisions based on human identities. Moreover, Canada for me was a place where the divisions and extremism of my second home were virtually non-existent, a place where diversity is cherished and codified into our most sacred laws. And it is in this truth that my admittedly normative goal exists. Today scholars from around the world, but especially those in multicultural Western European countries, look to the Canadian example of diversity when seeking answers to their own problems of co-existence.

It is hoped that this dissertation can provide some answers on how to address what can be argued as the primary threat to multicultural systems throughout the western world: xenoracism and the divides that it erects between Canadian Muslims and the host culture. It is hoped that it can address some of the primary criticisms of the policy, that, as Kymlicka points out, tend to rest, "on a crude misrepresentation, even caricature, of multiculturalist theories and approaches."[90] Through deconstructing the crisis of multiculturalism and looking to the experiences of Canadian Muslims, it is my hope that this research will offer some beneficial recommendations on how we can build a more just and inclusive plural society.

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[70] Janet Ruane, *Essentials of Research Methods: A Guide to Social Science Research* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 76.

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[72] Christian Erzberger and Gerald Prein, "Triangulation: Validity and Empirically-Based Hypothesis Construction," *Quality and Quantity* 31, no.2 (1997): 142.

[73] Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 265.

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[77] Beth Leech, "Asking Questions: Techniques for Semistructured Interviews," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35, no.4 (2002): 665.

[78] Ibid., 665.

[79] Beth Leech, "Interview Methods in Political Science," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35, no.4 (2002): 663.

[80] Leech, "Asking Questions," 665.

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[82] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Hutchinson, 1993).

[83] Kenneth Goldstein, "Getting in the Door: Sampling and Completing Elite Interviews," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35, no.4 (2002): 669.

[84] Ruane, *Essentials of Research Methods*, 118.

[85] Geoffrey Walford, "Classification and Framing of Interviews in Ethnographic Interviewing," *Ethnography and Education* 2, no. 2 (2007): 147-148.

[86] Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 69.

[87] Ibid., 70.

[88] Said, *Orientalism*, 328.
[89] Knight, "Conceptualizing Transnational Community Formation."

[90] Kymlicka, “Comment on Meer and Modood,” 211.

Chapter 2: Race and Racism

Before entering into a review of the research findings the dissertation will first seek to gain a better conceptualization of some of the key concepts and terms used in the analysis, commencing with an examination of the ideas of race and racism. Scholarly debates over racism, its nature and its effects have been contentious and even acrimonious; certainly, the subject of racism can provoke an emotional reaction, especially for those who feel its ill effects. On the other hand, the topic of racism is something that can make many of us uncomfortable, a subject best avoided in conversation. As one interviewee, Charlene Hay, Executive Director of the Centre for Race and Culture observed**,** "Very rarely are people willing to acknowledge that there is a problem. If you can acknowledge the problem then you can start talking about solving the problem, but if you are still denying that there is a problem it is extremely difficult to get any sort of conversation going on." As recognized by Ms. Hay, today racism has become a taboo subject - even if it is acknowledged, begrudgingly or not, as a serious social issue. Increasingly the words *race* and *racism* are conspicuous in their absence from the public discourse and in policy where difference tends to be framed under terms like *culture* and *ethnicity* and we speak less of racism and more of discrimination. As the noted social theorist Alana Lentin observes, "When probed further, racism provokes a 'don't go there' attitude that reveals that it is something we are both deeply familiar with and profoundly troubled by."[91]

There have been many notable, scholarly explorations of race and racism. Balibar and Wallerstein (1991); Miles (1993); Omi and Winant (1994); Banton (1998); Taguieff (2001); Miles and Brown (2005); and Goldberg (2009) represent but a few of the attempts to explore some of these questions, and sometimes they offer very different answers to how race should be framed and racism understood. The debates on concepts such as race and racism rest in a vast body of literature,

and subsequently a comprehensive review is simply beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead, this chapter will examine race and racism as a point of departure for the conceptual development of xenoracism. It will critically examine the idea of race as socially constructed and racism as an ideology: two ideas that were prefaced in the introduction. There are several key observations on the nature of racism that were identified in the introduction and these points will now be explained at greater length**.**

An understanding of racism as ideology that operates at multiple levels: political, social and economic, challenges the common perception of racism as a set of knee-jerk and misinformed understandings or prejudices. If racism is associated with political programmes such as nation-building, colonialism, imperialism and war, racist ideologies are intimately connected with the institutions of the state. If politics is about, to borrow Lasswell's famous phrase, "who gets what, when and how" then the ideology of racism presents an answer, a justification, to why power is distributed in the way it is.[92]

In effect, this chapter seeks to unravel some of the meanings of race and racism and will focus on the following: a brief discussion of some of the definitional debates on race and racism; an examination of how our understandings of race and racism have been shaped by spatial and temporal settings; how racism may be understood as an ideology that is structured both by institutional and societal factors and finally how nationalism has acted as a powerful influence on the development of racist ideologies.

Decoding Race and Racism

Etymologically the term "race" has origins in the French language – the old French term "rasse" but also from the Italian "razza" from roughly the 1500s. However, it is generally recognized that our contemporary understanding of race emerged in the late 18th century as

anthropologists and biologists sought to understand the significance of human variation and states sought to justify projects of colonization and nation building.[93] Race and racism, as we know them today, draw significant lineage from 19th century European romanticism, which helped give birth to the idea of nationalism, and the Enlightenment, with its preference for scientific classification.[94]

As Europeans "discovered" those whom they deemed culturally and biologically inferior, they used the concept of race as a means of giving meaning to these differences and justifying colonial subjugation. Emerging European states also used ideas of cultural and racial difference to assign unique identities to nations, and when conceived of in homogenous and highly exclusivist terms these ideas lent themselves to the development of ideas of superiority and inferiority. As several scholars (i.e. Shah et al. (2007); Harris and Sim 2002; Spickard 1992) have recognized, "race", although understood by many to be biologically defined, is first and foremost a social construct. As Shah et al simply state, "race does not exist outside of our social world."[95] This observation leads to a cautionary note for social scientists who seek to study race. For example, in Harris and Sim's 2002 study of multiracial identity in the United States, a study in which they used census data to show the multiracial character of many Americans, they cautioned that "analysts must think critically about what they mean by race."[96]

Racism too is a concept that is subject to numerous definitions – some of which define it rather broadly. As noted area scholars Miles and Brown point out, if we define racism too broadly the term loses applicability by potentially painting everyone as racists; however, if defined too narrowly we perhaps will miss some manifestations of racism.[97] Defining concepts such as racism poses several dilemmas and requires interpretation of complex social, political and economic processes which lie underneath a hierarchical understanding of social relations.

Etymologically, the term racism is quite modern - finding its origins in the early 20th century. While human beings have long suffered discrimination, prejudice, subjugation and violence based on ethno-racial group membership, the term *racism* has much more contemporary origins. It can be traced to the French word *racisme* which was initially used to critique German nationalism in the 1920s.[98] Today we understand racism in the context of contemporary and historically situated politics, social relations and human conflicts: South African apartheid, segregation in the American south, Nazi anti-Semitism, the genocides in Turkey, Kosovo and Rwanda. The Second World War in particular highlighted the potential destructiveness of ideas born during European romantic and Enlightenment periods: fascist ultra-nationalism combined with Darwinism helped to produce humanity's most self-destructive moment. Nazism came to represent the most dangerous political outcome of biological ideas of race and nation, although imperial projects in Japan produced similarly murderous results. It was during this period that the potential consequences of biological racism (where human beings are placed in distinct self-reproducing and biologically defined groups) became painfully clear. From phrenology tests to racial purity exams to the racially framed genocide of European Jews, biological racism divided humanity into seemingly separate species and provided justification for the murder of millions.

Biological ideas of race dominated scientific and popular understandings until what Duffield called the "cataclysm of the second World War."[99] By 1966 the international community had, in its *United Nations International Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* declared its unity in combating the destructive forms of racism witnessed during the war. And in the following year, UNESCO offered its definition of racism as "antisocial beliefs and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory intergroup relations are justifiable on biological

grounds."[100] As human beings attempted to prevent genocide and another cataclysmic war, biological racism was singled out and rejected by many.

Yet biological racism was also attacked on scientific grounds: biologists have now widely demonstrated that races simply do not exist in any distinct self-reproducing sense. As Miles and Brown point out:

> It was generally concluded after the Second World War that the scientific conception of 'race', grounded in the idea of fixed typologies and based upon phenotypical features, did not have any scientific utility. Moreover, the evidence showed no causal relationship between physical or genetic characteristics and cultural characteristics. Genetics demonstrated that 'race', as defined by scientists from the late eighteenth century, had no scientifically verifiable referent."[101]

Noting these observations, not surprisingly, one can see highly differing approaches to the category of race among scholars, ranging from those who believe the racial idiom should be wholly rejected (for example Michael Banton) to those (such as Miles, Brown and Goldberg) who recognize that, while it is not a scientifically grounded concept, the socially constructed idea of race still has particular social resonance that cannot be ignored by scholars. David Goldberg for instance has been particularly critical of theorists such as Banton for attempting to reject the racial idiom.[1] Banton believed that race in particular was "securely established in the practical language," in other words in everyday use that cannot be easily dispelled. For Banton, challenging racism, which involves, "Superseding 'race' in the theoretical language of social science, will depend upon the development of a better theory of group formation and dissolution."[102] Racial categories for Banton are distinctly tied to the biological – even if they are created (i.e. socially constructed) based on this understanding in order to "exclude persons from equal relations."[103] Unlike categories such as

[1] By racial idiom Banton is referring to what he sees as a "whole family of expressions centred upon the conception of race, including racial discrimination, racial group, racial prejudice, racial segregation and racism." (Michael Banton. (1998). *Racial Theories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2)

nation or class, he points out that race creates a "hard boundary" for individuals seeking other identities.[104]

Banton's suggestion that we re-frame difference away from the racial idiom has produced some sharp reactions from his peers. For example, David Goldberg has responded by stating, "No race here. No imagination of the racial because the terms are deadened, taken away. And so no conceivable recognition of the marks of its effects, let alone of the effects themselves. Buried. But buried alive."[105] In other words, according to Goldberg, for scholars to ignore race means ignoring its continuing social resonance as a category of human difference and potentially very negative social effects.

As race and racism theorists Michael Omi and Howard Winant point out, there are two "temptations" for those who seek to understand and employ race in social analyses. One is to view race as an essence, something that is fixed and objective: the other is to view it merely as illusion. They state, "It is necessary to challenge both these positions, to disrupt and reframe the rigid and bipolar manner in which they are posed and debated, and to transcend the presumably irreconcilable relationship between them."[106] Omi and Winant have called for race to be viewed as an element of social structure: "as a dimension of human representation rather than an illusion." They have used the concept of "racial formation" to describe the socio-historical process through which ideas of race are created and transformed.[107] Following on this premise race should be viewed as a term with both static and dynamic qualities. Static in that it is discursively constructed as a timeless, biologically-tied identity but dynamic in that, as shown by scholars like Omi and Winant, ideas of race can be constructed within particular social structures. Thus racist ideologies may connote a timeless hierarchy of social relations even if in reality race and racial hierarchies are dynamic – they are constructed in a specific place and time and shift because of changing norms, ideas and material

relations. For example, we can look to how the Irish, particularly in American society, were viewed in the 19th century as racially inferior, whereas today they are very much part of mainstream society.

But these observations on the socially constructed and dynamic nature of race do not mean that its influence on social relations is trivial. For normative theorists committed to an anti-racist agenda in particular, the denial of the racial idiom has particular consequences. Ultimately, anti-racism cannot be pursued through what Goldberg has termed "anti-racialism" - the ignoring or forgetting of the terms of reference for racism. Rather it must be based on understanding the history of how race has been socially constructed and employed in racist ideologies and in local and global conditions.[108] On this subject Sefa Rei has stated, "I find it hard to believe that one can take a stand that denies race and simultaneously can challenge racism effectively. Denying race is both theoretically and politically suspect."[109] Even with the realization that race is a problematic category, for a variety of reasons to ignore it, to "bury it alive" as Goldman so artfully puts it, is to eschew an understanding of a highly destructive social force in our world. Social scientists may recognize the socially constructed nature of racial categories but this should not equate into ignoring its potentially pernicious effects.[2] With this understanding of race in mind, how then should we understand racism - how is it manifested? If scientific racism was destroyed by the horrors of World War II what has replaced it?

Scholars, such as Etienne Balibar, take a holistic view of racism and define it as a "total social phenomenon" that inscribes itself through practices, discourses and representations articulated around "stigmata of otherness" such as cultural or religious practices, skin colour or name.[110] From this perspective racism contains both *evaluative* and *descriptive* elements. In the

[2] On this point Shih et al. states, "it is important to keep in mind that although it may be argued that race may have no biological basis, race plays an important role in our social world, and the impact that race has on social experiences should not be trivialized." Margret Shih, Diana Sanchez, Courtney Bonam and Courtney Peck. (2007). "The Social Construction of Race: Biracial Identity and Vulnerability to Stereotypes." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 13 (2), 132.

descriptive process, often referred to in the literature as "racialization", people are distinguished by what Balibar refers to as the *stigmata of otherness* whether that otherness is defined by skin colour, ethnic identity, cultural affiliation, language, or religious belief. It is when the descriptive element is combined with the evaluative discourses and representations of the "other", in a discriminatory, exclusionary or prejudicial manner that ascribes ideas of inferiority and superiority, that we encounter racism.

As was prefaced in the definitional section, racism is best understood as an ideology, one that operates at multiple social, political and economic levels through the presupposition of a hierarchy of group identities. Racist ideologies provide readily understandable explanations for social relations and a popular or "common sense" account of the stratification of societies. Martin Barker was one of the first theorists to clearly explain how racism (he was speaking of a particular kind of racism that he termed *new racism*) can be viewed as an ideology:

> It is not a simple set of attitudes or prejudices, nor bodies of misinformation (though it can use all these). It is a structure of concepts which organize typical experiences, classify them for their importance, for their acceptability or unacceptability and which make policy formation possible. In this way, the ideology of the new racism can appear to be very like a science, because it is a worked-out theory.[111]

According to Albert Memmi, the ideology of racism, or what he calls the "philosophy of racism" postulates the existence of "pure" identities that are superior to others based on qualities such as social, cultural, and religious characteristics. It is these "superiorities" that explain and legitimize patterns of dominance and power distribution.[112] These generalizable characteristics and qualities may be visible features and/or cultural behavioural tendencies which others groups are said not to share.[113]

Robert Miles is one of the primary advocates for viewing racism as a form of ideology rather than viewing these beliefs and practices as something incoherent or unsophisticated – a view

which can underestimate the often articulated and powerful nature of racist discourses. Miles identifies how ideas of race exist within a hierarchal system of signification and representation where racism has established a relational order.[114] Within a "relational order" the racist ideology assigns various group characteristics which are used to compare and contrast with others leading to claims of superiority. Miles states that "characteristics refract and so define each other."[115]

Then there is the common association many of us make with racism. Miles and Brown claim that, "Defining racism, as we do, as ideology rather than a doctrine includes within its scope relatively unstructured, incoherent and unsupported assertions, stereotypical ascriptions and symbolic representations; in short, beliefs that are consciously held but not logically structured."[116] In this way racism can be viewed as a popular (mis)understanding or "common sense" where a discourse is uncritically accepted by segments of the population, becoming a taken-for-granted frame of reference for day-to-day social relations.

As Martin Barker points out, the common understanding of racism is that it is a set of irrational beliefs and misunderstandings founded on ignorant prejudice**.**[117] Balibar believes popular racist discourses provide "immediate interpretive keys not only to what individuals are *experiencing* but to what they *are* in the social world."[118] In what Philomena Essed describes as "everyday racism" she outlines how these forms of racism can ground institutional racism: "It links ideological dimensions of racism with daily attitudes and interprets the reproduction of racism in terms of the experience of it in everyday life."[119] Recognizing this we can begin to understand how racism becomes a comprehensive ideology capable of describing social processes with deep socio-economic structuration, manifestations and effects.

Miles and Brown borrow Antonio Gramsci's understanding of common sense to illuminate how this base level understanding can be part of a larger political project – what Gramsci referred to

as hegemony.[120] For Gramsci, common sense is an embedded and somewhat incoherent form of knowledge that helped to reinforce hegemony through generating consent. In other words it helped to make the status quo (which is favourable to certain classes) seem natural, and thus prevent social, economic and political change.[121] For hegemony to be adequately challenged, for the elusive Marxist style-revolution to emerge, Gramsci believed that, importantly, intellectuals would have to challenge these forms of knowledge or 'world view'.[122]

Omi and Winant, echoing Gramsci's understanding of common sense, state that:

> In order to consolidate their hegemony, ruling groups must elaborate and maintain a popular system of ideas and practices – through education, the media, religion, folk wisdom etc. – which he called "common sense." It is through its production and its adherence to this "common sense," this ideology (in the broadest sense of the term), that a society gives its consent to the way in which it is ruled.[123]

Within hegemony a variety of actors, elites, politicians, and business interests establish hierarchies that define social relations and avenues for political action. From this perspective racism then should be understood as an ideology that operates at both the macro and micro social level and through our basic "everyday" social knowledge.

Lentin identifies how our understandings of everyday racism provide an incomplete picture of the ideology "This is clearly an unsatisfactory explanation, belied by the fact that racism continues to play such an important role in Western societies, despite decades of post-colonialism and immigration leading to the multicultural societies in which almost all of us live."[124] In other words, if these unstructured beliefs were not rooted to underlying power structure – to political priority – they would not persist. Racism may be unstructured as a base level prejudice but can also represent an ideological tool for shaping the distribution of resources and identifying those who exist outside of a political identity. For scholars like Barker and Lentin, the political elements of racism were, in particular, detectable in what became known as "new" or cultural racism.

Cultural Racism

Some race and racism scholars argue we have witnessed a shift in the descriptive element of racism – a shift from biological to cultural or ethnic forms of racialization and racism. For Balibar, racism can be presented in both biological and cultural terms with the latter often imbued with the qualities of the former, "What we see here is that biological or genetic naturalism is not the only means of naturalizing human behaviour and social affinities…*culture can also function like a nature*, and it can in particular function as a way of locking individuals and groups a priori into a genealogy, into a determination that is immutable and intangible in origin."[125] Within "cultural racism" ideas of cultural difference are painted as a natural aspect of human difference and in this sense it reflects the ideas of biological racism, it retains negative evaluations of difference, of superiority and inferiority, but alters the descriptive aspect of racism. Racist discourse shifts from positing racial superiority / inferiority to a defense of superior "cultural values" or even simply "a way of life" against the supposed difference or intractability of other cultures.[126]

As highlighted by theorists such as Tariq Madood, this form of racism adds a new layer to existing racist discourses by positing a less overtly racist (as understood in biological expressions of racism) preference for one's own culturally defined background. This cultural preference can lead into discussions of cultural incompatibility.[127] Martin Barker, in his prominent 1981 work *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe,* was recognized as one of the first race and racism scholars to highlight this understanding of racism. According to Barker, the New Racism "is a pseudo-scientific theory, which is being articulated simultaneously within 'commonsense' political arguments and within biological science."[128] What Barker identified was the highly political nature of this form of racism that manipulated its descriptions of difference in order to pursue political priorities. In the context of Thatcher's Britain the discourse of racism was altered

by political elites in order to sanitize the language of racism – to make racist political policy palatable to a public weary to the language of biological racism.

By avoiding the language of biological racism, by altering the discourse and instead using the language of culture and ethnicity, the state was able to shroud policies that, if dressed in the language of biological race, would draw charges of racism. Barker viewed the British Conservatives as particularly adept at concealing this form of "new racism" by concealing an ideology of racism "inside apparently innocent language. Its concealment enables it to provide form and structure to people's experiences and reactions, without displaying itself as a whole theory with big and dangerous implications."[129] A particularly important point to be raised for this dissertation is that so-called "new" or cultural racism was employed by state actors within an anti-immigrant discourse. The "intractability of cultural difference" was used by late 20th century conservative movements as justification for immigration controls and limiting the access of newcomers to a social democratic welfare state (which anti-Keynesian conservatives sought to dismantle): taken to the next logical step, this discourse called for a stop to immigration.[130]

Importantly, for scholars like Barker, conservatives sought to employ "new racism" as a populist strategy and as a means of obscuring other forms of identity – for example class divisions. During the latter part of the twentieth century theorists saw the coming together of political and economic forces that shifted the patterns of conflict and compromise among identity groups. This was a period of contestation and political and economic re-organization as capitalism went through a period of crisis known as stagflation. Wallerstien views the 1970s as the watershed moment when the dismantling of the welfare state and economic malaise in the West fuelled renewed nationalism and stimulated the emergence of new political ideologies with a racist bent.[131] During this period an emergent neoconservative and neoliberal ideology promoted the aforementioned ethnic and cultural

approach to managing diverse societies that at least in part displaced an explicit focus on race. For race and racism theorists, this was to the advantage of some states as the focus turned to individual egalitarianism as a means of ignoring many patterns of social inequality that persisted along lines of ethno-racial identity.[132] Arguably, the emergence of the (neo) conservative agenda was to have a lasting effect on patterns of racialization and racism in the decades to come. And it was in this temporal moment that race and racism scholars began re-evaluating their understandings of racism in the late 20th century.

The post war shift in discourses in racist ideology - from the biological to the cultural - corresponded with a change in how states and academics approached human difference and group identity. Here the word "ethnicity" came to replace racial descriptions of difference. This change was driven by a new area of primarily sociological scholarly work contained in ethnicity theory. According to Omi and Winant, within this approach "Race was but one of a number of determinants of ethnic group identity or ethnicity. Ethnicity itself was understood as the result of a group formation process based on culture and descent." [133] The concern for some scholars, such as Chanock, was that labels like "culture" and "ethnicity" are misunderstood as homogenized identities. As he points out, "Cultures are very complex conversations within any social formation."[134] The concern was that academics were constructing fixed and essential images of human identity with little bearing on the locally and historically formed social relations which actually gave meaning to people's lives.[135]

For policy makers the concept of ethnicity allowed the homogenization of complex differences into a single category, potentially allowing politicians to conceal deep seated class and race-based inequalities.[136] In part, in order to reconstruct an ideology of racism containing the descriptive element of cultural racism, states had to re-define the *nation* as a more culturally

homogenous unit. Once that narrative was accepted publically, according to Barker, "The danger from immigration is that the alien-ness of the outsiders cracks the homogeneity of the insiders."[137]

Post war decolonization and migration from the Global South to the Global North led to some dissipation of the "old" colonial-biological racism to be replaced by a racism that relied on cultural description that, according to Essed, "was fed by strong (nationalistic) identification with the cultural heritage of the group."[138] From this perspective racism became a "theory of human nature…such that it is natural to form a bounded community, a nation, aware of its differences from other nations. They are not better or worse. But feelings of antagonism will be aroused if outsiders are admitted."[139]

For critical race and racism theorists the "culturist" discourse was harnessed by policy makers in the Global North as a means of framing policies related to *integration*. Ethnicity and culture became the categories through which governments framed societal difference and the social "engineering" policies, including multiculturalism, which they employed as a means of managing growing diversity in the wake of post-colonial migration.[140] The concept of culture came to displace other labels of identity like race, class and gender, as the chosen description of difference for policy makers and bureaucrats.[141] Thus, several larger political trends can be seen as contributing to the development of our understanding of racism in the 20th century.

An implicit suggestion in the above discussion is that ideas of race and racism have been shaped by locality and by temporal setting. Particular manifestations of race and racism, for example the "new racism" that Barker explicitly linked to British Conservatives, have been influential on particular continental or national schools of scholarly thought. On the other hand, race and racism theorists in the United Sates were distinctly influenced by the segregation of the 20th century, by Jim Crow laws, the Civil Rights movement and Black Power.

Socially and historically resonant ideas of race were drawn from these experiences that were particularly influential on race and racism studies. For example, the historical understanding of "race relations" in the United States is typically framed by a binary - a black and white categorization. Rooted in the civil rights era and the significant social upheaval of the time, this "paradigm" was a response to an ideology of racism that established a hierarchy that places "superior" whites over "inferior" blacks. Understandably, considering the social, economic and political divide this created in US society, and the very real negative consequences for Black people in the United States, this understanding of race and racism has been particularly resonant – defining for many the parameters of anti-racist struggle in the United States and beyond.

While the term *racism* was developed in the context of European imperialism and fascism in the early part of the twentieth century, the post war environment was especially influential in contemporary understandings of racism. That environment was marked by post-colonial struggle and the migration of formerly colonized peoples to western European states. Seen from this historical context, the development of these binaries – black and white – subjugator and subjugated – had an understandable influence on our understandings of racism, much in the same way European ideologies did in the early twentieth century. Among race and racism theorists these descriptive categories of race became popular during the latter part of the 20th century. According to Mike Cole, "In the 1970s and the 1980s, it was fashionable to draw a distinction between 'white' and 'black' with all racialized constituencies falling under the latter category."[142]

As in the United States, this paradigm was attractive to some scholars as it reflected patterns of urban segregation, class divides and racism found in Britain and other societies. Yet an important observation in the context of this dissertation is that this powerful understanding of race and racism (in that it is historically situated and contemporarily experienced) does not capture certain racist

ideologies at work today. As Miles observes, in the case of British Muslims: “The attempt to generalize the ‘black’ struggle to all those whose lives are influenced by racism therefore disavows the specific cultural and historical origins of non-African peoples. Thus, so the argument continues, the idea of ‘black’ has been of little or no significance in the mobilization of Muslims.”[143] One can look to other examples of racist ideologies that have not been colour-coded in nature and therefore cannot be contained in a binary-like understanding of race. Indeed in examples such as early twenty-first century Japanese imperialism and the discriminatory targeting of the Chinese, Turkish genocide perpetrated against the Armenians, the Nazi holocaust of the Jews and the genocide in Rwanda, we see that some of the most murderous forms of “racism” have taken place within phenotypically similar peoples.

One may also point out that lived multiculturalism has produced inter-marriage: bi-racial, multi-racial and other hybrid racial identities that cannot be neatly encapsulated in terms of black and white. Margret Shih et al. point out that multiracial individuals and their lived experiences in particular challenge our traditional understandings of race.[144]

The question for race and racism scholars was this: how can forms of racism that take place outside of this binary be conceptualized? Some used the term *new* or *cultural* racism to explain forms of racism that were not typically framed by race (phenotypically defined). And as we will see in the next chapter, xenoracism was one attempt to capture this ‘non-colour coded’ form of racism.

Understandably, born during a period of high social anxiety and acute patterns of racism; buoyed by the legacy of colonialism, post-colonialism, slavery and segregation and equipped with powerful imagery of struggle and Black Power, the race relations paradigm will continue to rank high in the popular understandings of race and racism. In addition this will be especially true where these localized conditions were most pronounced and will continue to shape structural and

institutional arrangements - such as in the American south and the urban spaces of the United Kingdom. Faced with such acute racism, racialized and persecuted groups have taken racialized consciousness onboard – defined as a race by their oppressors, this identity becomes a rallying call against grievances and a tool for resistance.[145]

Yet, as Omi and Winant state, "there can be no timeless and absolute standard for what constitutes racism, for social structures change and discourses are subject to re-articulation."[146] According to race and racism theorists such as Martin Mac and Ghaill, focusing on reified racial identities in isolation, such as Black, or Asian (in the British context) marginalized the life experiences of individuals, since it overlooks key aspects of identity such as religion and culture.[147] In this sense, the debate between culturists and race theorists over the efficacy of descriptions may be limited. Ultimately these abstract discussions must look instead to people's lives and experiences: how they describe what gives meaning to their lives in terms of identity. And this realization leads theorists to the necessity for qualitative research such as ethnographic interviews as a means of drawing out these experiences.

Nationalism and its Relationship to Ideologies of Racism

Recognizing that historical social relations, for example as contained in patterns of colonialism, shape our contemporary understandings of race and racism, this analysis will now turn to perhaps the most influential historical structure in terms of its influence on racist ideologies. Balibar contends that, "without the existence of an overt or latent racism, nationalism would itself be historically impossible."[148] Lentin observes that, "Racism cannot be reduced to nationalism, or vice versa, yet each aids and abets each other. By the mid-nineteenth century, nationalism had emerged as the dominant political ideology and led to the construction of territorial and cultural nation-states. Therefore, it is the nation-state that is the main political vehicle for racism."[149]

The idea of the nation, much like the idea of race, is a socially constructed conception of human identity which is presented to the outside world as natural and timeless. Already, following on the work of Benedict Anderson, it has been suggested that the idea of the nation is an "imagined community". Anderson viewed national communities, the idea of the nation as imagined, as "inherently limited and sovereign" where "…the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them." A nation is a finite construct, a "deep, horizontal comradeship", no nation has viewed itself as a political entity with global aspirations, and nations are bordered by other nations which contrast their uniqueness and distinctiveness.[150] The nation is imagined through the stories, myths and legends which define its foundational and contemporary character. Edward Said shares this view of identity stating that, "The very idea of identity itself involves fantasy, manipulation, invention, construction."[151]

A national vision may unite peoples based on an idealized past containing seminal peoples who may share a language and cultural background, a set of values and norms. As Goldberg points out, "Underlying racialism, not unlike nationalism, is an abstract presumption of familialism."[152] As with ethnic or racial identity, national identities are relational in nature – the nation only exists as a political entity contrasted with others.[153] In this sense nationalism not only acts as a form of political representation on a global stage, but also, as Stuart Hall notes, the idea of the nation is "something which produced meanings – a *system of cultural representation*."[154] And in particular, since the emergence of the nation-state in the context of European modernity, it has been national cultures which have produced *distinct* notions of culture and thus shaped identity.[155]

Recognizing that ideas of national difference hold powerful sway in how peoples define themselves and others, it follows that *how* the nation is defined is important in terms of establishing a relational structure that may aid and abet a racist ideology. This in turn leads to the question of

how the ideology of nationalism was developed historically. According to Benedict Anderson, the scholar who characterized the nation as an "imagined community", in order to understand ideas of nationhood, "We need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy."[156]

Noted cultural anthropologist Ernest Gellner, who was raised in Czechoslovakia (where he was later forced to flee Nazi annexation) developed a lifelong fascination with the subject of nationalism. In his early observances of the development of Czech nationalism and the emergence of ultra-nationalist Nazi Germany, Gellner identified what he believed to be the highly contingent and socially constructed nature of nationalism. He concluded that nations are not the natural and given political constructs they are portrayed as, but rather they are constructs of *agents* - authors, political leaders and generals who presented sometimes competing versions of nationalism within a state.[157]

Gellner viewed nationalism as a by-product of the Enlightenment and Romanticism periods in Europe marked by the social development of a mobile anonymous mass of peoples with a shared "high" culture linked to a political unit or state.[158] For philosophers like Herder and his contemporaries it was not the universalism of the Enlightenment that mattered but rather the diversity and specificity of European cultures. For Gellner it was ultimately culture, which he defined as a shared set of traits, values, norms and traditions which are transmitted from generation to generation, together with emerging forms of social organization (post-feudal), that represented the building blocks of national identities.[159]

When the idea of the nation was blended with the biological observations of Darwin it created a potentially explosive combination – communities were now not merely culturally

distinctive but also *biologically differentiated*. These ideas gained currency during a period of socio-economic re-organization, caused by mass industrialization, which led to a groundswell of ideas that sought to return to an idealized history: the “old values” of seminal peoples. Building on the ideas of Darwinian classification of human difference and that certain peoples shared a high culture, ideas of extreme or ultra-nationalism emerged: a highly exclusivist form of nationalism where similarity of cultural, racial, linguistic etc. identity becomes a pre-condition for national membership.

As already discussed, this form of nationalism has had particular consequences historically – for example in helping to give rise to European inter-war fascists and their ideas of “racially pure” states. Moreover, as Gellner notes, ultra-nationalism had particular consequences in plural state-societies. In these societies Gellner believed that more extreme nationalists either altered their views, accepting plural societies where the host culture adopted a “de-fetishisation” of the land (a de-linking of the idea that a culture has sole right to possession of a country) or ethnic conflict was inevitable.[160] Following on the same general observation, contemporary security theorists focused on security at the societal level have highlighted this linkage between exclusivist conceptions of identity and ethnic conflict. For instance, Barry Buzan and Gerry Segal note nationalism’s preponderance for creating socially divisive identities where its very definition of self presupposes exclusive groups, each bound together by deeply rooted cultural tradition and historical perceptions: things that automatically and strongly differentiate insiders from outsiders, us from them.”[161]

Thus, nationalism has provided one of the most resonant common identities for human beings: an idea of territorial identity tied to a “sacred land” defined by limited membership.[162] The idea of the nation and the idea of race or ethnicity are similar in that they are both imagined categories of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion marked by boundaries that separate peoples –

defining those who belong (citizens) and those who do not (foreigners).[163] Of importance for this dissertation is the observation that the myth of exclusivity contained in certain forms of nationalism may lead to the discursive construction (within a national discourse) of newcomers, and those deemed culturally alien to the national ideal, as threatening or foreign to the national identity.[164]

Historically, nationalism was a contingent social invention built on the philosophical and scientific ideas of the time and constructed during the socio-economic stress of the industrial transformation of agrarian societies. In the post-colonial era, where migrants entered the Western world in greater numbers, national projects based on exclusivist ideas of culture or ethno-racial identity have proven an unwelcoming environment for those who do not fit the national ideal. In periods of crisis such as war or economic downturn these nationalist discourses may take on increasing resonance; for example, as we see today in Europe, where a rejuvenated far right has embraced the tenets of ultra-nationalism as an answer to economic crisis.

Yet there are of course nations, like Canada, that have historically been constructed as plural nations - for example under the vision of biculturalism, triculturalism or state multiculturalism. This raises the speculative question of whether what many consider to be an important historical stimulant to the growth of racist ideologies, namely nationalism, may in fact be constructed in a manner that is more inclusive of group identities. Anderson holds that, while ontologically similar to racism, nationalism may be evaluated in positive terms, emotionally, while racism has been typically associated with negative emotions, forming a dichotomy between the two.[165]

Gellner believed that the development of advanced industrialized economies and regional inter dependence would have a moderating effect on nationalism. He saw some truth in convergence theory: that as advanced industrialized societies became increasing interconnected and interdependent with other states, nationalistic identities would become less rigidly exclusive in their

national vision.[166] While he believed that this form of nationalism could erode in the face of economic development and prosperity, he warned that, if affluence were to diminish and economic crisis were to return, the more radical interpretations of nationalism and “fetishization” of the land could re-occur.[167] Gellner, who died in the late 1990s, wrote these comments in the context of a relatively successful period of economic development and supranational organization in Europe. In the context of recent economic crisis, the open question of the long-term salience of European integration and the emergence of a reinvigorated political far-right, his predictions seem quite accurate.

Concluding Remarks

Thus far the dissertation has examined some of the key debates within race and racism studies and identified how racism is best understood as an ideology that can only be fully elucidated when contextualized within local and historical settings. It has shown how the concept of race has both static and fluid characteristics. Hierarchical social relations between identity groups may seem, on some levels, quite stable and timeless, but upon further examination ideas of race can also shift, resulting in new sets of relations.

On one level the realization that racial identity is a fluid concept may bring us some hope, in terms of an anti-racist agenda. As observed by Lentin, “The fact that racialization and racism are repeated, affecting different groups over time, does not mean that racism is inevitable. Rather, it shows that considerable transformations of our political systems, our social and cultural infrastructure, and our discourse - the very way in which language is used – need to change if racism in Western societies is to be overcome.”[168]

Colonialism and the development of nation-states were historical trends that helped to establish ideas of racial classification situated in biological difference. Philosophical and scientific

ideas drawn from the Enlightenment and European Romantic periods, most especially Darwinism and nationalism, defined in exclusivist terms, were essential in the development of racist ideologies. Today scientists have shown that the concept of biological race has little scientific validity - even if, as observed by social scientists, this demonstration may do little to limit its ongoing popular resonance and negative effects. The legacy of biological racism remains, and even when descriptively re-packaged in its cultural form these categories retain a seemingly natural and timeless quality.

On the other hand, individual experience continues to challenge our understandings of these categories, including race. As found by Shah et al. in their study of multiracial individuals and their perspectives of race, "Unique individual experiences associated with one's racial identity can shape one's opinions and beliefs about where racial differences come from."[169] Identity is both subjective and inter-subjective – it is *relational* and shaped by our opinions of ourselves and how others project an image of identity on us. Racism is situated in social relations even if it is shaped by political forces.

Today, particularly in Europe, ideologies of racism reinforced by political elites originating from both the far right and the centre (together with segments of the public that they have bought into their narrative) have, in the face of globalization, called for a more homogenous and exclusive vision of nationhood and assimilation (or even deportation) of those deemed to be alien or foreign (the xeno) to that national vision. They have called for a return to a mythical chimera – the monocultural state. These social and political forces, as in prior periods of socio-economic reorganization and crisis, call for a return to a seminal past – even if that image bears little resemblance to the lived reality of multiculturalism.

Leaving these observations aside for the time being, the first chapter has acted as a lead in to the conceptual development to follow, the first piece of the puzzle in developing an understanding of xenoracism and how it may apply to Canadian Muslims. Recognizing that identities are relational and that social relations are situated in particular historical structures means that any analysis of a racist ideology must elucidate these structures. How identities are framed, how they are discursively constructed is important, whether those identities are national, racial, or cultural in nature. As Miles has stated, when it comes to the construction of human identities, "characteristics refract and so define each other" and thereby lead to claims of superiority.[170]

Recognizing the influence of colonialism and other political projects - like nation-building - on the development of racism, one must recognize that racism is not merely prejudice or un-structured beliefs that are the exclusive purview of the uneducated and misinformed. Racism has long been linked to political priority – to the priorities of power, whether that priority is the exploitation of colonized people, or of those domestically enslaved for material gain, or the identification of a "suitable enemy" in the war on terror. As suggested in the preceding discussion, ideologies of racism are framed by political and economic power, shaped by historically resonant narratives like nationalism and provide simplistic and easily understandable "common sense" ideas of social relations.

Thus this dissertation argues that racism, however it is structured, can only be adequately understood through the lens of historicism, locality and social (de)construction. Racism is mediated through multiple political institutional structures and levels of social, national and class relations which reject simplified understandings - despite how appealing or powerful these understandings may be based on historical precedence and stirring calls for resistance. Following on these

observations, the primary question for the next chapter is as follows: Can xenoracism best capture patterns of racism being experienced by Canadian Muslims?

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Chapter 3: Xenoracism

A key proposition from the second chapter was that identity is relational – the values and characteristics that are said to belong to one culture or race refract the characteristics of other identities. Through this process identities such as race, culture or ethnicity are socially constructed. Ideologies like racism place identities in a hierarchical order and assign evaluative meanings to social relations by positing ideas of superiority and inferiority. In turn, the idea of superiority is constructed through assigning particular characteristics and values to cultures, races, ethnicities etc. that differentiate one identity from another. Racist ideologies are often manifested in the political realm, supported by institutional structures and (re)enforced by popular prejudice and a "common sense" understanding of social relations. Therefore, combined with underlying political and economic structures, these ideas help to shape social relations in a particular time and place: material relations and ideational forces combine through agency to create the *structure of social relations*.

Since identity is relational how we define the other is directly tied to how we define ourselves. For instance, if a nation defines itself in exclusivist terms, tied to an idea of cultural or racial purity, everything outside of that identity is the xeno, the foreign. In a project of nation building, or a period of conflict, we may identify this foreign, the so-called "other," as a potential existential threat to a nation, its values and its existence as a homogenous, territorially defined social-political unit. This perceived threat is what security theorists have referred to as societal security, when one group identifies another as a threat to its own identity – to its way of life.[171] The perception of threat from alien outsiders to a mono-culturally (re)defined nation-state was a critical component of what Barker and Lentin have described in "new" or cultural racism - a discourse that builds a case for the intractability of cultural difference. In the *new racism* cultural identities were presented as natural - as natural as the biological ideas of race developed in post-Enlightenment

Europe, and in many ways the nation became representative of this idea - defined physically (through its borders) and ideationally through a conception of nationhood.[172]

In the narrative of the crisis of multiculturalism there has been open fretting that certain identities pose a threat to the physical and "societal" security of the nation: what the social constructivist Copenhagen school of security would refer to as securitizing "speech acts".[173] Similar narratives had been employed by conservative political movements in the late 1970s and early 1980s as they sought to bring attention to the potential dangers of immigration: the dangers posed by the values that some races and cultures possess – a danger that threatened the homogeneity of the nation and the cultural values it is said to embody.[174] The contemporary reemergence of the far-right in Europe has led to the political reassertion of these ideas as the political mainstream has adopted their rhetoric - for example as contained in the "crisis" narrative.

This political discourse has been tied to an inability of politicians to manage the effects of globalization. Globalization and post-war migration have made borders and cultures more porous and challenged the idea of homogeneity, of the mono-cultural nation. According to Martin Mac an Ghaill this discourse is situated in "highly contested national arenas in which questions about immigration and what constitutes the nation-state are major debates."[175] Globalization, post-colonial migration and the lived multiculturalism that it has helped to establish in states in the Global North have in particular challenged understandings of nations and cultures as homogenous, as recognized by Chanock: "There are no longer (if there ever were) single cultures in any country/polity/legal system, but many. Cultures are very complex conversations within any social formation."[176]

Eager to find scape-goats for their failures to create cohesive and competitive states in a globalized world, some politicians have identified what Fekete has termed the "suitable enemy" in their securitized discourses on immigration and integration.[177] In addition, in the 9/11 decade, a re-

emboldened neo-conservative movement in the United States (under the leadership of George W. Bush) eagerly pursued a militarized agenda against the new “suitable enemy” – suitable in that it conveniently replaced the Soviet Union as the existential threat to the nation for the American people. According to Alana Lentin this securitized discourse, “is based on creating a separation between insiders and outsiders with only those who are within the nation protected. Increasingly, *who* is categorized as belonging to the nation is ethnically defined.”[178] The narrative of “us” and “them” has not solely been the purview of neo-conservative or neo-fascist politicians, or their ideological supporters in the media - it has been adopted by “intellectuals” as well. A good example of this can be found in Jim Sciutto’s 2008 book *Against Us: The New Face of America’s Enemies in the Muslim World*:

> Just after 9/11, President Bush declared nations around the world “with us or against us” in the war on terror. Now, those in the Muslim world are against us in greater numbers than ever before – and they have a new face. A remarkable variety of people – normal people – believe the United States intentionally obstructs rather than promotes progress. Al-Qaeda may be losing the military campaign, but, in considerable ways, it is winning the ideological war.[179]

The message here is clear. We are at war: not just with al-Qaeda but the Muslim world, with every-day “normal” Muslims - the kind you see on the bus to work or in the supermarket. “They” are uniformly against “us”. They oppose the ideas that have historically defined us as a nation, as “Western civilization” - most especially they reject progress and hate our freedom.

As argued by race and racism theorists these narratives, the new securitized discourse of public policy, contains the ideology of xenoracism. This observation was first made by the members of the London-based Institute of Race Relations, Ambalavaner Sivanandan and his associate Liz Fekete: “Since Islam now represents “threat” to Europe, its Muslim residents, even though they are citizens, even though they may be European-born, are caught up in the ever-expanding loop of

xeno-racism. They do not merely threaten Europe as the “enemy within” in the war on terror, their adherence to Islamic norms and values threatens the notion of Europeanness itself.”[180] Islam is constructed in this ideology as a threat to physical and societal security: the image of the suicide bomber is juxtaposed with the image of a demographic bomb as growing Muslim populations in the Global North are said to threaten and undermine defining cultural values.

This chapter will seek to examine how the term *xenoracism* can apply to Muslim communities in the Global North. It will first look at how xenoracism has been previously used in race and racism literature and review some of the debates its usage has generated. It will attempt to situate the ideology in the contemporary by examining how global and domestic political trends have combined to produce manifestations of xenoracism for Muslim communities. Moreover, it will examine what can be described as the historical roots of the ideology: how the historical relationship between “the West” and Islam may have structured contemporary understandings of identity and acted to legitimize ideologies like xenoracism. The final section will seek to deconstruct this relational identity through the theory of Orientalism, as conceived by the social and literary theorist Edward Said. In effect, the aim of this chapter is to represent a critical aspect of the overall analysis; it seeks a better conceptualization of xenoracism and how it may target Muslim communities.

Conceptualizing Xenoracism

Xenoracism was first used as a term that could capture forms of racism that were not tied to phenotypical descriptions. In other words it was first used to describe non-colour coded racism. Miles points out that racism need not be “colour-coded”, “one can conclude that those who cannot be seen by virtue of their existing phenotypical features are equally vulnerable to being racialised: their ‘non-visibility’ can be constructed by the racist imagination as the proof of their “real” and

"essential" (but "concealed") difference, which is then signified by a socially imposed mark."[181] An example of this variety of racism is anti-Semitism – a form of non-colour coded discrimination and prejudice, with deep historical roots. [182] As pointed out by race and racism theorists, there are similarities in racist ideologies that target Muslims and Jews. For example as Goldberg points out in the European historical discourse, it has been Jews and Muslims who have "historically book-ended modern Europe's explicit historical anxieties" about the racialized other.[183]

As patterns of racialization and racism are not situated in objective scientific fact but rather, specifically in the context of "imagined" or socially constructed identities, in social relations that give meaning to difference. As Omi and Winant note, racialization, or what they term *racial signification*, "is always and necessarily a social and historical process… the categories employed to differentiate among human groups along racial lines reveal themselves, upon serious examination, to be at best imprecise, and at worst completely arbitrary."[184]

So how can racism be differentiated from xenoracism? Descriptively, xenoracism does not rely on a colour-coded form of discrimination and prejudice, whereas some forms of racism and racialization do. Indeed, one can say that in the common sense understanding of racism this is the primary association tied to historical understandings of race relations and the black and white binary they contain. Comparatively, xenoracism, or more accurately xenoracists, target their victims based on a perception of *foreignness* that separates those who belong to a society from those who do not. Comparatively, if we look at what has historically been viewed as racism, for instance as contained in the race relations paradigm, the target of racism was not necessarily portrayed as foreign.

For example, returning to the paradigm of American race relations and looking at racism in the American south, blacks suffered segregation and acute racism but were still viewed as part of the socio-economic structure of society. Within this ideology they existed within a hierarchy of

colour-coded difference but were still part of the social and economic fabric of society, even if they suffered extreme racism. Or one could look at the example of racism that targets Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Calls for deportation (a common sentiment expressed by xenoracists) could not be applied to, for example, First Nations peoples. In this manner some racist ideologies produce a dualistic form of inclusion and exclusion in which access to various forms of power and resources is carefully managed: yet societal belonging, even if marginalized to the fringes of society, is maintained. From these observations it can be surmised that ideologies of racism contain differing degrees of belonging, of inclusion and exclusion. For a more detailed review of these degrees or categories of belonging – of inclusion and exclusion - see *Table 1* (pg.93). However, the key point here is that xenoracism, unlike other racist ideologies, portrays its victims as the foreign other; it portrays them as having very limited or no belonging to the larger society. Leaving these observations aside for the time, let's turn to the original conceptualization and usage of the term *xenoracism* by Fekete and Sivanandan

As stated in the introduction, Fekete and Sivanadan used xenoracism to describe a form of racism they believed they were witnessing in the context of the EU in the late 20th century: racism towards economic white migrants, primarily Eastern Europeans who had been introduced into Western European labour markets through supranational integration. They were not alone in these observations, as during the 1990s social scientists began questioning long-standing assumptions on the nature of racism. Sajid states that during this period, the 1990s, "many sociologists and cultural analysts observed a shift in racist ideas from those based on skin color to those based on notions of cultural superiority and otherness."[185] Describing xenoracism, Lentin states, "Under this rubric, the poor of the ex-Soviet Union and its satellite states – Albanians, Poles, or Roma gypsies – are as alien as the African with whom they may find themselves sharing a dormitory in an Immigration

Detention Centre awaiting deportation."[186] In this example racism was not necessarily "colour-coded" but rather it often hinged on a rejection of the "other" as foreign when compared and contrasted with the societal mainstream.

In the post-Cold War environment these observations on the nature of contemporary racism were driving some race and racism scholars to re-examine some of their pre-conceived notions of the social phenomenon. Ambalavaner Sivanandan, the director of the London-based Institute of Race Relations, conceptualized xenoracism as a form of racism that, "denigrates and reifies people before segregating and/or deporting them, a xenophobia that bears all the marks of the old racism, except that it is not colour coded. It is racism in substance, though xeno in form."[187] For Sivanandan this form of racism was also institutional in nature and shaped by class considerations, "a feature of the Manichaean world of global capitalism, where there are only the rich and the poor - and poverty is the new Black."[188]

For most race and racism scholars xenoracism was a term that applied to forms of racism that target poor, Eastern European, primarily economic migrants who were increasingly moving to western Europe in the context of European Union integration of labour markets. The term applied particularly well to this example because it lacked a colour-coded descriptive element and because, despite the supranational integration taking place under the EU banner, Eastern European labourers were still deemed to be foreign to still resonant national identities. Mike Cole, for instance, preferred this usage of the term as he employed xenoracism as a means of describing class-based discrimination against (ex)-colonial migrants and white Eastern European economic migrants.[189] Alana Lentin also favours this understanding of xenoracism, believing that it encompasses racism aimed at "white, Eastern European immigrants." [190]

This has become the most common understanding of the term in the academic literature.

And here xenoracism could not be divorced from contemporary political trends - the ongoing processes of globalization, EU expansion, the growth of neo-liberal economies in Western Europe and the associated withering of the social democratic welfare state. Largely, xenoracism has been employed within Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Marxist academic literature, and in some cases its usage has sparked a debate over the efficacy of employing it in race and racism based analyses. CRT theorist Charles Mills has been altogether dismissive of the term, "Recognizing the equal moral badness of the many different forms of discrimination should not cause us to conflate them with one another. We already have a term, 'xenophobia', signifying fear and hatred of the foreigner. Why do we need 'xeno-racism'?"[191] What critics such as Mills fail to recognize is that the term *xenoracism* seeks to conceptualize a phenomenon that goes beyond an a-historical or general "fear of foreignness", as contained in the term *xenophobia*, in order to capture an institutionally driven form of racism. [192]

The other existing debate on the usage of the term relates to Liz Fekete's application of xenoracism to securitized racism that targets Muslim communities. Mike Cole prefers to keep what he considers to be "Islamophobia" as a separate category of racism. Cole contends that Fekete's usage of xeno-racism is "wide", views the term as more "region-specific", and, at least implicitly, prefers to use the term in regards to the marginalization of economic migrants under the banner of EU expansion. Recognizing these criticisms, how can we judge Fekete's usage of the term that includes racism that targets religious identities – specifically Muslim populations?

In the wake of the September 11th and London 7/7 attacks and the subsequent securitization of Muslim populations in the West, Fekete noted that, as with asylum seekers and economic migrants, Muslims were being targeted with xenoracism:

> What appears to have happened post-September 11, though, is that the parameters of that institutionalised xeno-racism – anti-foreignness – have been expanded to include minority

> ethnic communities that have been settled in Europe for decades – simply because they are Muslim. Since Islam now represents 'threat' to Europe, its Muslim residents, even though they are citizens, even though they may be European born, are caught up in the ever-expanding loop of xeno-racism [193]

For Fekete, Muslim populations in Europe, even those who have resided in Western Europe for multiple generations, together with economic migrants and asylum seekers, had become the foreign "enemy within" or "other", targeted with institutionalized racism under the guises of a security threat from extremist Islam and the "expanding loop" of xenoracism.

Xenoracism is an appropriate term for describing marginalization and discrimination against Muslim communities residing in the Global North since religious adherents to Islam are racially, ethnically, linguistically and culturally highly diverse: in short, Islam is a global religion. Since Muslims are so highly diverse in their origins, for example containing a number of white converts, a racist ideology cannot be constructed in colour-coded terms - instead Muslims are targeted with marginalization and discrimination based on outward cultural and religious symbols rightly or wrongly associated with Islam. Even critics of this "wider" usage of the term xenoracism (such as Cole) recognize this: "Islamophobia, like other forms of racism, can be colour-coded: it can be biological (normally associated with skin colour). But it can also be cultural (not necessarily associated with skin colour), or it can be a mixture of both."[194]

Moreover it is worth noting that Islamophobia, like xenophobia, refers primarily to fear of the other, for example, Gottschalk and Greenberg define it simply as, "a *social* anxiety toward Islam and Muslim cultures."[195] Sajid traces the term to the Runnymede Trust Report that defined it as, "unfounded hostility towards Islam, and therefore fear or dislike of all or most Muslims."[196] In this sense *Islamophobia* refers to the sort of unstructured and ahistorical form of societal prejudice. However, as recognized in the previous chapter, this understanding of racism ignores the often

highly politicized nature of racist ideologies – it ignores how racist ideologies can be imbued with power and how they can operate institutionally.

As noted throughout this analysis, ideologies of racism are closely tied to the workings of the state. Some theorists have even looked beyond, for example, colonial projects, or nation building, as the political impetus for racist ideologies – into the every-day bureaucratic functions of the state. For instance, Foucault in his work *Society Must be Defended* contended that race and racism were tied to the development and centralization of the state and its institutions from the 18th century onward.[197] For social theorists like Lentin the role of institutions is critical in maintaining racist ideologies, in spite of the fact that most social scientists have recognized race as a social construct, racism persists, "it persists because of the political power of racism and the fact that, despite proclamations to the contrary, it has become institutionalized in the structures of our societies."[198]

In examining the contemporary forms of racism in the EU, with a specific focus on Britain, the members of the IRR laid bare the institutionalized nature of racism – especially within the context of the modern nation-state. On this Fekete comments that, "it is racism in substance in that it bears all the hallmarks of demonisation and exclusion of the old racism – and the mechanisms that set foreignness in situ are legal and structural and institutional."[199] Sivanandan too ties xenoracism, its popular and institutional facets, back to the state. Using the example of Britain he states, "To put it another way, institutional racism and popular racism are woven into state racism and it is only in unraveling that that you begin to unravel the fabric of racism."[200]

As noted in the previous chapter, this understanding of racism was outlined in Barker's work on "new" racism that identified how an ideology of racism had been incorporated into the public narratives and policies of the conservative movements of the late 1970s and early 1980s – as

exemplified by the Thatcher conservatives.[201] For Fekete and Sivanandan, these political discourses were co-opted in the 1990s into the policies of the so-called "Third Way": for example, as under Tony Blair's "new" Labour Party and in particular it could be detected in policies related to the management of asylum seekers.[202] Specifically this involved a dramatic shift from policies that were centred on the guiding principles of human rights to one that was geared toward an economic management of migration aimed at deterring non-skilled migrants. According to Fekete, this political decision was to provide, "the ideological space in which racism towards asylum seekers became culturally acceptable."[203] In other words, public policy framed the ideology of xenoracism, which legitimized societal level prejudices.

At the international level, attempts to control the "dark side of globalization" through a host of regimes, intergovernmental bodies and ad hoc organizations ranging from the International Centre for Migration Policy and Development (ICMPD), EU and the G8, have led to the development of global policy aimed at controlling the movement of peoples - for example through controlling human trafficking.[204] However, the intentional or non-intentional result is that displaced peoples and their mobility became seriously curtailed as legal routes to their movement are increasingly blocked.[205] As a result the displaced and desperate increasingly find themselves criminalized. According to Fekete, in the new public management of migration and diversity, so to speak, we are now in a situation:

> In which the displaced people of the world are screened and selected, sectioned off into categories of skilled and unskilled, through a sort of economic natural selection process ensuring the survival of the economically fittest? Global migration management heralds a new Darwinism, Not the old Social Darwinism that believed the advance of civilisation was dependent on the advancement of the superior race, but a socio-economic Social Darwinism that allows the rich First World to maintain its economic dominance by emptying the poorer worlds of their skilled workforces. In the era of globalization, the skills pool, not the gene pool is key.[206]

After the events of 9/11 these already established patterns of xenoracism were expanded through another channel of public policy. As suggested in the introductory chapter of the dissertation, public discourses on security may provide an avenue for the institutional expression of xenoracism. And suggesting that such discourses are xenoracist in nature, scholars have pointed out how the securitization of identity, for instance the portrayal of minority groups as a threat to the security of the nation, can rest on the construction of a quality of "dangerous foreignness". For example, according to Abu-Laban and Dhamoon, "'foreignness' and especially the construction of 'internal dangerous foreigners' seem to coincide with discourses of nation-building, security, and race-thinking."[207] In their Canadian study, Abu-Laban and Dhamoon examined linkages between conflict, nation building and the targeting of "internal dangerous foreigners" in three historical examples: Japanese-Canadian internment during World War II, the Front de Libération du Québec crisis of the 1960s, and the Oka crisis of the 1990s. They found that in these cases foreignness has been "produced and regulated in historically specific ways with consequences for how 'the nation' is viewed."[208] In these examples they found that "while foreignness is a constant and long-standing marker of racialized Otherness," this quality is, "not static but is, instead, historically changeable according to the security threats deemed most significant to those [who are in power]."[209]

In the case studies used by Abu-Laban and Dhamoon, the idea of the dangerous foreigner problematizes perceptions of belonging in the context of a nation, it challenges our understanding of who is a legitimate citizen. During the 9/11 decade, a period marked by conflict, much like in the past, certain communities have been identified as the dangerous foreigner. As one interviewee, Ahmed Shoker, Director at the Canadian Islamic Congress, noted, "The problem of it in my judgement is that since September 11th the Muslim communities have been on the spot to really, if I may say, answer to the larger community to prove their innocence… [it] puts us on a sort of

indictment chair." In other words there is a presumption of guilt until proven innocent; at least this is how some members of the Muslim community have been made to feel.

As Abu-Laban and Dhamoon point out, discourses on security are critical in creating questions of whether certain citizens belong to a nation. And since 9/11, security is not only a discourse but rather is also a reality for people in their day-to-day lives. This reality has been experienced through catastrophic mass casualty terrorism in New York, Madrid, London and elsewhere, through the terrible imagery it produces, endlessly repeated on 24 hour news services (much to the perpetrators' delight). And it is experienced through the counter terrorism measures states imposed as a means of preventing future attacks: for example, heightened security in airports and train terminals. But in those preventative measures, especially the legislative response to 9/11 and subsequent attacks, we may find another potential institutional channel for xenoracism. According to Fekete, "what finally set the seal on xeno-racism" was the institution of anti-terrorism legislation in the early 21st century.[210]

The profiling that post 9/11 security policy required provided further justification for the construction of Muslim communities as the internal dangerous foreigner. The war on terror became not only a war that was fought in Iraq and Afghanistan, especially in fears over "homegrown" terrorism, it became a war fought within domestic societies. Echoing this contention Lentin states, "This clash of civilizations between friends and enemies has been reproduced on home territory. The fight against terror is linked to the debate over immigration and multiculturalism, for it does not only concern fighting insurgents in Iraq or Afghanistan, it is also about which of our neighbors it is safe to live beside."[211] This form of xenoracism should be seen as an ideology that operates locally but is framed globally – in the narrative of the War on Terror the world is divided among good and evil – those who possess liberal-democratic values and those who don't.[212] Fekete notes the

connection between the local and global factors in constructing a xenoracist narrative, "western interventions in Muslim countries provide yet more opportunities for the media to demonise particular groups, even nations, serving to weave general public opinion into a global warfare against Muslims."[213] Securitized integration and citizenship laws that target multi-generational Muslim populations living in the West go beyond the "social anxiety"or "unfounded fear" contained in a term such as *Islamophobia* into structured and institutionalized xenoracism.[214]

With this outline in mind then, we can begin to better understand the meaning of xenoracism - as a form of racism that is not colour-coded but instead constructed institutionally around a quality of foreignness. *Xenoracism* was first used to describe the discriminatory state-management of displaced peoples and those who could not be encapsulated by prior understandings of racism. In the context of this dissertation, xenoracism is used to describe the form of racism which has emerged in the post 9/11 environment, a form of racism that is discursively constructed through securitized discourses. However, while situated in contemporary political conditions xenoracism that targets Muslims is also tied to historical discourse. The term itself may be a recent invention, but there exists historically established patterns of discrimination and prejudice aimed at Muslims, a phenomenon that is partially captured by Said's understanding of Orientalism.

Orientalism and Historical Relations between the West and Islam

So far this chapter has explored some of the existing understandings of xenoracism and how the term was originally conceptualized by members of the IRR. Fekete and Sivanandan were trying to capture manifestations of racism that they believed they were witnessing in Europe at the end of the 20th century. They spoke of a war against asylum seekers and economic migrants that after the events of the 11th of September 2001 became a war against terrorism and the communities who were homogenized as potential extremists – the dangerous and foreign other. However, when

examining manifestations of xenoracism that targets Muslims, arguably one must look to deeper, more established historical social and political relations between Muslims, and “the West”.

Central to the historical construction of the West, originally conceived of as the European and Christian West, was a relationship with the Islamic world. Miles and Brown note that, in the historical imagery of Europe, the Muslim, “Moor”, “Saracen”, or “Turk” became the identity that marked the boundaries of Europe territorially and ideationally: “Thus, not only did Europeans create a discourse of an imagined Other at the edge of European civilization, but they created a discourse of a real Other represented as a result of conflicting material and political interests with a population which came to mark the boundary of Europe, spatially and in consciousness.”[215]

In the interactive boundaries between these homogenized identities, representations of the other are essential in the construction of an imagined community – difference is defined in relation to the other. Of course this set of understandings does not merely exist: it is based on an idea of cultural and racial identities that are naturally occurring, of inherent values and characteristics. Such an understanding is impossible in the absence of historical reference. As Miles and Brown point out, “contemporary representations are always the product of historical legacy and active transformation in the context of prevailing circumstances.”[216] Thus an ideology of racism is situated in contemporary social relations and historical discourse – even if that history is as (re) constructed and imagined as the identities it contains. Historical discourse shapes our understandings of power and knowledge and limits what may be socially resonant in an ideology of racism. Xenoracism, like other racist ideologies, is situated in these historical discourses.

Literary scholar and cultural critic Edward Said has arguably carried out the most effective deconstruction of the discursively constructed relationship between the Orient and the Occident. Through understanding the ways in which the West has portrayed the Orient, especially the Islamic

world, Said reveals the preconceptions and biases that have long shaped how the West views the other. According to Said, the historical Occidental representations of Islam contain a number of historical biases which led to a representation of the Islamic world within a reductive, coercive and oppositional discourse. When perceived negatively within the Western imagination, Islam came to represent a resurgent atavism, a reactive 'counter-response' – an anti-modern and anti-democratic identity that was a threat to the high ideals of the Occident.[217] Said focuses much of his work on Western "Orientalists", area experts who (mis)represent the Orient in the West and through these representations reproduce Western power over the Orient. In works like *Orientalism* he not only uncovered deep seated prejudices and misconceptions when it came to the West's literary knowledge of the Islamic world, but also demonstrated how such knowledge created political justification for the dominance of the Occident over the Orient. Thus, similar to what can be found in descriptions of institutionalized racism, he demonstrated how politicized ideas of human difference are critical to structuring exploitative social (and political) relations.

What Said reveals is that, in the historical records of the Occident, Muslims were represented through a set of stereotypes as fanatical, violent, lustful and irrational "That idea has persisted because it's based very deeply in religious roots where Islam is thought of as a kind of competitor of Christianity. Islam arises out of the same soil as Christianity, the religion of Abraham: first in Judaism, then Christianity, then in Islam."[218]The generalized and stereotypical images of the other create a position of "irreducible opposition to a region of the world it considered alien to its own, Orientalism failed to identify with human experience, failed also to see it as human experience."[219] With respect to xenoracism that targets Muslims in the Global North, historical discourses on relations between the Islamic world and the West reinforce the seemingly natural,

timeless and thus static nature of social relations (as contained in the ideology of xenoracism) between these two reified identities.

Said's 1979 work *Orientalism* has been the subject of countless scholarly works, critiques and expansions. Orientalism in and of itself does not necessarily refer to discriminatory or misrepresentative representations of the Orient; rather it is a field of study that focuses on the languages, culture and society of the wider Orient.[220] Orientalism has to be viewed in the context of the historical power relations between the Occidental and the Islamic worlds, especially their historical legacy of conflict and colonization. And here lies a key underlying theme of Said's work "*Orientalism* is the affiliation of knowledge with power."[221] [Author's italics] Orientalism is a mode of thinking based on distinction between the Orient and the Occident, a Western way of examining "Oriental religions" such as Islam, reproducing it in written work and in lectures; ultimately, for Said it became a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[222]

Said's work draws considerably on Michel Foucault who believed that knowledge was inseparable from power. Said specifically used Focualt's notion of discourse from his work *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, to understand Orientalism as a Western discourse used "to manage – and even produce – the orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-enlightenment period."[223] As observed by Elzain Elgamri, this link of knowledge to power not only defines what can be said and thought about the Orient but also who has the authority to speak. It was this discourse, this form of knowledge, that justified European nation building and projects of imperialism and colonialism.[224] Said notes that historically European imperialism required the development of "ideological formations" built on notions of superiority which ultimately lead to the justification of domination by the Occidental world.[225]

Orientalism, like xenoracism, may be viewed as dynamic in character. For example, in studying post-enlightenment writings on the Middle East, Said noted not only the stereotyping of Muslims as atavistic, fanatical and potentially violent, but also a considerable tendency towards exoticization and sexualization. This differentiation was based on the idea of a powerful West and a weaker East: the latter being irrational and depraved when contrasted with the rational and virtuous West.[226] Some elements of this post-enlightenment Orientalism may seem quite opposed to more contemporary imagery. For instance, the sexualized image of the Islamic world, something which Said paid considerable attention to in his work (he even used the Jean-Léon Gérôme 19th century painting "The Snake Charmer" for the cover of *Orientalism* which features a nude, rather androgynous figure wrapped in a serpent) seems somewhat foreign to the modern imagery of Islam. The sexualized images of North Africa and the Middle East so associated with 19th century western imagery have been replaced with a new form of fetishization – that of the de-sexualized female. It is far more likely that public representations of Muslim women in the West today rest on the hijab, the niqab and the burka rather than the sexual imagery seen on *Orientalism's* cover.

What has remained as a relatively unchanging element of Orientalist representation of Islam is the view of a static and monolithic religion that is largely intolerant of pluralism.[227] And this view of an essentialized image of Islamic identity has roots in established Western knowledge. In particular, such ideas were shaped by the sociologists Max Weber, who viewed the Orient from his understanding of the historical experiences of the Western world and its successful approach to modernization – the Orient, most especially the Islamic world, lacked rational law and a modern state that was necessary for successful modernization.[228] It is such a view that has shaped many of the Orientalist texts to this very day, as we see for example in the works of Bernard Lewis or Samuel Huntington. Indeed the idea of Islam as a reified ideal type can be found in numerous

Orientalist analyses such as Huntington's civilizational thesis or the works of the historian Bernard Lewis.

The reality is of course quite different. Islam, like any other global religion or culture, contains a high degree of heterogeneity – in language, ethnicity, culture, religious interpretation and degree of religiosity. The static and homogenous view has perpetuated a western preoccupation, much like we see with female head-coverings, concepts such as the *umma*, a conception of Islamic community linked to supposed diasporic tendencies in the Islamic world and that of *dar al-Islam,* a term which conveys a picture of Islam as a top down society, a single entity in which church and state are one. Of these generalizations Said states that, "most of this is unacceptable generalization of the most irresponsible sort, and could never be used for any other religious, cultural, or demographic group on earth."[229]

While critical of the media for its role in perpetuating negative Orientalist stereotypes, Said saved his greatest scorn for fellow academics, Orientalists such as Bernard Lewis. Lewis, in works such as *What Went Wrong? The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* attempts to understand what he sees as the long standing decline in Islamic civilization, a popular theme in contemporary Orientalist works. Lewis's ultimate answer, derived from an analysis of the historical decline of the Islamic world when compared to the West, is that Islam *is* the problem, that it has prevented the Islamic world from adopting essential values for modernization, such as Western ideals of freedom. Subsequently, regions such as the Middle East are increasingly represented by the violence and societal discontent of the suicide bomber.[230] For Said, Lewis and other modern Orientalists continue to repeat the stereotypes of the nineteenth century – drawing connections between historical narratives and modern political conditions. He maintains that, "All of Lewis's emphases in his work are to portray the whole of Islam as basically *outside* the known, familiar,

acceptable world that "we" inhabit, and in addition that contemporary Islam has inherited anti-Semitism for use in an alleged war against modernity." [Author's italics].[231]

Arguably the security complex which emerged in the post 9/11 environment continues to re-produce this form of Orientalism. Middle Eastern studies' departments in universities in the Global North and a number of think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation and Hoover Institution share close ties with the American government and military - often producing and re-producing politically expedient representations of the Muslim world, especially enemy states such as Iran, and Iraq, under the rule of Saddam Hussein.[232] These area specialists play a significant role in the social construction of knowledge and representations of the Islamic world, acting as experts in media interviews, academic conferences and university lectures. Aligned with an increasingly security-focused state, the reproduction of historical stereotypes became re-packaged for modern political priorities. Moreover, in our globalized era, modern Orientalist knowledge, like other forms of knowledge, is now disseminated more widely than ever as modern-day internet xenoracists such as Daniel Pipes have new mediums through which they can spread their message.

It should be noted in brief that, having recognized the efficacy of Said's work when deconstructing ideas of identity, his work is not without its detractors. One criticism is that there is a degree of hypocrisy in Said's work, that much as Weber built an ideal type of western society, Said created an ideal type of the Occident and the Orient. However, while Weber sought to identify the ideal type of the West in order to explain its success, Said sought to deconstruct the Western constructed ideal type of the Orient as a means of challenging its validity.[233] In constructing this ideal type, or multiple ideal types, for instance of Western academia, Occidental civilization and its perception of Oriental civilization, Said had to commit himself to a set of generalizations and at least socially constructed versions of "truth".

Other theorists have sought to build upon Said's work on Orientalism in order to pursue their own research agendas. For instance, Stuart Hall has used Said's work in his own cultural studies that seek to understand signifying practices. For Hall these practices include everyday experiences and representations of Orientalism, the social and institutional regulation of these representations and the socio-political articulation of group identities as regulated by Orientalist representations.[234] The latter, how identities are regulated by social and political actors under the influence of Orientalist and xenoracist discourses, is a key focus of this dissertation's analysis.

Despite potential criticisms and re-articulations of his work, this dissertation argues that *Orientalism* provides an efficacious framework for understanding how the representations of the Orient in the West often contain underlying discourses of power. It is these historical representations which give greater resonance to the orators of contemporary xenoracism that targets Muslim communities in the Global North. It layers the ideology of xenoracism with historical contextualization and legitimization which gives the construction of Muslims as the "foreign other" greater salience. Said's *Orientalism* leads us to the conclusion that xenoracism is imbued with power, and that intellectual knowledge of the other can be a significant source of social and political power. Moreover, Said's approach, similar to many race and racism theorists, contains a significant element of anti-imperialism which differentiated him from those who sought simply to understand, for example, ethnocentrism or simple prejudice.[235]

Despite the fact that the world is an increasingly interconnected place with diffuse and enlarged patterns of migration and social interaction - despite these overlapping experiences and the reality of complex individual identities - this stereotypical understanding of Islam in the West has persisted. Moreover, these stereotypes were re-articulated and re-contextualized within the politicized events of the twentieth century. In his 1979 work *Orientalism,* Said wrote of three

factors involved in the politicization of Islam in the later 20th century. First is the historical anti-Islamic prejudice in the West, which was a major focus of Orientalism. Second was the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. And third was an absence of a neutral "cultural position" that would allow for a dispassionate discussion of the Islamic world in the West.[236]

Said was forthright in his view that Orientalism was first and foremost tied to a "political vision of reality."[237] The political reality of the post war era and the later part of the twentieth century was to shape the relationship between the West and the Islamic world for some time. While the 1960s had been the era of mass movements and a shift in generational values for the West, beginning in the late 1970s mass movements tied to particular visions of religious authority, both secular and Islamist, appeared in the Middle East.[238] Certainly the Iranian revolution was to have a lasting effect on the perception of the Muslim world in the West; however, this was one of a number of events that was to shape the "political reality" that influences the contemporary view of Muslims in the Global North. The civil war in Algeria and the protracted violence of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the religious condemnation and controversy over Salman Rushdie's work *The Satanic Verses*, the first Gulf War, the failed American intervention in Somalia and the emergence of (non)state actors such as the Taliban, Hamas, Hezbollah and al-Qaeda – these were the events that shaped the modern Western image of the Islamic world. One interviewee, Baha Abu-Laban, a professor of sociology at the University of Alberta, views anti-Muslim sentiment as being expressly driven by global geopolitical events, making xenoracism episodic in nature:

> The 1967 Arab-Israeli war was one of those events, when the West was cheering for Israel against the Palestinians and the Arabs and the Muslims and therefore it intensified the cohesion within these communities to fight back because they were attacked with discrimination… [the] 1973 war was similar with the oil embargoes … Lebanon attack in 82, First Gulf War.. .it is event-based to a large degree, but after a few years of "uprising by the ethnic groups" it goes back to normal. Like today the situation is different to that which followed 11th September.

Pnina Werbner, a scholar who studies the South Asian and Muslim communities in the United Kingdom, describes the Salman Rushdie affair in particular as a key event in altering the Western-Islamic dynamic. In many ways the Rushdie affair was to highlight the underlying discourses, the patterns of nascent xenoracism in the West shaped by the Orientalist legacy. What Werbner described as the "moral panic" created by the book in the Muslim community and the later revulsion of many westerners to Rushdie's death sentence, unearthed many of the underlying misconceptions which Said had highlighted in Orientalism.[239] Muslims were atavistic, they were monolithically extreme, they rejected Western conceptions of free speech and "secularism" and, when faced with these Western values, the reactions were distinctly violent.

By the late 1990s Said was again sounding the alarm over Western perceptions of Islam, especially as contained in the media: "Sensationalism, crude xenophobia, and insensitive belligerence are the order of the day, with results on both sides of the imaginary line between 'us' and 'them' that are extremely unedifying."[240] As in previous incarnations of Orientalism, Islam was seen as a monolithic body that was subject to continual images of militancy, and by extension this militancy began to represent Islam. For some the events of 9/11 acted as a powerful confirmation of Orientalist messages when these pre-existing notions were combined with contemporary reality. After those attacks former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi drew on these pre-conceived notions when he stated, "we should be confident of the superiority of our civilization because of the religious and human rights generated - something that does not exist in Islamic countries."[241]

In the wake of 9/11 contemporary Orientalists turned much of their attention to political Islam, which had previously gained attention with the Iranian revolution and the emergence of the Taliban in Afghanistan. As Mohammed Ayoob, one of the foremost experts on political Islam, has highlighted, the Orientalist imagery became intently focused on a "fetishized" movement.

Reflecting the legacy of Orientalism, the predominant view of Islamism rests on the following observations: first, political Islam, like Islam itself, is monolithic. Second, political Islam is an inherently violent movement and third, that the non-secular intermingling of religion and politics is unique to Islam.[242] The reality was of course quite different, Islamism, much like Islam itself, was a heterogeneous political movement shaped by local and global social, cultural, economic and political conditions. Moreover, opposed to the violent image of political Islam, a majority of political Islamic advocacy was pursued through peaceful means.[243]

The increasing association of extremist variants of Islamism with the religion itself has particularly negative results for Muslims communities in the Global North. Fekete has noted that Muslim community groups have actively lobbied governments to not exaggerate the influence of the extremist minority in the Muslim community which has led to the stigmatizing of Muslims in some cases. She states, "They believe that clerics who preach a message of virulent hate represent a danger to the Muslim community, in much the same way that the British National Party and neo-Nazi skinheads pose a threat to the white working class."[244]

Returning to the focus of this analysis, xenoracism, the dissertation has argued that discrimination and prejudice in the case of Muslim communities has been descriptively constructed around outward symbols of faith. In particular the hijab, niqab, burka and other forms of female coverings have become an outward symbol of faith many associate with fundamentalism and political Islam. A tenuous equivalency is drawn between the veil and cultural practices such as genital mutilation and honour killings.[245] Symbols of culture became symbolic of Islam as a whole for the advocates of xenoracism. According to Fekete this operates on,

> The implicit premise that Muslims are collectively responsible for the reactionary cultural practices and customs of a few… The views of a few rabble-rousing anti-western imams are presented as symptomatic of the whole Islamic community. 'Honour killings', genital

> mutilation of African girls, North African youths who carry out gang rapes are, it would seem, all part of one Islamic cultural continuum.[246]

These signs of cultural and religious difference have become perceived, in the words of former French president Jacque Chirac as "a sort of aggression" a symbol of the rejection of Muslim communities of the values of the nation.[247] This despite the fact that Muslim women around the globe have continually professed a variety of motives for choosing to wear a head covering, many of which may have little to do with political persuasion.[248] As David Goldberg points out, there is an irony in the fact that the hijab has become the symbol of the problematic relationship of the West and Islam, despite the dominant imagery of a masculine and violent association with the religion.[249]

This brief review of Orientalism, and how Islam has been discursively constructed historically in the Global North demonstrates many continuities in portrayals of Muslims from the 19th century to the 21st century. Here Islam and the West are presented as homogenized ideal types that have, through reflecting a series of oppositional values, helped to present an essentialized understanding of social identity. As mentioned above, Islam has in some way "book-ended" European identity, defining for centuries the ideational and territorial boundaries of "Europeanness".

Centuries after imperialism and colonialism shaped this historical relationship, 21st century political movements (for example the re-born neo-conservatives of the United States under George W. Bush) found themselves with a "suitable enemy": an enemy with a long history of rivalry with Western civilization. Moreover, for the re-emergent far-right and the centrist governments of Europe, Muslims provided the perfect scape-goat for the ills of the welfare state, European integration and the inability of politicians to manage the economic and migratory effects of globalization. In this context long-standing residents and citizens were fair game for the xenoracists.

In short, contemporary social relations and ideologies like xenoracism are colored by the historical discourse of the West and Islam as contained within Said's understanding of Orientalism. Historical representations of the other give greater resonance to the xenoracist message that Muslims are the dangerous foreign other, a distinct peoples who possesses cultural and religious values diametrically opposed to Western ideals. Thus Orientalism and xenoracism are highly interconnected political and social phenomenon with the former reinforcing the latter by providing it with a quality of timelessness.

Concluding Remarks

Relational identity among imagined communities and relational knowledge like Orientalism were formed during an age of Western imperialism. As the West "discovered" peoples that were clearly different – in dress, culture, religion, and race - they attempted to give meaning to those differences and justify colonialism. A descriptive and racialized hierarchy of social relations was required for the development of these political projects. As Europeans defined the other, and simultaneously defined itself, it developed a body of knowledge that was imbued with political power.

What these understandings of the other reveal, whether contained in an ideology of xenoracism or in the discourses of Orientalism, is a highly generalized and stereotypical understanding of identity that does not reflect the complex and multi-layered nature of human identities. As Said argues, the conception of the Orient as a "constituted entity" where inhabitants "can be defined on the basis of some religion, culture, or racial essence proper to that geographical space is…a highly debatable idea."[250] Said instead set out to deconstruct this knowledge with a hope that it can be replaced with a far more nuanced and sympathetic understanding. Said asked, "How does one *represent* other cultures? What is *another* culture? Is the notion of a distinct culture

(or race, or religion, or civilization) a useful one, or does it always get involved either in self congratulation (where one discusses one's own) or hostility and aggression (when one discusses the "other)?"[251] As Said points out, the historical interaction of cultures and religions is a long-standing and ongoing process,

> Such populations and voices have been there for some time, thanks to the globalized process set in motion by modern imperialism; to ignore or otherwise discount the overlapping experience of Westerners and Orientals, the interdependence of cultural terrains in which colonizer and colonized co-existed and battled each other through projections as well as rival geographies, narratives, and histories, is to miss what is essential about the world in the past century.[252]

The recognition of the possibility for an alternative history, one that significantly differs from the simplified and misrepresentative history presented by Orientalism, may be a significant step towards developing social relations less marked by discrimination and prejudice. In an increasingly globalized and culturally diverse world, plural societies may offer the promise of new understandings of human difference less coloured by misrepresentation of the other. Such a re-imagination of social relations should not involve forgetting a history marked by exploitation and injustice but rather unpacking that history and re-articulating it in what is undoubtedly a richer picture of social relations – one marked by both conflict and co-operation – exploitation and exchange. From this beginning relational identities may perhaps be discursively constructed less on a series of negatively framed oppositional binaries and more on what draws us together as human beings.

Canada has been presented as one of the world's more successful plural states. According to the Aga-Khan, the religious leader of more than 14 million Ismaili Muslims, Canada is the state that got pluralism right. He believes that, "what the Canadian experience suggests to me is that honouring one's own identity need not mean rejecting others"[253] The question for the next chapter is

whether such praise is deserved. Do Canadians honour and respect the identities of others, or have Muslims been subject to manifestations of xenoracism witnessed elsewhere?

Table 1: Categories of Racism and Xenoracism "Degrees of Foreignness"

1.Inclusive Belonging	Identity group is deemed to be an integral part of society connected to the idealized image of belonging (national, ethno-racial, religious etc.) with full access to available resources.
2.Partial Belonging	Identity group maintains some markers of racialized difference, such as name recognition, that may generate discrimination yet gains significant access to societal power and resources.
3.Marginal Belonging	Identity group maintains societally meaningful and resonant markers of difference that produce significant patterns of discrimination, prejudice and marginalization.
4.Marginal Exclusion	Identity group maintains racialized markers that are linked, at least partially, to a quality of foreignness; they rest within a grey area of belonging where they could develop greater ties to the host society or be further isolated from the societal mainstream.
5.Intermediate Exclusion	Identity group possesses more defined racialized markers of foreignness and this quality of foreignness is presented as a static assessment; consequently, they find it more difficult to access economic and social resources.
6.Definitive Exclusion	Identity group possesses racialized markers that denote a perceived danger to the host society. They are deemed to be opposed, in some cases diametrically, to the host identity; subsequently, they suffer severe forms of exclusion – forced expulsion from territories or even violence.

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Chapter 4: Canadian Muslims and Xenoracism

Thus far the dissertation has reviewed some of the existing research on race and racism and focused on how scholars have understood the connection between institutions, political power and racism. Now the analysis will move into more explicitly addressing the experiences of Canadian Muslims in the multicultural framework and critically examining the presupposition that multiculturalism in Canada is more successful than commonly perceived by it critics.

According to Liz Fekete and Ambalavaner Sivanandan, Muslims in the Global North, even long standing resident communities, have been subject to the ever expanding "loop of xenoracism" – a form of racism that bears the "hallmarks of demonization and exclusion" of "old racism", and is directed towards those who are deemed foreign to the larger society. The mechanisms of xenoarcism are institutional; they are *in situ*, in other words embedded in the structures of the state, in governance.[254] The question for this dissertation is whether these trends apply to multicultural Canada. The question for this chapter is this: what do the life experiences of Canadian Muslims tell us about xenoracism and its presence (or absence) in Canada? Here the dissertation moves to its core analysis and deploys a significant margin of its data.

As a comprehensive and diffuse ideology that operates on multiple social and institutional levels, the manifestations of xenoracism are often reproduced through public policy and political discourse, and in everyday social relations. Thus an examination of xenoracism, trying to deconstruct its possible manifestations in a national setting, should attempt to measure its effects at both the political-institutional level and at the societal level. In this chapter xenoracism will primarily be examined at the societal level. In the chapters to come – on multiculturalism, integration and security, the political-institutional level will be the focus.

In the chapter on race and racism it was pointed out that ideas of difference, patterns of racialization and ideologies of racism, are moderated by a specific time and place. Following on

this supposition, Canada, marked by differing local, political, social, economic and historical conditions, is endowed with a unique set of socio-political relations. Analyzing these relations and the presence or absence of xenoracism in a particular case study poses several challenges. For instance, when examining individual level experiences of discrimination it may be difficult for individuals to discern the reasons as to why they have been targeted. As with other social experiences, racism has a subjective element: individuals filter experiences through their own unique perspective moderated by their attitudes, outlook and particular subject position.

Recognizing these challenges, the chapter will examine the possible presence of xenoracism in Canada through the use of qualitative and quantitative data sources. Through an examination of existing survey data, primarily Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) from 2002 and surveys such as Environic's "Muslims and Multiculturalism" from 2006, it will seek to examine experiences with discrimination and prejudice. But these sources lack contextualization in that individualized perspective on experiences with racism cannot be drawn out from quantitative data. With this limitation in mind, qualitative findings from the semi-structured interviews will be used to elucidate potential subjective experiences with xenoracism. Here individual stories are presented in greater detail, offering a glimpse of how ideologies of racism operate in a particular time and place and affect individuals. It offers a picture of both the ambiguities and perplexities many people experience when faced with racism and the personal costs many endure. But before entering into an analysis of the data the dissertation will first examine the Canadian Muslim community itself.

The Canadian Muslim Community

Muslims in the Global North have been the subject of countless works, with a new wave of writing appearing after the events of 9/11. Orientalism continues to hold considerable sway in

these analyses – consistently portraying the community as homogenous – marked by a uniform set of values and cultural practices. At one end of the spectrum alarmist works such as Bruce Bawer's (2006) *While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam is Destroying the West from Within* portrays Muslims as (in his concluding remarks) a "peril" that could potentially destroy everything that the Europe and the West stands for.[255] At the other end of the spectrum scholars like Jocelyne Cesari have attempted to highlight the heterogeneity found in Muslim communities in the West, the varying discourses, practices and religious interpretations that exist in the community "to relocate the debate on the individualization of religious practice within the larger context of shifting boundaries of Islamic tradition that are being challenged in various ways throughout the Muslim world."[256] As indicated by the discussion below, Cesari's understanding is far more reflective of a highly heterogeneous community whose diversity disallows simple generalizations.

Globally, Muslim communities represent a remarkable diversity of ethnic, national and religious groups – whether it be sects such as Shi'a, Sunni, Ismaili, or Sufi, or ethnicities and nationalities such as Indonesian, Arab, or Persian – Islam contains multiple, multi-layered and complex identities. As Paul Bramadat notes, these multiple identities are, "'inextricably linked where various practices and traditions are intertwined making it difficult to discern where they originated."[257] There is significant diversity within the Muslim faith: during some periods there have been as many as thirty religious interpretations of Islam (traditions, trends, and legal schools of thought).[258] One interviewee, Usama al-Atar, a Shi'a Imam, drew a picture of the heterogeneity found in the Muslim community:

> Islam is a way of life, there is the misconception that when people hear *Islam* they think of Arabic countries or Middle Eastern countries, but in fact Arabs consist of twenty percent of the Muslim population worldwide. Indonesia is a non-Arabic country that has the biggest Muslim population, China has a huge Muslim population, Malaysia, Turkey,

> Iran, and… and… and, so there is a misconception that Islam is associated with the Arab world. If you go to the Indonesian culture, or the Indian culture, or the Malaysian culture, or the Chinese culture, or the Iranian culture for a matter of fact, you will still find they are celebrating their cultural traditions.

Indeed, individuals may identify with Islam culturally without holding any religious connection.[259] As Said contends, "Islam defines a relatively small proportion of what actually takes place in the Islamic world, which numbers a billion people and includes dozens of countries, societies, traditions, languages, and of course, an infinite number of experiences."[260] Based on the recognition of the complexities which exist in such identities, Werbner, a long-time observer of the Muslim Diaspora (specifically south Asian communities) in the United Kingdom, has called for "a revised conceptualisation of community, one which allows for internal diversity and conflict, for cross-cutting ties, for multiple identities citizens bear within a critical community."[261]

As in other religions there are individuals who approach religious practice from a variety of perspectives and degrees of religiosity. Tariq Ramadan, who has written extensively on Muslims living in the Global North, identifies three primary categories which represent the majority of Muslims:

1. Those who refer to themselves as believers, practice Muslim traditions and observances but do not necessarily regularly attend religious services in places such a mosque.

2. Those who may refer to themselves as believers but do not respect or adhere to obligations and prohibitions of the faith such as the ban on the consumption of alcohol.

3. Those who are what Ramadan refers to as "a small minority" who define themselves as atheistic or agnostic but adhere culturally to Muslim traditions and practices despite having no formal religious affiliation.[262]

He claims that the first two categories represent, depending on locality, roughly 75-80 percent of Muslims living in the west, the remainder, 20-25 percent of Muslims, adhere strictly to religious precepts and attend religious services regularly.[263]

In general, Canadian Muslims, like other national Muslim communities, display diversity in culture, ethnicity, race, sect and degrees of religiosity. However, in the context of Canada, this heterogeneity is especially pronounced, as noted by Saeed Rahnema:

> Muslims in Canada are highly diversified in terms of ethnic and national background. Over 212,000 or 36 per cent are from South Asia. Arabs constitute over 122,130, or 21 per cent of the Muslim population, followed by other west Asians, including Iranians, with over 81,000, and over 51,000 Muslims, identified as 'Black' in the Census. Canadian Muslims also come from other parts of the world, including South East Asia, China, Korea and the Philippines, with a small number from the United States. Canadian Muslims are further differentiated on the basis of sectarian affiliations (Sunni, Shi'i, Ismaili, Ahmadi, etc.) and degrees of religious convictions.[264]

Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Study (EDS) data roughly corroborates these numbers, with 85 percent counted as visible minorities, close to 38 percent of South Asian descent, 35.6 percent Arab or 'West Asian' and 7.6 percent Black.[265]

Historically, the first Canadian Muslims arrived in the late 19th century from states such as Syria and Lebanon, and some became traders in the developing Northwest where they worked as goods traders.[266] The first waves of migration were primarily Sunni; however, waves of Shi'a came in the 1970s, especially from Iran.[267] McDonough and Hoodfar claim that during the initial influx of immigration there was little knowledge among the host culture about Islam, "Before the 1980s, Muslims in Canada lived in a society that was largely ignorant of Islam, but generally hospitable." However, starting with the 1979 Iranian revolution, the media began disseminating stories that linked the religion to conflict.[268]

Today, Canadians Muslims are marked not only by their heterogeneity but also by their youth, relative to the rest of the Canadian population. According to federal census data (it should be recognized that federal data is now less reliable due to voluntary completion of census forms) the Muslim population is the fastest growing religious group in the country, nearly doubling in size between 1991 and 2001 and today the population is a little more than 1 million or roughly 3.2 percent of the Canadian population.[269] The median age for Canadian Muslims is roughly 28, whereas that of the Canadian population is closer to 37. Canadian Muslims are also better educated, with 56 percent of Muslims possessing some post-secondary schooling in comparison to 44 percent of the general population.[270] However, Canadian Muslims' higher level of education has not equated into higher employment rates. In 2007 Muslims had the second highest unemployment rate, 14 percent, compared to a 7.4 percent national average.[271] Moreover, many of the jobs that Canadian Muslims occupy tend toward the traditionally non-skilled area of the sales and service industry, where 27 percent of Canadian Muslims work. It has been suggested that underemployment and lack of access to skilled work can create a feeling of injustice among some Canadian Muslims who feel undervalued in the job market.[272] Despite these labour market difficulties, Canadian Muslims represent a growing segment of the population that is young and well educated – a valuable human resource for any state marked by aging populations and a shrinking labour force.

The Muslim "Diaspora"

Undoubtedly Canadian Muslims are a diverse population. However, scholars in Canada have been observing what they believe are some trends within the community which, on some levels, are bringing diverse groups together under a religious identity. Some scholars, for instance Moghissi et al. in their 2009 work *Diaspora by Design: Muslim Immigrants in Canada*

and Beyond, have used the term "diaspora" to describe a larger and unifying conception of identity.[273] Etymologically, the term *Diaspora* is traced to the Greek word for dispersion and is most commonly associated with the Jewish community. It carries with it an idea of displacement and return to a preferred homeland.[274] According to Knight, the term diaspora is typically used to "describe any population that is considered transnational or 'deterritorialized' (i.e., which has originated in a country other than the one in which it currently resides and whose socioeconomic and political networks transcend state borders)."[275] The term is then applied to any people who have been forced from a homeland as a result of war or some form of persecution leading to their displacement.[276] Yet such a wide interpretation of the term means that virtually all minority groups can be described as a "diaspora" without much consideration to the meaning of the word, something which Knight believes has led to the overuse of the term.[277]

Paul Bramadat, who views the concept as problematic when applied to religious communities, believes that in order to be part of a diaspora there must be a communal preference to call another place home - a view of one's current place of residence as temporary.[278] Especially when projected on multi-generational communities, this principle becomes increasingly problematic. Bramadat's concern is that the heuristic use of the term diaspora becomes "unintentionally exclusionary," a way "to distinguish between people who really belong here… and people who are just visiting for a long time."[279] Not only is this potentially misleading in that it promotes essentialist understandings of identity, it is also largely unreflective of the reality of migration, settlement and citizenship in Canada.[280]

Indeed, Bramadat places the problematic usage of "diaspora" within the larger context of the "crisis of representation" related to the misrepresentation of communities in many academic studies. As an alternative he employs the term *transnationalism* which, rather than denoting a

desire for return or a sense of impermanence, refers to a more modern global reality, in which many of us have a "sense of living between two or more kinds of national or ethnic identities."[281] In an increasingly globalized world, migrants and even multi-generation Canadian citizens may carry multiple loyalties and cultural, national, ethnic or racial identities (not to mention class, gender or other forms of identity).[282] Alternatively, Knight has used the term "sojourners" to conceptualize this phenomenon: a form of identity that rests on "symbolic values, norms and codes that operate across national borders to ensure a distinctive… identity and community."[283]

Noting the academic debate over the concept of the term *diaspora* interviewees were asked about their views on the appropriateness of the usage of the term in relation to the Canadian Muslim community. As pointed out by Baha Abu-Laban, Professor of Sociology at the University of Alberta, and a long-time observer of the Muslim community in Alberta, in Canada and the United States the use of diaspora is problematic in that, "It is not clear if Muslims have intentions of returning to their home countries, even if their home countries stabilize politically." In his own prior research on Arabs and Muslims he found that, "After a length of stay in Canada or in the United States the urge to go back and settle in the home country dissipates." For Abu-Laban a primary reason for migrants laying down more permanent roots can be related to the arrival of the second generation: "The point of focus becomes the children and their future and they say, 'well I can't go back to Lebanon or Egypt or Syria' [because] my children are here, they were born here, they know they language here, they don't speak the native language, so this is where I am, and this is where my future is going to be."

Echoing Bramadat's objection to the term on the basis that it infers a sense of impermanence in a country of residence, one interviewee, Dalal Daoud of the Canadian Islamic Congress, in reflecting on the term stated, "I don't like what it means, I don't like the term itself,

it inhibits Muslims from seeing this as home." Repeating this sentiment was interviewee Usama al-Atar, a Shiia Imam: "The Muslim community in general would not fit under [the] definition of diaspora.. they have a very strong sense of belonging to Canada." Mr. al-Atar drew on the example of the Lebanese community in Northern Alberta, in the town of Lac la Biche, who had just celebrated their 100th year of residency in the community and then posed the question, "So, do we consider that as a community living away from home? I mean it has been here for a century." Supporting this idea, Shelia McDonough and Homa Hoodfar view the Muslim identity in Canada as shifting less towards diasporic tendencies but rather towards a nationalistic concept of identity: "Through the transformation of their religious identity, roles, and institutions, as well as groups or voluntary associations, Muslims of diverse ethnic groups redefine themselves as primarily *Canadian Muslims*." [Author's emphasis.][284]

Another interviewee, Shaykh Zak, who works as a Muslim chaplain, objected to what he saw as a double standard in the usage of the term,

> This diaspora thing was first coined for the Jewish community. Over time, I have found out that Judaism turned into ethnicity so the religion has really conformed to an ethnic concept in which you find it is not like a gene thing but it is the heritage – an ethnic concept…now Christianity on the other hand… you cannot talk about diaspora in this sense, you have to break it down into ethnicity to discuss it.

The conflation of religious with ethnic identity within a diasporic conception of identity may be highly problematic when considering the heterogeneity found in the Muslim world in general and the Canadian Muslim community in particular. As Baha Abu-Laban points out, "When you think of a diverse community such as the Muslim Canadian one homeland means almost every country in the world." In turn the conflation of ethnic with religious identity may lead to a common misconception when many speak of the Muslim world: the common association of

Muslims with Arabs. An anonymous interviewee, a lawyer, notes that since Muslim communities are so heterogeneous,

> I don't think there's a real Muslim identity because all these groups are so diverse in their traditions-in their practices - in the way they see the world. There are some very main-stream Muslims, there are some who don't even practice...but they identify themselves as Muslims. Then there's practicing Muslims-people that are more religious and their views differ quite dramatically-so there's no one voice.

As noted in the section on Orientalism, there has been a common association in Western literature between Arabs and Islam – a common understanding of a monolithic Islamic identity through which a series of often negative assumptions may be projected on all Muslims. As Shayda Nanji points out, this view of Islam is misrepresentative:

> When Muslims are described in a very monolithic way, Muslims are put in one box, or whatever, we have to de mystify all of that because Muslims are diverse in their languages, and their cultures, in the interpretations of their faith, in the practice of their faith, in the food they eat – there is no such thing as a monolithic group of 1.4 billion people.

Zavhar Tejpar, an accountant and interview subject, brought up another critical point in relation to discussing group identity:

> Muslims are largely spread out and yet the public perception is one of the Arab world, so we have an issue. I have trouble when Muslims are ear-marked because they are Muslim...you are Irish, yet nobody looks at you and says, "You are a Christian"- they say ...*Caucasian* and that's where it stops... We get into defensive mode...I wish that Muslims would not push their cause by using religion...they should portray themselves as individuals, rather than saying they are Muslims.

The observations of the interviewees raise an important point for academics engaged in ethnographic research and the study of identity groups. Considering the complexity of individual identity, especially in an era of transnationalism, an era of the "sojourner", making generalizations on identities – whether they are religious, ethnic racial etc. can be problematic.

On the other hand academics are identifying certain trends such as the "diasporic impulse" identified by Moghissi et al.[285] In a multicultural state, in a nation of immigrants, this "impulse" may be a natural reaction to initial displacement and the settlement process. Moreover, according to Moghissi et al. the diasporic impulse may also be stimulated, at least partially, by experiences with discrimination and marginalization in light of negative public attitudes towards Islam: "Indeed, we are increasingly witnessing in the West the formation of a diasporic impulse among the earlier and new migrants of Muslim cultures who collectively carry the insinuatingly negative identity marker of 'Muslim'."[286] They believe that a diasporic identity offers a potential source of empowerment: "The formation of a collective identity and solidarity in the Diaspora more often manifests a response to political frustration and the blossoming of deep-seated resentment to the continuing colonial and neocolonial aggression against Muslim societies, accentuated by an inhospitable climate in the new country."[287] Knight also believes that diasporic impulses are driven by a strong conception of "difference" of identity (in relation to the host culture where they reside) and that "Feelings of alienation and exclusion in the host country can therefore feed the desire to go back to the country of origin."[288]

The observation of scholars like Moghissi et al. that negative portrayals of Islam may lead to the development of solidarity, should also not be viewed as unique to Muslims. Historically, we can pull out a number of examples where discrimination and marginalization has led to the development of solidarity movements. For example, the civil rights movement or black power movement in the United States as a response to racism and segregation. When subject to insecurity at the level of identity, individuals may seek the protective and empowering insular identities which exist in larger groups. Furthermore, Ramadan sees the dislocation of migration

and globalization, the spread of global culture and influences, the experience of the "sojourner" as shaping this response,

> The fear of losing one's religion and culture at the core of Western societies has led to natural attitudes of withdrawal and self-isolation. All immigrants have gone through similar experiences in terms of culture, but for Muslims religious questionings are also often mixed with such cultural considerations.[289]

Ramadan links a series of events, many of them shaped by the phenomenon of xenoracism, which have stimulated this reaction: the Rushdie affair, the headscarf issue, the Danish cartoons and terrorist attacks:

> They experience this daily: being a visible Muslim in the West today is no easy matter. In such an atmosphere, a crisis of confidence is inevitable: some have decided to isolate themselves, believing that there is nothing to hope for in society that rejects them; others have decided to become invisible by disappearing into the crowd; last, others have committed themselves to facing the problem and opening spaces for encounter and dialogue.[290]

From this perspective, Muslims, like all other immigrant communities, seek the support networks that cultural and religious communities offer, but this "impulse" is further re-enforced by what is sometimes seen as an un-welcoming environment, one that fails to offer avenues to national belonging.

Therefore, as revealed by the opinions of the interviewees, there are a number of different interpretations of what it means to be Muslim in Canada: there are numerous subjective experiences. While some may seek isolation, others may define themselves as part of the national community. Like any other cultural or religious group with limited resources and numbers, Canadian Muslims have formed communal spaces in order to maintain their traditions, their sense of community and their religious practices in a multicultural state. These observations lead to the conclusion that academics must use caution when speaking of identity. Canadian Muslims should be recognized as a heterogeneous identity containing a multitude of individual

experiences. This leads us back to Werbner's observation that religious identities like Muslims must be considered in a way that allows for internal diversity "for cross-cutting ties" and the multiple identities that people engender in a community.[291]

Part of breaking with the reifying Orientalist traditions of the past will be to eschew attempts to discover an essential nature of Islam, a monolithic image from which facile generalizations are formed. Instead, religious identities should be viewed in the context of diverse traditions, practice and cultures – of inter-subjective representations, symbols and discourses. As Cesari notes, "one must examine the social and historical contexts within which Muslims create their discourse on what is important or unimportant in Islam, in *their* Islam."[292] [Author's emphasis]

Xenoracism in Canada?

Having examined the Canadian Muslim community, the dissertation will now turn to the topic of xenoracism in the Canadian context. Already it has been noted that specific ideologies of racism can only be understood within social, economic and political conditions that shape social relations.[293] Ideologies like xenoracism, although structured through these conditions, can only be understood through agency. According to Essed: "In other words, structures of racism do not exist external to agents – they are made by agents – but specific practices are by definition racist only when they activate existing structural racial inequality in the system."[294]

Generally, race and racism scholars in Canada have identified similar trends in the historical development of racism – while acknowledging the unique political, economic and social features of the Canadian state. For example, Cecil Foster has recognized how the historical development of the nation-state, within the overall context of modernity, was essential to the establishment of hierarchical, racist ideologies.[295] Moreover, pertinent to this analysis, a number

of scholars in Canada have explored how racism has been historically embedded in the Canadian government's approach to immigration, integration, and more generally, nation-building.

For example, Anne McLaren, in her study of racism in Canadian immigration policy, noted how pre-war immigration policy prioritized white, Anglo-Saxon immigrants when admitting newcomers. However, as immigration has long been interlinked with economic priority in Canada, at times, sometimes this preference was relaxed in order to meet labour needs. Describing the clear racial hierarchy that was exhibited within Canada's policy in this area McLaren states, "British and Americans were viewed as the most desirable, next northern and western Europeans, after them the central and eastern Europeans (including the Jews), and last of all the Asians and blacks."[296] Thus, from a historical perspective, racism is evidenced in Canadian immigration and integration policy. The state's approach to integration also reflected this cultural and racial hierarchy since, during this period, the priority was "Anglo-conformity": in other words, the assimilation of newcomers and cultural minorities into what was perceived by some as the "superior" English-Canadian ideal.[297]

Racially discriminatory and assimilationist practices continued in Canadian immigration and integration policy up until the adoption of the points system in 1967 and official multiculturalism in 1971. However, prior to this, Vic Satzewich notes that after the Second World War there was a slow shift away from racialized policy – at least in terms of immigration. For instance, the post war appeal of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1947 began to, albeit painfully slowly, open the door to immigrants from Asia.[298] Barrington Walker notes that the shift in Canadian policy during this period can be linked not only to economic necessity (i.e. the need for labour during the post-war economic boom) but also to changing norms at the international level where the shock of the holocaust, that had been in part driven by the negative

influence of the pseudo-science of Eugenics and "scientific racism," led to the adoption of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations.[299] Later these norms and ideas were adopted into domestic document legislation such as Ontario's 1944 Discrimination Act and Saskatchewan's 1947 Bill of Rights.[300]

And while 1967 and 1971 are said to mark the dates when the Canadian federal government (outside of Quebec) adopted the "race-neutral" points system and multiculturalism, largely ending xenoracist practices in immigration and integration, race and racism scholars continue to point to manifestations of racism in the Canadian state, its economy and society. For example, according to Constance Backhouse racism is ubiquitous in Canadian society and its institutions – permeating its culture and institutions.[301] Other scholars such as Vic Satzewich have pointed to more targeted and specific manifestations of racism in Canada, such as the "moral panic" over immigrants from certain racial backgrounds, specifically in the 1980s and 1990s when black communities suffered demonization over media portrayals of criminalization of the community.[302] Supporting these findings, Wortley and Julian note that in prior studies of racial profiling in Toronto almost half of black male respondents have reported involuntary police contact, in comparison to 12 percent of white males.[303] Gillian Creese and Edith Ngene Kambere, in their study of the experience of African immigrant women in Canada, found that racialized accents constitute borders of belonging and regulate access to power and resources in the Canadian state and economy.[304] The role of racism in the Canadian economy will be discussed at greater length in the section on the "political economy of multiculturalism."

But following on this brief review of Canadian race and racism literature, a sizeable portion of Canadian race and racism literature has focused on colour-coded racism in Canada, specifically related to the experience of the black community. But increasingly race and racism

scholars in Canada are turning to the experience of Canadian Muslims. As Satzewich claims, much of this is related to the perceived danger or risk posed by certain communities. He states, "Muslims more recently have nudged black people aside and have moved up the list of 'risk' groups."[305] As already indicated by some studies, Canadian Muslims have been subject to discrimination. For instance, Seljak et al. in their study of religious discrimination in Canada, concluded that, "Sizeable minorities express negative attitudes towards certain religious groups, especially Muslims."[306] Reem Bahdi found in a study on racial profiling after 9/11 that workplace discrimination against workers who appear Arab was taking place in Ontario.[307]

And these findings have some support in existing survey data. For instance, negative perceptions of Muslims at the societal level may be revealed in levels of trust among the general Canadian population towards Canadian Muslims. In March 2012 a joint poll (conducted by the Association for Canadian Studies and the Canadian Race Relations Foundation) of over 1500 Canadians found that 52 percent of Canadians trusted Muslims "not at all" or only "a little". In comparison, 71 percent trusted protestants, 69 percent trusted Catholics and 64 percent trusted Jews "a lot" or "somewhat". Asked whether these groups were to blame for their lack of trust, 42 percent agreed that Muslims were to blame, again representing the highest level of any other group. [308]

The polling company, Environics, also examined inter-community perceptions and attitudes among the host society and among the Muslim community with a significant poll in 2006 that involved 2045 members of the "general public" and 500 Canadian Muslims. When asked what aspect of Canada Canadian Muslims "like the least" 12 percent of Canadian Muslim respondents stated the aspect they liked least about Canada was discrimination, while 24 percent chose "cold weather / climate". When Canadian Muslims were asked what they were "most

worried" about, the top two worries were discrimination (66 percent) and unemployment (65 percent). In terms of the attitudes of the general public towards Muslims 50 percent held positive views on Islam while 29 percent held a negative view. In comparison, when Canadian Muslims were asked what they thought the general public attitudes were towards them they responded with comparable numbers: 49 percent believing that Canadians held positive views of Islam and 38 percent believing those views to be negative. [309] Overall, the Canadian Race Relations / Association of Canadian Studies poll and the Environics poll produce a mixed picture of the presence of societal level negative perceptions, discrimination and prejudice.

In surveys done shortly after the 9/11 attacks one seems to find increased evidence of this trend. Surveys conducted by the Canadian chapter of the Council on American-Islamic relations (CAIR-CAN) in 2002 found that 60 percent of Canadian Muslim respondents reported having experienced "bias or discrimination since the 9/11 terrorist attacks". Another poll conducted in 2002 found that 41 percent of 253 Arab-origin respondents thought that Canadians "do not like Muslims" while 84.6 percent believed that Canadians regard Muslims as violent.[310] Moreover, at least in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, these trends may have been equated to hate crimes; Muslim Canadians living in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) experienced a 66 percent increase in hate crimes with Muslims experiencing close to half of all reported hate crimes in 2001, according to the Toronto Police Services.[311]

There is also the substantial amount of data provided by the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Study (EDS). In terms of demographics the EDS data for Muslims in made up primarily of immigrants. When weighted the sample is 90.1 percent immigrants. A majority are also visible minorities with 85 percent (when weighted) of respondents being visible minorities. Moreover, revealing the relative youth of Muslims in comparison to the general Canadian population, 64% of

immigrant respondents and 71.4 percent of non-immigrant respondents were between the ages of 18-44. Finally the sample reveals that Muslims are most likely to live in larger urban centres rather than in rural areas.[312]

Turning to possible measurements of discrimination, among Canadian Muslims, 32 percent reported experiencing discrimination in the last five years in comparison to 37 percent among Canadian Hindus, 31 percent among Canadian Buddhists and 23 percent among Jehovah's Witnesses. Significantly, of the 32 percent of Muslim respondents, only 34 percent *reported religion as the reason for discrimination* – in comparison to 70 percent of Canadian Jews and 75 percent of Jehovah Witnesses (see Table 2 on pg.128).[313] These are important findings in that they are suggestive that xenoracism that targets Muslims based on religion is more muted in the Canadian context. The obvious question arising from the EDS data is what then is the primary reason Muslims experienced discrimination? The answer to this question is speculative – although one may posit that discrimination was linked to visible minority status, considering the make of the sample group, rather than religious identity.

However, when respondents were asked whether they felt out of place because of their religion, 43 percent of non-visible minority Muslims and 32 percent of visible minority Muslims reported that they did feel out of place because of their religion (see table 3 on pg. 129). When asked whether they worried about hate crimes, 58 percent of non-visible minority Muslims said they were not worried at all and 2 percent were very worried. In comparison, 55 percent of visible minority Muslims responded that they were not worried at all and 5 percent were very worried. Non-Muslim visible minorities had comparable numbers with 55 percent not worried at all and 7 percent very worried (see table 3 on pg. 130).[314]

In terms of comparing the Canadian data with other states it is difficult to find directly

comparable data in terms of sample composition and how survey questions were structured. In terms of rough comparison, one EU study that focused on experiences of discrimination among youth in three EU states found that, when comparing non-Muslim and Muslim youth, "religion rarely featured as a reason for discrimination against non-Muslims, but was one of the most commonly cited reasons for discrimination among Muslims."[315] In that same study, in terms of national findings, 31 percent of Muslim youth in France reported discrimination based on religion in comparison to 44 percent in the UK and 64 percent in Spain.[316] Another study, the Pew Global Attitudes Project of 2006, asked Muslims whether they believed the general population (in their country of residence) was generally hostile towards Muslims. That study found that 42 percent of British Muslims, 39 percent of French Muslims and 51 percent of German Muslims viewed the host society as hostile.[317]

The statistical data ultimately reveals a mixed picture of societal level discrimination and prejudice and negative perceptions towards the Canadian Muslim community. The best quality data sources, for instance the exhaustive EDS, reveals that Canadian Muslims, relative to other religious groups, report somewhat lower rates of discrimination and do not relate existing discrimination to their religious belief - perhaps indicating that xenoracism remains a more muted source of discrimination in Canada. The fact that less than a third of Canadian Muslims were indicating experiences with discrimination, and that much of that discrimination was not based on religion, can be seen as a positive indication, even if those levels are still uncomfortably high for many. Also a small number of respondents stated that they were "very worried" about hate crimes (although as shown in Table 3 a significant number expressed at least some concern over hate crimes).

However, a fairly significant number of Canadian Muslims expressed some unease with

public perception of their religion or a sense of feeling out of place, numbers that are comparable to levels of perceived host society hostility in some European states. The recent survey of inter-community trust also demonstrates relatively low levels of host society trust for Canadian Muslims, whom they blame for this lack of trust.

Ultimately one can only glean so much from statistical data and it is here where the analysis turns to the interview data in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the Canadian Muslim experience vis-à-vis racism. This data source offers particular advantages over the survey data, as Philomena Essed recognizes, "Experiences are a suitable source of information for the study of everyday racism because they include personal experiences as well as vicarious experiences of racism. In addition the notion of experience includes general knowledge of racism, which is an important source of information to qualify whether specific events can be generalized.[318]

Interviewees and their Perceptions of Racism in Canada

All interviewees were informed that they could speak to "experiences with racism in Canada from either a community or individual perspective." Of the respondents in the Canadian Muslim community sample, 80 percent expressed at least some concern over discrimination and prejudice at either the individual or community level. Of interviewees 45 percent reported direct personal experience with some form of racism in Canada. But outside of these numbers interviewees expressed varied and sometimes divergent opinions on to what extent they viewed racism as a significant problem in Canada, and whether they believed it was based on religion, race or other factors.

Following on a point raised in the chapter on xenoracism, a common theme for interviewees was that racism directed towards Muslims was linked to global political events.

From this perspective racism peaks after particular events. For example, according to Ahmed Shoker, a director at the Canadian Islamic Congress, since 9/11 there has been what Canadian Muslims perceive as a, "a subtle sense of discomfort… and this will require some years to really, sort of, remove this stain altogether - where we feel as we did before September 11th." One anonymous interviewee, a lawyer and community advocate, believes that "discrimination based on religion [is] definitely more pronounced since 9/11." Ali Maher Shawwa, a retired Muslim chaplain, remembers how on September 11th he overheard two older women discussing Islam, "One says to the other, 'What is this Islam?' The other lady says, 'This is a religion that kills Jews and Christians." Azim Jeraj, a business owner, believes that after 9/11 there were "a lot of changes, where a lot of negative things have been said about Islam. I have heard of people walking in, going for a job interview with a beard, the chances of getting a job are fewer." For Mr. Jeraj there was a distinct change in the perceptions of the general Canadian population to Muslims after that event, something that was driven by misinformation, "I think a lot of that has happened because of the media, you know, how does your attitude change overnight, so all these influences certainly have worked into the population."

However, Mr. Jeraj believes that some of the negative sentiment that was generated after 9/11 is now beginning to dissipate, "I think it is beginning to get better now, but for the first five years after 9/11 things were tough…you could notice that you could see graffiti on the walls of mosques and things like that, a lot of that happened. It's not happening anymore, so I think people are again going back to our Canadian nature." Baha Abu-Laban, who as previously noted believes that manifestations of xenoracism tend to be associated with global political events, shares Jeraj's view, stating that in relation to the prejudice that existed directly after 9/11, "In part the relevance of discrimination lessened, the challenges to the larger community did not

seem to exist in the same way they had before, the fears did not exist in the same way, so in that sense it began to dissipate." However he also notes that, "…the discrimination existed long before 9/11, long before the First Gulf War and the 67' war." He also highlights Israel's war of independence as generating discrimination, especially against Palestinians, "It activated fundamentalist Christian religion that is supportive of the Zionist idea… these are all mixed - religion, political ideology, and so on."

Soraya Hafez, a President of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, also believes that racism in Canada has been driven by international political events, "During the first gulf war the Muslim communities across Canada suffered from racism, and the Second Gulf war and September 11th again." Working as an elementary school teacher she recalled how these events would be transferred to the playground, and referring to the American bombing of Libya in 1986 she stated:

> During the attack on Libya, on the playground at the school some students would approach students of Arabic or Muslim background and say 'we will beat the heck out of you guys' … okay those little kids were born here and raised here – why would they be guilty, they are feeling and asking what did we do?... The other students were supporting the Americans: that was one incident way before 9/11 or the Gulf War.

For a few interviewees there was a view that racism was not a significant issue in Canada. Bashir Ahmed, Executive Director of the Somali Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization believes that "there is not that much direct racism" and notes that his organization has "found one incident twenty years ago." This revelation may come as a surprise to some, including several interviewees who brought attention to the community, characterizing it as particularly "troubled"; indeed the Somali community has been the subject of a great deal of media and academic attention, especially in Alberta. Yet Mr. Ahmed notes that he has found little in terms of "outward racism", "If I cannot see you hate me because of how I look or my

religion I cannot tell." Similarly Sohail Quadri, a Progressive Conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta for Edmonton-Mill Woods stated, "For the last two decades I did not encounter that at all. I'm not saying it's not there –but I did not encounter that."

Others had no direct experience with racism in Canada but viewed it as a reality for the larger community. For example Dalal Daoud of the Canadian Islamic Congress stated, "It hasn't really affected me negatively"; however, "as for Muslim men I think the whole thing with the War on terror was an obstacle…I have heard of numerous cases of Muslim men being treated differently with a beard…but again, I think it is based on misunderstanding." A common theme in the interviews was expressed by one anonymous interviewee, a prominent member of a Muslim cultural association, "A lot depends on individual experience. I am not sure whether you can generalize that - some of us have been fortunate who hardly notice any of that and others who notice those kinds of things… and you say is it really truly discrimination or is it something else?" In this statement the interviewee draws out what was an overriding theme in the interviews – that experiences are highly individual and there are inherent difficulties in distinguishing between discrimination based on religion, colour coded racism, prejudice, stereotyping, ignorance or even just blind curiosity.

Another theme explored in the interviews with Canadian Muslims was whether experiences with racism were generated by visible minority status or by religion. For some colour-coded racism was still the predominant form of racism in Canada. As Ali Maher Shawwa bluntly observed, "Yes-there is discrimination …Canada, in reality, is a white country." Shaykh Zak recounted one experience he had shortly after he immigrated to Canada when he tried to purchase a vehicle in a private sale:

> A woman answered the call and we agreed on a time to meet. When I arrived there and knocked on the door a man opened the door and looked at me, and I still remember his

> face… and he looked at me and said "what?" and I replied that I was there to see the car. And he looked back inside and said, "look at what your ad has brought us" and I stood there watching him intensely and he left the door ajar and just walked away and I waited there for the woman to come, but she never did.

For Mr. Zak the reason behind this experience was clear,

> And this was definitely a case of discrimination based on nothing but a concept in this man's mind. Basically just a non-white, non- Caucasian person….it had nothing to do with anything but how I looked. But this I carried with me for a long time because I always tried to see that face in the crowd and there are a lot of them. But the thing is, over the last thirty years or so, [in] Alberta in particular, this attitude has changed, I mean, dramatically improved - but it didn't completely go, right?

Another anonymous interviewee recounts her experiences growing up: echoing the sentiments expressed by Mr. Zak she believes that colour-coded racism exists but is less pronounced in recent years, something she relates directly to greater diversity and multiculturalism,

> I saw a lot of racism growing up. I was the only non-white student at school and I felt it a lot. My kids, they don't say anything to me about it, and I think it's because there are so many different peoples, cultures, colours…I remember going to school and thinking I can't take my food for lunch because it's so different and has a different smell…my kids they want to take their food-and there's so many different foods being brought, they're happy at school. I had a lot of girlfriends but boys didn't accept me and I was too ashamed to tell my parents, and then one day I just couldn't take it anymore and I just burst out crying and my parents couldn't believe this. They went to my teachers and told them and the teachers talked to the boys and it got a little better, quite a lot better, but it was so traumatic. I still remember this to this day, and my kids -they love school, their friends - they love going to school. I think it's the multicultural society -they're accepted more than I ever was.

According to the same interviewee, while colour-coded racism may be dissipating, it is being replaced by another form of racism:

> I can tell you what I have observed and I think discrimination is alive and well-it always has been, but now more so towards the religion - because Muslims come from many different ethnic backgrounds. I can speak for the East Indian community because I am an East Indian Muslim woman and I did feel racism growing up. I don't feel colour racism very much anymore, but I see my community being affected by discrimination based on religion more now.

She goes on to describe how this form of racism is manifested through the targeting of cultural and religious symbols, “Women who wear the Hijab have felt a lot of discrimination and in fact, articling, I had a conversation with my principal and I asked him, ‘What would you do if I wore the Hijab?’ And he was not happy with that. He said, ‘Well, you’d look like a nun.’...they make judgments based on physical appearance....it’s definitely more pronounced since 9/11...discrimination based on religion.” Ahmed Shoker, director at the Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC) supports this idea, “Muslims do have negative experience, they are there, yes, unfortunately…however I should say that there are many who report exactly the reverse …but because of their religion, or the wearing of the hijab, or anything connected to faith does this sometimes cause discomfort? Unfortunately, yes.” Recounting a story of a woman who had a negative experience at a local supermarket he believes, “It’s usually a look or a comment that offends or hurts – that’s what we usually get from Muslim women, particularly those who wear the hijab.”

Soraya Hafez, President of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women in Edmonton, described a number of personal experiences with racism in Canada including an episode where she was asked by a local newspaper to give an interview after 9/11. She received a threatening phone call the morning after her interview was published and was told, “Why don’t you go back to where you come from.” Another anonymous interviewee, a board member at a settlement agency and professional engineer, recounted how the first generation, specifically her parents, had experienced racism:

> My parents don’t look back on it in a negative way, but they do have some recollections of racist experiences. My mom being in the hospital and them serving her ham and bacon and saying to her, ‘It’s just meat what’s the problem?’ And right now, of course, in our day and age that would be,‘Oh, I’m so sorry!’ You might not even have to say anything they might know just from you being Muslim that there are dietary concerns.

The same interviewee recounted how when she began attending university her parents, based on the prior experiences with racism, were concerned that she might be targeted based on her choice to wear the hijab:

> [They] were very concerned about racism, what I might experience, I was, you know, in my last year of engineering; the next year I would be looking for work. I wasn't married yet and they thought this was going to really set me back. They started saying, 'well you know there is racism you don't know about, we experienced it, we know.' So that's when I heard them being really anxious, worried about racism impacting my life. Before they would kind of just blow it off and say, 'oh you people are just, whatever… carry on, you know?'… But I decided to wear it and I didn't experience any racism that I can recall. The only thing that I experienced… I don't know if it's racism… but people have stereotypes.

Usama al-Atar, a Shia Imam with a doctorate in Chemistry who is currently engaged in post-doctoral research, believes that discrimination directed towards Muslims that is based on religion is based on a larger trend related to secularism, one that views religion as backward and atavistic. He states: "Is there discrimination against Muslims? I think there is discrimination against religion, although they say we live in a free society people who practice religion are considered to be backwards, in this society. At the same time, because Islam is strict in its social stand, then there is a greater discrimination against Islamic values." The essence of Dr. al-Atar's argument is that in an increasingly secular society - secular in the decline-of-religion usage of the term – religion, especially religion that requires strict lifestyle choices, can be viewed as regressive in comparison to what many people consider to be progressive liberal standards.

He elaborates on this point by highlighting how, because Islam has adhered to a more strict moral code of conduct than some other branches of Abrahamic religions, it has been viewed as intolerant, and this is the source of much of the discrimination Muslims experience today:

> Islam in general rejects abortion, it rejects same gender marriages and so on and so forth.. and I think that has made people take a stronger stand against Muslims. Because some people say, for instance, that I can still be a Christian and have an abortion… I can still be a Jew and I can do that, I can be a liberal Jew and do that, you can't be an orthodox Jew and do that. But in Islam you can't, there is no option, so you either remain as a Muslim, or convert and join another religion. And that is what makes people say, 'okay so Islam does not tolerate all of this.'

But Dr. al-Atar went on to point out how the divisive issues, for example, same sex marriage and abortion, are issues that are taboo for other religious interpretations as well: for example the Catholic Church.

Another point raised by a few interviewees was that experiences with racism in the Muslim community were moderated by class. A speculative point raised by Azim Jeraj, a business owner, was that "Direct racism is affected in labour jobs, you find, once you get into the civil service, or, you know, management jobs in the private sector, if there is racism it is not out in the open, so you don't see it. Some people may feel it at work - as long as you keep producing and keep doing what you are supposed to do, you are fine." As a successful individual who had few issues integrating into the labour market after migration he believes that it is individuals in working class positions who likely suffer the majority of racism. Shawkat Hassan, a member of the British Columbia Muslim Association, an organization with a 40 year presence in the province and a chaplain at a penitentiary in the Greater Vancouver Area, recalled a discussion he had with a construction worker he met in prison:

> One of the guys, who happened to be from Bosnia and came to this Masjid, he was working in construction and doing a good job - he had a boss who was teasing him about being a Muslim terrorist. And this guy also wanted to tease him [back] and he said "If you don't shut up I'll shoot you." So he went right away to the police and said he said so on and so on and right away he ended up in the prison for uttering threats.

Demonstrating the complex nature of racism in a multicultural society, a few interviewees brought up issues with discrimination within the Muslim community itself. This

was a common sentiment expressed among members of cultural associations or other umbrella groups that were trying to build intra-community consensus. Shaykh Zak, who considers himself a "non-sectarian" Muslim chaplain, recounted how, despite his "good contacts with all kinds of Muslims," because of divisions, often of cultural rather than core religious beliefs: "based on that I have been discriminated against… the issue we were discussing about Muslims discriminating against other Muslims this is very rampant, very clear – that if you are not with us you are against us." One anonymous interviewee sought to challenge what he saw as the common sense understanding of racism, "I think that one thinks discrimination is from the whites to the non-whites – [but] that's not the case...there is discrimination from the brown to the black...even today when I see a black guy..I'm on the defensive and there's no reason...they are good human beings....but there is this stigma attached to people."

Other interviewees brought up concerns that religious-based discrimination is worsening in recent years – something that was linked specifically to the current political climate in Canada. For example, again, according to Shawkat Hassan:

> I didn't feel that way, but I feel it now. I have been here for fifteen years and I have never felt that way, except now with this government…In fact I am also working as a chaplain and sometimes I feel such kind of, not prejudice, but ignorance I would say - from CIC staff members - which is because I am a Muslim, because some inmates are Muslims. Sometimes I feel like I have to work harder than others to prove the needs for those inmates and for my services, because I am a Muslim.

Mr. Hassan expressed great concern, indeed emotional angst, that not only he and his community would continue to experience this but also his children:

> This kind of policy is not healthy, because we came here to become citizens, I don't want to feel, or my kids to feel excluded…my kids were born and grew up here, went to school here and so on. I want them to feel as though this is their country, that their future is here, for them and for their kids and generations to come. And I don't feel, I don't feel, at all, that somebody that came here two hundred years ahead of me should have more rights than I do.

A common concern, expressed by 50 percent of interviewees, and noteworthy in that the theme was not directly related to interview questions and was therefore often brought up independently, was that, under the current Conservative government led by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, the country was diverging from key cultural values and the government was openly hostile towards Muslims. Changes to foreign policy priorities were a common concern among interviewees. This was a concern raised by Dalal Daoud, "For example if we talk about the Israeli Palestinian issue and how the Harper government is taking a very strong position with Israel, [for] the Muslim or Palestinian population, it just pushes them away, it isolates them. As a Canadian I have always been proud [of our record] like supporting human rights, peacekeeping, diplomacy and all of that - the moderation - and that's what really attracts me." An anonymous interviewee expressed similar concerns related to the Conservative government, "Quite frankly that's a major concern for us. A lot of people in the Muslim community felt very comfortable with the Canadian model in the past, but they are getting quite uncomfortable with this situation." Soraya Hafez singled out the Prime Minister specifically for contributing to what she saw as a divisive narrative, " There are people that still say 'you people', even the Prime Minister when he was in Brandon or something said 'you people' what do you mean 'you people', *we people* we are all here, we are all Canadians."

Shayda Nanji, an Ismaili Muslim and member of the ECMC, stated that in terms of discrimination, "I don't feel it on a personal level." She went on to describe a number of inter-community initiatives and how she feels as though, at the societal level, Canadians have generally come together. However, she prefaced this belief:

> What I find worrisome is our current government, and their shift in policy, particularly related to foreign policy in the Middle East and the peace process and all of that. When you see the way the media portrays things [for instance] Sun TV and Ezra Levant's

> television show. That tells me that there are some elements there, some undercurrents… they have the money, they have the power, they have the opportunity… so what they are doing is constantly stirring up negativity… but there was just as much good on the other side [referring to inter-community relations], so it is like taking a backwards step. The minority view, the quick sound bites, they have a much broader impact.

Nanji's comments were generally indicative of many of the opinions expressed in the interview that at the societal level Canadians are generally quite progressive, but at the political level there are concerns over what is seen as an ideologically driven federal government.

Concluding Remarks

The Canadian Muslim community is not a homogenous entity; it is representative of a multiplicity of experiences that are drawn together by a religion that is worshiped in multifarious ways. In a globalized and transnational world, many Canadian Muslims, like other minority migrant communities, live their lives as the sojourner – existing between two or more worlds. But when individuals are told (to paraphrase the experience of some of the interviewees), "you don't belong here, why don't you go back to where you belong"; when they are referred to as "you people"; when they experience discrimination and prejudice; belonging is called into question. For a multicultural society and for a multicultural state this observation has particular ramifications: it challenges the cohesiveness of society and the premise of equity. Like all minorities, Canadian Muslims seek the networks, comfort and aid that cultural communities offer. However, when faced with discrimination, when viewed negatively by a host society that expresses a lack of trust in people, this impulse may be stronger.

The opinions of the Canadian Muslim interviewees were in some ways as diverse as their community; however, they also drew on common experience. Not surprisingly, considering how much attention has been brought to the community in the post 9/11 world, a shared view was that anti-Muslim sentiment was connected to political events with global implications. They believed

that after 9/11 a racism directed towards religion was gaining traction (although several interviewees believed that it had dissipated somewhat since 2001).

Altogether the quantitative and qualitative research indicates a sizable minority that has directly experienced discrimination in Canada: 32 percent according to EDS data and 45 percent of the sample group. It is noteworthy, considering the composition of the elite-level Muslim community sample, containing religious leaders, professionals, successful entrepreneurs etc. that such a high number of individuals experienced racism directly. If, as suggested by some interviewees, manifestations of racism were more acute among the working class, this could suggest much higher levels among the population as a whole. Of course, without further research this is a purely speculative statement. Other noteworthy findings from the EDS and Environics data includes 37.5 of Muslims (cumulatively for immigrant and non-immigrant samples) who felt out of place in Canada, that 29 percent of the Canadian population held negative views of Muslims, and a small majority lacked a sense of trust in the community. But how much of these attitudes and experiences can be linked to xenoracism?

At the societal or everyday level the fact that, as indicated by the EDS, only 34 percent of Muslims who reported discrimination believe it is based on religion, and the fact that only 29 percent felt out of place (i.e. not foreign), may indicate that xenoracism remains a more muted source of discrimination at the societal level. These findings are opposed to findings in the EU, which found that a significant source of discrimination for Muslim youth was religious identity. Reviewing all of these findings brings us to the conclusion that, at the societal level, xenoracism that targets Muslim communities exists alongside other forms of racism, such as colour-coded racism, in the Canadian context, but, to date is not a significant source of “everyday” racism.

For some interviewees multiculturalism was directly referenced as providing a defense, a

barrier against racism. They believed that the lived experience of multiculturalism, and the Canadian political tradition of pluralism, had made Canadians less ignorant of each other's traditions and more open to cultural difference. Yet, at the same time, *there were also significant concerns that political elites, especially at the federal level, were challenging many of the values that Canadian Muslims associated with this positive image of Canada*. There were concerns that politicians were encouraging divisiveness in a society that is generally marked by positive inter-cultural exchange. The current government was singled out in that, through their foreign and domestic policy, they were perceived as hostile to Canadian Muslims. This perceived hostility challenged their sense of belonging, generated worries about future generations and how Canadians in general are perceived abroad.

Thus far, the life experiences of Canadian Muslims tells us that xenoracism may not yet have filtered down to Canadian society, but there are significant concerns that it exists at the political level among what is perceived as a hostile elite. In the next three chapters this political-institutional level will become the focus of the dissertation as it examines areas of policy including multiculturalism, integration and security. The aim of this section will be to seek out possible manifestations of xenoracism, and, by examining the experience of Canadian Muslims, critically evaluate the idea that state multiculturalism in Canada is a success.

Table 2: Experiences with Discrimination among Religious Communities

Religious Affiliation	Reported Discrimination in the Last 5 years*	Of Those Who Reported Discrimination: Reason – Religion*	Un-Weighted Count
No Religious Affiliation	16%	8%	7821
Roman Catholic	12%	8%	13157
Other Catholic	9%	5%	1508
Anglican	12%	7%	2456
Baptist	14%	24%	883
Jehovah's Witnesses	23%	75%	224
Lutheran	8%	17%	1047
Mennonite	9%	40%	303
Pentecostal	21%	17%	503
Presbyterian	11%	9%	774
United Church	8%	8%	2880
Other Protestant	15%	22%	2442
Greek Orthodox	21%	15%	417
Other Orthodox	21%	13%	415
Other Christian	18%	23%	2527
Muslim	32%	34%	806
Jewish	25%	70%	657
Buddhist	31%	10%	542
Hindu	37%	9%	506
Sikh	29%	30%	612
Other religion	31%	49%	123

**Note: Percent based on weighted values from EDS*

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey Public Use Metafile, 2002 [computer file]. Ottawa, Ont.: Statistics Canada. Data Liberation Initiative [distributor], 2005. (Catalogue no. 89M0019GPE)

Table 3: Feeling Uncomfortable or Out of Place Because of Religion

Non-Visible Minorities	**Felt Uncomfortable**	**Religion the Reason for Those Who Felt Uncomfortable**
No Religion	19%	11%
Christian	18%	13%
Muslim	**31%**	**43%**
Hindu	-	-
Sikh	-	-
Other Faith	35%	71%

Visible Minorities	**Felt Uncomfortable**	**Religion the Reason for Those Who Felt Uncomfortable**
No Religion	50%	3%
Christian	44%	7%
Muslim	**41%**	**32%**
Hindu	43%	12%
Sikh	35%	26%
Other Faith	37%	8%

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey Public Use Metafile, 2002 [computer file]. Ottawa, Ont.: Statistics Canada. Data Liberation Initiative [distributor], 2005. (Catalogue no. 89M0019GPE)

Table 4: Worries about Hate Crimes

Non Visible Minority	1 - Not worried at all	2	3	4	5 - Very worried
Muslim	**58%**	23%	11%	6%	2%
Non Muslim	**76%**	14%	7%	2%	2%

Visible Minority	1 - Not worried at all	2	3	4	5 - Very worried
Muslim	**55%**	19%	15%	5%	5%
Non Muslim	**55%**	21%	13%	5%	7%

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey Public Use Metafile, 2002 [computer file]. Ottawa, Ont.: Statistics Canada. Data Liberation Initiative [distributor], 2005. (Catalogue no. 89M0019GPE)

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Chapter 5: The Crisis of Multiculturalism: The Canadian Exception?

Thus far the dissertation has explored some of the central terms employed in the analysis. It has touched on the socially constructed nature of racist ideologies and examined how "cultural racism" and xenoracism can be differentiated from scientific and colour-coded racisms. In terms of the experience of Canadian Muslims it has shown that a sizeable minority directly encounter some form of racism in Canadian society, and that there are marked concerns in the community over xenoracism at the level of the federal government. In this chapter the analysis will enter into a more in-depth examination of state multiculturalism and the experience of Canadian Muslims in that framework.

The decade that followed September 11th 2001 was marked not only by the "War on Terror" but also the "crisis" of multiculturalism. In some states (for instance the Netherlands) the answer to the crisis has been migration controls, citizenship classes, language classes and required viewing of films intended to expose newcomers to Dutch values. Through pieces of legislation like the 2006 Civic Integration Act the burden of integration in the Netherlands was shifted squarely to newcomers *and* more longtime residents - requiring them to pass a civic integration exam (with critics have pointed to as directly targeting Muslim communities) together with language tests. By the late spring of 2011 the Dutch had completely disavowed the policy and set off on a path towards an even more assimilationist immigration policy.

As Kenan Malik points out in his article in *the New York Times,* "The real target of much of this criticism, however, is not multiculturalism but immigration and immigrants — especially Muslims. Mr. Wilders, leader of the Freedom Party, the third largest in the Dutch Parliament, has campaigned for an end to all non-Western immigration, a ban on mosque building and the outlawing of the Koran."[319] Fekete points out that, among the new assimilative policies that are presented as the antidote to the failure of multiculturalism, and among those who single out

Muslims as the minority responsible for much of its failure, we find evidence of institutionalized xenoracism.[320]

The question for many is how did we get here? As Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley contend in their work, *The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age:*

> Multiculturalism has inspired a long history of backlash; however, since 11 September 2001 commentators, politicians and media coverage in a range of European and Western contexts have increasingly drawn on narratives of the 'crisis of multiculturalism' to make sense of a broad range of events and political developments, and to justify political initiatives, rhetoric and aspirations in any given context.[321]

According to Lentin and Titley, German Chancellor Angela Merkel's repudiation of multiculturalism was part of an initiative to "define cultural boundaries – and hierarchies – between 'nationals and immigrants', drawing on established tropes of national cultures endangered by the demographic challenge and confidence of immigrant cultures in general, and Islam in particular."[322] In this narrative Islam is the foreign other – a societal threat to the failed-multicultural nation that must be disciplined within the re-imagined and more homogenous state. As Lepinard puts it, "Islam, rather than race or ethnicity, is at the centre of the new politics of inclusion and has become the main focal point of policy making and constitutional politics…In this context religious identities may be used to replace the national-foreigner divide and the markers of ethnic difference that previously structured integration politics and policy." [323]

In this dissertation, the question is has Canada "bucked" the trend? Has Canadian avoided the crisis of multiculturalism and has state multiculturalism helped to mitigate xenoracism towards Canadian Muslims? Or alternatively has state multiculturalism in Canada, as witnessed in Europe, become an institutional vehicle for the ideology of xenoracism? The hypothesis as laid out in the introduction is that state multiculturalism in Canada has been resilient in the face of the crisis of multiculturalism and xenoracism witnessed elsewhere, most especially in Western

Europe. However, it was also prefaced that such resilience must be tested in relation to the experience of Canadian Muslims within that framework.

In setting out to test the success of state multiculturalism this chapter will proceed as follows: first, an exploration of the meanings of multiculturalism, the different notions that it carries and how state multiculturalism differs from the lived reality. Next the chapter will flesh out the historical development of state multiculturalism and how the Canadian "brand" may be differentiated from other approaches. Second, a review of some the arguments that have been made, both in favour and in opposition to state multiculturalism in Canada. This section is structured through two oppositional sections: one that builds a case for Canadian state multiculturalism to be viewed as a success, and the second builds a case for it to be viewed as a failure.

Defining State Multiculturalism

How do we define multiculturalism? As noted in the introduction it is a term with many meanings – which can refer to a normative ideology, a public policy, or a way of life. For many of us multiculturalism is simply a social reality – something we experience on a daily basis in an increasingly globalized world. Ben Pitcher contends that this lived reality of multiculturalism "does not describe an abstract ideal of social organization, but rather an already-existing sociopolitical reality of which cultural difference has become a defining feature."[324] But this lived multiculturalism is not the focus of this analysis, rather the focus is state multiculturalism – the institution of policies aimed to publically manage diversity. This is in fact the original usage of the term multiculturalism: as Abu-Laban and Gabriel reflect on the etymology of the term, "It is notable that the actual term 'multiculturalism' was first coined in Canada as a result of the federal policy."[325]

According to Fleras and Kunz, state multiculturalism, "consists of specific government initiatives to transform multicultural ideals into official programs and practices that acknowledge diversity as different yet equal. A new symbolic order, along with a corresponding mythology, is constructed under multicultural policies that help to paper over any inconsistencies at odds with present realties."[326] Castle and Miller distill state multiculturalism down to its practical applications for policy makers, and believe it is:

> Based on the idea that immigrants need services that address their special needs with regard to education, language and housing. The absence of such measures can put immigrants and their children at a disadvantage, and deny them opportunities for upward mobility. The key assumption of multiculturalism is that specific policies do not lead to separatism but, on the contrary, are the precondition for successful integration.[327]

In the above definitions we clearly see two important observations. First, state multiculturalism is normative and closely associated with nation building and integration. It is an attempt to (re)imagine a new symbolic order that replaces an old vision of nationhood that no longer corresponds to existing social relations. In other words it seeks to address a contradiction between the idea of the nation and the social reality it contains - an attempt to define new parameters for belonging to the nation. In this sense it may be viewed as an ideology intrinsically tied to ideas of Canadian nationhood and nationalism, forming a normative idea of how national culture *ought* to look like. In the above quote Castles and Miller point to the practical considerations of this normative vision - the interconnection between multiculturalism, integration and immigration policy. In re-constructing a new identity the inequities of past forms of social relations marked by discrimination, prejudice and the uneven distribution of public resources must be addressed to meet the normative vision. For Baldwin Wong, an interviewee from the policy sample group and Social Planner at the City of Vancouver, the ability of multicultural policy to address these inequities is critical in judging the policy's success, "If

multiculturalism does not contribute to equity then it's meaningless, because for me it's really about access and equity."

Recognizing this how do we deem a state to be multicultural? On this question Kymlicka provides a simple answer, "A state is multicultural if its members either belong to different nations (a multinational state), or have emigrated from different nations (a polyethnic state), and if this fact is an important aspect of *personal identity* and *political life*."[328] Following on this open-ended definition there are a number of policy approaches that politicians can bring to the development of state multicultural policy.

Therefore, state multiculturalism may vary within different national contexts. To highlight this, Abu-Laban and Gabriel use the example of the United States where multicultural policy tends to refer, "to educational practices and to efforts by ethnic minorities, women, gays and lesbians, and other groups to foster a more inclusive curriculum in universities and public schools": here, in effect, are policy implications that are certainly far less ambitious than those witnessed in Canada.[329] Castle and Miller believe that there are two "key variants" of multiculturalism:

1. The United States style variant accepts diversity but does not give the state the role of enforcing social justice and maintainer of cultures.
2. Multiculturalism as public policy variant where multiculturalism implies both the willingness of the majority group to accept cultural difference and state action to secure equal rights for minorities.[330]

Countries such as the United States that promote a more assimilationist approach to newcomers reject "special policies" for immigrants. On the other hand, countries such as Sweden, Canada and Australia believe special policies create a more inclusive and productive state.[331]

It was in the early 1970s that the Canadian state first developed state multiculturalism, making it the prototypal version of the policy for other states. The historical development of state

multiculturalism in Canada has created a unique approach to the policy. For Dallmayr, "Several aspects render the Canadian case noteworthy. One is the high political saliency of cultural pluralism and diversity. More than elsewhere (in the West), multiculturalism has been the topic of intense public constitutional debates, which may have to do with the fact that Canada has never fully subscribed to the assimilationist or "melting-pot" ideal of its neighbour."[332]

The Historical Development of State Multiculturalism in Canada: Quebec and its "Intercultural" Turn

As US political scientist Frances Fukuyama correctly observed, multiculturalism "was born in Canada" and its principles of tolerance and diversity spread to much of the world's liberal democracies.[333] The historical development of state multiculturalism in Canada dates back to the post war years with scholars Biles and Ibrahim arguing that the Canadian government "has been overtly tackling issues arising from their diversity since at least the end of World War II."[334] As already noted in the preceding chapter, during the post war years, despite this growing diversity, immigration policies in Canada, as in the rest of the Western world, were racist and assimilationist in orientation. Before the 1967 institution of the "neutral" points system, requirements for immigration, Canadian immigration, distinctly favoured Anglo-Saxon migrants and secondarily white migrants from areas such as eastern Europe, while limiting or excluding non-white migrants; therefore, it contained a clear racist hierarchical ideology within its immigration system. Assimilationist immigration and integration policies during this period sought to establish cultural unity and conformity to official languages, and were dismissive of underlying inequities suffered by some minorities.[335] Moreover, prior to 1967, immigration policy was discriminatory on religious grounds (for instance the refusal to accept Jewish refugees fleeing the holocaust).[336] By the 1960s, declining numbers of immigrants from dominant cultural groups such as the British, growing diversity among newcomers and an

increasingly assertive Quebecois minority, led to a renewed effort of nation-building.[337] By 1963, then Prime Minister Lester Pearson established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

In 1969 the Bilingualism and Biculturalism commission released a report entitled *The Cultural Contribution of other Ethnic Groups* which recommended the recognition of the contribution of other cultural groups in Canada. And In 1971 Trudeau adopted much of the commission's recommendations by establishing multiculturalism within a bilingual framework: a partial compromise that recognized the linguistic privileges of foundational national groups while neglecting Aboriginal Canadians. As Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Christina Gabriel note, "The couching of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework may be seen as an indication of the continued dominance of British- and to a lesser extent French-origin groups in Canada."[338] There was of course a utilitarian motive for the adoption of state multiculturalism, and this was especially true for Trudeau. As Winter Elke notes, it is an oft overlooked "coincidence" that Canadian multiculturalism was implemented during a period of "profound conflict" between the two dominant linguistic identities and an increasingly assertive and nationalistic Quebec.[339]

As previous outlined in the introductory chapter, Trudeau's strategic adoption of multiculturalism was related to what has been referred to as the "Quebec question" in Canada – the ongoing struggles to define Quebec's place in Canadian federalism. And there is little doubt that the adoption of state multiculturalism in the rest of Canada produced a significant schism between the Federal Liberal party and the provincial governments in Quebec. Much of this divide can be traced directly back to the Bilingualism and Biculturalism commission and Trudeau's interpretatio*n* of its recommendations. As Kenneth McRoberts recognizes, within the report of the "B and B commission" and the prepared volume, *the Cultural Contribution of Other*

Ethnic Groups, “there was the general recognition of the need to recognize the rights and contributions of cultural and ethnic groups that fell outside of the bi-cultural framework.”[340]

This recognition came in part as a result of the advocacy of members of the “third force”- vocal critics like the Ukrainian senator Paul Yuzyk, who rejected the bi-cultural vision of Canada. However, what McRoberts points out - and this is an essential point in terms of understanding Quebec’s rejection of state multiculturalism - is that the B and B commission never advocated for the abandonment of the two “dominant culture” or bi-cultural national framework. Thus, Trudeau’s adoption of a distinctly individualistic, liberal rights-based vision of a multicultural state was very much opposed to the preference of political elites in Quebec, and was, to quote McRoberts, adopted “without the commission’s blessings.”[341]

As a result, subsequent Quebec governments have explicitly rejected state multiculturalism in favour of a loose commitment to what has been referred to as “interculturalism.” This alternative approach to diversity was outlined in the introduction – but in short it maintains a more distinct cultural core, in comparison to multiculturalism, into which newcomers must integrate. Subsequently, state multiculturalism exists in tension with this intercultural approach based on the historical divergence of Quebec from the rest of Canada on the question of how diversity and pluralism should be framed at the national level. In fact, within multiculturalism there is a direct opposition to “interculturalism,” since there is a contradiction in their respective approaches to integration and the meaning they attribute to citizenship.[342]

The Quebec government’s rejection of the multicultural model and adoption of “interculturalism” contained its own set of strategic aims. Chiefly, there was concern among Francophone elites that immigrants were increasingly being integrated into the Anglicized minority – a trend that was understandably viewed as undesirable by separatists.

Multiculturalism then was seen as a threat by these elites, since not only was it seen as empowering communities who may have little interest in sovereignty, but also because it contained the idea of cultural equality and thus it was opposed to the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society. As a response to this perceived threat, Jean François Dupré describes how "interculturalism" promoted "common public language and…the recognition of ethnocultural pluralism… while encouraging convergence with the French Canadian majority."[343]

While a more substantive analysis of the historical split between Quebec and the rest of Canada over multiculturalism is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is worth briefly reviewing the relative efficacy of Quebec's approach, since it provides a unique example of how a more assimilationist / European approach and a more integrationist / multicultural approach have existed side-by-side, historically, in one state. It also worth exploring because a number of notable Canadian scholars, and some members of the media, have made the case for "interculturalism" as a potential replacement for the multicultural brand in Canada and elsewhere. For example, within the European Union, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in an influential White Paper on "Intercultural Dialogue" have argued that "interculturalism" is now the preferred model for Europe since multiculturalism is largely seen as a "failed" policy.[344]

Prominent scholars such as Alain Gangnon and Raffaele Iacovino have offered a spirited defense of Quebec's bi-cultural approach to Canadian pluralism, stating that "Contrary to those who view minority nationalism in its nineteenth-century manifestation this is indeed the recipe for a genuine political relationship between political communities that share a long history, demonstrate similar values, and have expressed the will to live together."[345] Similar sentiments can be found in the opinion of the prominent sociologist Gerard Bouchard who co-chaired the

province's commission on reasonable accommodation, as he sees "interculturalism" as a viable alternative to multiculturalism.[346]

However, recent events, such as the vitriolic debates over the Quebec Charter of Values, should give pause to those who believe that "interculturalism" could represent an effective alternative to multiculturalism. Some years before this event, since the 1995 statement by Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau blaming the defeat of the sovereignty movement in the referendum on "ethnic votes," xenophobia has seemingly been a regular feature of the political discourse in Quebec. The 2007 provincial elections where the former Action Démocratique du Québec's (ADQ) adopted a distinctly anti-immigrant election platform in order to gain a significant margin of support in rural ridings, and the Parti Quebecois (under the leadership of Pauline Marois) introduction of Bill 195 (Quebec's "Identity Act"), have acted as further confirmation that xenoracism is embedded in Quebec political discourse and legislation.[347]

One potential clue to why Quebec's loosely defined "interculturalism" has failed to stem xenoracism in the province can be tied to the historical development of Quebec nationalism and the province's struggles to define its place in the Canadian state. That nationalism, prior to the 1960s, was tied to ideas of a French Canadian "race" that was defined through a common language, religion and rural culture.[348] When Quebec society went through its Quiet Revolution, a period of rapid secularization where the provincial government replaced the Roman Catholic Church as the most important institution in Quebec society, that society shifted its national allegiance onto the structure of the province. Thus, according to Dupré, at this point "a form of modern, territorially-based nationalism emerged and got diffused."[349] In this sense Quebec nationalism has mirrored the ethnic-nationalisms and patterns of secularism found in Europe.

Additionally, as Quebec exists as a "sub-nation", and has constantly struggled to gain recognition as a distinct society within the Canadian state, the Quebec brand of nationalism is, by its very nature, defensive. This is evidenced by a series of language laws (such as Bill 22 and 101) making French the official language, the denial of public funds to non-French schools, the Parti Québécois's (PQ) promotion of so-called identity acts such as Bill 195, simmering hostility from politicians towards ethnic minorities since the 1995 referendum defeat, and a drive to establish a more formal and coercive idea of Quebec citizenship.[350]

Therefore, considering these trends, there should be little surprise over the latest attempts of the PQ government under Pauline Marois to push a distinctly xenoracist Charter of Quebec Values. Instead the charter should be seen as a continuation of provincial government policy with deep historical roots. Quebec now stands as a curious extension of ethnic nationalism, open public angst over secularism, and accelerating xenoracism in North America – reflecting trends witnessed in Europe within the crisis of multiculturalism. These similarities can be most readily identified in the speech acts of figures like the PQ leader Pauline Marois, who in an interview published in Montreal's Le Devoir stated that multiculturalism is undesirable and dangerous. Apparently, according to Marois, in Britain it has led to people "smashing each other in the face and throwing bombs."[351]

In effect, the historical divergence of Quebec "interculturalism" from multiculturalism shows that a loosely defined "interculturalism" may offer little defence to the anti-immigrant populism and xenoracism that is now apparent in the Crisis of Multiculturalism. As shown earlier in the dissertation, certain interpretations of nationalism lend themselves to the construction of racist ideologies. Quebec's rejection of the multicultural model and its maintenance of bi-culturalism – while entirely consistent with its historical place as a sub-

national group within a larger federal state – may offer an at least partial explanation for why xenoracism has such deep roots within the province.

The Historical Development of State Multiculturalism in Canada: The Third Force and Paradigms of State Multiculturalism

However, under Trudeau, in the rest of Canada state multiculturalism brought a very different approach to the management of diversity. Since 1971 the policy has been highly dynamic in terms of historical development. And it is here that it should be noted that an oft overlooked aspect of the historical development of state multiculturalism can be found in the advocacy of the "third force". As previously mentioned, the B and B commission had recommended that the state maintain its bi-cultural character. But certain groups, such as Canadian Ukrainians led by figures like senator and historian Paul Yuzyk, felt excluded from the negotiations at the "B & B commission", and they lobbied for greater recognition in the public sphere.[352] That movement represented a conglomeration of ethnic and cultural communities, some of which, the Canadian Chinese community for example, had a long-standing presence and historical role in prior initiatives of nation-building such as the construction of critical cross-national railways. They desired changes not only to the assimilationist model of immigration and integration but also the bicultural model which had defined Canadian nationalism.[353] Therefore, at least in part, state multiculturalism in Canada was a response to the agency and advocacy of groups who felt excluded from the imagined community.

Baha Abu-Laban, an interviewee who is a professor of Sociology at the University of Alberta and a member of the Muslim community sample group, described himself as part of the "multicultural movement" in Alberta in the 1960s and 1970s. Citing his own sociological work on ethnic groups during this period he believes that the policy of multiculturalism was reflective of findings from sociologists at that time: "In the late 1960s and early 1970s people working on

ethnic groups in the United States discovered that second and third and fourth generation are going back [to ethnic identities] …even in a country that emphasized assimilation there was a revival of ethnicity… and at that time Canada established its own policy of multiculturalism." Following on this observation, Amyn Sajoo, an interviewee and visiting scholar at Simon Fraser University, Centre for the Study of Muslim Societies and Culture, remarked on this stage of multiculturalism, "Now it seems to me that the next step in the late 70s and 80s - with Trudeau's brand of liberalism - to move to integration and multiculturalism - is a concession that assimilation has failed, that it is the wrong thing to do and it's also not the smart thing to do." In other words multiculturalism was a pragmatic choice for a variety of reasons: as a potential (but ultimately failed) means of shifting the debate on Quebec separatism and as recognition that assimilationist policies had failed.

Suwanda Sugunasiri views Canadian diversity policies, to borrow the Kuhnian concept, as a series of paradigms which began with pre-1967 "classical racism" which was transformed into "classical multiculturalism" under Trudeau.[354] According to Fleras and Kunz, in this classical incarnation the state compelled all federally regulated institutions "to deliver a culturally sensitive service that is pluralistic in objectives, equitable in outcome, and representative in composition."[355] This led to what has been described, sometimes derisively, as the "song and dance", or "celebration of difference" model of multiculturalism which tended to fund ethno-racial organizations directly who then, in various forms, celebrated folkloric representations of identity.

The 1980s saw the codification of multiculturalism in the 1988 *Multiculturalism Act* and in the 1982 *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. During this time, a greater emphasis was put on "race relations" within the overall policy. In the decades that followed the adoption of the policy in

Canada there was a recognition, partly brought on by critics, that the celebration of difference model was not resulting in a significant reduction of barriers for minorities (a stated goal of the policy) and subsequently government programs focused on anti-racism.[356] During this period ethnic and religious identities became subsumed under the label of race, and as Biles and Ibrahim note, "the political strength of the anti-racism movement forced other dimensions of diversity to the margins. The Multiculturalism Program reflected this agenda by emphasizing its anti-racism policy."[357]

By the mid-1990s, in the context of the downsizing of the public service in the Program Review of 1994, state multiculturalism, like other government programs / ministries, was re-examined and reduced in size. The emerging popular and institutional belief was that state intervention was of limited efficacy in social and economic policy. Under pressure, policy makers turned to an issues-based approach to the policy.[358] Policies became measured in terms of outcomes and returns on investment, and since programs like anti-racism were difficult to measure in terms of outcomes it became more difficult for bureaucrats and ministers to justify funding. Colin Boyd, a Director in Multiculturalism at CIC, outlines how these deliberations are operating at the ministry:

> How do you know that an interfaith initiative or a program to address racism and discrimination actually increases understanding and reduces racism? It is very difficult to correlate the two, and so we are frankly struggling with that, in the federal government especially, in an environment where fiscal restraint means spending is scrutinized increasingly.

By 1997 the Liberals began to re-structure the multiculturalism program, shifting the emphasis away from anti-racism to a civic form of multiculturalism with a focus on promoting a sense of belonging to Canada. This shift continued the trend away from direct funding for cultural

organizations towards individual programs that promoted the new priorities of civic multiculturalism. Fleras and Kunz characterize this new approach as follows:

> …oriented towards society building in emphasizing the ideal of a commonly shared citizenship. It is based on fostering a sense of belonging and a shared sense of Canadian identity as one way of enhancing national unity without forsaking those differences that enrich or empower. Emphasis is on what we have in common as rights-bearing and equality-seeking individuals rather than on what separates and divides us. Policy objectives under civic multiculturalism include a commitment to the society-building goals of social justice, an emergent Canadian identity, citizenship and national unity, and increased civic participation.[359]

Today's multiculturalism operates in this tension between the ideals of government intervention and limited government. Fleras and Kunz, writing in 2001 when the trend towards program downsizing was soundly in place observed, "The government may remain officially committed to official multiculturalism; nevertheless, its support is increasingly muted, it reflects a disturbing trend towards complacency or expediency, and is not beyond the pale of axing costly multicultural programs."[360] Successive governments, including the Liberal governments of Chretien and Martin and the Conservative government under Harper, armed with ideals of limited government and a reduced role for the public service, have hollowed out the program. State multiculturalism has been downgraded from ministry to program and transferred from the Department of Heritage to Citizenship and Immigration Canada in 2008, under Stephen Harper's Conservative government. In July of 2009 the Federal Cabinet laid out several new objectives for the program as part of an ongoing program review that commenced in 2007. One of these objectives is, "to build an integrated, socially cohesive society."[361] The current government nearly halved the program's funding when it came into power - from 34 million in 2005-2006 to 17 million the following fiscal year, levels which it has more or less maintained up until the 2010-2011 fiscal year.[362]

As this historical review reveals, state multiculturalism has been a dynamic policy in the Canadian context that has endured through several paradigms, changing government priorities and views on the appropriate role of the state in the arena of socio-economic policy. The historical development of state multiculturalism has led to a series of compromises between somewhat conflicting goals. On the one hand, policy makers employing multicultural policy sought to establish greater equity among cultural groups and reduce barriers to full participation in Canadian society: they sought to create social justice through the recognition and institutionalization of difference. On the other hand, especially after the civic multicultural turn of the mid-1990s, policy makers sought to develop a consensus around a core set of Canadian values and encourage active civic participation among minority groups who were viewed as being at least somewhat disengaged from this space.

Multiculturalism represented a new and unique approach to nation building, a made-in-Canada policy which set to re-construct a national identity in a more inclusive manner.[363] According to Colin Boyd, the historical experiences of managing diversity and difference in the Canadian state were key to developing the multiculturalism program, "There's a number of reasons why we've been successful-more successful than western European nations in doing this. I think because we have a long history of immigration-it arises out of our French/English/Aboriginal experience of needing to accommodate in the founding of a nation."

The Political Economy of State Multiculturalism

Before weighing the evidence for and against state multiculturalism in Canada, the dissertation will first consider the political economy of multiculturalism. A review of the history of Canadian immigration, integration and diversity policy reveals that economic considerations have never been far from considerations of who should be allowed into Canada and how those

newcomers should be incorporated into the state and its labour market. From the turn of the 20th century, to the adoption of the points system in 1967 and today's distinctly economically driven approach to multiculturalism, we find that Canada's approach to newcomers has always been shaped first and foremost by economic considerations.

This was certainly the chief consideration of Wilfred Laurier's interior minister Sir Clifford Sifton who introduced an open door immigration policy for Europeans at the turn of the 20th century - bringing in millions of Europeans from across the continent, and in the process significantly altering the cultural composition of the state. Sifton's chief consideration was not *how* newcomers from Central and Eastern Europe would challenge "Anglo-conformity", rather it was the *need* for settlement and economic growth in Western Canada.[364] Anne McLaren has also pointed to the recruiting of Sikh and Chinese labour by railway companies in Western Canada as evidence that economic considerations have trumped racism in Canadian immigration policy. According to McLaren, in this particular example, "The practical political and economic concern of the federal government and the railways in settling the West necessarily ran counter to the ideological preoccupations of many Anglo-Canadian intellectuals."[365] Of course one must consider the dangerous labour conditions and continuing racism these economic migrants faced in the labour market, and more generally in Canadian society of that time.

During the post-war years successive Canadian governments gradually shift towards less discriminatory policy while maintaining this economic priority. The post-war period in Canada, as in much of the world, was a period of economic boom, and the government needed immigrants to meet labour needs. In order to meet those needs the Canadian government opened its doors to successive waves of post-World War II asylum seekers, and later groups of Eastern European refugees fleeing mid-century unrest in the communist bloc.[366] By 1962, under the

stewardship of John Diefenbaker, racial preferences were removed from immigration policy, paving the way for the adoption of the "colour-blind" points system in 1967.[367]

A potentially critical observation related to the economic functionality contained in Canada's approach to immigration, integration and diversity is that its approach differentiates Canada from European states that are more acutely suffering from the crisis of multiculturalism. To elaborate, in Europe successive waves of immigrants and asylum-seekers have tended to be less-skilled workers who have often immigrated under the pretenses of family re-unification, for example in states such as the UK.[368] Subsequently, these less skilled immigrants have tended to suffer from significant disparities in terms of unemployment and wages in comparison to host cultures and occupy economically depressed cities and regions - creating a distinct spatial concentration of poverty or ghettoization in states like the UK and France. According to Joppke this historical pattern of immigration in Europe cannot be separated from "the generally more coercive and control-minded integration and citizenship policies in Europe."[369] In comparison, immigration and integration policy in Canada have been shaped by the points system that privileged skilled, educated and wealthier applicants. And as Joppke notes, in comparison to Europe, it would be "incoherent to harass chosen, high-skilled new world immigrants with coercive and restrictive citizenship rules at the tail-end of the immigration process."[370]

But this is not to say that Canada's approach to immigration, integration and diversity is problem-free – in 1896, 1967, 1971 or 2013. Since the adoption of state multiculturalism in Canada the state has committed itself to pursuing equity and equality for cultural minorities – including in the economic arena. Yet, according to a host of studies, despite Canada's point system, adoption of official multiculturalism, and the more skilled and wealthy nature of Canadian newcomers, such equality remains elusive. For example, visible minorities or

"racialized" groups display a significant income gap with the Canadian mainstream with incomes roughly 15 percent lower than the national average in 1995 – even if that gap seemingly narrowed over the past decade.[371] According to Samuel and Basavarajappa, foreign-born visible minorities continue to face challenges in terms of "workplace integration" - such as a lack of fluency in an official language, issues with credential recognition and a lack of recognized work experience. As a reflection of these challenges, these groups experienced a growing rate of unemployment in comparison to Canadian-born workers, even if, showing a similar trend to income disparity, this gap began to narrow in the early 2000s.[372]

In their study, Samuel and Basavarajappa, employing EDS data, also suggest that a distinct gap in labour market outcomes for foreign-born visible minority groups may be related to "incidents of discrimination or unfair treatment," related to ethnicity, culture, skin colour, language, accent or religion.[373] In their study Pendakur and Pendakur also noted the role of discrimination in creating a structural disadvantage for visible minority groups in Canada, specifically related to income.[374] Such trends are certainly a challenge to the underlying priority of state multiculturalism that seeks to establish individual equality regardless of identity status.

Another potential challenge to state multiculturalism in Canada can be found in more recent attempts by the government of Canada to meet labour needs through the admission of foreign temporary workers with little access to permanent residency status or citizenship – and thus little access to the rights-based framework of state multiculturalism. By the mid-1990s larger groups of temporary foreign workers entered the Canadian labour market – with ethnic groups such as Filipinos entering lower paid areas such as domestic and service based labour. For instance, by the mid to late 2000s these temporary workers were making up a significant percentage of workers in the domestic labour sector.[375]

Already much has been made of the negligible rights, and subsequently poor working conditions, that these workers are subject to. However, of potentially equal concern is the restricted immigration status of these workers, that according to Stasiulis and Bakan, has a "profound impact on their working and living conditions in Canada. More specifically, the greater the restriction faced at the border, the greater the risk of intense exploitation and discrimination."[376] A larger discussion of the potential effects of Canada's increasing reliance on foreign temporary workers, especially in low wage domestic and service based industries on state multiculturalism is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, it should be noted that as this segment of the Canadian population grows, an increasing percentage of Canadian residents exist in a grey area of the society where citizenship, belonging and individual rights are elusive. This trend should be seen as a potential threat to the multicultural model.

However, there are other trends among visible minority or "racialized" groups that demonstrate more positive experiences in Canada's labour market and society. As already noted, gaps in unemployment and income that became more pronounced in the 1980s and 1990s for visible minorities began to moderate by the early 2000s. But there are other reasons for optimism in terms of the success of these minority groups in educational outcomes among second-generation Canadians. By the early 2000s scholars like Monica Boyd were noting higher levels of educational success among second generation Canadians.[377] And subsequent studies, including numerous studies by Statistics Canada, have confirmed this trend. For example, according to Picot and Hou, visible-minority, second generation Canadians contain a higher percentage of individuals who possess a university degree than second generation Canadians who are not visible-minorities.[378] Following on an extensive review of existing data they conclude that, "The children of immigrants in Canada (second-generation Canadians) have a

significantly higher level of educational attainment than the children of Canadian-born parents (third-and-higher generations)."[379] Speculatively, this success in the Canadian education system may serve to reduce discrepancies in income and unemployment amongst multi-generational Canadian minority communities in the future.

Finally, another positive observation on the economic experience of newcomers and minority groups in state multiculturalism is the fact that Canada does not display the sort of spatial segregation or "ghettoization" found in some European states and the United States. Since Kazemipur and Halli released in 2000 their provocatively entitled *The New Poverty in Canada: Ethnic Groups and Ghetto Neighbourhoods* there has been a significant debate over whether Canada suffers from the sort of "ghettoization" found elsewhere. A close review of Kazemipur and Halli's study reveals that they detect high levels of "spatial concentration of poverty" in only two cities – Montreal and Winnipeg, and furthermore that they acknowledge that Canada "has not followed patterns detected in the research on American cities."[380] Follow up studies, for instance by Balakrishnan and Gyimah, found little evidence of spatial concentration of poverty.[381] Similarly, Walks and Bourne found that "the majority of Canadian urban areas reveal degrees of segregation lower than many cities in the United States and Britain."[382] As these researchers point out, there tends to be confusion in much of the literature - where there is little distinguishing between "ghettos" and what have been referred to as "ethnic enclaves,"– with the latter representing a normal and historically established pattern of spatial settlement for minorities.[383]

Overall, this brief review of the political economy of multiculturalism reveals that economic considerations have long been at the heart of Canadian immigration, integration and diversity policy, and that since the late 19th century such considerations have often trumped racist

ideologies in terms of policy design. However, despite this, visible minority communities continue to suffer distinct disadvantages in the labour market – disadvantages that any state committed to multicultural equality should be mindful of even if the recent successes of second generation members of these communities give some hope that these inequalities may moderate in the future. Moreover, the absence of pronounced spatial concentration of poverty in Canada demonstrates the potential efficacy of Canada's prioritization of skilled and wealthier immigrants, since 1967, in comparison to other peers in the "Western" world.

Yet perhaps the danger in this Canadian approach is that economic considerations come to dominate government policy in these areas. The heavy reliance on foreign temporary workers to fill lower income positions risks the creation of a permanent racialized underclass with little access to the rights contained in state multiculturalism, or to the formal belonging of citizenship. Following on these observations, Peter Li in his work *Destination Canada, Immigration Debates and Issues* offers an important recommendation - that the Canadian government shift its fixation on the economic benefits of immigration to a more holistic understanding of the benefits that immigration and multiculturalism offer the state – where the social and cultural capital that immigrants bring to Canada is valued as well as economic benefit.[384] With these observations in mind the next section of the dissertation will look in greater depth at what has been presented as the relative success of the policy by weighing the opinions of its supporters and critics.

Canadian State Multiculturalism as a Success

Through reviewing several points in its favour, this section will build a case for viewing multiculturalism as a success. Canada is the oldest multicultural state with over 40 years of experience with the policy. Few other states have gone as far as Canada in institutionalizing state multiculturalism and making it part of national life. Respected religious studies scholar Paul

Bramadat believes that multiculturalism, what he calls "the Canadian diversity model" represents an international example of a model "which promotes a relatively new and broadly inclusive approach to cultural differences…. It is no accident that many international scholars, policy analysts, and politicians consider that Canada's current policies on multiculturalism represent some of the most practical, dignified, and progressive approaches to modern citizenship in the world."[385] In order to build a case for the success of state multiculturalism in Canada the following section will focus on five key points.

The Case for Success

1. Public Support:

A compelling indication of the success of Canadian multiculturalism can be found in the support it enjoys among the general public. According to data compiled by the polling firm Environics, while in 1997 seventy-four percent of Canadians agreed that multiculturalism was important to Canadian identity, by 2003 this number jumped to 85 percent: ranking it above Canada's eminently popular past-time, ice hockey.[386] Multiculturalism has also become something in which Canadians express great pride. Since 1985 Environics has asked Canadians to describe in their own words what makes them "proud to be Canadian." In 1985 they cited things such as "the beauty of the land" and multiculturalism ranked in 10th place: by 2006 it had climbed to the second most cited reason to be proud to be Canadian.[387]

Findings from a more recent (2012) joint study by the Mosaic Institute and the Association of Canadian Studies on Multiculturalism identified difference in generational perceptions of the policy. After polling 1522 respondents it was found that, overall, 58 percent of Canadians hold a positive view of Canada's multiculturalism policy. However, among respondents between the ages of 18-24 that number jumped to 74 percent, while among the 65

and older group it dropped to 47 percent. When asked whether it was easy for Canadians from different racial, religious and cultural communities to form close relationships, 80 percent of 18-24 year olds agreed, versus only 46 percent among the 65 and older group.[388] These figures speak of both positive perceptions of multicultural policy and of the relative success of "lived multiculturalism" among young adults in Canada. Reflecting on these findings the report concludes, "The results suggest that multiculturalism enjoys its strongest support amongst those who have grown up knowing nothing else. Emerging out of the most diverse classrooms in Canadian history, young people feel comfortable transcending ethnic and religious boundaries."[389] Therefore, as indicated by polling data, a majority of Canadians remain proud of multiculturalism and view it as an essential aspect of their national identity.

2. Multiculturalism Has Become Part of Canadian National Identity and this Creates a More Welcoming Environment for Newcomers:

Academics have argued that multiculturalism's popularity and its relationship with Canadian national identity create a welcoming environment for newcomers who seek to find a place in the nation. Commenting on the pride that Canadians and immigrants to Canada find in multiculturalism Kymlicka states,

> The fact that Canada has officially defined itself as a multicultural nation means that immigrants are a constituent part of the nation that citizens feel pride in, so multiculturalism helps native-born citizens to link national identity to solidarity with immigrants and minorities. And, conversely, multiculturalism provides a link by which immigrants and minorities come to identify with, and feel pride in, Canada.[390]

For Fleras and Kunz, unlike other Western states, multiculturalism is part of what defines Canadian nationhood, "Cultural differences are not disparaged as being incompatible with national goals, but are endorsed as integral components of a national mosaic, a reflection of the Canadian ideal, and a source of enrichment and strength."[391] Subsequently, multiculturalism may also be having a positive effect on Canadian attitudes towards immigration. Esses et al., in their

comparative study of national identity and attitudes towards immigrants in Canada and Germany, found that:

> In terms of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration, this research supports the view that national identity can have a significant impact on these attitudes. It is indeed promising that focusing on inclusive perceptions of national identity can have positive effects, at least among citizens of nations that acknowledge the importance of immigrants in their development.[392]

In that study Canadian national identity was correlated to mutual identification between newcomers and the host culture in a way that was not found in Germany's "guest worker" approach to diversity.[393]

Another aspect of Canadian national identity that may be attractive for newcomers is its relatively underdeveloped nature. A question that many Canadians still struggle with is what does it mean to be Canadian? As seen in Michael Adams and Environics work, multiculturalism, our natural heritage, landscapes and national past times such as ice hockey tend to rank high on the list for much of the public. As a young nation, Canada arguably possesses a still somewhat undefined national identity – still malleable during a period of heightened diversity and migration. Stuart Soroka believes that this "thinner" sense of Canadian national identity and a history of accommodation may act as a net benefit to multiculturalism and mutual trust between Canadians which in turns makes newcomers feel more welcome.[394]

3. It Attracts More Newcomers to Citizenship and Civic Activities:

There are also a number of empirical studies which have heralded the potential efficacy and desirability of multiculturalism in terms of attracting newcomers to become Canadian citizens. For instance, Irene Bloemraad in her comparative study of citizenship in the United States and Canada, found that immigrants in Canada are more likely to become citizens in comparison to the United States.[395] Bloemraad, who combined a series of interviews with

immigrants from the Portuguese and Vietnamese communities in Boston and Toronto with statistical data, found that official multiculturalism, settlement support and civic participation in the Canadian context led to an easier path to citizenship compared to the United States.[396] Citing a 2005 study, Banting et al. note that 84 percent of eligible immigrants in Canada pursued citizenship in comparison to 56 percent in the United Kingdom and 40 percent in the United States.[397]

In addition, examining participation in civic activities, Paul Howe found that new citizens in Canada were more likely to be engaged in the political arena.[398] In turn this engagement has equated into greater representation among elected officials according to Michael Adams who notes that, "Canada's lower house is…closest to being representative of the overall population." In the House of Commons 13 percent of members were born outside of Canada (in comparison to 19 percent of the population as a whole) as compared to the United States, where close to 15 percent of the population is born outside of the country yet only 2 percent are found in the House of Representatives. Again, in France 10.6 percent of the population is born elsewhere, yet only 6.2 percent of deputies in the National Assembly were foreign born.[399] Putting these studies within the context of the civic multicultural paradigm, there seems to be a great deal of success, especially in terms of access and desirability of citizenship and political participation. For Colin Boyd:

> The acquisition of citizenship in Canada for newcomers is one of the highest in the world. Newcomers become voters...[This] has created in Canada the conditions for a more inclusive sense of citizenship. In Europe, where there is a much more rigid [system], in some countries, France,/Germany, where you have, for instance, Turkish people living for over thirty years that are not citizens-that encourages [a climate] where people may co-exist but they're not integrated as we are in Canada…the acquisition of citizenship is a powerful tool for integration.

4. Multiculturalism is Codified in the Constitution:

Another factor that differentiates Canadian state multiculturalism from other state policies is the fact that it is codified in the constitution, specifically in the Charter and the Act. Even if hostile political forces, possessing a pronounced distaste for multiculturalism on ideological or pragmatic reasons, come to power, there is little they can do to alter the policy at this constitutional level. The Act and the Charter ensure that important aspects of multiculturalism remain intact – and this is especially true in terms of the role the courts play in supporting these rights. Of particular importance in this regard is Section 27 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* which reads simply, "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians."[400] Together with the Charter, the Multiculturalism Act further codifies and institutionalizes multiculturalism. The Act recognizes not only the protection of "cultural" rights but also religious and racial rights:

> AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada.[401]

According to Anna Chiappa, an interviewee from the policy sample and Executive Director of the Canadian Ethno-cultural Council (a group that originated in the so-called 'third force' and advocates for multiculturalism in Canada), "The act provides that vision of the level playing field and says to institutions that you have an obligation to ensure that the service you provide, the employment that you offer, the information you provide out there-reflects that vision. Multiculturalism is under the Charter and the Charter says we are all equal-no one culture can trump the other." Together with the Charter, Chiappa points to other pieces of legislation such as the Broadcasting Act of 1991 that requires broadcasters to offer 'ethnic' programming as

important in implementing multicultural policy at the societal level. Altogether these constitutional and legislative protections make the Canadian approach to multiculturalism unique among multicultural states.

5. Canadian Muslims have a Favourable View of the Program:

A key question in this dissertation is this: how have Muslims fared in the multicultural model? As the minority group that has been singled out in the failure of multiculturalism narrative, Muslims have been highlighted by xenoracists as exemplifying the incompatibility of certain minorities with Western culture. But as indicated by the Muslim community sample group in the dissertation, Canadian Muslims have an overwhelmingly favourable view of state multiculturalism in Canada. For Baha Abu-Laban who was an active participant in the founding stages of state multiculturalism, the policy offered a route to political power for minorities who had been left outside in the bicultural and bilingual model. On what the policy means to him he remarked, “For me multiculturalism is to level the playing field and allows us to be involved in a way that we were deprived of in the past.”

According to Ahmed Shoker, director at the Canadian Islamic Congress, “In my judgment Canada is in the top of the world when it comes to multiculturalism, there is no question about it.” Sharing similar sentiments was Bashir Ahmed, Executive Director of the Somali Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization, “It is the best policy that I have seen in the western world.” One anonymous interviewee, a prominent member of a Muslim cultural association, echoed these statements, “We are very supportive of the concept of multiculturalism, we think that is one of the strongest values in Canada, as much as it gets a bad name, we think it is a concept of multiculturalism which has helped us to bring a number of communities together because the model is there: this is a good model, let’s build on it.” Dalal

Daoud, of the Canadian Islamic Congress, views it as part of Canadian identity, an aspect of national identity that differentiates Canada from other states, "It has been a Canadian value. I think that is what makes us different than European nations." Ms. Daoud did however worry about the current commitment of the federal government to the program, "You actually have to have this [as a] priority and it hasn't been a priority for them, unfortunately."

For first generation Canadians like Shawkat Hassan of the British Columbia Muslim Association, state multiculturalism was an attractive national attribute that helped him to decide to immigrate to Canada:

> Let me be frank with you, I have worked with the UN and travelled to many places… but I like Canada for its policy on multiculturalism. The United States I felt as though I am in a melting pot, here in Canada I feel as though you have your own identity, we respect your identity, but it has to fit with the rest of the people, with the rest of others… so you fit with the system here and that is because of the multicultural policy that exists in this country.

Azar Syed, also of the BC Muslim Association, believes that state multiculturalism was essential in improving the situation for migrants in the late 20th century, "I moved here in '73 and that time, if I compare it to the later years, the 70s were very hard for the immigrants, maybe because the multicultural philosophy had not taken hold ... But later on in the 1980s everything was very smooth, there was hardly any discrimination....." He qualified this statement by saying that discrimination returned for the community after 9/11.

It should be noted that a few interviewees in the Muslim community did believe that the policy required some changes. For example, Azim Jeraj, a business owner who emigrated in the 1970s, believes, "Multiculturalism was great when we first came to Canada, it was wonderful to get some money to preserve my singing and dancing and all that." However, today he believes that with the second generation growing up in Canada, learning official languages and participating in its traditions - multiculturalism needs to change, "I think a lot of ideas with

multiculturalism were trying to freeze that [culture], saying here keep your song and dance, instead of having it evolve naturally.. .let culture grow from within rather than having exported, having it brought here, because that is what multiculturalism did."

State Multiculturalism as a Failure

Having reviewed the case for the success of state multiculturalism the dissertation will now build a case for why multiculturalism might be viewed as a failure. Multiculturalism in Canada has been critiqued from an array of perspectives originating from a number of often divergent ideological and empirical perspectives. Phil Ryan, in his aptly titled work *Multicultiphobia* reviews some of these criticisms, "It stifles individualism, imposing conformity by endorsing the illiberal practices of minority groups. Yet it is also the handmaiden of excessive individualism. It promotes moral relativism, and it fosters a rigid moral absolutism that denounces racists in every corner of Canadian society and makes no allowance for the mores of earlier times."[402] Ryan's brief summation draws out the often contradictory and varied grounds on which state multiculturalism has been attacked. In the era of the crisis of multiculturalism the narrative on the failure of multiculturalism has been used to frame a host of socio-economic issues in the states of the Global North; however, in this section the analysis will focus on four key points:

1. Multiculturalism Creates Separateness

Perhaps the most prominent and long-standing critique of multiculturalism is that it promotes separateness among Canadians. The Canadian Charter of Rights, and the Multiculturalism Act in particular, have been singled out as tools for those promoting communalism and the quest for recognition along group lines to the determinant of common values and national identity. [403] For critics of state multiculturalism the policy emphasizes

difference leading to separateness represented physically by, for example, ethnic enclaves. For Shadia Drury, today's multiculturalism has departed from the original vision of Trudeau - what she describes as a skin deep "aesthetic plurality" - where newcomers were free to maintain cultural traditions but there were expectations for integration, especially in the second generation.[404] Instead, what she calls the "pluralist enthusiasts" have built a form of multiculturalism that in constructing a static vision of cultural identity that can be "an obstacle not only to integration but also to social mobility." Furthermore, she holds that conflicts can be generated among groups over cultural values, and certain values "might even pose a threat to peace, order and good government."[405]

A related critique holds that the policy creates separateness by projecting an image of a culturally-divided society that is out of step with how individuals naturally define themselves at the societal level. Neil Bissoondath's work *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* is one of the oldest and most cited works to levy this charge. Bissoondath claims that multiculturalism was a politically expedient tool for politicians looking to manage diverse societies that led to the stereotyping of identities and the highlighting of difference which ultimately led to dis-unity.[406] Himani Bannerji's work *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*, also contends that state multiculturalism creates essentialized traditions framed under the label of culture (and in doing so neglects other forms of identity such as class and gender). She rejects this form of social engineering and calls for the model to be abandoned, "We could leave behind the Weberian paradigm of tradition-modernity and a facile post-colonialism which threatens to become a form of culturalism."[407] For Marxist-feminists like Bannerji, state multiculturalism serves to deflect "critical attention from a constantly racializing Canadian political economy," thereby maintaining hegemony.[408]

2. Multiculturalism Allows Minorities to Pursue Illiberal Practices and Opens a Space for Extremism to Flourish

Contained within the narrative of the "failure of multiculturalism" is the charge that multiculturalism has allowed religious minority communities such as Muslims to pursue illiberal policies, and in the most damning charges, the policy is said to have allowed a space for extremism and terrorism to flourish. State multiculturalism is said to promote cultural and/or moral relativism where all cultures, their beliefs, values and practices are viewed as equally valid and valued. This recognition is to encourage cultural practices that are opposed to liberal democracy and the norms, values and laws of the host society. Reitz et al. claims that while diversity can bring new ideas, so too "immigrant newcomers who bring values that depart or appear to depart very substantially from those of the host society may lead to the creation of social boundaries that are difficult to transcend."[409]

The more serious charge, that state multiculturalism opens a space for extremism, draws on the example of the experience of Western Europeans. The London transit bombings, the Madrid 2004 attacks and the murder of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands are given as examples of how tolerance and accommodation have equated into terrorism. Reflecting the perception that multiculturalism was at least partially responsible for these events, Kenan Malik in *the New York Times* wrote, "In neither Britain nor Germany did multiculturalism create militant Islam, but in both it helped clear a space for it among Muslims."[410]

In Canada these concerns have been more muted; there have not been violent attacks that have acted as catalysts for the crisis narrative. However, several events such as the arrest and prosecution of some members of the so-called "Toronto 17" in 2006, the Sharia law debate in Ontario in 2005 and the recent "Via Rail" plot in 2013 have led to some similar forms of

questioning over security and worries over accommodation of illiberal religious and cultural traditions.

3. The Policy Is Inadequate in Addressing Inequality and What Is Presented as Reforms to State Multiculturalism May Provide an Avenue for Institutionalized Racism:

Another common critique of multiculturalism is that it is really only a surface level policy that has done little to address the underlying inequities and patterns of racism that limit the policy's stated egalitarian goals. Here critics have derisively referred to a "song and dance" form of multiculturalism that promotes the celebration of difference at festivals and cultural events, and basic tolerance of difference; but fails to address serious forms of inequity or generate meaningful inter-cultural exchange and mutual respect. On this Lentin and Titley believe what is presented as the success of multiculturalism provides "license to ignore and negate continuing and shifting racism in multicultural societies."[411] Paralleling Foucault's views on the state, they view multiculturalism as "a mode of management and control securing the legitimacy of the status quo through a deflection of questions of power and inequality into the relatively more malleable economy of cultural recognition."[412]

Moreover, a concern cited by Lentin and Titley is that the crisis of multiculturalism narrative may be used by politicians to institutionalize racist practices that are presented as needed remedies to address the socio-economic damage wrought by state multiculturalism. In their 2011 book *The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age* they state: "Lamenting it [multiculturalism] as a benevolent if somewhat naïve attempt to manage the problem of difference allows for securitized migration regimes, assimilative integrationism and neo-nationalist politics to be presented as nothing more than rehabilitative action."[413] Pertinent to this analysis, their primary critique of multiculturalism focuses, "on the ways in which renditions

of multiculturalism provide a space for the redrawing and laundering of contemporary racisms."[414] Thus, multiculturalism and what is presented as the rehabilitative actions needed to fix it, masks policies that contain racism.

4. The Conservative Government is Actively Undermining the Policy:

As already outlined in the previous chapter, there is a significant concern among minority communities that the Conservative government under Stephen Harper is significantly altering Canadian policies and traditions – including that of state multiculturalism. And, in point of fact, there is significant evidence of a shift in federal policy vis-à-vis state multiculturalism since the Conservative party came into power. As recognized in prior analyses (such as Phil Ryan's *Multicultiphobia*)the Conservatives have granted the policy tacit support in-so-far as it is has been seen as a means of engaging with minority voting blocs who share the social conservatism of some elements of the Party and whose votes were needed to garner a majority government.[415] But outside of this strategic usage of the policy the federal government has instituted a series of measures to reform the policy and associated areas, such as immigration and citizenship.

According to one anonymous interviewee, a former employee at CIC with over a decade of direct experience in the multiculturalism program, the policy has been heavily neglected in favour of other priorities in the department, such as settlement: "They started cutting down the budget of the program - in 1993 it was about 27 million, which is still not much, but a decent amount….It kept going down and down and down until it became 10 million… which is nothing because the settlement budget is about one billion: so we have stopped funding." Speaking on the cut-backs and the abandonment of the anti-racism element, the same interviewee remarked on the multiculturalism program, "As I left, it only exists on paper, the program doesn't fund any more, there is nothing. They cancelled the racism policy: the action plan against racism was

cancelled, just shut down. The program is just lasting on a few threads, even this year they cut back on the events budget: so what's left?" This trend is confirmed by Kamal Seghal, executive director at the Alberta Network of Immigrant Women, who believes that the current government is undermining multiculturalism, "The respect for this multiculturalism policy is now fading away…multiculturalism is not being upheld. The government of Canada had a department that was totally geared towards multiculturalism and heritage - over a period of years the funding for that area kept on getting depleted, the budget cuts kept happening and right now multiculturalism is part of 'settlement'."

Under the stewardship of Minister Jason Kenney there have been significant changes to immigration and citizenship policies at CIC. According to the anonymous interviewee from CIC, much of those changes can be related to the role of the current minister. On this point they state "the minister wants more hands on… he wants tangible outcomes.... The way he was dealing with the program was he had to approve every single file - very micro managed." Part of the changes at CIC has involved the reduction of the number of family class immigrants admitted to the country. Between 2011 and 2012 the federal government reduced family reunification visas by roughly a third – from 16,000 to 11,000 visas. According to migration lawyers current applicants for reunification could face a wait time of up to 13 years.[416] An anonymous interviewee from the Canadian Muslim community sample who works as a lawyer, remarked on the curtailments at CIC, "I do immigration work and lately I have seen people refused for ridiculous reasons-the officers are so powerful-once their decision is made that's it-the appeal process takes years. I feel they are trying to cut back on immigration." Following on cut-backs to family reunifications refugees have also been singled out under these new policy measures as

they have had their health funding cut by $100 million (over five years), much to the dismay of the refugees themselves, physicians and immigration and refugee lawyers.[417]

As indicated by interviewees, funding to ethnic, cultural and religious groups has also been tightly controlled. In part, these controls can in part be tied to the events of 2008-2009 when there was controversy over the Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC) and Canadian Arab Federation criticism of Israel's offensive in Gaza which led to Kenney's statement on the groups that they, "do not deserve and have no right to taxpayers' dollars to promote their kind of extremism."[418] Ryan notes that the Conservative government has employed strategic funding in order to promote groups that more reflect their dominant views, and as a means of isolating groups they wish to silence. As an example he highlights the shift in money from the CIC to the Canadian Muslim Congress and the Canadian Council of Muslim Women.[419] This trend is confirmed by the anonymous former employee of CIC, "Religion plays a big role in multiculturalism now, for the federal government. And there was a scandal a few years back with the Arabic community and the minister, the CIC, and because of that the funding has stopped for the religious groups and the Arabic community in particular. So right now I haven't seen any funding for Arabic groups over the last 7 or 8 years." Another anonymous interviewee from a Muslim cultural association confirmed this trend – complaining that funding had recently been cut from the multicultural program leading to the cancellation of a successful pilot program mentoring young people.

But of even greater concern are Conservative Party initiatives that aim to re-frame national identity towards a more monoculturalist vision. This strategy can be found in several initiatives launched since 2011 specifically aimed at highlighting the history and prominence of English Canada. One example of this is the return of the word *Royal* to the titles of the branches

of the Canadian armed forces. Portraits of the Queen have been returned to prominent places in government buildings and Canadian embassies. In addition the Conservative government has funded historical initiatives highlighting the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812, granting 11.5 million dollars to the initiative, representing roughly 70 percent of the entire amount of funding granted to the multiculturalism program in 2011. [420] According to Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, the Canadian government is actively engaged in the re-branding of the Canada as a warrior nation – one that is framed by colonial-British symbolism.[421] According to McCoy and Knight, these policies are "part of a broader strategy by the Conservative government to place greater emphasis on our Commonwealth historical linkages," a re-branding of Canadian identity much to the detriment of a multicultural vision of nationalism.[422] Of course, this re-branding is an affront to the seminal history of Aboriginal peoples in Canada and the foundational role of the Québécois in Confederation and beyond. Additionally Canada's growing immigrant and minority communities of non-British origin find themselves with little stake in the Conservative's reimagined British North America.

Moreover, this new image of Canada has found its way into citizenship. For example, the new 146 page citizenship guide for newcomers: *Welcome to Canada: What You Should Know* puts greater emphasis on the English monarchy and the history of the "royal" armed forces as key symbols of Canadian nationhood. In the 2013 version of the document several "barbaric" practices were singled out as being unacceptable in Canada, including female genital mutilation and "honour-based crimes."[423] While these practices are, under Canadian legal and constitutional documents, indeed illegal and morally reprehensible under the traditions of a liberal society, the use of the term "barbaric," and the fact that many of the singled out cultural practices have been associated with Islam in prior xenoracist narratives, brings up the possibility of profiling certain

groups. Additionally, the changes to citizenship documents like the *Welcome Guide* mirrors earlier changes to citizenship exams reflecting a new emphasis on military and English colonial history. When released in 2010 the new exams produced a "massive" spike in failure rates – up to 30 percent among newcomers.[424] According to Biles et al. in their 2011 article in *Integration and Inclusion of Newcomers and Minorities across Canada*, "questions about religious accommodation and about balancing of rights and responsibilities" related to integration are now being incorporated into the policies of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) – for instance as contained in citizenship exam materials.[425]

Concluding Remarks

What is the take away from these two very different portrayals of state multiculturalism in Canada? Has Canada "bucked the trend" in the crisis of multiculturalism? How have Muslims fared in the overall framework of the policy?

State multiculturalism has now been "tested" in Canada for forty years. What the Canadian state and Canadians in general have accomplished in the framework of multiculturalism seems impressive when considering the illiberal and unjust nature of inter-cultural relations in much of the world.[426] In a 2010 article *Testing the Liberal Multiculturalist Hypothesis,* Will Kymlicka, much like in the above discussion weighed the arguments for and against state multiculturalism. In that article he concluded, "I want to raise a bold and surprising possibility: namely, that the evidence to date, far from refuting the liberal multiculturalist hypothesis, actually supports it. Despite the widespread presumption that greater attention to empirical evidence would lead to greater skepticism about the merits of liberal multiculturalism, I want to suggest that the evidence bolsters the case."[427]

Noted migration scholars Castles and Miller, in their wide ranging examination of immigrant receiving states conclude that, “States which readily grant citizenship to immigrants, without requiring common ethnicity or cultural assimilation, seem most able to cope with ethnic diversity.”[428] As shown by prior studies, Canada does offer a more expeditious path to citizenship. Historically, state multiculturalism has closely been associated with nation building, an attempt to create a new symbolic order that can replace the assimilationist and racialzied hierarchical model that preceded it. The criticisms of multiculturalism must be put in the context of the alternative approaches found globally to the management of diversity. Indeed, when placed against the crisis of multiculturalism in much of the Global North, the Canadian example of state multiculturalism appears a remarkable success.

Importantly, state multiculturalism in Canada was generated by the agency of minority groups whose avenues to political resources had been constrained under prior arrangements. According to Elke the historical development of multiculturalism has created a more open public space in terms of the acceptance of diversity and the recognition of minority rights – something that has curtailed “Islamophobia” in Canada.[429] Even within Canada itself the current hand-wringing in Quebec over the implementation of the Quebec Charter, and the inability of the “intercultural” framework to offer protection to religious minorities like Muslims, may demonstrate that multiculturalism is better able to address issues of accommodation and secularism.

Canadian Muslims, as indicated by the opinions of the sample group, view the policy in a favourable light – they identify it as part of the national identity, an aspect of Canadian identity that drew them to the state as immigrants, even if there are worries about what is happening to the policy under the current federal government. In addition, constitutional protection of the

policy in the Charter and the Act both distinguish Canadian multiculturalism from other state approaches and afford some protections against political manipulation. The Act in particular has promoted diversity and equality in government institutions and society in general. [430]

The connection between multiculturalism and national identity is of particular note, especially in relation to this dissertation. Following from some of the first points raised in the chapter on race and racism - identity is relational – how we define the "other" says a great deal about how we define ourselves. Canadian nationalism contains a positive association with difference and diversity and in that sense is the photographic negative of some European nationalisms that assign belonging based on cultural exclusivity (and thus lend themselves to the construction of racist ideologies). Critically, Canadian nationalism is less developed historically; it is more open to and welcoming of difference. Within this idea of nationalism it is highly problematic to paint peoples as foreign based on cultural, racial or religious difference since difference is a defining feature of the state. Therefore, an ideology like xenoracism that targets its victims based on the quality of foreignness finds less fertile soil in the national space of a multicultural nation. But of course what is presented here is the ideal vision of Canadian identity and like other ideals it never quite matches with reality.

Charges that state multiculturalism leads to separatism and is overly accommodative to illiberal practices have been in place since the policy was put in place, and by the mid-1990s works like Bissoondath's book *Selling Illusions* and government concerns over a lack of civic engagement led to changes in the policy – the development of the 'civic' paradigm. Charges that Canada's approach to immigration, integration and diversity generates issues such as ghettoization have also been leveled by some scholars. However, none of these debates have generated the kind of hand wringing witnessed in Europe. As indicated by polling data,

Canadians are still supportive of multiculturalism and value the contribution of immigrants to the Canadian economy. Moreover, there are no explicit anti-immigrant political narratives in mainstream Canadian political parties. In this sense the failure of multiculturalism narrative is absent in the Canadian state. And, despite some legitimate concerns over disparities in income and unemployment between the visible minority communities and the general population, Canada does not display the kind of ghettoization found in the US or some European states. Additionally, there is encouraging recent evidence, in terms of educational outcomes among second generation Canadians, that visible minority groups are excelling versus their peers.

On the other hand, there is little doubt that the shift in state multiculturalism policy under the Conservative government mirrors some of the trends seen in other states in the context of the crisis of multiculturalism. A less accommodative approach to the usual victims of xenoracism (such as refugees and Muslims) can be found in these policy changes, as can the adoption of a more monocultural image of nationhood. Liz Fekete believes that it is "via the debate on national identity" that the state is seeking to steer race policy away from multicultural vision to cultural homogenization and, "One consistent element of all the debates is the implicit premise that Muslims are collectively responsible for the reactionary cultural practices and customs upheld by a few."[431]

The active employment of the symbols of English Canada in public spaces, in the military and in citizenship documents, represents an active attempt to alter what it means to be a Canadian. This new image of identity is unreflective of Canadian plural traditions of biculturalism, omits the role of Aboriginal communities and is out of touch with the contemporary lived reality of multiculturalism. Hypocrisy is evident in a government that employs multicultural rhetoric as a tool for electoral gain while simultaneously reducing the flow

of resources and pathways to citizenship for minority groups. Canadian Muslims in particular have been targeted as funding through the multiculturalism program has been curtailed, at least partially over ideological disagreements related to foreign policy.

An important observation on these changes to citizenship, immigration and multiculturalism policy is that they have not been presented as rehabilitative actions that aim to repair the damage done by failed multicultural policy. Rather, many of the changes have taken place at the bureaucratic level, instituted by a micro-managing minister (Jason Kenney) and a government that has carefully controlled the public message through the Privy Council Office (PCO) and Prime Minister's Office (PMO).[432] Therefore, in Canada the rehabilitative actions that so concerned scholars like Lentin, Titley, Fekete and others were carried out without the employment of a crisis narrative or the use of securitized speech acts. Rather, politicians pursued an ideological agenda that operated through bureaucratic channels. Furthemore, there is evidence of xenoracism in these policies – by isolating "barbaric" practices, a term commonly employed in xenoracist narratives that target Muslims, and cutting funding to Canadian Muslim associations, the ideology is evidenced.

This raises the question as to why the federal government has pursued these strategies through bureaucratic channels. The answer to this question can be found in two of the points raised in the section on state multiculturalism as a success. First, in the context of electoral politics, directly attacking a policy that enjoys majority support does not represent an option for a political party seeking majority status in Canadian Parliament (something that the party achieved in 2011 in part through garnering the "ethnic ridings").[433] Second, the constitutional entrenchment of multiculturalism blocks direct legislative avenues that would directly undermine

or resend the policy. Therefore, at least some of the legislative reforms instituted by the Dutch that were highlighted in the introduction of this chapter could not be put in place in Canada.

Is state multiculturalism in Canada a success or a failure? On balance, despite concerns generated by the actions of the current federal government there are more reasons to be optimistic. The Conservative vision of monocultural nationalism is virtually assured to fail in a state where pluralism is a national tradition and multiculturalism is part of the identity of young adults. As Phil Ryan concludes in *Multicultiphobia*, “we have repeatedly noted the surprising fact that multiculturalism continues to enjoy broad support from Canadians, to the point of being identified as a central element of the Canadian identity, despite the strength of multicultiphobia in the media and some political circles.”[434] The *idea* of multiculturalism as both a lived reality and as part of the Canadian identity has proven to be particularly resonant, as evidenced by the opinions of a majority of Canadians, and, in particular, young Canadian adults who grew up knowing nothing else. In short, the future of the country is committed to the policy and the way of life.

Undoubtedly multiculturalism will need to adapt to a changing Canada as multiple generations of minority groups establish themselves as part of the Canadian nation. State multiculturalism has never been static, rather it is marked by dynamism and much of the future of the policy will depend on the direction in which federal governments and relevant ministers decide to steer it. And here is the caveat – state multiculturalism has been shown to be vulnerable to manipulation by political elites (specifically through bureaucratic micro-management); speculatively, if successive governments continue to undermine the policy from within, some of the positives discussed above may be threatened.

But what of Canadian Muslims, how have they fared in the model? Already this dissertation has identified institutionalized or "in situ" racism in the current rehabilitative strategies imposed on state multiculturalism by the federal Conservative government. However, there are other potential avenues through which xenoracism can operate – for example in integration and security policy. Therefore, before offering an answer to this last question the dissertation will explore those two themes in the remaining chapters.

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Chapter 6: Integration

Recognizing the priority that an increasing number of states of the Global North are assigning to integration in public policy, Keith Banting and Stuart Soroka write, “The integration of immigrant minorities has surged to the top of the political agenda throughout many contemporary democracies. The potent mix of changing immigration flows, new forms of racial and religious diversity and the heightened politics of security has triggered intense debates about social integration and social cohesion.”[435] Contained in the narrative of the failure of multiculturalism are concerns over social fragmentation, of the threats posed by “parallel immigrant communities” and the illiberal, even dangerous, values and cultural practices they exhibit. Integration becomes the necessary rehabilitative action – a panacea for the problems wrought by state multiculturalism. Such policies are presented as necessary to address the “divided loyalties” immigrant communities possess that may act to undermine the unity of the liberal-democratic state.[436]

Nowhere has integration become as prominent a political issue as it has in Western Europe. On this Fekete comments, “During this period…many northern and western European countries began the process of revisiting integration policy, introducing new measures often referred to in popular parlance in terms of an ‘integration contract’.”[437] Language and civic tests in the Netherlands, oaths of allegiance to the Queen in the UK - the “contracts” took different forms depending on national context and their previous approaches to the incorporation of newcomers.[438] Therefore, the answer to the crisis of multiculturalism, is not really “integration,” at least as it was once understood, as the gradual process of incorporating newcomers into a state and a society, rather it is coercive assimilation into the new monoculturalism, into the (re)imagined Dutch, British, Danish, German etc. state. This is not a two sided process; it is a one way *requirement* where little attention is paid to barriers to integration such as racism and

poverty. The opaqueness of the term "integration" has become an advantage for policy makers who wish to re-frame what belonging means in the securitized state and pursue assimilative priorities.[439]

Returning to the case study of Canada, as indicated in previous chapters there are symptoms of a crisis of multiculturalism in Canada, even if, comparatively, Canada remains a relatively successful multicultural state. Moreover, according to long standing experts on Canadian multiculturalism like Will Kymlicka, Canada's approach to integration has long been the most successful in the world.[440] However, as noted in the introductory chapter, Canada has not been immune to debates over the accommodation of religious minorities witnessed elsewhere.

Biles et al. believe that questions about religious accommodation and the "balancing of rights and responsibilities: have become incorporated into the state's approach to integration."[441] Supporting this view, Reitz et al. in their study of social integration in Canada found that it has been religious characteristics, rather than racial origins, which have been the most problematized in terms of representing a barrier to successful integration.[442]

The questions for this chapter are as follows: what does integration and belonging mean in the Canadian context? How have Canadian Muslims fared in terms of integration in Canada? Has Canada adopted some of the more coercive and assimilationist forms of integration witnessed elsewhere? To answer these questions the dissertation will examine the various meanings of integration, specifically in the context of Canada. It will ask how successful Canadian integration has been through its own standards that have been set by academics and policy makers. Through EDS data and the findings from the interviews it will critically examine the attitudes, opinions and experiences of Canadian Muslims in relation to integration in Canada.

Following on the chapter on multiculturalism this chapter aims to better understand the experience of Canadian Muslims in the framework of state multiculturalism and to judge the relative success of that framework.

Defining Integration

There is no single universal definition of integration as it applies to the study of immigration and incorporation into host societies. Depending on national and local context, integration policies can differ significantly from state to state - for example in terms of the end goal of the policy (i.e. assimilation vs. cultural plurality), and priorities of integration (i.e. linguistic, economic, political, social, cultural etc.).[443] Stephen Castles and Mark Miller believe that the starting point for understanding state approaches to immigrant integration is "historical experiences of nation-state formation: the ways in which emerging states handled difference when dealing with internal ethnic or religious minorities."[444]

The academic usage of the term has been quite loose, with relatively few studies offering anything more than a cursory definition of the term. A review of the literature on integration reveals that the meanings of the term differ depending on the area of study. For instance, in studies focused on "racial integration" the term might simply refer to a rough parity between racial identities within a particular region, city or neighbourhood.[445] In the context of immigration studies, academic meanings of the term can be traced back to what Milton Gordon called "structural assimilation" where immigrants seek economic parity and social incorporation with native-born citizens.[446] In this classic linear model of integration the process is generational. First generation immigrants suffer acute disadvantages due to their more pronounced differences and their perceived foreignness in the eyes of the dominant culture. However, successive generations become more and more integrated into the mainstream through inter-marriage,

through participation in public life (for example through the education system) and through socialization with the native population. In this distinctly US-based view of integration the end result is essentially assimilation as the perceived difference of successive generations fades into the melting pot.[447] Recognizing this classical understanding, “integration” and “assimilation” are not unrelated – indeed in the classical American model assimilation is the end goal of the integrative process.

In relation to the integration of newcomers the term may refer to inclusion into varied aspects of a state and its society: the labour market, political institutions and civic and social life. However, a primary focus of the rehabilitative or coercive forms of integration discussed above focus primarily on social and cultural integration. According to Banting and Soroka, “The emphasis on social integration also reflects concerns that newcomers have only a weak sense of attachment and commitment to their new home, that they do not feel they really belong, and that they do not engage in the civic and political life of the society around them.”[448] To explore the meanings of integration further, in the next section the analysis will focus specifically on the assimilative approach to integration and its renewed popularity in the context of the crisis of multiculturalism.

The Assimilative Approach to Integration

While there is no black and white division between integration and assimilation the primary difference between the two is related to expectations. In short, assimilation contains expectations that newcomers will be incorporated into society through a more one-sided process of self-adaptation to the host society. In the most rigid forms of assimilation this involves the letting go of cultural identities and practices which migrants possessed in their former home, with the end result of becoming indistinguishable from the majority in the new place of

residence.[449] Thus, taken to its extreme, assimilation represents the *erasure of cultural difference* and no space is allowed for the continuation of practices and values that are out of step with the dominant culture. In a world marked by transnationalism and multicultural societies this approach to assimilation is unrealistic. What most states practice is what will be referred to in this dissertation as "targeted assimilation" in which a state prioritizes certain areas of integration – for example linguistic, economic, political, social or cultural areas of the state and society.

States like France have long held to a more assimilative model of integration. France's approach can be traced to national norms and values, established in its post-revolutionary period, that established principles of equality and the rights of man: of the individual as an equal political subject, while rejecting rights for group identities.[450] France prioritized cultural and social homogeneity in its approach to assimilation; however, the ideal of the policy is seemingly quite distant from the reality on the ground of French cities and its *banlieues* (essentially segregated suburban ghettos). As Jocelyn Cesari notes, in the case of France, despite the predictions of assimilationists, "ethnic boundaries, though they may be recomposed and reconstituted, do not disappear, even among second- and third- generation immigrants."[451] Recognizing the problems experienced with the assimilative approach by states like France, many states rejected the model and sought a less assimilative approach to integration to newcomers. For example, by the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s states like Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, and Britain rejected assimilationist-integration policies in favour of a more multicultural approach to integration.[452]

Not surprisingly, integration policies leaning to the assimilative end of the spectrum in the Global North have failed to produce homogenous societies. The policy proved problematic on a number of levels. Newcomers could be willing to adapt, to renounce and give up their past

beliefs and identities; however, inclusion required acceptance from the host society. Therefore, so long as discrimination and prejudice exist towards minorities assimilation was impossible. Alternatively, what was recognized in the emerging multicultural approaches to integration in the 1970s was that any form of incorporation of newcomers required not only efforts to lower barriers such as racism, but also institutional accommodation in areas such as school curriculum, the labour market, and even in the institutions of government.[453]

Yet in the context of the crisis of multiculturalism, assimilative-integration has returned as states, especially in Western Europe, have re-prioritized social integration into a more homogenous culturally-framed national identity. For instance, in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, governments have put increased emphasis on social cohesion and developing a normative consensus around "core national values".[454] Importantly it is not *all* minority communities and their values that are identified as the "un-assimilable." On this point Fekete is clear, "One consistent element of all the debates is the implicit premise that Muslims are collectively responsible for the reactionary cultural practices and customs upheld by a few."[455]

As Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley observe on this assimilative shift being undertaken by policy makers, "The death of multiculturalism requires the rehabilitative discipline of integration, and a return to versions of the pre-experimental certainties, confidence in our values, without apologies."[456] In this re-packaged and reformative brand of assimilative-integration it is not only the newcomer who is subject to coercive and disciplinary integration but also the long-term resident minority whose non-integrated status is identified a priori.[457] There is little consideration of the barriers that newcomers and minorities face; the only obligation here rests with the un-integrated who must renounce past loyalties.[458]

The oft raised question of the integrative status of second and even third generation "immigrants" is a reflection of the fact that some migrants are always deemed foreign to some societies regardless of where they were born or their citizenship status – as Wallerstein points out, this is a systematic confusion of "the notion of integration, that is, of belonging to a *de facto* historical and social entity, with that of conformity to a mythical 'national type', which is supposed to be a guarantee against all possibility of conflict."[459]

Canadian scholars like Keith Banting et al., have contended that some European countries have been adopting rather illiberal policies in order to promote a more assimilative approach to integration – a trend that is less pronounced in Canada.[460]

Canada and the Multicultural Model of Integration

Race and racism scholars Michael Omi and Howard Winant underline the philosophical difference that exists between "assimilationists" and "cultural pluralists" as the difference between promoting a unitary majority culture versus the belief that difference can and will be maintained in national societies over time.[461] Following on Omi and Winant's observation, the Canadian approach to integration has been presented as reflecting a vision of cultural pluralism. While more assimilative approaches to integration strive for a point where prior cultural loyalties fade, integration in the multicultural model of integration allows for the maintenance of cultural difference over time.[462] The classical model of structural assimilation associated with the United States, or the false promise of fraternalism and egalitarianism in the French approach, are quite distant from the vision of the mosaic that has long been used to describe the Canadian diversity model.[463] For Baha Abu-Laban, a professor of Sociology at the University of Alberta who has studied both American and Canadian approaches to integration, the Canadian approach is unique and it has allowed "nostalgia for our heritage."

The Canadian approach to integration can be traced to the historical emphasis that has been put on immigration in the state. Historically, the state has absorbed large waves of immigrants as part of larger nation-building and economic development strategies since confederation. [464] In point of fact Canada has been described as a "nation of immigrants" and, today, perhaps more than ever, newcomers are an essential part of Canadian society: according to the 2011 census, roughly 20 percent of the total population or 6.8 million people are foreign-born / first generation immigrants. [465]

With the introduction of the race-neutral points system in 1967 and the official policy of multiculturalism in1971, Canada shifted away from an explicitly racist and assimilationist system of immigration and integration to one that prioritized education, skills and wealth of newcomers.[466] The points system was designed to bring in less economically disadvantaged newcomers and in that sense it moderated economic barriers faced by newcomers. Jeffery Reitz believes that the points system has led to a "more favourable employment experience compared to their [newcomers] counterparts in the US or Europe."[467] The economic priority in the integration of newcomer remains apparent as immigration policy has been housed over its history at the Department of Manpower and Immigration, the Department of Employment and Immigration and currently is shared between Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada.[468]

Furthermore, in terms of integration in the bilingual / multicultural framework, the Canadian government also prioritized language proficiency in one of the two official languages among newcomers. [469] As recognized in the previous chapter, the multicultural model was conceived of within the pre-existing bi-lingual model. According to Jeff Millar, there is an important difference between the way linguistic integration was conceived in Canada and the

way that it was conceived in other states. On this point he writes, “Whereas in other national contexts, the public discourses of language and immigrant integration are based on exclusionary national language ideologies, in Canada the policy discourse is based on standard language ideology related to the functional importance of language ability for the economic integration of immigrants in Canada.”[470] Therefore there has long been an expectation in Canada that newcomers assimilate into certain aspects of national life. Thus even in a multicultural model of integration like Canada the policy contains some elements of targeted assimilation.

By the mid-1990s emphasis was put on another area of targeted assimilation: integration in to the political life of the state under the ‘civic’ multicultural model.[471] Here the emphasis was put on newcomers exercising their new found citizenship rights through voting and other forms of civic participation. Supporting this vision of integration in Canada, Banting et al. contend that much of Canada’s approach to integration has been directed towards the political arena:

> Canadian discourse highlights the central role of civic engagement and political participation in the integration of minority communities. Contemporary Canada is defined by multiple communities and identities, and the critical question is how the conflicts inherent in such diversity are resolved or managed. From this perspective, a key to social cohesion is consensus on the fundamental processes of collective deliberation, especially the institutions of liberal democracy, and the active participation of minorities in the processes of governance.[472]

Obviously the starting point for this form of integration is citizenship and, as noted in the previous chapter, newcomers in Canada have pursued citizenship at a higher rate than what is seen in other states in the Global North. Colin Boyd, an interviewee and Director in Multiculturalism at CIC, believes that Canada’s successful track record in attracting immigrants to citizenship is representative of some of the success the state has in integrating newcomers. According to Mr. Boyd, Canada,

…has created… the conditions for a more inclusive sense of citizenship. In Europe, there is a much more rigid [system], in some countries, France,/Germany, where you have, for instance, Turkish people living for over thirty years that are not citizens-that encourages [a climate] where people may co-exist but they're not integrated as we are in Canada-the acquisition of citizenship is a powerful tool for integration.

The multicultural approach to integration in Canada has not been conceived as a one-way model. Rather, in the Canadian context, integration has been described as a "two-way street" that entails both the need for newcomers to adapt to the host society, its language and political life and for the host to provide opportunities for newcomers to equitably participate in Canadian social relations.[473] Anderson and Black describe how, at the centre of the two-way street model is the priority of political participation in that it contains expectations that newcomers, "should become full members of the national political community by first naturalizing and then exercising their democratic rights while fulfilling their obligations to be interested and engaged citizens politically."[474] On the other side of the two-way street model, the Canadian government encourages settlement and integration through three programs: Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC), the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), and the Host Program.[475] There was also the introduction of earlier programs - such as the Employment Equity Act - aimed at addressing integrative issues, and addressing discriminatory barriers in employment.[476] As noted by Anna Chiappa, Executive Director of the Canadian Ethno-cultural Council, multiculturalism (specifically the Multiculturalism Act) distinctly shapes the Canadian government's approach to accommodation and integration, "The act provides that vision of the level playing field and says to institutions that you have an obligation to ensure that the service you provide, the employment that you offer, the information you provide out there-reflects that vision."

Non-government agencies and organizations also play a central role in the settlement and integration process. For instance, Biles and Ibrahim note that religious organizations play a vital role in both settlement and integration for newcomers.[477] Naizghi Eyob, an interviewee and Executive Director at Mosaic BC, an NGO with over 35 years of experience in integration and settlement services, shares this vision of integration, "We look at integration as a two-way process-it's not a one-way street. We differentiate with the American model of assimilation."

Baldwin Wong, an interviewee from the policy sample group and Social Planner at the City of Vancouver, outlines how integration is really a relational process, and in that sense the two-way street analogy is appropriate, "it's really more about mutual understanding and acceptance… integration is a two-way street - you can't integrate until the other side wants to integrate with you - that is fundamentally important." Following on these observations the questions is can the Canadian model of integration be viewed as a success and how can this success be measured? Banting et al. view the Canadian concept of integration as "contested" yet agrees that,

> Integration in Canada cannot demand adherence to a common culture or a single identity. It does not try to turn Canadians into a single people. Indeed, even the language of "social and political integration" can be problematic. Rather, the predominant definition of the integration agenda focuses on the need to build a *sense of belonging* and attachment to a country that incorporates distinct identities[478] [my italics]

Outside of this vague concept of "sense of belonging", measuring the success of the Canadian system of integration is not a clear cut or easily measurable undertaking. As Li has noted, judging the success of integration is, "often based on a narrow understanding and a rigid expectation that treats integration solely in terms of the degree to which immigrants converge to the average performance of native-born Canadians and their normative and behavioural standards."[479] Reitz focuses on social cohesion as the barometer of success for multiculturalism

but also highlights what he views as the hallmark of success for social integration: "Social integration refers to the extent to which individuals become vested in the core institutions of society, participate in those institutions, and experience a sense of satisfaction."[480]

There are several existing studies that have declared Canada's approach to integration a success. For example, Banting et al. believe that, outside established communities such as French and Aboriginal, Canadian integration of newcomers has generally been a success, with debates surrounding integration focusing primarily on means of fostering respect for differences rather than the need to develop a more cohesive society.[481] Abdolmohammad Kazemipur found in his research that a mutual sense of belonging and identification has strengthened social capital in Canada, representing an exception to other national studies that found that diversity may negatively correlate with social capital.[482] However, there are a few studies that challenge these findings. For instance, one prominent study (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007) found that second generation Canadians belonging to racial minorities were in fact *less* integrated than the first generation in terms of political participation and the sense of belonging they felt to Canada.[483] These findings challenged the assumptions of previous studies that believed the Canadian approach to integration led to generally successful integration outcomes for the second generation.[484]

Leaving the last observation to one side for the time being, a common theme can be pulled out of several of these studies in terms of what is considered a hallmark for successful integration in Canada. For example, Banting and Soroka, in measuring social integration in Canada, identified what they saw as an important barometer for successful integration: "A sense of belonging seems to capture two related feelings. In part, it reflects the person's sense of attachment to the country; but it also reflects the extent to which that person feels accepted by

other denizens of the place."[485] Reflecting the views of immigration and integration theorists, race and racism scholar Robert Miles believes that, at the national level, integration is ultimately about belonging.[486] Indeed the concept of belonging or "a sense of belonging" is a common standard used by immigration scholars in Canada when measuring the success of integration in Canada. Belonging at the national level is related to, but not exclusively tied to citizenship and residency status – and this inter-connection has arguably become more complex in an era of globalization and transnationalism. However, problematically, considering the importance assigned to this attribute, in a majority of these studies what belonging means in a national context is left open to interpretation.

Exploring Citizenship and Belonging in Canada

Thus far citizenship, and the meaning of citizenship in Canada, has largely been discussed peripherally within the dissertation. But debates over citizenship, what it means to be a citizen in a liberal-multicultural state, have been a chief preoccupation among some of Canada's most prestigious political philosophers including the likes of Charles Taylor, Will Kymlicka and Michael Ignatieff. The philosophical nuances of these debates will be largely left unexplored in this dissertation. What is of more importance to this study is the question of how citizenship has been mobilized by policy makers within the overall framework of the crisis of multiculturalism and how citizenship has shaped experiences with national belonging, particularly for Canadian Muslims.

A basic definition of citizenship is that it is a political contract between the individual and the state where national allegiance is exchanged for certain rights.[487] Ideally, becoming a citizen means reaching a formal level of incorporation in the state where the individual becomes part of the national fabric.[488] Thus, citizenship contains both symbolic and legal belonging to a state and the national ideal that state is said to embody.[489] But in the context of the crisis of

multiculturalism debates over belonging – questions over who belongs to a nation and who does not - have frequently been raised by those espousing xenoracism. For the re-emboldened far-right in Europe, and the populist centrists who have co-opted their discourse, formal citizenship no longer equates into symbolic belonging to a national society as certain minority communities are increasingly deemed unwelcome.

As outlined in the section on nationalism, ideas of who belongs and who does not belong to an "imagined community" can be related to how the idea of the nation was historically formed in a particular state. In some cases states have tied the idea of the nation to a single idealized ethnic, racial or cultural "imagined community" forming a highly exclusivist and exclusionary form of nationalism that easily lends itself to the construction of racist discourses. This is a form of nationalism that grew from the development of the modern nation-state and was intimately tied to political practices and ideologies such as imperialism, colonialism and fascism in the 20th century. And according to Michael Ignatieff this form of ethnic nationalism has historically generated conflict, especially in culturally plural states or "multinational" states.[490]

As already outlined in this paper, part of the counter-reaction against multiculturalism, in states like the Netherlands, has been the adoption of more stringent, coercive and restrictive approaches to citizenship. Here citizenship and the symbolic belonging it is said to contain are centred on a cultural core where belonging can only be achieved through assimilation into that core. Thus, within the crisis of multiculturalism citizenship has become yet another area of policy through which the "rehabilitation" of multiculturalism can be pursued. As acknowledged by Joppke, at the policy level, a fusion has taken place between policies that, "previously belonged to two separate, if not lexically ordered policies and legal domains."[491] Together, these areas of policy have been used to establish greater control over newcomers and more established

minority communities alike. More specifically, in the area of citizenship this control has been pursued through the tightening of naturalization rules and the use of more stringent citizenship tests for newcomers.[492]

By comparison a multicultural state is said to contain a much different idea of symbolic belonging. In its idealized form such a state recognizes and values diversity, and formal membership in the community involves a commitment to a shared set of liberal-rights. Thus, in the Canadian model, citizenship rights are said to be equally extended to all cultural and ethnic minority communities.[493] Today nationalism and citizenship in Canada (outside of Quebec) are said to exist within the "civic nationalism" paradigm where Canadian citizenship is centred not on any one cultural core but rather on this set of shared liberal rights. Gangnon and Iacovino, who are careful to distinguish this liberal-multicultural model from Quebec's approach to citizenship, describe the liberal ideal as "Citizenship …based on a set of universally-applied procedural rules [where] identity is relegated to individuals, privately pursuing their own conception of the good life."[494]

Altogether, this model of citizenship returns us to an idea raised in the chapter on multiculturalism - that Canada engenders a much "thinner" sense of nationalism and national belonging than found in other states. Even if, as previously acknowledged, today we are witnessing attempts by the federal Conservative government to manipulate ideas of citizenship and shared symbolic belonging. For instance, we see this manipulation in terms of the promotion of British colonial symbols of Canadian identity. This shift in political discourse on citizenship in Canada has drawn the attention of prominent scholars like Christian Joppke who posed the question of whether the Canadian approach to citizenship is now reflective of the more coercive approaches found in Europe. Ultimately Joppke's answer to this question was somewhat mixed,

> In political rhetoric 'yes,' at least on the conservative end of the political spectrum; but with respect to policy 'no.' The latest amendment to the citizenship law in 2010, which has the ambitious purpose of 'strengthening the value of Canadian citizenship,' among other small changes, merely clarifies that applicants for citizenship must be 'physically present' in Canada during the required three years of residence.[495]

Joppke also points out that the Canadian citizenship model has largely adhered to the liberal-rights model, whose defenders, theorists like Kymlicka, have long pointed out contains a robust approach to Citizenship with features such as language tests, citizenship ceremonies and oaths.[496] Therefore, the recent policy changes in this area seem largely consistent with the norm, even if some of the political rhetoric has mirrored what is currently found in some European political discourse on citizenship. Leaving the discussion of citizenship to the side for the time being, the dissertation will now turn to the idea of belonging and how belonging can be understood in a national context. As recognized by an increasing number of scholars, in the context of globalization belonging can no longer be understood in purely national-citizenship terms. Increasingly, individuals display transnational identities and seek multiple formal belongings, for instance, in the form of dual citizenship.[497]

Similar to the term *integration,* the concept of belonging has been subject to some relaxed academic usage. This is especially true when the concept has been applied to a national context. As Ellie Vasta notes, belonging is used in academic work in a way in which its meaning is supposed to be apparent to everyone – denoting among other things affinity, acceptance and togetherness.[498] In general, in a social context, belonging can be defined as a *social relationship* where individuals identify with a larger group and gain acceptance from that group. On this point Vasta elaborates,

> Belonging is not just a subjective matter. Crucially, it is formed between the interplay of the subjective self, collective agency and structural positioning…. people can have a sense of belonging as individuals as well as collective belonging; they can belong to a

> community, a locality or a nation; and they can have a transnational sense of belonging. Belonging can refer to the material, symbolic and emotional dimensions of life.[499]

Elaborating on this idea, individuals may identify with or find belonging in a variety of groups both big and small; they might identify with a nation, city, religion, race or a less political identity such as professional status. Moreover, drawing on observations from previous chapters, identities are multi-layered and complex, exhibiting characteristics of hybridity and fluidity - thus individuals can feel a sense of belonging to multiple communities.

In an increasingly globalized world, where identities are complex and multi-faceted and where people possess multiple loyalties, including multiple national loyalties, the idea of belonging becomes even more complex. But as found by Vasta in her research, transnational identities and multiple belongings do not necessarily equate into a sense of confusion or "divided loyalties".[500] Similarly Yasmin Hussain and Paul Bagguley found in their study of British Pakistanis that individuals were developing concepts of national identity that accommodated multiple identities such as British, Muslim and Pakistani.[501] Existing empirical studies demonstrate that transnationally situated newcomers and minorities may be simultaneously "integrated" into multiple cultures and societies at the same time – something that does not necessarily challenge their loyalty to one society or the other.[502]

How then can personal belonging to a nation be defined? As noted above citizenship may denote a formal and legalistic sense of belonging to a nation – but citizenship does not necessarily equate into a sense of belonging to a nation. Yuval-Davis et al. point out that in the "politics of belonging" national identity is important – in other words how that identity is framed is important in terms of establishing an emotional component to belonging.[503] If a nation is defined in monocultural terms it is unlikely that outsiders (as defined in relation to the dominant culture) can find belonging to the nation. On the other hand, when defined through an image of

cultural pluralism and multiculturalism, a national identity is more accessible for newcomers and minority communities.

As also recognized by Vasta in her research, certain experiences can cause confusion for those who seek belonging in a national space. She believes that racism, and what she refers to as “the coercion of cultural assimilationism”, can negate feelings of belonging - that such experiences,

> Not only contribute to the negation of a shared sense of belonging for some ethnic minority groups, but it also acts as a major destabilising force for the majority ethnic population. In this sense, the argument of the liberal nationalists that a shared sense of belonging is necessary to ensure social justice remains meaningless in the face of racism and exclusion by the majority cultural group and by its institutions.[504]

Reinforcing these findings, Hussain and Bagguley, in their study of British Pakistanis, found that the individual’s sense of British-ness was challenged by racism that targeted Muslims after 9/11.[505] Shelley Wilcox, in her study of national identity and citizenship, found that immigrants and minorities who experience social exclusion found it difficult to identify with the institutions of the state.[506] From these findings it can be extrapolated that an ideology like xenoracism would negatively correlate with a sense of belonging to a nation. And, if a sense of belonging is the benchmark for integration in the Canadian state, racism should be viewed as a significant barrier to the incorporation of newcomers into the social and political arenas.

Tariq Modood, whose research has long focused on multicultural societies, believes that an emotional sense of belonging to a nation is critical for the success of such a society.[507] In comparison, according to the findings of a study by Halleh Ghorashi and Ulrike Vieten, the renewed assimilative integration now adopted with such priority in Western Europe may act as a severe challenge to newcomers and minorities identifying with nations - as the new

monoculturalism is very much opposed to the multilayered identity which so many newcomers possess.[508]

With these ideas in mind, the following section of the dissertation will turn to the findings from the Ethnic Diversity Survey and the Canadian Muslims interview sample group and focus on how Muslims have fared in Canada in terms of integration and how a national sense of belonging may or may not have developed in that population.

Canadian Muslims: Integration and Belonging

Before examining the experiences of the Canadian Muslim interviewees with integration and belonging in Canada this section will first return to some of the findings from the Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a Multicultural Society data. Noting the two previously identified priorities in integration - civic participation and a sense of belonging- the analysis will draw out data from the EDS focusing on these two key indicators.

Earlier studies of integration of Muslims, for example, Reitz (2009), have found that levels of integration in the Canadian Muslim population are higher than some mainstream groups such as Catholics, especially in terms of a strong affinity to the Canadian national identity.[509] In terms of measurements of ‘attitudes and belonging’, Canadian Muslims may indicate a better sense of life satisfaction relative to non-Muslims. Following on Reitz’s belief that general life satisfaction is a barometer for integration, when asked if they were “satisfied with life”, 49.3 percent of Canadian Muslims said they were “very satisfied” in comparison to 47.6 percent of non-Muslim Canadians (see Table 5 on pg. 201).[510] The EDS measured a sense of national belonging – ranking respondents’ sense of belonging to Canada on a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 representing a “very strong” sense of belonging. Of Canadian Muslim respondents, 71 percent reported a very strong sense of attachment, in comparison to the same percentage of Canadian

Protestants (71) and higher than Hindus (65), Jews (59) and non-religious (55) (see Table 6 on page 201). Finally, in terms of political participation, 66.8 percent of Canadian Muslims voted federally and 63.8 percent voted provincially, in comparison to 79.4 and 78.1 percent respectively for non-Muslims (see Table 7 on pg. 202).[511]

In effect, the EDS provides a mixed picture of integration among Canadian Muslims. As indicated by the data, in terms of life satisfaction and sense of belonging Canadian Muslims have a higher level of satisfaction than non-Muslim Canadians and demonstrate markedly higher levels in terms of sense of belonging to Canada. However, significantly lower levels of political participation among the Canadian Muslim population is a negative indicator in terms of integration into the political arena. Altogether, the high levels of belonging and life satisfaction should be viewed as significant, especially considering the importance assigned to belonging by a number of scholars focused on immigration and integration. In the next section the dissertation will contextualize some of these findings by exploring the experiences, attitudes and opinions of interviewees in relation to integration.

Muslim Canadian Interviewees Opinions on Integration

Some interviewees expressed sentiments that reflect earlier findings in this chapter – that individuals can possess multiple loyalties, multiple belongings, culturally, nationally etc. at the same time. An anonymous interviewee, a lawyer with Indian heritage, spoke of these multiple belongings: “I grew up here, I love Canada-this is my home-I’ve lived all my life with the benefits of this country…I have a pride for my country- this is my country. I have roots in India, I was born there and I still have an affection for my birthplace, but this is my home and I think that’s how a lot of people feel.”

However, the same interviewee went on to outline what she saw as a challenge for Canadian Muslims in terms on integrating into the Canadian state and society, "If you decide to assimilate would that culture care, even if you did that? It's like, 'who do you think you are?'- you'll always be different. I've lived here all my life but I get asked all the time, 'Where do you come from?'... 'Canada'... 'Yes...but where do you *really* come from?' So it's like you'll never be truly accepted as the same, because you're not."

Some interviewees, reinforcing the image of the two-way street model, believed that the key to successful integration remained mutual efforts on both sides – from the Canadian Muslim community and the host population. Dalal Daoud of the Canadian Islamic Congress pointed out that her organization encouraged members of the communities to get out into the broader community, "If you don't take that step and try and reach out you leave it to the media to build that image. Obviously we know if we leave it to the media we know what everyone is going to think, you know, that we are extremists, radicals, terrorists, on and on and on." Ahmed Shoker reinforced the view of integration as a two way street and the need for communities to come together after the traumas of the past decade:

> The majority will say, yes, unfortunately, there are some good bonds that have been severed after September 11th and that will take some re-building, for sure. Part of it is our problem; we have to show the best of us. I wouldn't blame the Canadian government alone, we have a responsibility, and sometimes we play the card of apathy, we don't care... for us it's a 50/50 fault. We haven't done enough... But, it's a two way street and both parties have to work hard.

A common theme raised by several interviewees was that Muslim newcomers faced some challenges when adjusting to civic life in Canada. Ahmed Shoker, Director at the Canadian Islamic Congress, observed that

> When you bring people from a different culture where there is no democracy, where human rights are daily violated, and then you expect people to view themselves as equal partners, I know Canadians want it this way, that they are very proud of this attitude, but

> it took me ten years to understand that is what is needed from us. The immigrants don't see that, because it is a cultural thing, it's like a language. They have to understand that 'we want you to be part of us' - they don't understand it, because they have lived in fear for decades, so they have to integrate slowly and gradually.

Supporting this view, Usama al-Atar, a Shi'a Imam and post-doctoral student stated,

> Here we have to understand something - that many of the individuals come from a system where there is no political freedom. A lot of them come from a system where, if you are involved with politics, it means you are with the government and you have to be really careful…Participating in the voting system is bad, it is evil, so you have to explain to them that is different here, it takes time.

Recognizing the difficulties that Canadian Muslims, especially newcomers from societies with little in the way of liberal-democratic traditions, may face in terms of integrating into the political life of Canada there are examples of success in the political arena – of individuals who have entered Canadian political life at its highest levels. An example of one of these individuals is an interviewee, Sohail Quadri, a Progressive Conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta for Edmonton-Mill Woods. As Mr. Quadri sees it, Canadian Muslims were faced with a choice after 9/11. Speaking of how the community felt after that time he stated:

> They felt so frustrated because they were embarrassed about what's going around and they can't control it.... so some people are thinking, 'back to isolation' but some are thinking 'isolation is no answer'-it's about time for us to get more active and become part of the process where we can go out and condemn all the stupid things that are happening on both sides. So a few of us got together and said... 'Be part of the process, what you can control is *you* –the best way for us is to get involved.' I'm not just talking about building bridges - though building bridges is wonderful...the only way to do it is to go out and have the nicest story to tell, and now I believe I have a very good story to tell about the Muslim community at large. We cannot be silent anymore. We cannot be bystanders - we have to get involved in order for us to change. It's the only way to let my neighbour know I'm not an alien; I'm another guy like you. The only way to do it is just meet, just talk...really try to understand each other.

Referring back to earlier findings on civic multiculturalism and education, Mr. Quadri's statement is indicative of how conflicts in a multicultural society may be managed within the

institutions of liberal democracy as minorities engage with the host society in the process of governance and collective deliberation.

Azim Jeraj, a business owner, pointed out that, especially in the province of Alberta, a number of Canadian Muslims from the Ismaili community have come to prominence in the political life of the province, “It’s great, look at the number of people who participate in public offices from the Ismaili community, not only the mayor of Calgary, but you have also in the civil service a lot of Ismailis and on volunteer boards across the country.” Soraya Hafez, a President of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, also pointed to the noteworthy success of Canadian Muslims in elected politics and in prestigious positions in public and private life in general, “we are trying to be politically involved at every level, we have MLAs here, at the federal level we have people running all the time, from the community you have now the professors at the universities, the lawyers, the doctors, so people are quite involved.” However, as Azar Syed, of the British Columbia Muslim Association pointed out, Canadian Muslims have found less success in other localities and provinces. Speaking in the context of British Columbia he stated, “They tried in Surrey, there is one school trustee…No great success so far.”

A few interviewees expressed how the acquisition of citizenship in Canada was a meaningful aspect of their own integration process. For example, one anonymous interviewee, a prominent member of a Muslim cultural association, spoke about how the experience of gaining Canadian citizenship had a lasting effect on him. On this he states,

> Some of this was for me reinforced 15 years ago when I was first applying for my citizenship. The lady who was the citizenship judge - they used to interview you - I am not sure if they still do that. They would interview you - in my case my family, myself and my wife - and one of the things she emphasized was that you have to get involved with the broader community, and that stuck with me.

For that interviewee this experience had led them to get involved in civic participation, specifically through developing intra- and inter-cultural initiatives.

On the other hand, there were several interviewees who noted some problems experienced by Canadian Muslims in terms of integration. For example Ahmed Shoker pointed to the struggles of the Somali community in Canada, “Look at what is happening to the Somalia community in Toronto…here you have a youth that comes from a war-torn culture… everything is wide open to them and they degenerate the wrong way into gangs.” Bashir Ahmed, who works with Somali youth, spoke of the great success that Somalis have found in Canada as academics and business people but also admitted that there were some difficulties experienced by the community, “There are always some difficulties, faced by the youth, the weather, the language, housing - since many families are 5 or 6 persons, so housing is expensive and they suffer some financial difficulties… they come to school - they see their classmates who wear some very expensive clothes…they get a little disappointed and their self-esteem might go down.” As Mr. Ahmed rightly points out, many Somalis come to Canada as refugees who face a unique set of challenges: “We should be fair, because people who comes as refugees, they come from war torn zones and their expectations when they go to European countries, especially Canada, they think it will be paradise, and people back at home they ask for help… and people struggle.”

Generational Issues

Another common theme related to integration that was drawn out by interviewees was the different experiences of first and second generation individuals. Indeed, many of the interviewees expressed the view that different generations faced unique challenges in terms of integration in Canada. Bashir Ahmed, Executive Director of the Somali Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization, whose work involves helping fellow Muslims settle and

integrate into Canada, noted the considerable support that first generation immigrants require when they first arrive, “When you are new to the environment you are like a child, you need guidance, you need caring, you need every aspect of your life, you need help…So when I meet with immigrants I say, ‘You know what? You are entering a very new environment’.”

Interviewees also spoke of the challenges faced by second generation Canadian Muslims. An anonymous interviewee, a board member at a settlement agency and professional engineer, spoke of some of the issues faced by that generation as they try to integrate into peer groups during secondary education:

> I wasn’t to go out with a boy alone…Dating was just not allowed for us, but everyone else was dating and you feel kind of drawn into that – so that’s hard, and you can’t drink or participate in any of that activity, so there’s another level of things we can’t do. So as a teenager - Islam and being a Muslim student quickly becomes being associated with all these things I can’t do… Rather than being about culture and what your parents want, it can quickly become about what you can’t do.

For that same interviewee, the second generation exist in an awkward transition stage where they find a unique set of challenges in terms of finding belonging:

> They are going to go through that ugly time in high school…they feel weird at home, it’s such an awful stage for a second generation kid. I have heard it said so many times that you feel as though you have two lives – the life you have to live at home to show your parents that you are still part of the culture and that you are not wanting to abandon their ways, but at the same time, when you go to school, you don’t want to feel left out.

Another difficulty interviewees saw for second generation youth was the questioning that exists around their “belonging.” For Ahmed Shoker there is a double standard applied to second generation Muslims who are born and raised Canadian, “My kids are all born here, they are Canadian, they love this country - no one should question their loyalty to the system, these are the kind of people that should have the trust from the government.”

Canadian Muslims and a Sense of Belonging

A questions posed to all interviewees was how strong they believed a sense of belonging was, among the Canadian Muslim community, for the Canadian state. Some chose to speak from a personal level while others gave their impression of belonging at the community level. Some interviewees believed that there was a strong sense of belonging to Canada in the community. According to Baha Abu-Laban, a professor of sociology, "There really is a strong identification… Muslims and Arabs- they tend to want to identify with the adopted country." Based on his own research he believes,

> Identification historically with Canada has been strong, despite loyalty to the cultural heritage, despite notions that they may want to go back and retire in their home country, because most do not go back…and I think that even the first generation, the immigrant generation, after a period of time of enjoying the liberties and the comfort of Canada, they feel as though this is their home.

While Bashir Ahmed saw some divides between Canadian Muslims and the general population directly after the events of 9/11, he believes that the sense of belonging in his community, "is very high." To illustrate this, he went on to describe his community's annual celebration of Canada Day, "July first, they wore the Canadian flags, the children had face painting, there was so much pride." For Usama al-Atar, belonging can be demonstrated by the long-term roots that most Canadian Muslims seek to lay down in Canada, "When people come here they really like it and I have not seen many Muslims who say 'I am going to back to where I came from'." He further elaborated, "If we define integration as a sense of belonging, people belong here. When I travel abroad and people ask me where I come from I tell them I'm from Canada.... And many people feel that way."

For others there was a more mixed perception of belonging. Dalal Daoud believed that a sense of belonging differed among generations, "Again it depends on the generation, obviously the youngest generation feel a stronger sense of belonging and they do really perceive Canada as

a home." One anonymous interviewee believed that a sense of belonging was mixed in the community and mostly dependent on how community members were received by the host culture, "My sense is that it is really diverse [the sentiment], I feel as though some people do have a kinship to this country and do feel part of it and resent when they are made to feel as though they are not part of it, that they are not part of the Canadian fabric." Others spoke of belonging in quite negative terms. For example Shaykh Zak stated bluntly, "A lot of people, once they establish their pension, they have somewhere else to live… I haven't seen much of a sense of belonging. I have seen people come and take what is there to be taken but I don't see a sense of belonging and I am really sad to say that." Further elaborating on this point his next statement inversed the entire idea of belonging for some members of the community, "It is not a sense of belonging, what they develop is a sense that Canada belongs to them."

Soraya Hafez problematized what belonging really means in Canada when she sees so many societal barriers for Canadian Muslims, "For me I feel I am a Canadian and I am a good Canadian, I work, I pay taxes, I follow the rules, I follow the law like any other good Canadian. Yet, I don't feel that there is that acceptance…the first question that you get… where are you from? I don't like that, I am very proud about where I am from but I don't like that, it eliminates me right away, and I want to be from here." Echoing this sentiment an anonymous interviewee noted the problematic nature of the "where are you from question." On this point she found (she was speaking in relation to second generation Canadians), "People like me might resent it, they would say, 'I was born here.' People of my generation prefer to be thought of as just Canadian." Shawkat Hassan, a member of the British Columbia Muslim Association, speaking in the context of what he sees as a rise of discrimination against Canadian Muslims and what he perceived of as a hostile Canadian government stated, "We have a lot of immigrants who came here recently at

the same time. I know people who are living here and went back home. So even one of our leaders here, who has been very active for many, many years, pulled himself out and went back home with his family and he said, 'I don't want to see my kids suffer, I don't see a positive future because of this sentiment against Muslims'." Expressing a high level anxiety for his and his family's future in Canada he continued, "Look, I tell my children…this is a fearful future, if this trend keeps going I don't know, sometime the Muslims in the West will be like the Japanese in the concentration camps. Because there is no logic behind such a movement but it is pushing slowly and encouraged by the government unfortunately."

Returning to the findings from chapter four, many of the interviewees who expressed more serious reservations about belonging in Canada were also individuals who expressed serious concerns over racism in terms of individual or communal experience. This observation reinforces findings from the earlier studies mentioned above – that racism negatively correlates to belonging – especially a sense of national belonging.

Concluding Remarks

Integration in Canada has historically been defined as a two-way street model where newcomers are expected to adopt an official language, become citizens and participate in the political life of the state. In return, Canadian society and the institutions of the state provide opportunities for newcomers facilitating equitable access to the social, economic and political life of the country. Grounded in ideas of cultural pluralism, the multicultural model of integration respects difference, and allows newcomers *and* long term resident communities to maintain a nostalgic connection to the identities of their homeland. Integration in Canada contains elements of targeted assimilation, at least in terms of the priorities of language proficiency and civic participation, but these priorities are not part of what Millar terms an "exclusionary national"

ideology but rather are functional policies aimed at helping immigrants integrate into the economic and political life of the state. [512] The success of integration in Canada can be measured through a series of indicators, although a number of scholars have focused on a sense of belonging among newcomers as an important barometer of integration. The above outline is essentially the ideal of integration in Canada, it presents integration as a successful element of the Canadian multicultural model – but does this ideal fit with the reality, and, more importantly for this dissertation, with the experiences of Canadian Muslims?

As already noted in the previous chapter, under the Conservative party and Stephen Harper, the Canadian government has attempted to re-frame Canadian national identity towards a more monocultural vision. Since integration is a relational process where newcomers and the Canadian society collectively shape ideas of who can belong to a nation, it follows that this new image of Canadian national identity may be both less appealing and less accessible to newcomers. Coercive and assimilative approaches to integration problematize *a priori* belonging to a national culture – rendering newcomers who do not fit with an imagined homogenous community as foreign. It creates an idea of "us and them" - a framing which is an impediment to the development of a critical sense of belonging.[513] By problematizing the belonging of those who are deemed separate to the nation coercive and assimilationist, integration policies represent an institutionalized form of xenoracism. But can these trends be identified in Canada?

Some members of the Canadian Muslim sample group expressed concerns about how they were being treated by the federal government and about the level of acceptance they found in Canadian society. At the societal level the awkward question that many face in casual conversation: "where are you from... *no*, I mean where are you *really* from?" calls into question the belonging of people who otherwise consider themselves Canadian. Importantly, there was a

correlation between individuals who identified personal experiences with racism and xenoracism and those people who questioned their own belonging to the nation. Therefore, if a sense of belonging is the benchmark for integration in the Canadian state, racism and the marginalization it produces should be viewed as a significant barrier to the incorporation of newcomers into the social and political arenas.

On the other hand, a majority of existing studies on integration in Canada outline positive conclusions in terms of the success of the Canadian approach. As indicated by the EDS data, Canadian Muslims draw favourable comparisons in terms of sense of national belonging and life satisfaction relative to the general population. A majority of Canadian Muslims in the sample group also spoke of a strong sense of belonging to Canada; however, those who had directly experienced discrimination expressed sometimes very different sentiments. Following on findings from this chapter - that feelings of belonging are negatively affected by experiences of xenoracism - indications of a strong sense of belonging in the Canadian Muslim community point to more muted experiences with xenoracism for Canadian Muslims.

Although it must be noted that findings are less positive in terms of political participation, specifically in relation to voting, indicating that Canadian Muslims are not as invested as other Canadians in electoral politics. In part these findings can be explained by an observation from the Canadian Muslim sample group – that many Muslims come from societies and countries where traditions of liberal democracy are undeveloped or absent: indeed where politics can be seen as a dangerous enterprise. As these interviewees speculated, adapting to a different political culture takes time, even decades, and in this sense political acculturation could be a generational process. Interviewees also drew out important differences in the experiences of first and second generation Canadian Muslims. For some, the experience of the second

generation can represent a difficult transition as the cultural and religious ideas and expectations of parents can clash with the realities found among peer groups and in schools.

Taken together, these findings reinforce the idea that Canada may have bucked one of the trends in the crisis of multiculturalism – namely the adoption of more coercive assimilative approaches to integration, even if the Canadian government has adopted some of the rhetoric of monoculturalism. For now, the image of a more open national identity and a system of integration that respects diversity remains attractive to newcomers and minority communities, including Muslims, who demonstrate their high level of integration through the sense of belonging they demonstrate towards the Canadian nation. However, these findings also draw attention to the potentially highly detrimental effects of xenoracism, and other forms of racism, on integration outcomes. This recognition highlights the necessity of anti-racism programs as an aspect of integration policy and state multiculturalism as a whole.

Table 5: Life Satisfaction among Muslims and Non-Muslims

Muslim	**1: Not Satisfied at All**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5:Very Satisfied**
Muslim Born in Canada	3.6%	6.1%	7.0%	35.9%	47.4%
Muslim Born outside Canada	1.4%	3.2%	15.6%	28.6%	51.2%

Non-Muslim	**1:Not Satisfied at All**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5: Very Satisfied**
Non-Muslim Born in Canada	1.2%	2.4%	13.0%	36.1%	47.2%
Non-Muslim Born outside Canada	1.6%	2.1%	14.4%	33.9%	48.0%

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey Public Use Metafile, 2002 [computer file]. Ottawa, Ont.: Statistics Canada. Data Liberation Initiative {distributor}, 2005. (Catalogue no. 89M0019G

Table 6: Sense of Belonging among Religious Communities

Religious Affiliation	Weak (1-2)	Somewhat Strong (3-4)	Very Strong (5)	Unweighted Count
No Religious Affiliation	9%	36%	55%	7696
Catholic	10%	35%	55%	14321
Protestant	4%	25%	71%	11378
Christian Orthodox	2%	22%	76%	808
Christian n.i.e.	8%	36%	56%	2487
Muslim	4%	24%	71%	766
Jewish	4%	36%	59%	638
Buddhist	13%	35%	52%	520
Hindu	5%	31%	65%	487
Sikh	2%	29%	69%	561
Other Eastern Religions	14%	33%	53%	75
Other Religions	5%	23%	72%	48

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey Public Use Metafile, 2002 [computer file]. Ottawa, Ont.: Statistics Canada. Data Liberation Initiative [distributor], 2005. (Catalogue no. 89M0019GPE)

Table 7: Voting in Elections - Muslims and Non-Muslims

Non-Muslim	Response	Column N %	Count	Unweighted Count
Voted in Federal Election	Yes	79,4%	15366659	27052
	No	20,6%	3991211	7216
Voted in Provincial Election	Yes	78,1%	15051300	26296
	No	21,9%	4232352	7824
Voted in Municipal Election	Yes	64,1%	12333449	21386
	No	35,9%	6916820	12628
Muslim	**Response**	**Column N %**	**Count**	**Unweighted Count**
Voted in Federal Election	Yes	66,8%	142354	326
	No	33,2%	70693	176
Voted in Provincial Election	Yes	63,8%	135456	317
	No	36,2%	76709	182
Voted in Municipal Election	Yes	49,5%	105204	252
	No	50,5%	107499	249

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey Public Use Metafile, 2002 [computer file]. Ottawa, Ont.: Statistics Canada. Data Liberation Initiative [distributor], 2005. (Catalogue no. 89M0019GPE)

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Chapter 7: Security

Attacks in places like Madrid, London and Boston, which were perpetrated by "homegrown" terrorists, brought domestic security to the fore, breaking down the barriers between domestic and international security. Modern globalized terror came in the form of simultaneous explosions –mass murder on a scale not witnessed in the Global North since the World Wars. Those who carried out the attacks called themselves Muslims - even if their actions were wholly un-Islamic. They represented an ideology, a reactionary, revisionist and distorted vision of Islam born of years of corruption, despotism, colonialism and invasion in the Muslim world. For the anti-immigrant far-right and the xenoracists the violence was confirmation of the validity of their long standing claims that immigration from the Global South, most especially from Muslim countries, was a threat to "the West".[514] Therefore, the specter of modern terrorism coalesced with concerns over deficient integration strategies, cultural incompatibility, and illiberal and "barbaric" practices in communities so long identified as the "other" in the orientalist European imaginary.

For the proponents of xenoracism, the language of security gave greater urgency to their claims – as they told frightened publics "we need to act before it is too late" - that the demographic bomb of growing Muslim populations and the suicide bomber could no longer be ignored. A chorus of alarmist "security experts" focused on Islam in the West, the neo-orientalists, have emerged to warn of Janus-faced immigrant communities. For example, Lorenzo Vidino has warned that organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood have infiltrated isolated communities and that while they, "speak about interfaith dialogue and integration on television, the group's mosques preach hate and warn worshippers about the evils of integration into Western society. While they publicly condemn the murder of commuters in Madrid and school children in Russia, they continue to raise money for Hamas and other terrorist organisations."[515]

Among the most vocal of the xenoracist politicians is Geert Wilders, leader of the anti-Muslim Dutch Freedom party who has long railed against the dangers that Muslim communities pose to "Western society" and has even promoted deportation of Muslims as a potential solution to the dangers they pose.[516] Other members of Europe's far right, such as Marine Le Pen, leader of France's anti-immigrant National Front party, directly linked parallel communities to the terrorist threat while invoking the language of war; for example, in the immediate aftermath of the 2012 Toulouse attacks she stated, "Now we need to go to war" and warned that "entire districts are in the hands of Islamic fundamentalists."[517]

Taken to its extreme, militant xenoracism has helped to produce the likes of Anders Behring Breivik who has confessed to the bombing and shootings that killed 76 people in Norway. The ideology of xenoracism was evident in Brievik's 1,500-page manifesto of hate entitled *2083: A European Declaration of Independence.* As a self-professed "anti-Islamic crusader," he praised figures like Mr. Wilders and the Dutch approach to Muslims. As McCoy and Knight point out, "Breivik might have been delusional, but he is the product of a xenoracist movement, not only in Norway, but throughout Europe."[518]

In Canada, these trends seem quite distant. Unlike the United States or Western Europe, Canada has not experienced terrorist violence, although Canadians have been targeted in several alleged failed terrorist plots, including the so-called Toronto 18 plot in 2006, the liquid explosives plot originating in the United Kingdom that same year and a recent alleged plan to attack passenger trains in the Toronto region.[519] However, similar to most states in the Global North, the Canadian government expanded the powers of the state and its security services after 9/11 through, among other measures, the Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA) / Bill C-36. And, as elsewhere, these expanded powers have sparked concerns among civil liberties advocates and

among the Muslim community who worry about potential profiling. In his study of the expansion of the Canadian "security state" Christopher Murphy outlined the sheer scope of the expansion of security after 9/11:

> This is evidenced by a new national security policy, significantly increased security and policing expenditures, new security-oriented ministries and agencies, and policies and programs aimed at the expansion, coordination, and integration of all national policing and security activities. Securitized government and governance has also significantly changed public policing in Canada.[520]

As indicated in the previous chapter, the more coercive and assimilationist integration measures are largely absent in the Canadian state. Thus far, research findings have demonstrated that issues of identity have largely been addressed within the normalized politics of diversity and state multicultural model rather than the assimilative model that may contain xenoracism. Yet a statement quoted in the previous chapter from one interviewee highlights how some very serious concerns over security are present in the community. This sentiment was expressed by Shawkat Hassan, a member of the British Columbia Muslim Association: "Look, I tell my children…this is a fearful future, if this trend keeps going, I don't know, sometime the Muslims in the West will be like the Japanese in the concentration camps. Because there is no logic behind such a movement, but it is pushing slowly and encouraged by the government unfortunately."

The fears Mr. Hassan expressed for his family are stark indications of the level of anxiety among some members of the Canadian Muslim community. By invoking the example of the Japanese community, Mr. Hassan draws on national historical memories of how those deemed to be the dangerous foreigners in the past were treated in Canada: their belonging and loyalty was called into question; their rights of citizenship, property and personal freedom were stripped away; they were imprisoned based on their racial status. This chapter seeks to understand how ideas of "societal" and national security have coalesced over the past decade: its primary

question asks how the securitized public policy has, after 9/11, affected Canadian Muslims. The chapter will specifically look to the experiences of Canadian Muslim interviewees with security and explore what those experiences can tell us about how security has developed in Canada since 9/11. First, the dissertation will explore the concept of societal security.

Societal Security

A framework of analysis for some of the trends found in this dissertation can be found in the constructivist Copenhagen security school and its understanding of societal security. As outlined in the introduction, the lens of constructivism reveals that security is not an objective condition, but rather an inter-subjective construct.[521] Since security is constructed, the meaning and borders of security are blurry - they can be shaped by individuals who seek to portray certain issues as requiring a securitized response, gain public acceptance of those claims, and thus legitimatize security measures.[522] This roughly describes the process of securitization where the perception of *in*security is established. As Waever contends, "What is essential [to a case of securitization] is the designation of an existential threat . . . and the acceptance of that designation by a significant audience."[523]

The establishment of a security issue takes place through what Buzan et al. refer to as the speech act approach – an approach where a "securitizing actor" presents an issue to an audience in the hopes of legitimizing the issue as a security issue. A securitizing actor declares a referent object to be existentially threatened to a target audience who, by accepting or rejecting the claim, legitimize the issue as a security issue.[524] On this process Buzan et al. state: "If by means of an argument about the priority and urgency of an existential threat the securitizing actor has managed to break free of procedures or rules he or she would otherwise be bound by, we are witnessing a case of securitization."[525] Once an issue has entered the realm of security actors are

free to engage in “emergency politics” that are outside of the normal / everyday politics of a state and its society.[526]

Buzan et al. divide security issues into categories including environmental, military, economic, and the focus of this section - societal security. Here society relates to identity, the self-conception of communities and of individuals identifying themselves as members of a community.[527] The referent object of societal security are large identity groups that carry sufficient loyalty and devotion of their subjects in a form and to an extent that they can create a socially powerful argument that their “we” identity is threatened.[528] Identity acts as the “organizing concept” of societal security where collective identities naturally evolve and change in response to internal and external developments; such changes may be seen as invasive, and the source of those changes may be seen as a threat or as a natural part of the evolution of identity. Thus the most important societal sector referent objects are tribes, clans, nations, religions, and races. [529]

With security analysts increasingly focused on issues such as “ethnic conflict” in the post-Cold War environment, as Gartner et al. point out, “Few problems of contemporary security can be fully comprehended without reference to questions of collective identity”.[530] The societal security issues most pertinent to this analysis are what Buzan et al. conceive of as cultural competition: such as people being subjected to a project of integration.[531] In the societal security panic reaction, Buzan et al. suggest, as an example, that a minority culture may be threatened by the established society which, through state, educational, media and other systems, reinforces the established majority society.[532] Waever et al. identifies a similar trend in societal security, “For threatened societies, one obvious line of defensive response is to strengthen societal identity. This can be done through cultural means to reinforce societal cohesion and distinctiveness, and

to ensure that society reproduces itself correctly."[533] Here Buzan and Waever's et al. description of societal security is quite reflective of a subject that was outlined in the previous chapter: coercive approaches to assimilative-integration that similarly seek to reinforce a culturally defined national identity through reinforcing "cohesion".

The linkage between immigration, integration and social security was made as early as the 1990s by Jus Huysman, who, writing on how immigrant communities were being constructed as a security threat stated, "Thus migration is interpreted as an existential threat, which means that it threatens the survival of the self-identity of the natives. In this struggle, the natives try to survive by distancing themselves from the migrant." [534]

In more severe cases of societal security, securitizing actors may demand deportations (a security strategy proposed by members of the European Far Right like Wilders) and/ or even ethnic cleansing. Referring back to some of the statements by the European Far Right one can find numerous examples of incidences where politicians have invoked societal security and identified certain minority groups as the dangerous foreign "other", a threat to dominant European cultures, their values, beliefs and traditions.

In this sense these securitized discourses reflect the ideas contained in the ideology of xenoracism by identifying a foreign and inferior "other". As noted in earlier chapters, identity is a multi-layered and relational phenomenon, formed through interactions with others. In cases of societal security, where a culture, its values, practices and characteristics are designated a threat, for example to a national culture, there are negative markers of otherness assigned to that identity within a hierarchal understanding of difference. Inferior or dangerous values, practices and characteristics are assigned to the problematized identity. Therefore, the concept of societal

security captures some of the trends discussed in the previous chapters - it offers a useful theoretical lens for identifying cases of securitization related to group identities.

9/11 and the Development of the Security State

During the latter part of the 20th century, states began trying to assert greater control over population movements and viewed integration as a problematic area of public policy. In part this can be evidenced by the emergence of documents in the 1990s from major international organizations such as the OECD who were warning of the "Growth of foreign populations and the problems posed by the social and economic integration of migrants in the main OECD host countries."[535] However, arguably, in the 1980s and 1990s integration policy had not yet been seriously infected by security concerns. This changed with the events of September 11th 2001. In the years after the attacks, security organizations, including CSIS in Canada, identified groups and individuals linked to the religion of Islam, most especially "homegrown terrorists," as the primary threat to national security.[536] Therefore not only was terrorism viewed as an external threat, for example as exemplified by groups like al-Qaeda, but also as a domestic threat, as exemplified by "homegrown terrorists." Serious attacks in Madrid in 2004, London in 2005 and Boston in 2013, added to the perception that homegrown terrorism represented the primary threat to national security in the states of the Global North, linking ideas of national and societal security. Critically this turned the attention of security organizations and governments inwards - towards threats at home.

Subsequently, domestic policies, especially integration and immigration, became interlinked with security policy. Anika Haverig, articulating how security concerns increasingly shaped integration policies after 9/11 in two European states, Germany and Britain, writes,

> As an important congruence, both governments now increasingly regard the cultural integration of their migrant populations as of real importance and prioritise achieving an

> 'integrated' or 'cohesive' society. This re-conceptualisation can be interpreted as a response to the 'threat from within', as it was shaped by the explicit involvement of European Muslim residents or citizens in violent events since 2001.[537]

For Castles and Miller, "The attacks of 9/11 and Madrid and London have had the effect of transforming the decades-old, indeed centuries-old, question of migrant incorporation in Western countries into an important security issue."[538]

After 9/11 in some countries integration took on a new priority: the prevention of "radicalization" and extremism among isolated communities. Particularly in states like Britain that had directly experienced terrorist violence during the 7/7 bombings, the government prioritized the "cohesion-agenda" as part of a wider strategy to prevent extremism – particularly among British Muslims.[539] For security officials, a simple causal chain developed between what are seen as deficient integration policies (for example multicultural approaches), parallel societies and terrorism.[540] Therefore, concerns with immigration and integration became intertwined with national security. According to Liz Fekete, assimilative measures, such as the banning of religious symbolism in public places, became an adjunct to anti-terrorism laws, a coercive means of regulating identity.[541]

Werner Schiffauer found similar trends in his study of the experience of Muslims in Germany. According to Schiffauer the German government prioritized integration policy as part of a broader security strategy. To support this contention he provides the example of a report released by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution that identified among immigrant communities problems with "integration into majoritarian society" and "segregated accommodations for immigrants" as primary reasons for racialization and recruitment of "Islamists".[542] But how could security operate in an area of policy that was distinctly tied to identity, citizenship and ideas of belonging? According to Schiffauer,

> Since September 11th 2001, discussions about the integration of Muslim immigrants into the European societies have been dominated by issues of national security. This is a consequence of the new security policies characterized by an increase of 'repressive measures' complemented by more extensive 'preventive measures'. In the language of security agencies, repressive measures aim at preventing people from committing criminal offences so as to ensure law enforcement in general. Since such measures are generally adopted prior to the acts in question, they are meant to eliminate imminent dangers.[543]

Schiffauer's observation here is important, as it highlights how securitized integration policy operates at a practical level. Once a community has been singled out as a potential threat to national security there is a presumption of guilt, not necessarily among all members; however, the existence of even a tiny minority casts a cloud of doubt over the larger community. As security officials seek to prevent attacks through "repressive measures" the security logic requires the policing of identity – or "community policing" that contains at least some presumption of guilt. As Christopher Murphy recognizes here,

> The security crisis of 9/11 transformed some urban communities into security problems for local police, changing communities from partners to suspects, from crime problems to security problems, and from communities *at* risk to communities *of* risk. The apparently ordinary domestic lifestyles of either 'imported or home grown' terrorists, and a lack of reliable community information, make all citizens, in some ethnic communities, either potential suspects or informants. The 'community as security problem' thus becomes a legitimate space for security policing operations such as disruptions, surveillance, informants, and various forms of social penetration. This 'enemy within' logic invariably distances local police from the community, increases mutual suspicion, and undermines previous trust-based relationships.[544]

By necessity this form of security projects negative associations on whole communities. As Huysmans rightfully observes, "In this construction of security, xenophobia and racism, it is not simply individual security that is involved. The security tale also speaks about 'us': the 'foreigners' threaten not only individuals but also society."[545] For Fekete the nature of these policies is clear, they "Are based on a concept of national security that is shot through with xeno-racism."[546]

Of course the securitization of integration policy was only one aspect of the larger expansion of the security state across the Global North during this period. Altogether, the heavily securitized legislative response to September 11th led to a re-organization of security apparatuses and institutions together with the curtailment of civil liberties in the name of security. As Lucia Zedner points out, as a vague and often undefined object, security is open to broad interpretation and political manipulation.[547] The requirements of community level policing, combined with the perceived scale of the threat posed by both the external enemy and the enemy within, led to the development of a new kind of security state unlike what had been seen in the past.

After 9/11, securitized public policy became normalized and institutionalized across the Global North as the police, intelligence and military institutions, once thought to be separate domains, were mobilized to work together in order to identify and combat threats related to threats both outside and inside the state.[548] Recognizing these trends, the dissertation will now return to the case study of Canada and pose the question of how post 9/11 security concerns have been addressed by the Canadian state and how Canadian security policy has affected the Canadian Muslim community.

Security in the Canadian State

As suggested in the introductory chapter, and in the introductory section of this chapter, the Canadian government has actively reformed its security legislation and practices since the attacks of 9/11. As in other states in the period immediately after 9/11, there were concerns expressed over vulnerabilities to terrorist attacks and activities in Canada. Among politicians, security "experts" and the media, a number of potential vulnerabilities were identified that made Canada insecure: immigration, state multiculturalism and some of the personal freedoms contained in the Charter were all identified as areas of public policy that made Canada prone to

an attack, or at the very least a haven for terrorism.[549] Before 9/11 security officials had been arguing that the adoption of the Charter of Rights in 1982 had restricted police powers in favour of individual rights by putting in place a series of limitations of security officials that subjected them to greater review and scrutiny from the judiciary.[550] Journalist and security expert Stewart Bell highlighted many of these concerns in his work *Cold Terror: How Canada Nurtures and Exports Terrorism around the World*, where he warned that an overly lax Canadian legal and immigration system, combined with inadequate security services, had made the country a preferred base for a host of terrorist groups ranging from the Tamil Tigers to al-Qaeda.[551]

Acquiescing to the concerns of the police, intelligence agencies, concerned bilateral partners like the United States and security experts, the federal government adopted legislative measures that mirror the Patriot Act in the United States - the Anti-Terrorism Act / Bill C-36. These legislative measures opened the door to a host of new security practices and the development of a significant institutional infrastructure aimed at establishing security principles throughout the Canadian government. As a result, Christopher Murphy describes what he sees as considerable "security creep": in other words the spreading of security policies to various government institutions and more generally a prioritizing of security goals in Canadian public policy,

> First, the federal government radically reconceptualized and reorganized the governance of all national policing and security in Canada. A national security policy was proclaimed which provided a federal vision of national security that called for more integrated national policing and security. To facilitate this, a new *über* security ministry called 'Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada' (PSEPC) was created to combine and coordinate various existing and newly created agencies and departments involved in security governance. PSEPC manages the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, the Communications Security Establishment, the Canada Border Services Agency, and other agencies with public safety functions, such as Emergency Preparedness Canada and Health Canada. Under the political direction of a powerful new cabinet minister, PSEPC, like its US Homeland Security counterpart, is designed to bring about more effective security governance through more explicit

political direction and the central coordination of the diverse activities of various national and local policing and security agencies.[552]

The portrait of "security creep" painted by Murphy is quite startling – demonstrating the level of integration of public services under an umbrella ministry and the extent to which security has been integrated in the bureaucratic structure of the state.

Perhaps the most important security reforms that have taken place in Canada since 9/11, in terms of its influence on broader Canadian security policy, is the aforementioned Bill C-36 and the Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA) that significantly expanded security powers, including increased powers of surveillance, arrest, and detention.[553] Not only does the ATA allow detention without charge, the replacement of a vague "reasonable belief" with "reasonable suspicion" as the basis of police action, and allows for the use of private investigative hearings (measures that are allowed under similar security legislation in the UK and US for federal authorities), but in addition, in Canada, those measures are available to security officials at all levels of government.[554] Not surprisingly these measures drew criticism and concern from legal experts over provisions that undermine individual freedoms contained in constitutional documents like the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.[555]

And since 9/11 there was considerable politicization of the ATA and its expanded powers with federal political parties like the NDP and civil rights organizations actively opposing its renewal in parliament. There had been hopes that attempts to renew the legislation supporting the act would fail (it was first up for renewal in 2007) and that normalized politics and security practices would return in the absence of further attacks. However, with support from the federal Liberal Party, the Conservative government passed Bill S-7 in April 2013, effectively preventing the "sunsetting" of provisions contained in the ATA and allowing for the continuation of controversial measures such as "preventative detentions" (allowing individuals to be held

without charge for up to three days based on the suspicion of involvement in terrorism).[556] The new Bill also allows for investigative hearings where suspects who are believed to have knowledge of terrorist activities can be compelled to answer questions. Individuals who refuse to answer those questions can be subject to up to 12 months in prison. Organizations such as the Canadian Council on Islamic-American Relations (CAIR-CAN) have argued that the Bill will continue the extraordinary legal powers that appeared after 9/11 and which represent a challenge to "democratic principles."[557]

Ultimately the concern of groups such as CAIR-CAN can be traced to what has been seen as the highly detrimental effects of the legislation and post-9/11 security practices on Canadian Muslims. Returning to the idea of preventative security measures, under post 9/11 security legislation, Canadian Muslims, as with other Muslim communities in the Global North, have been subject to profiling as the new domestic security agenda requires the techniques of community policing (such as community surveillance, the use of paid informants, and so-called preventative "threat disruption").[558] As a result of these techniques, existing academic studies have indicated negative effects on the community. For instance, Denise Helly, in her study of post 9/11 discrimination against Canadian Muslims, argues that community policing measures "are extremely detrimental for Muslims. They create suspicion in people's minds about the presence of Muslim extremists in Canada and the Muslim population's failure to report their existence to the authorities. Consequently, it constitutes a serious infringement on the rights of Canadian Muslims."[559] For Wayne Hanniman the overall effect of these security measures is that communities like Canadian Muslims have had their ''Canadianness'' called into question as their rights as citizens are violated.[560] Noting the potentially negative impact of Canadian security

measures, the next section will seek confirmation of these trends in the data from the Canadian Muslim interviewee sample.

Security and the Experience of Canadian Muslims Interviewees

Paralleling some of the findings above, a majority of the interviewees from the Canadian Muslim community expressed at least some concerns over Canadian security policy. A number of interviewees described direct contact with Canadian security officials. In some cases interviewees described these actions in generally positive terms, for example, Bashir Ahmed, Executive Director of the Somali Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization, described how CSIS visited him with border services and RCMP in 2010, speaking of his organization's relationship with Canadian security services. He remarked, "We have a very good relationship …there was a notion that some youth in the Toronto area joined the Al-shabaab, but that was a myth and we told them that." Shawkat Hassan, a member of the British Columbia Muslim Association, also recounted how his organization was visited by the Canadian security services, an engagement that he described in generally positive terms, "Yes, we have a committee concerning the RCMP, they come here to our schools and our masjid once a year with their equipment like their helicopters and ambulances etc."

However, Mr. Hassan was quick to qualify his positive dealings with security services with his reservations about the broader security strategy of the federal government and issues of profiling, "...but the Prime Ministers and the Jason Kenneys, what they are doing… We want to be abiding citizens here, we want to be good citizens, we choose this country to live in, and then they point the fingers into the Muslim community, and this is not healthy." The same interviewee also went on to point out the obvious double standards in current community policing measures, "We should not label the whole group with one person, like if somebody has done wrong we say

that person did wrong. The same thing happened in Oklahoma - we should not say that all of the Christians [are like] Timothy McVeigh, who hates everybody and wants to kill everybody." Azhar Syed, Mr. Hassan's associate at the BC Muslim association, believed that, while it hadn't yet become a major issue for the community, "Off and on CSIS have been intruding into different people at times, not in a big way, but still people are on the list, they are monitored, that kind of thing is happening after 9/11." Mr. Syed's comments betrayed a view of security as quite normalized and matter-of-fact: worryingly, it would seem that for some Canadian Muslims, security has become a fact of life.

Another anonymous interviewee, a prominent member of a Muslim cultural association, believed there was a "moderate" level of concern in the Muslim community in Canada over security. Referring specifically to the measures of the ATA he recounted, "I think overall yes, that is a concern that has been there, and sometimes it has manifested itself in terms of new legislation, in profiling anyone with a Muslim name." Soraya Hafez, a President of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, also singled out concerns over the ATA, "People are worried because we hear about people being arrested and not charged and they stay in prison for a long time with no respect to civil rights or human rights… so people worry a lot about that."

Ahmed Shoker, Director at the Canadian Islamic Congress, was an interviewee who directly experienced security measures when he was denied the right to fly. He remarked in relation to security a decade after 9/11 in Canada, "[It's] a problem…the fear that there are unequal treatments towards Muslims." An anonymous interviewee, a lawyer, noted that even for Muslims who do not experience security measures directly, they may at least know someone who has:

> There's this no-fly list-there are certain names there and if unfortunately you have the same name you'll be detained every single time. And in fact, my brother-in –law was

> detained once at the airport, until they could figure out that he had no such connections with any terrorist organization. But that's a real major concern, and another concern with the anti-terrorist legislation-on any *reasonable* ground you can be detained-that's very scary because they don't really define 'reasonable'. Civil liberties are a concern as far as our community is concerned.

Shaykh Zak, a Muslim chaplain, also expressed concerns over profiling and the actions of security officials: "The concerns are still there, and the attitude is still there from the organizations. You hear how names of Canadians are being passed to the United States. The way that CSIS and the RCMP are operating … everybody is leery about them, and I say rightfully so. The general attitudes of these organizations call for our suspicion for sure." Dalal Daoud, of the Canadian Islamic Congress, expressed a great deal of concern over how the Canadian government had handled security after 9/11:

> I feel like in general after September 11 the Muslim community living in the West have been victimized … when something like this happens - the Charter of Rights and Freedoms exists to support the most vulnerable people - because of 9/11 they are the most vulnerable, and I feel like you should take extra measures to assure them, to guarantee them their rights. But I felt like the government went the opposite way and again that creates that sense of isolation. Muslims are still worried, there is still some fear, and that's unfortunate, because the government should have [undertaken] measures to make them feel safe and secure, and not to make them feel as outsiders, that they don't belong.

Similarly Soraya Hafez expressed her disappointment that the Canadian government has not done more to protect the civil liberties of Canadian Muslims, "I don't hear about the government doing anything to let the Muslim community know that there is respect for their civil rights."

As indicated by these findings, Canadian Muslims express considerable concern over being targeted with the security measures that came into place after 9/11. There was general sentiment that the government was either not doing enough to protect their civil liberties or even purposely treating the community unfairly. To explore the experiences further, the analysis will

turn to some of the most publicized examples of the potentially negative effects of Canadian security practices on Canadian Muslims. Arguably the two most prominent of these cases are Maher Arar and Omar Khadr.[561]

The Maher Arar Case

The case of Maher Arar offers arguably the most publicized example of the detrimental effects of Canadian security practices on Canadian Muslims. In brief, in terms of background, Arar was born in Syria but immigrated to Canada as a teenager where he became a Canadian citizen and later worked as a telecommunications engineer. In 2002, while returning to Canada from a vacation, he was confined in the United States. Subsequently, while in American custody, Arar was deported and transferred to Syrian custody by American law enforcement - with the co-operation of Canadian security officials - where he was detained for more than a year and suffered torture.[562]

Arar's ordeal has explicitly been tied to security legislation (such as the ATA) and the practices that it allowed, including the profiling of Muslim Canadians. In part this was the findings of a public review of Arar's experience by the Canadian state in the *Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar* led by the Associate Chief Justice of Ontario, Dennis O'Connor. The report that came out of that commission concluded that Arar was not involved in any extremist or terrorist activity, and that Canadian officials had most likely provided false information to US officials, information that helped them to decide to transfer him to Syria where he was subsequently tortured.[563] Following the recommendations of the commission, Arar received a public apology and 10.5 million Canadian dollars in monetary compensation. The apology letter issued by Prime Minister Stephen Harper read, "On behalf of the Government of Canada, I wish to apologize to you, Monia Mazigh and

your family, for any role Canadian officials may have played in the terrible ordeal... please rest assured that this government will do everything in its power to ensure that the issues raised by Commissioner O'Connor are addressed."[564]

Together with findings from the public commission, the United Nations Committee against Torture also drew attention to the role of security legislation, and Canadian security practices in contributing to the violations of Arar's rights as a Canadian citizen: specifically the Committee condemned Canadian "complicity" in torture and other human rights.[565] In addition, the report cited several individual cases of deportation that took place after Arar (some individuals were reportedly tortured in the same prison in Syria), including Muayyed Nueddin, Abdullah Almalki and Ahmad Abou El Maati. The UN report cited earlier findings from the public Canadian *Lacobucci inquiry* that looked into claims that the above individuals had been sent to Syria and tortured, based on information provided by Canadian security officials, and found that Canadian officials had "indirectly" contributed to at least two individuals' detention and torture.[566]

Arar's case provides evidence of the potentially negative ramifications of Canadian security practices and the targeted treatment that Canadian Muslims citizens can receive from the Canadian government. According to Murphy, "The very public exposure of the role of security and policing in the Maher Arar case graphically illustrated the potential for errors and abuses of unaccountable security-based powers."[567]

As Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Nisha Nath demonstrate in their analysis of media and state discourse on the Arar case between 2002-2007, Arar was portrayed as both a Syrian / Muslim (foreigner / extremist) and a Canadian citizen in media accounts.[568] As Arar's case moved from his early incarceration to his release, and his innocence became more publicly apparent, Arar's

identity, his citizenship, shifted from Syrian/Muslim to Canadian citizen in public discourses.[569] As discussed in Chapter 3, according to Abu-Laban and Dhamoon, in periods of acute insecurity the Canadian state has framed particular identity groups as "dangerous foreigners" subsequently problematizing their perceptions of belonging and blurring the boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate citizen.[570] The state's complicity in Arar's extraordinary rendition and subsequent torture demonstrate how security has been used to also frame certain individuals as "dangerous foreigners" much to the detriment of their rights as citizens. From this perspective the Arar case provides an example of how xenoracism may operate in securitized discourses and policies. As pointed out by Fekete, anti-terrorism legislation "set the seal on xenoracism" as security became another institutional channel through which the ideology can operate.[571]

However, having said all this, the institutional response to the Arar case – the public commission / apology that followed, indicates that some institutional redress is available within the bounds of the multicultural state. As Abu-Laban and Nath surmise, Arar's experience demonstrates the potentially negative racialization that Canadian Muslims face but also highlights some institutional reflexivity in Canada: "It is meaningful that Maher Arar found an important and particular form of resolution within the bounds of the Canadian liberal democratic multicultural state — this avenue of resort would not necessarily be available in other state formations."[572]

Despite the damage which was inflicted on Arar and his family, physically and emotionally, the ability of the Canadian government to address the Arar issue in a way that promoted public dialogue, an apology and compensation can be viewed as the continued institutional responsiveness of the multicultural state. However, by comparison, Omar Khadr might provide a quite different example of the responsiveness of the Canadian state – where the

logic of security overrode any considerations of liberal democratic or multicultural rights.

The Omar Khadr Case

As Shadia Drury rightfully observes, “The story of Omar Khadr is a tragedy in the classic Greek sense of the term.”[573] In terms of his personal background, Omar Khadr is the son of the late Ahmed Khadr and his wife Maha el-Samnah (who had emigrated from Egypt in the 1970s) he was born in 1986 in the Greater Toronto Area. The Khadrs were truly representative of a modern transnational family as they regularly relocated between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Canada.[574] However his family, in particular his late father, were linked to extremist activities, even associated with Osama bin Laden - accused of being a financier for al-Qaeda. In 2002, at the age of 15, Omar Khadr had been indoctrinated by his family into extremism and he began weapons training in Afghanistan.[575]

In July 2002, Omar Khadr was captured in a firefight in Afghanistan and accused of killing a US combat army medic and Delta Force member, Sergeant Christopher Speer. Khadr was transferred to the American military prison at Guantanamo Bay and he remained in custody there until September 2012. During this period the Canadian government purposely allowed Khadr to be detained in Guantanamo (unlike other citizens of OECD countries including Australia and Britain who repatriated their citizens) despite having extraterritorial jurisdiction to prosecute Khadr in domestic courts.[576] Moreover, during this period it has been reported that Khadr was tortured: first at Bargram air base in Afghanistan after his capture and later at Guantanamo. According to Amnesty International, Khadr was subjected to sleep deprivation and disruption under a technique known as the “frequent flyer program”.[577]

In 2010 Khadr was convicted of a variety of war crimes including the murder of Sgt. Speer and sentenced to 40 years in prison. Under a bilateral agreement with the United States

Khadr was repatriated to Canada and his sentence reduced to eight years, making him eligible for parole in 2013. [578] According to Knight and McCoy, the detention, arrest and trial of Khadr has represented what can best be described as a highly unorthodox legal proceeding against a minor shaped by the extraordinary legal environment which has followed 9/11.[579] The case may be described as highly unorthodox for several reasons. For instance, Khadr's conviction represents the first prosecution of a child soldier since the Nuremberg Trials after World War II and the first case of an individual being tried and convicted in a battlefield murder in Afghanistan.[580] The legal proceedings involving Mr. Khadr were in direct violation of a number of international customary and criminal laws related to child soldiers that Canada has signed and ratified: this includes the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and its 2000 Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict.[581]

Despite the Canadian government's responsibilities under international law, it failed to advocate for a Canadian citizen who was a minor and purposely allowed him to remain in detention in the extra-legal environment of Guantanamo Bay. This course of action has singled out the Canadian government as the only Western state that has failed to lobby for a citizen's release from the prison. On this point Khadr's lawyer Dennis Edney states, "And do we ever consider why no American charged with a terrorism offence has been sent to Guantanamo Bay? Or why all Western nations except Canada refused to allow their detainees to remain in Guantanamo Bay, and demanded their release from Guantanamo which was granted?"[582] According to his lawyer, Edney, the trial, plea and repatriation were heavily influenced by the Canadian government. He believes that the Conservative government, "...got what it wanted, it wanted to eviscerate the character of Mr. Khadr before he arrives in Canada."[583] Recognizing the Canadian government's complicity in what Khadr has been subjected to, and its unwillingness to

advocate for his return, Edney bluntly surmizes, “Guantanamo is a place good enough for a young Canadian Muslim who has been there since the age of fifteen.”[584]

How do we explain the complete omission of international and domestic legal commitments of the Canadian government in the case of Omar Khadr? For Edney, part of this answer is clear – “Islamophobia” - in both the United States and Canada. On this matter he states, “Anti-Muslim sentiment is not limited solely to the United States but is also alive and well in Canada.”[585] Others have attributed the government’s actions to Omar’s relationship with his family. For instance in a 2008 address to the Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, University of Toronto Law Professor Audrey Macklin linked the government’s actions to the “Khadr effect” by which she was referring to the long standing public and government distaste for the Khadr family based on a long history of controversial dealings between the family and the government.[586]

There is little doubt that Omar Khadr, who at the time of writing is now twenty-six years old and has spent more than a third of his life in military prisons, has suffered from guilt by association with his family. Arguably the Khadrs became the public face of “Muslim extremism” for the Canadian public much in the same way that the infamous, hook-handed cleric Abu Hamza has taken on the same role in the United Kingdom. As a citizen and as a minor, Omar Khadr was abandoned by the state, his rights stripped away under domestic and international law, and he was vilified by the government through guilt by association with his family. The Canadian state ignored not only domestic rights (such as Chapter 15 of the Charter that promises equal treatment under Canadian law) but international legal conventions such as the CRC.[587] By allowing Khadr to remain in the extra-legal space of Guantanamo Bay as an “alien”, and actively

undermining public perceptions of a juvenile, there is no clearer example of xenoracism in Canada.

Unlike in the Arar case, there has yet to be any form of institutional redress of the clear violations of Omar Khadr's rights as a Canadian citizen. Dennis Edney is particularly condemning on this point and casts the blame for Khadr's plight beyond the government to the failure of civil society as a whole: "The story of Omar and Guantanamo Bay reflects the failure of civil society, its institutions, and its people to speak out in ensuring our shared values of a just society are carried out. When we cave in to fear and apathy, when we fear to speak out in opposition, there are no longer boundaries between state action and impermissible behavior."[588] For one interviewee the Khadr case was an example of the double standards that the Canadian government employs when dealing with Canadian Muslims. For Ali Maher Shawwa, "The Canadian reaction at the government level is really unacceptable. This is a Canadian citizen, [Canada] should stand by him." As Paul Nesbitt-Larking has pointed out, while cases like Arar, Khadr and others may be relatively rare, the effects of these security policies can be quite detrimental on the Canadian Muslim community: "they have exerted a powerful impact, and rendered the task of sustaining intercommunity communication, trust and respect more challenging than it otherwise would have been."[589] In the final section of this chapter, the analysis will examine one of the potential effects of post-9/11 security on the Muslim community.

Securitization and the Negative Feedback Loop

In the previous chapter it was identified how experiences with xenoracism can have detrimental effects on an individual's sense of belonging to a nation. In a securitized discourse it is not only belonging that is called into question but also the loyalty of individuals that are

profiled as the dangerous foreign “other”. The noted cultural anthropologist Talal Asad has deconstructed how Muslims have been portrayed in contemporary securitized discourses:

> In the contemporary era, where the politics of unease explicitly imbricates state security with integration governance and immigration control, the Muslim is a figure of fluid transnationality and potential ‘disloyalty’, neither entirely alien but alienating and dis-integrated, fusing the past failures of multiculturalism with the current exigencies and anxieties of immigration politics. It is not just that future ‘Muslim migration’ can be designated a security threat, but that the Muslim is a metonymy for undesirable non-Western migration, for bad diversity.[590]

Asad’s comment draws out how, at the centre of the failure of multiculturalism narrative, at the centre of calls for the assimilation of the non-integrated and at the centre of societal security, are Muslim communities. As contained in current security practices in some states, including Canada, techniques of community policing that aim to protect national security negatively affect trust and marginalize what may be already alienated communities. The question for this section is a question that has been largely unexplored in existing security literature - what are the potential effects of this alienation?

Peripherally, some studies focusing on issues of identity, immigration and integration have suggested that securitized public policy can have a negative influence on those it targets. For example Cesari, in her research on the experience of French Muslims in France’s assimilative immigration system, identified what she saw as a counter-reaction to securitized public policy: “These policies are not only compounding the negative feelings of many Western Europeans towards Muslims but are also reinforcing a tendency for Muslims to use Islam in a defensive or reactive way.”[591] Similarly, as Avigail Eisenberg and Will Kymlicka note, in the context of identity politics when groups are not accommodated or faced with demands to reform cultural practices, “identity politics can trigger a cultural defensiveness or reactivism, which also reinforces the power of conservative elites who will encourage group members to strictly adhere

to traditional markers of identity to shield the group from pressures exerted on it from outsiders."[592] Thus, the suggestion here is that alienation, marginalization and targeted public policy is driving Muslim communities into "defensive" and "reactive" religious identities and that such measures strengthen conservative religious interpretations and the elites who represent them.

To explore this idea further we can return to some of the findings of race and racism theorists. As found in this area of study, individuals who are subject to racism may adopt and use the idea of race to organize strategies for resistance. For example, this phenomenon was identified by Robert Miles in historical movements such as Black Power in the United States: where racialized minorities turned a negative marker of difference, as assigned by the majority culture, into an identity of empowerment.[593] Reinforcing this idea, fellow race and racism theorist David Goldberg believes that racialized groups may begin to internalize stereotypes "to act against the stereotyping ascriptions as to act on them, to act them out."[594] And relating this idea to religious identity, Paul Eid has highlighted that for Muslims in the West struggling with discrimination based on religion, religious identity is less easily dissociated with personal experience.[595]

Returning to an example of societal security, it can be found in cases where one culture designates another culture, for example in a national context, as a threat to their continued existence as a culturally defined nation– as a threat to the nation's ability to maintain a certain set of values, practices, and characteristics. Such a threat is framed by elites (for example politicians, the media, community leaders etc.) as a crisis requiring emergency measures to address it. This atmosphere of crisis may exacerbate societal divisions as identity groups fall back on more narrow conceptions of national, religious and cultural identity – further fragmenting already

divided societies. Moreover, this scenario can be inversed, as minority communities, and their elites, can portray projects of integration as a threat to their identity. Furthermore, these claims gain greater resonance in an atmosphere of crisis. Over the past decade, since 9/1l, the Global North has experienced the War on Terror, the threat of homegrown terrorism, the most severe economic crisis since the Great Depression, and what has been portrayed as a social and demographic crisis in some European states (for instance by the European far right). Within these multiple crises, individuals may fall back on more exclusive forms of "traditional" identity.

Finally, there is another phenomenon that may be stimulating the development of more reactive and essentialist identities - globalization. Sociologist Stuart Hall points out that globalization can "have the effect of contesting and dislocating the centered and "closed" identities of national culture. It does have a pluralizing impact on identities, producing a variety of possibilities and new positions of identifications, and making identities more positional, more political, more plural and diverse." Here Hall is speaking of globalization stimulating the emergence of "hybrid" identities. But at the same time globalization can have the opposite effect as it remains contradictory.

Some identities gravitate towards what Robins calls "Tradition," "…attempting to restore their former purity and recover the unities and certainties which are felt as being lost."[596] In a globalized world, Hall believes individuals who belong to "cultures of hybridity" must reject the idea of an imagined cultural exclusivity or "ethnic absolutism."[597] Globalization can be seen as producing contradictory social reactions – the emergence of hybrid cultures but also exclusive and "essentialist" identities. Writing in 1996, Hall identifies the resurgence of Eastern European nationalism and religious fundamentalism as examples of the exclusive / essentialist reaction.[598] Therefore, what Hall identifies here, years before these social forces were to make their full

weight known on the world stage, are the contradictory forces generated by globalization: the exclusivist nationalists and conservative religious identities whose rivalry is at the heart of the crisis of multiculturalism.

Religious identity represents a larger and unifying form of identity: as discussed in a previous chapter, so-called "diasporic impulses" are said to be a response to experiences with discrimination.[599] These larger forms of identity offer solidarity and unity when other avenues for belonging are blocked. According to Baha Abu-Laban, a professor of sociology and a member of the Canadian Muslims sample group, "When the going gets tough, when the community is under attack… even if they don't know very much about Islam, they become protective and they retreat and they feel alienated from the large community…this is a case of loyalty re-surfacing…Take the pressure away - it dissipates."

An example of one of these defensive identity reactions may be found in some variants of political Islam that may represent not only a defensive identity but also one of the few available social movements for young people to choose from today. As Sivanandan notes:

> Today there are no great working-class movements, no Third World revolutions. There is no cohering ideology that transcends national boundaries, like socialism. Hence the struggles against immiseration, against dictatorships, against foreign occupation, grow up around religion, 'the sigh of the oppressed'… And in the interstices of these movements arise their distortions: fundamentalism.[600]

Certain variants of political Islam, for example those related to the Salafi religious interpretation, offer empowered identities that may attract young marginalized Muslims who feel as though the interpretation's clear and literal religious message promotes an image of confidence and belonging.[601] Driven by perceived crisis (social, economic, political, national) and faced with the underlying contradictions of globalization, two exclusivist forces are reinforcing each other's claims of difference and their justifications for erecting cultural barriers. Faced with xenoracism

and marginalization, a minority of Muslims seek the insularity and protection of an exclusivist religious community. In response to what are seen as conservative and isolated religious communities, the ultranationalists and xenoracists demand integration or deportation. In rare cases religious conservatism breeds extremism, and the presence of this minority in the "West" has been used to develop a security state that may further marginalize already alienated communities. In short the "exclusivists" have created a mutually reinforcing negative feedback loop. The losers of globalization have laid bare the phenomenon's inherent contradictions and, in doing so, threatened some of its more pluralistic tendencies including multiculturalism.

Thus there may be a "catch-22" in current security policy. Preventing an attack may be the key to avoiding more potentially egregious forms of societal securitization, yet the "preventative measures" ascribed to under current security practices may drive some individuals closer to the margins of society. Assimilative integration has been proposed as a potential societal security strategy that can address parallel societies. But the vision of monoculturalism this approach exhibits, and the inherent xenoracism it contains, marginalizes transnationally situated Muslim communities. Moreover, the profiling of communities in current national security policies directly calls into question the belonging and loyalty of Muslim communities – challenging their status as full citizens. On this potentially vicious circle Van Munster observes, "As a result, the work of securing a community must constantly secure itself anew, as reassuring practices may generate new insecurities. Hence, from a political perspective, the management of fear and misgivings through security practices is not necessarily a strategy for success."[602]

This idea of a security feedback loop is not unlike the security dilemma as understood in the sub-discipline of international relations. According to Robert Jervis, a security dilemma exists when one state's attempt to increase its own security - for instance, through the acquisition

of armaments - causes another state to question its own security and take actions to increase its security in-kind. Even if the state that first sought to increase its own security by acquiring armaments did so for purely defensive reasons, other state actors may view such actions as aggressive – creating an inherent instability and promoting conflict in the international system.[603]

Paul Roe has directly applied the idea of the security dilemma to societal security, noting that in projects of nation-building that seek to establish a homogenous / monocultural identity, for example in a culturally plural state, the result of such policies can be self-defeating in that it causes the reinforcing of cultural difference and the creation of increasingly adversarial cultural identities.[604] The attempt to create societal security by one culture is a signal for the other culture to respond in kind; however, the end result is that neither culture finds security, instead social fragmentation and barriers only increase. From this perspective current approaches to national and societal security are highly problematic.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has shown how in the post-9/11 environment perceptions of societal and national insecurity have coalesced around Muslim communities in the Global North. Fears over homegrown terrorism, over the domestic "enemy within" are combined with fears of parallel communities and the dangers that may lurk within them. However, based on the findings from this chapter and the previous chapter, the analysis concludes that immigration and integration have not become a societal security issue in Canada partially because of the relative success of state multiculturalism. There are no readily detectible societal security speech acts or process of securitization related to identity among Canadian elites – at least in terms of securitizing actors - that could mobilize a sufficient audience that would be necessary to generate legitimized claims

of security. The vision of cultural pluralism that the Canadian state presents remains attractive to Canadians, including Canadian Muslims.

But, and this is a significant *but*, Canadian governments may be undermining the benefits of state multiculturalism by adopting the overriding logic of national security in the post 9/11 security state. In relation to national security, the preventative logic of community policing requires the disciplining of the heterogeneous communities and individuals who adhere to the religion of Islam through the practices of profiling. Such homogenization and suspicion speaks of an underlying orientalism contained in security discourses. Canadian Muslims, in direct violation of the constitutionally established principles of state multiculturalism (as established in the Act and the Charter), face differential treatment based on religious identity. As indicated by the comments of the interviewees, Canadian Muslims express marked anxiety over Canadian security practices. Several interviewees expressed their disappointment that the Canadian government had not protected them under the rights that they are entitled to as Canadian citizens in a multicultural state. Furthermore, the glaring injustices that Omar Khadr and Maher Arar (as two of the most prominent examples of rights violations) suffered at the hands of Canadian governments challenge the perception of Canada as a just, fair and inclusive state.

The acute anxieties of the period immediately after 9/11 might have faded to an extent, but the Canadian government has established a new normal when it comes to security and has renewed controversial measures contained in the ATA under bill S-7. All of this has taken place in the absence of a terrorist attack on Canadian soil. Speculatively, an attack of this kind and the corresponding state response it would inevitably produce could have very negative implications for Canadian Muslims and Canadian political traditions - including state multiculturalism.

Furthermore, what has been identified here as the "negative feedback loop" of securitization is of particular relevance, especially for states that seek to establish "cohesive" multicultural states and societies. Marginalization and alienation caused by current security practices has been combined with the fragmenting tendencies of globalization to create two oppositional identities that sit at the heart of the crisis of multiculturalism: the anti-immigrant and exclusivist nationalists and the reactionary conservative religious minority. In the former's calls for assimilation or deportation of a minority deemed to be problematically and dangerously foreign to the national ideal, the latter finds good reason to pursue isolationism – only furthering the logic of exclusion. A small minority of conservative religious communities may espouse extremist and even violent rhetoric as they seek an empowered identity that can re-shape the disempowerment assigned by majority cultures. And a handful of these individuals have turned violent rhetoric into action, resulting in the conformation of the xenoracists' worst fears – legitimizing their calls for urgent action to address the societal *and national* threat to security– with expediency.

What is increasingly clear is that states such as Canada need to re-think security strategies in a way that maintains the successful elements of state multiculturalism – a policy that, despite all the damage wrought over the past decade, continues to hold sway for a great majority of Canadians. The question should be posed to these supporters of multiculturalism: how many Arars, how many Khadrs must there be before it is time to say "enough" and demand the reinstitution of the legal and normative traditions that draw Canadians together as a nation? There should be a recognition that current security strategies are by their very nature self-defeating. As recognized previously by this author, "In the end, security concerns should be left to the security services and the judiciary. For those who use Canada as a safe haven for extremist

activity, or for those who have chosen to advocate violence, the answer is not changing our traditions of accommodation or dismantling multiculturalism. Rather, it is law enforcement carried out under the banner of a just and fair society."[605]

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Chapter 8: Conclusion

The outline for this dissertation started with an idea, a query: that perhaps Canada had "bucked the trend" in relation to the crisis of multiculturalism. From outward appearances few symptoms of the crisis could be detected. The public discourse, at least among the political mainstream, seemed free of the narrative of the failure of multiculturalism. If Canada had "bucked the trend" what had it done differently to those who had failed – what factors could explain that success? From a scholarly standpoint these ideas required critical reflection. The starting point for the analysis was this question: is xenoracism that targets Muslims present in Canada, and what can the life experiences of Canadian Muslims tell us about the relative success of state multiculturalism? The dissertation sought to cut to what was identified as the heart of the crisis, to what was being presented publically by Europe's political fringe and mainstream as a primary reason for the policy's demise. What was exposed by the narrative of the failure of multiculturalism was that Muslim communities were taking much of the blame for the policy's failure. When the layers were peeled off the crisis of multiculturalism what was revealed was xenoracism.

Conceptual Development

The first priority of the dissertation was to gain a better understanding of xenoracism, specifically the variant that targeted Muslim communities living in the Global North. Race and racism studies acted as a starting point for a more developed understanding of xenoracism and its effects. Among the key findings was that racism is an ideology that contains an easily understood framework for social relations – providing a sort of common sense understanding of difference. But more that this an ideology of racism contains power, it is grounded in historical discourses on human difference that have been shaped by political projects such as colonialism, imperialism, and nation-building.

Another important observation here was the existing inter-connection between nationalism and racism. While the two are not synonymous, certain variants of nationalism, by their nature, contain the foundations of a racist ideology. When defined in terms of cultural exclusivity, nationalism contains an idea of superiority – a hierarchical and relational idea of difference. Highly exclusivist and exclusionary ideologies of ultra-nationalism and fascism have shaped how many understand race today –as related to biologically framed races. But as an "imagined community," to borrow Anderson's term, a nation need not be imagined in exclusivist terms – rather nations can be conceived in a way that reflects difference.[606]

The dynamic nature of racism and its interconnection with political power was further borne out by a review of what Barker termed "new racism" and what has also been referred to as "cultural racism".[607] As revealed by Barker's research, ideas of race and racism have been manipulated by political elites. By re-framing the language of difference – for example speaking of ethnicity or "cultural intractability" - politicians were able to sanitize racism and racist public policy. Significantly, these arguments could be used to justify immigration controls and a re-framed approach to integration. Some of these findings were important in terms of supporting the conceptual development of xenoracism that followed. They showed that as a dynamic and socially constructed ideology racism did not necessarily have to be framed by the idea of race; racism could just as readily be employed through the language of culture (widely conceived). Additionally, it demonstrated the distinctly institutional nature of racism – how the ideology was intrinsically tied to power.

With this outline in mind the dissertation built on the work of Liz Fekete and Ambalavaner Sivanandan and their understanding of xenoracism. Following on an understanding of racism as an ideology and the earlier findings of theorists focused on cultural racism,

xenoracism was identified as an institutionalized ideology that is not necessarily colour-coded but instead constructed around a quality of foreignness. Xenoracism was first detected by Fekete and Sivanandan in the EU, a form of racism that targeted displaced peoples and white economic migrants from Eastern Europe. But drawing on Liz Fekete's interpretation, the analysis focused on the variant of xenoracism that targets Muslim communities (including newcomers and long-standing residents) in the Global North.[608] For Fekete Muslim communities had been caught up in the "expanding loop" of xenoracism, they joined displaced people as the foreign other of Europe. It is a form of racism that is inseparable from the emergence of securitized public policy after 9/11, of the national and societal forms of security and the profiling that it engendered, designating whole communities as the potential site of the "dangerous foreign other." As Fekete bluntly sums it up, security practices in the Global North are "shot through" with xenoracism.[609]

Where the analysis departed from the work of Fekete and Sivanandan was the recognition that xenoarcism also contains ideas of difference, of superiority and inferiority connected to historical discourses on the "other". Xenoracism that targets Muslims draws on a deep and centuries old body of knowledge of the other that is contained in Orientalism. The key recognition here is that contemporary representations contained in xenoracism are ultimately the product of historically situated knowledge that is mediated by contemporary frames of reference. Drawing on Edward Said's theory of Orientalism reveals how the historical representations of Islam in "the West" have been shaped by oppositional, coercive and reductive discourses. In the works of Orientalists, Islam became representative of a counter-response to European modernity that is atavistic and anti-democratic in nature, *it becomes representative of the archetypal foreign*.[610]

Thus ideologies like xenoracism are legitimized by historical knowledge that assigns a

timeless quality to social relations between Islam and the "West." In short, historical representations of the other as foreign and potentially violent give greater resonance to contemporary securitized xenoracism that re-articulate an "updated" form of Orientalism. These observations lead to the conclusion that studies seeking to understand xenoracism in a particular setting must also be attuned to the legacy of Orientalism. The conceptual development of xenoracism can be viewed as an important contribution to existing scholarly research in that it provides a more developed understanding of xenoracism, a form of racism that has demonstrated significant influence over public policy. With this understanding of xenoracism the dissertation sought to uncover potential manifestations in the Canadian state while examining the state multiculturalism through the experiences of Canadian Muslims.

Research Findings: The Canadian Muslim community and its experiences with xenoracism

Following on the observations from the section on xenoracism and Orientalism, which identified the tendency of "Western" scholarly work to project a homogenized image of Islamic identities, the dissertation sought a more nuanced understanding of the Canadian Muslim community. What was revealed from this research is that in the Canadian Muslim community, whose members exhibit multiple identities and belonging to multiple communities, there exists no one essential image of the community. As was shown in the discussion on diasporas, the idea of a Muslim Diaspora is problematic on a number of levels. As Canadian Muslims come from no single territorial space there is no communal preference for any one home. Moreover, many Canadian Muslims do not view Canada as a temporary place of residence – indeed many define themselves as Canadian first. In a globalized world, ideas of trans-nationalism more aptly describe the Canadian Muslim experience, in that, like other minority communities with ties to outside cultures, they operate between multiple countries and exhibit multiple belongings: Andy

Knight refers to such individuals as *sojourners.*[611] For all of these reasons, "Muslim Diaspora" is a problematic description for the community.

As shown by this dissertation, people can possess multiple identities without doubting their belonging to one identity or the other. However, what can call belonging into question are experiences with various forms of discrimination including xenoracism. As revealed by the research findings, 80 percent of the Canadian Muslim sample group expressed some concern over racism and 45 percent reported direct personal experience with some form of racism in Canada. Interviewees identified what they saw as a variety of potential reasons for their experience – some believed it was based on religion and others attributed it to racial factors. A number of interviewees believed that racism towards Muslims had grown as a source of discrimination in Canada since 9/11. According to the EDS, 32 percent of Canadian Muslims experienced discrimination, and 37.5 percent of Muslims "felt out of place" in Canada; both the sample group and the EDS data revealed that a sizeable minority of Canadian Muslims experienced some form of racism (or discrimination as defined by the EDS).

In terms of identifying whether experiences with discrimination might have been linked to xenoracism, one of the findings from the EDS is noteworthy: that only 34 percent of Muslims who reported discrimination believed it was based on religion, indicating that xenoracism remains a more muted source of racism for Canadian Muslims. Also of note, similar studies in EU states have indicated the opposite: Muslims in those states identified religion as the primary source of the discrimination they experienced. In effect, the study of experiences with racism among the Canadian Muslim community demonstrates that xenoracism that targets Canadian Muslims *is present in Canada but to date it is not a significant source of "everyday" racism*.

However, it is significant that, in terms of the overall research agenda of the dissertation,

a number of interviewees expressed considerable concern that political elites, especially at the federal level, were encouraging divisiveness and were viewed as generally hostile towards the community. So while xenoracism may not be a significant experience at the societal level, there was marked concern at the political level that xenoracism was being propagated by politicians, specifically the federal government.

With this realization in mind, the dissertation explores various institutions and policy areas previously implicated in the crisis of multiculturalism in order to seek out possible manifestations of xenoracism in multicultural, integration and security policy and to critically examine the idea that state multiculturalism is a success in Canada. To explore the latter idea, the section on multiculturalism weighed some arguments that have been made for and against the idea of multiculturalism as a success.

Research Findings: Reasons to be optimistic on state multiculturalism

One point in favour of success can be related to what Eisenberg and Kymlicka have called the Canadian state's, "deep institutional memory," when it comes to state multiculturalism.[612] After 40 years state multiculturalism has become deeply embedded in the legal and political structures of the state, most especially in the Charter and the Act. That entrenchment offers some protection, in that repeal would represent a daunting task for any government that might wish to oppose the policy. In addition, as was found in the chapter on multiculturalism, high public support for multiculturalism is of particular importance to its success, as it encourages the longevity of the policy and offers another defense against potential hostile elites. Indeed the findings from the 2012 survey by the Mosaic Institute and the Association of Canadian Studies (that found that 74 percent of respondents between the ages of 18-24 hold a positive view of multiculturalism) are noteworthy, as they suggest that Canadian

multiculturalism will enjoy considerable support in the future. [613] Furthermore, the noted association between multiculturalism and national identity (as shown by Environics surveys) is also of note, indicating that Canadian nationhood is tied to a vision of respect for cultural pluralism. [614]

Another point in favour of multiculturalism in Canada is the fact that the policy was in part a response to the agency of what has been called the "third force" – minority communities who lobbied the Bilingual and Bicultural Commission in order to be recognized as part of Canadian national identity. Therefore, multiculturalism in Canada was not simply a strategy of the liberal elite to manage bicultural conflict (although that was part of it) it was also a reflection of conflict and compromise between Canada's established national cultures and an emerging alliance of minority communities. The multicultural framework offered these minorities an avenue to political power that was previously unavailable.

But most importantly to this study, Canadian Muslim interviewees overwhelmingly expressed a favourable view of state multiculturalism in Canada. They viewed it as a defining and attractive part of their national identify that drew them as immigrants and citizens. And in terms of possible levels of integration (which was primarily measured through a sense of belonging as indicated by EDS and interview data) Canadian Muslims drew favourable comparisons to even mainstream religious groups with 71 percent expressing a very strong sense of attachment to Canada.

In part the strong sense of belonging felt by Canadian Muslims to the Canadian state may be explained by the Canadian approach to integrating newcomers. As a multicultural model of integration that has not adopted aspects of (societally) securitized assimilative-integration approaches, the Canadian approach to integration reflects cultural pluralism allowing minority

communities to maintain a nostalgic connection to the identities of their homeland. Canada's targeted approach to assimilation (in areas of language and civic participation) has been viewed as being constituent with a functional approach that aims to further access to the civic, social and economic life of the country. [615]

The above positive observations related to belonging and the Canadian public's identification with multiculturalism as a defining part of national identity point to another reason for viewing state multiculturalism as a success. National identities can be inward or outward looking – they can be revisionist, seeking a return to a golden age - a restoration of prior imagined identity, or they can contain more pluralistic ideals. Stuart Hall recognizes this: "The discourse of national culture is thus not as modern as it may appear to be. It constructs identities which are ambiguously placed between past and future. It straddles the temptation to return to former glories and the drive to go forwards."[616] How the nation is imagined has an important effect on how a state approaches diversity.

Canadian nationalism, opposed to exclusivist variants, contains a positive association with difference. Ideas of Canadian nationalism may also be more appealing to outsiders in that they are less defined historically – presenting an openness in which individuals can find space. As indicated by the findings on belonging and the enthusiasm shown by the Canadian Muslim sample for multiculturalism, this vision of national identity is attractive to the community. Within a more open and welcoming vision of Canadian nationalism an ideology like xenoracism, that targets its victims based on the quality of foreignness, finds less fertile soil. As Cecil Foster has put it, multiculturalism has created a state were "everyone is now technically a stranger. The future is the hands of the foreigners."[617]

Research Findings: Reasons to be pessimistic on state multiculturalism

Not all findings from the dissertation were positive in relation to state multiculturalism. At the beginning of the last section it was suggested that state multiculturalism benefits from "institutional memory" and the long standing constitutional protection that the policy has enjoyed. However, as revealed by the Conservative federal government's efforts to undermine the policy from within, these protections may not be sufficient. Bureaucratic channels, in particular through CIC, have offered an avenue for micro managing ministers to dismantle or interrupt established aspects of the multiculturalism program such as the anti-racism policy and direct funding to cultural associations.

Alana Lentin and Gavin Titley use the term "rehabilitative action" to describe measures that are presented as necessary fixes to the social damage wrought by multiculturalism. [618] The Canadian government's "rehabilitative" approach has been operationalized through the public service and through the considerable powers afforded to the Conservatives through the offices of the Privy Council Office (PCO), Prime Minister's Office (PMO), and a handful of trusted cabinet ministers like Jason Kenney. Furthermore, importantly, these findings indicate that a crisis narrative may not be necessary for governments to pursue an ideological or pragmatic agenda that seeks to undermine state multiculturalism.

Also of concern are the potential implications for state multiculturalism of the promotion of a more monocultural image of nationhood as part of a larger strategy of nation-building by the Conservative government. That strategy is clearly promoting powerful symbols of English Canadian identity (for example the Queen's portrait) through their display in prominent public spaces and in important public institutions such as the military and citizenship. This strategy stands out as being outside of the historical norm in Canadian nation-building as it bears little

resemblance to the bicultural or multicultural strategies of the past and is unreflective of the contemporary lived reality of multiculturalism. As the Conservatives have only entered into this latest phase of nation building recently, its definitive nature and potential effects are still unclear. As such this nation-building strategy represents an important area of future research.

Of greater concern for this dissertation is how the conservative policies have impacted the Canadian Muslim community. Many of the interviewees viewed the federal government as hostile to Muslims – for some there was an open questioning of national belonging based on these sentiments. As previously indicated, “in situ” xenoracism is detected in the “rehabilitative” strategies imposed on state multiculturalism by the federal Conservative government. If the current government continues on this path the open question is how much damage can it cause to the institutional legacy of state multiculturalism?

However, what should be seen as the largest detriment to state multiculturalism in Canada today is the current iteration of security policy in the Canadian state. By adopting security as an overriding priority that can overrule Canadian constitutional, legal and normative traditions, Canadian Muslims are rendered vulnerable within the techniques of profiling / community policing. Reactionary security and preventative policing as it is currently conceived projects suspicion on an entire community. Significantly for this study, Canadian Muslim interviewees expressed marked anxiety over Canadian security practices and disappointment that the Canadian government had not granted them protection under the rights that they are entitled to as Canadian citizens. As the cases of Arar, Khadr, and others reveal, once Canadian Muslims are even suspected of extremist activity, no matter what their legal status as a citizen or as a minor, their rights are null and void, they become the dangerous foreigner and they are subject to the extraordinary legal space of the war on terror. Securitized discourses and practices in Canada

have led to the homogenizing of communities, and in this sense the discourses reveal aspects of Orientalism. Additionally, the Conservative government has demonstrated its ongoing commitment to these practices with the renewal of the ATA under bill S-7 in the spring of 2013.

As suggested in the analysis of the "negative feedback loop," current security measures may be self-defeating – producing a cycle of marginalization, extremism, violence and endlessly renewed security measures. Security practices that exhibit xenoracism may be creating a self-fulfilling process. Through isolating religious groups, religion becomes a rallying call for the oppressed. Identities are homogenized, challenging the hybridity many prefer in a globalized world. And in turn politicians, fearful of fifth columns, have promoted securitized policies to the detriment of state multiculturalism.

A Final Word on the Success of State Multiculturalism

In his many scholarly works on multiculturalism in Canada Will Kymlicka explored two potential dangers to state multiculturalism. Writing in the early 2000s, he posed the question of what would happen if the anti- multiculturalism Canadian Alliance Party (of whom both Jason Kenney and Stephen Harper were members) came into power. Kymlicka believed that due to the policy's constitutional foundations and support in "deeper social forces" the model would remain robust.[619] To a large extent this prediction seems accurate. In particular popular support cannot be underestimated in terms of the defense this offers to state multiculturalism. The latest nation-building efforts by the conservatives will fail to find a receptive audience; they will not resonate with the wider population as long as a majority of Canadians supports a multicultural vision of nationhood. And, as long as the image of Canada as a nation of immigrants, as a multicultural nation remains resonant with the Canadian public, the public repudiation of multiculturalism by democratically elected politicians seems highly unlikely.

However, a second hazard that Kymlicka identified is potentially far more destructive to state multiculturalism. In 2004 he predicted that securitization represents a major threat to Canada's accommodative policies, "If ethnic relations become securitized, then all bets are off, and the progress we have seen towards accommodating diversity may be reversed."[620] To date societal securitization – the adoption of a coercive and assimilationist approach to integration – is largely absent in Canada. However, the preventative logic of national security has in and of itself been detrimental to multiculturalism by engendering differential treatment of Canadian Muslims. This form of security has become the "new normal" in Canada as it expands fiscally, institutionally and ideationally. The long term effects of this security logic on traditions like multiculturalism deserves further study.

But having said all of this, in many ways *Canada has bucked the trend of the crisis of multiculturalism* –impressive levels of public support, constitutional entrenchment and a successful approach to integration are all indicative of this. Viewed alongside the policies currently being employed in other states in the Global North and the current political and societal strife being experienced from Sweden to France, the criticisms of state multiculturalism must be put in the context of the alternative approaches found globally to the management of diversity. Indeed, when placed against the crisis of multiculturalism in much of the Global North, the Canadian example of state multiculturalism appears an even more remarkable success.

Canadian Muslims, by most standards, including measurements of a sense of belonging, are indicated to be more integrated than most Canadians. Taken as a whole these points speak to the fact that Canadian multiculturalism has withstood, so far, a significant "stress test" within the crisis of multiculturalism. In effect, the Canadian Muslim experience in the multicultural mosaic reveals *that Canada is a successful multicultural state - but the continuing success of state*

multiculturalism is not assured. This record of success is being damaged by a hostile government actively undermining the program from within, and most egregiously, by the overriding logic of security that has infected the institutions of the Canadian state. Left unchecked that infection could do serious damage to what has been referred to as Canada's institutional memory of multiculturalism. It is vital that civil society and ordinary Canadians who support multiculturalism, who view it as an essential aspect of Canadian identity, sound the alarm over these hazards. Sadly, at the moment these voices are largely absent in the media and national politics.

Recommendations

Having answered the primary research question the final section of the dissertation will offer a few recommendations based on the above findings. As outlined in the section on normative commitments found in the introduction it was hoped that this study could provide some suggestions as to how states can better address issues such as xenoracism that targets Canadian Muslims and how state multiculturalism can succeed in an era of crisis. Throughout the dissertation the voices of Canadian Muslims, their attitudes and experiences, were used to explore state multiculturalism in Canada. This approach to the study of xenoracism and state multiculturalism is unique among existing studies and should be viewed as a contribution to existing scholarly literature. By placing the experiences of Muslim communities at its centre, the dissertation tested Canadian multiculturalism on grounds where other states had struggled and failed – accommodating religious minorities while retaining traditions of state multiculturalism. This section will continue to draw on the opinions of Canadian Muslims and how they believe Canadians can move forward as a more inclusive state and society.

At the beginning of this dissertation there is a quote from Edward Said that represents what, in a small way, this study hopes to achieve. By drawing on the contemporary "rise to political and historical awareness of so many of the earth's people," Said wrote we could challenge the hegemony of Orientalism.[621] As a culturally plural, multicultural state, Canada is a nation that can benefit from the awareness of so many of the earth's people as it represents a rare example of a successful multicultural state in an era of crisis and fragmentation. But the continued success of that system will depend on the ability of the Canadian state to adapt to its increasingly culturally diverse society and the inevitable conflicts that emerge within it (and externally in the arena of global politics). Already scholars like Mojtaba Mahdavi and W. Andy Knight have suggested that we need to pursue what they refer to as the dignity of difference, where states and societies are marked by not only self-respect but also respect for the other. They view inter-cultural dialogue as essential to overcoming the conflicts we encounter in a post-9/11 world and suggest that multiculturalism may offer one potential path to this vision; while recognizing that it remains an incomplete project.[622] So perhaps the real question is how multiculturalism goes forward – how do we go beyond merely tolerating the other to what Mahdavi and Knight refer to as the dignity of difference – how do we create a state where difference is truly valued as part of what defines Canada as a nation. The answer provided in this text is that this must be pursued first and foremost through what has worked in the past - two inter-connected strategies, education and nation building.

The focus of this dissertation has been primarily on ideas and how they constitute our political and social world – on how ideas of race, religion, nation, citizen, belonging, security and so-on have shaped public policy, the crisis of multiculturalism and the experience of Canadian Muslims. Subsequently the recommendations flow primarily from this epistemological

and methodological approach. However, as recognized in the section on "the political economy of multiculturalism" material factors are also important. For instance, if on one hand the state promotes immigration, integration and diversity policies with little consideration as to where newcomers and minorities are going to find themselves in the labour market, or in terms of housing -any policy, no matter how well-intentioned, may create societal conflict over jobs and resources. To an extent this is what is happening in states where the crisis of multiculturalism is most acute – where spatial concentration of poverty and joblessness are compounded with experiences with xenoracism to create serious social, economic and political issues.

On the other hand, if a state pays too much attention to economic considerations it may neglect serious issues such as racism and public institutions such as education. It may prioritize meeting labour requirements over equity – as we now find in the foreign temporary worker policy in Canada. Thus a balance is required between these considerations. As Canadian scholars such as Peter Li have pointed out, the government should put value not only in the economic benefits that newcomers and minorities offer but also on what they contribute in terms of social and cultural capital.[623]

Finally then, how does state multiculturalism move forward? How it can evolve with society and the lived multiculturalism it engenders? Canadian society has changed since 1971, 1988 and 1994, it needs to draw on what has worked in the past and adapt that system to contemporary social realities. As Amyn Sajoo, an interviewee, points out, the priority in the 1970s was a departure from the failed assimilative vision, "You keep it thin [conditions], you let them in and you let them relax, and that is the mosaic, we don't want the melting pot since assimilation has failed." In introducing multiculturalism to Parliament Trudeau stated, "National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on the confidence

in one's own *individual identity*; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions."[624] [My italics] Trudeau's comment presents an important idea – that state multiculturalism was originally built around the respect for cultural identities at the *individual* level.

As recognized in this study, individuals contain complex identities; they exhibit multiple belongings and loyalties. On this point Said argues that the conception of the Orient as a "constituted entity" where inhabitants "can be defined on the basis of some religion, culture, or racial essence proper to that geographical space is…a highly debatable idea."[625] The failure of Orientalism, the failure of those who bought into a vision of Islam as a static, monolithic site of conservative tradition, is to recognize the complexity of lived individual experience. Following from this observation, the projection of reified ideas of group identity by the state is undesirable – it is unreflective of individual experience and it may replicate Orientalism. Individuals should be allowed to express what identity means to them, rather than having elites from within the community or from outside of the community decide what it means to belong to a religious, racial, gender etc. community. And this idea is consistent with findings from studies on the Muslim community in Canada. For example, Karim Karim found that Muslims do not blindly follow religious dogma or authority but rather they bring a subjective approach to religious faith – they define what Islam means to them, they define what it means to be Muslim.[626] But how can states, and the bureaucratic approach towards categorization of human difference that they exhibit, approach identity at the individual level?

Already there are examples of how this idea has been operationalized within state multiculturalism. Specifically this can be related to how religious rights claims have been considered by the Canadian judicial system. Under the Charter and the Act individuals can

advocate for their religious rights, for example the right to pray at work, through the courts.[627] Through the "sincerity criterion" the courts have examined identity claims through the subjective experience of the individual by offering the court's judgment on the sincerity of those claims. Within this legal framework, judges balance the religious sincerity of individual claimants against the imposition those calls for accommodation would cause, for instance, for a businesses where they seek a space for prayer.[628] This process operates through Oakes Test (that measures whether or not it is justified to limit individual rights in consideration of the "greater good of society"), this "test" follows section 1 of the Charter, also known as the "reasonable limits clause".[629] Judging sincerity is based not only on a claimant's beliefs but also on assertions that such practices fit within the larger context of the faith and consistency of religious practice.[630] Thus, in this sense, the state is assessing individual rights within an overall framework of group identity.

According to Eisenberg and Kymlicka, "The adoption of the sincerity criterion aims to privilege more subjective and lived understandings of religion while undercutting the legal sanctity of canonical interpretations of the faith (and hence of the religious elites who define the canon)."[631] Considering the complexities of individual identity, such an approach seems appropriate in that it allows individuals to offer a personal interpretation of religious belief and practice and thus avoids essentialization or the need to refer to religious experts who may present an interpretation of faith that does not reflect the collective, or "lived experience" of all believers. As Lori Beaman points out, the accommodation is applied at the individual level but also recognizes group rights and identity by recognizing,

> …the individual believer as a key component in the conceptualization of religious freedom and, second, the possibility of group rights or acknowledgments of the link between the individual and institutional religion. The mention of a personal component

> supports the notion that religious frames of reference are always mediated by the individual and thus are lived, fluid, and changing.[632]

There are recent examples where these principles have been put into action. For example, in 2012 this process was used to examine the rights of testifying witnesses to wear the niqab. The Supreme Court of Canada essentially granted the right to wear the niqab in certain incidences, depending on the nature of the trial itself and the effects that wearing the niqab might have on the trial and the legal traditions of the state. Chief Justice Beverley McLachlin highlighted the balancing of rights in the courts statement on the matter,

> The answer lies in a just and proportionate balance between freedom of religion and trial fairness, based on the particular case before the court…A witness who for sincere religious reasons wishes to wear the niqab while testifying in a criminal proceeding will be required to remove it if (a) this is necessary to prevent a serious risk to the fairness of the trial, because reasonably available alternative measures will not prevent the risk; and (b) the salutary effects of requiring her to remove the niqab outweigh the deleterious effects of doing so.[633]

Rather than an outright ban the court balanced individual rights and the sincerity of the woman's religious claim versus the greater good of society and the legal traditions of the state. The decision drew support from Canadian Muslim advocacy groups such as the Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR-CAN) and the Muslim Canadian Congress. [634] As an institution less prone to political manipulation, that can maintain the traditions of multiculturalism, of the Charter and the Act, and as an area in which identity claims can be examined through the individual level, the courts represent an important venue for maintaining state multiculturalism in a way more reflective of the lived experiences of individuals.

As the Canadian population continues to become more religiously diverse, calls for accommodation of religious beliefs and practices will only increase - how these claims are framed will have important ramifications for identity politics. This is an important step in the

evolution of state multiculturalism, because as Paul Bramadat notes, despite past commitments to multicultural principles, "The virtual exclusion of religion from public discourse (including the absence from, or awkward presence in, national ceremonies, media coverage, and in most public schools) has produced a kind of religious illiteracy the result of which is that Canadians are increasingly ignorant about world religions, including Christianity."[635]

As interviewee Amyn Sajoo notes, based on the re-emergence of more assertive forms of religious identity over the past twenty years, religion can no longer be ignored in the multicultural framework,

> In the 1990s religion came out of the woodwork, and post 9/11 it's in your face. Multiculturalism can no longer contain Sikh religious, or Muslim religious, or Hindu Religious, or Catholic religious, or Evangelical religious militants. Culture is no longer a sufficient container for that…if multiculturalism was an engagement of cultural categories - *only* that - and left out religion, in the hope of the old modernist dream that religion would just fade away and we would all become objective and scientific… it's not happening - it's *back with a bang*.

As Eisenberg and Kymlicka note in regards to identity politics, where multicultural states ignore the relevance of race or religious identity in decision making, public agencies are less likely to have institutional memory, best practices, or documented experiences to draw on in assessing religious rights claims.[636] Within the crisis of multiculturalism state approaches to multiculturalism have struggled to respond to what Sajoo describes as the return of religion "with a bang." Thus far the Canadian model has shown responsiveness to religious accommodation through the Courts - but is this sufficient?

As multiculturalism continues to mature in Canada, at both the state and societal level, as multiple generations of minority communities establish themselves, multiculturalism will need to be more accommodative to complex individual identities and communities. Ultimately multiculturalism will need to move beyond what some have termed the "song and dance"

portrayal of difference - the celebration of static folkloric identities. In a world marked by transnationalism, of sojourners and the multiple belongings an individual embodies this vision of culture is not reflective of what lived multiculturalism has become.

Recognizing the limitations of past efforts in terms of social engineering, and indeed some of the more divisive approaches such as coercive assimilation, some have suggested that states should develop an approach of "letting-be", allowing people to simply get "on with their lives."[637] But the full disengagement of the state from this area of policy contains an underlying assumption that, once left alone by the state, individuals will naturally develop, for example, their own networks of social capital and bonds of mutual identification that can lead to a more "cohesive" society. Moreover, this model contains underlying assumptions about human behavior. And these assumptions may be problematic, as Sajoo points out,

> I think there are too many examples around the world including Sudan, Somalia etc. where it seems that the more you know your neighbour, the more you hate them. This comfortable assumption that you know we are alike and in the end we're all going to be friends, I don't think the record bears that out - and I think when economic times get tough that's the test. How are people going to behave when they compete for jobs?

As shown in this dissertation, in an era of crisis societal security has emerged as a particularly worrying trend. Moreover, "letting-be" also means that states abdicate their responsibilities to address underlying historical inequalities and inequities in social relations. It means ignoring the legacies of Orientalism, colonialism and post-colonialism which have shaped contemporary social relations. Ideologies of racism reflect and contain these historically and politically situated discourses and produce negative social effects for society. Following from these observations, strategies such as anti-racism remain an important tool for multicultural states to address the disadvantages and divisions caused by racist ideologies.

As was shown in the conceptual section of this analysis, ideas of race are fluid, and ideologies of racism are subject to change and contestation – they are not as they are presented - timeless and immutable hierarchical understandings of social relations. According to Lentin, "The fact that racialization and racism are repeated, affecting different groups over time, does not mean that racism is inevitable. Rather, it shows that considerable transformations of our political systems, our social and cultural infrastructure, and our discourse - the very way in which language is used – need to change if racism in Western societies is to be overcome."[638] This is a significant challenge however an evolving multicultural state that seeks to promote values of equality and equity should view anti-racism strategies as an important avenue for reform. Critical to the successful development of this strategy will be including the insights and opinions of those who are most vulnerable to racist ideologies. As Rens Van Munster points out, creating more inclusive societies can only take place when minorities and newcomers and their struggles are viewed as constitutive of the community.[639]

After 9/11 a series of coalitions, intra and inter-community alliances have emerged to combat ignorance, racism and to build bridges between communities. The experiences and opinions of these bodies offer a valuable resource for states seeking to develop more effective approaches to anti-racism. As Baha Abu-Laban observes, "...what is also important to remember is that coalition building helps the community a great deal… So Muslim groups built coalitions with various other groups, advocate of human rights, anti racism etc. This coalition building was in progress shortly after 9/11 ... and egalitarian Canadians also rose up to defend the communities that were attacked." Thus, harnessing the experience and energy of civil society represents an important step for states seeking to develop more effective anti-racism strategies.

Prior iterations of anti-racism programs through departments such as Citizenship and Immigration Canada, for example, *Racism, Stop It!* have focused on public awareness and media campaigns. While public awareness may represent an important aspect of anti-racism campaigns a far more comprehensive approach is required. This approach would, in addition to media awareness campaigns, seek to institutionalize anti-racism in key public institutions such as primary and secondary levels of education and provide educational resources to businesses and public service employees.[640]

The final recommendation relates to awareness. As Paul Bramadat points out, the exclusion of religion from public life has led to the development of an increasingly religiously illiterate generation.[641] In addition, as shown by Said, Orientalism has left the Global North with a legacy of misinformed knowledge of the other – particularly in relation to Islam.[642] The past decade has seen a renewal of these stereotypes in the discourses of security that permeate political and media narratives. Recognizing this multicultural education represents an important area of reform, and this final recommendation was identified as an important area of policy reform for a majority of interviewees from the Canadian Muslim sample group. For example, Shaykh Zak, a Muslim chaplain, notes the considerable progress Canada has made as a more culturally sensitive society but suggests that there is still a great deal of ignorance about religion and cultural difference,

> So I would say generally speaking [society] has come a long way, but we're not there yet. So, whether based on religion or ethnicity… I would say ignorance is a major factor… people don't take the time to know anything and the only way really you can have a dialogue with the Muslims is to understand their religion, because you can find a lot of pitfalls. If you can distinguish between what is cultural and religious you can have a reasonable understanding.

Similarly, Dalal Dauod of the Canadian Islamic Congress points to the level of ignorance and misunderstanding of Islam in Canadian society,

> The average Canadian citizen does not have a lot of knowledge on Muslims and Islam, and I feel like extra measures should be taken from schools to universities to workplaces, and it doesn't just stop at 'we respect your diversity.' …I think people are eager and would like to learn. Like more than one time I have had people [come to me] and ask, you know, 'why do you where the hijab?' And I think people do want to learn.

For Sohail Quadri, an MLA and member of the Muslim interviewee sample group, education is key to the success of multiculturalism, "It can't be forced-it's not about legislation. We create awareness and tolerance - it is about education…it all comes down to the individual."

But more than its ability to address religious illiteracy or existing misinformation about Islam in Canadian society, multicultural education represents a powerful tool for nation-building. As a strategy for nation-building education can be a tool that can be used to build ideas of cultural exclusivity or it can be used to encourage a respect for cultural pluralism. Recognizing the success of state multiculturalism in developing a generation that views multiculturalism as not only an important part of Canadian identity but also as an essential aspect of social relations, education can represent a powerful tool for continuing to develop these perspectives among successive generations. Supporting this view Amyn Sajoo states, "I think most people would have great difficulties disagreeing that if universities and schools take pluralism seriously then in the long term you are going to produce a generation that is much more at home with it." It is also an important arena for integration. As Baha Abu-Laban recognizes, "Today the most important institution for assimilation is the educational system."

To develop a progressive vision of education would require including minorities and their stories in the curriculum development stage. Such a re-imagination of a history of social relations should not involve forgetting a history marked by exploitation and injustice but rather unpacking that history and re-articulating it in what is undoubtedly a richer picture of social relations – one marked by both conflict and co-operation – exploitation and exchange. It would mean not only

reviewing Canada's important military history but also the history of colonialism and post-colonialism. It would have to include cultural and religious studies in a way that can address the ignorance and misunderstandings that have developed. In short, it would require the development of alternative histories to the one offered by Orientalism.

An anonymous interviewee from the Canadian Muslim interviewee sample group spoke of how developing this form of education, especially one that can properly represent religious identities, will be not easy, but it is necessary, "...because the Muslim community is so diverse it would really be a difficult task for government to do-a campaign that would reflect all of the Muslims in society...they are putting in the elementary curriculum now the history of different areas of the world-that's really good-because the curriculum was very Euro-centric." Soraya Hafez, a interviewee from the Canadian Muslim community who has previously worked in education, speaks to what she sees as an important starting point in developing this form of education, "I feel as though we have to spend the money in curriculum at schools from kindergarten to universities...they should have some lessons, some training in other cultures - teaching about other cultures, equality and human rights, it should start really in kindergarten…we have teachers coming to the classroom with no ideas about the background of the students." Interviewee Azim Jeraj also suggests that, at post-secondary level theological studies and inter-faith initiatives, "The government money can also be spent on inter-faith; and I believe we need to start inter-faith chapters at universities. You know why we need them? Because this is the place you can ask difficult questions."

Bringing state multicultural policy into the 21st century will mean adapting to ever changing societies that are situated both locally and trans-nationally in a globalized world – with all the benefits and hazards that implies. Building a successful multicultural state will mean

harnessing the forces of hybridity contained in globalization and multicultural societies while actively mediating the forces of fragmentation. Conflict and cultural difference (broadly defined) are part of the human condition that cannot be erased or glossed over. What is important is how conflicts are mediated: how difference is accommodated in the institutions of the state and civil society. Canada represents a successful multicultural state, but that continued success is far from assured. Moving forward will require changes. Will Canada submit to the devolutionary forces of divisiveness, of false promises of a return to monoculturalism, or will it embrace the promise of a collective future in a rejuvenated multicultural state? If the normative ideal of the latter is achieved, Canada may offer an example of how multicultural societies can succeed when so many have succumbed to the crisis of multiculturalism.

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