



METROPOLIS BRITISH COLUMBIA

Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity

Working Paper Series

No. 08 - 14

October 2008

The Impact of Racial Profiling:

A MARU Society / UBC Law Faculty Study

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Metropolis British Columbia

Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity

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- Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)
- The Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (Rural Sec't)
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Metropolis BC also receives funding from the Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development (ALMD) of the Government of British Columbia. Grants from Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria provide additional support to the Centre.

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THE IMPACT OF RACIAL PROFILING: A MARU SOCIETY / UBC LAW FACULTY STUDY

Alnoor Gova and Rahat Kurd

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to the Law Foundation of British Columbia and to the Centre for Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis (the predecessor of Metropolis British Columbia) for providing the funds that enabled this research.

We would sincerely like to thank all the individuals who came forward to participate in this study on the impact of racial profiling. In many cases, we asked participants to recount experiences they would rather forget. Without the forthright voices of our participants, this project could have little substance, or hope of making a difference.

Our primary aim in this report of the impact of racial profiling in the post-9/11 security climate in Canada has been to give adequate space and shape to those voices. We invite our original participants and all people who are interested in this issue to continue the dialogue with us about how we can stop racial profiling on www.maruworld.org.

We also acknowledge the valuable support of the many individuals and community organizations in Vancouver, both for their assistance in recruiting participants, and their generous insights, which helped sharpen our focus in the early stages of this project.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Objectives

This exploratory study seeks to document individual narratives of racial profiling. We aim to increase our understanding of how people are affected by current security practices in Canada. Rather than start our project with the state and interrogate its practices, we began with the lived experience of individual community members.

We define racial profiling as the practice by state officials of subjecting individuals to suspicion, questioning, surveillance, or detention because they appear to belong to a race, religion, culture, or ethnicity to which police or other state officials have attributed generally suspicious or criminal tendencies.¹

We invited participation from people willing to relate their experiences, reflections, and opinions about the impact of post-9/11 security measures on their lives in Canada, in a confidential, qualitative interview format.² Forty men and women of widely varying ages, occupations and ethnic backgrounds came forward, most of whom self-identify, irrespective of their personal beliefs, as Muslim, or who otherwise have been assumed by security officials, correctly or mistakenly, to be Muslim. We also heard from individuals who identified themselves as belonging to other groups that have been singled out for police scrutiny for the expressed purpose of “national security.”

Our primary research goals were to discover how participants view the concept of racial profiling, whether they have experienced it or not, and to what extent, if any, their lives have changed as a result of the broad range of security measures now practiced by Canadian law enforcement and intelligence officials. In recording their narratives, many of which recount deeply troubling experiences of being singled out by an authority of the state, we

seek to emphasize the value of personal experience as a means of generating a wider dialogue among all members of Canadian society, including policy-makers, security officials, legal professionals, and advocacy groups.

A notable outcome of this research process was that a number of participants from affected communities sought the support of the MARU Society to increase their community's awareness of civil rights in the face of a range of challenges arising from their experiences of racial profiling.³

1.2 Research Findings: Summary

As we stated in our project objectives⁴, we wished to hear from individuals who "believe that they have been affected by racial profiling in the post-9/11 world."⁵ Many participants related details of their own direct encounters with security officials in Canada, in addition to describing the more general social, political, or cultural shifts they have observed and experienced in the years since new security measures, specifically the Anti-Terrorism Act, S.C. 2001, c. 41, and the Public Safety Act 2002, S.C. 2004, c.15, were enacted in Canada. Citing these changes, whether or not they had directly encountered racial profiling, our participants overwhelmingly expressed the belief that state officials target Muslims with greater scrutiny and suspicion than others on the basis of religious identity, without regard to age, ethnicity, gender or place of birth.

We learned that the "national security" rationale currently justifies the screening and surveillance practices that have raised the alarm that racial profiling is happening in Canada. The claim that national security is at risk, largely uncontested by mainstream Canadian political officials and media commentators since the calamity of 9/11, gives endurance to the notion that religious identity can, despite the protections afforded by the Charter of Rights and

Freedoms, provide a basis for treating an individual with greater suspicion. This suspicion has had a wide range of effects on the personal lives of participants, in the economic, social, media and educational arenas in which our study participants live, work and interact with fellow Canadians, in ways that compound the socio-economic, bread-and-butter challenges many of them face daily.

We have organized our findings around five prevalent clusters of ideas emerging from our participants' narratives. Each 'cluster' of quotations provides us with different facets of the impact of racial profiling: the concept of race, the role of the media, direct accounts of security-related experiences and the personal and collective impacts of these experiences, state exploitation of Muslim religious practices for security/surveillance purposes, and the long-term implications of security measures for participants' confidence in citizenship and civil society.

Participants tell us that they now simply expect to be treated with greater suspicion, most often in an overtly security-determined space such as the line-up for a metal-detector and baggage screening at the airport, and also in spaces and activities that, as the prerogative of private citizens, were once considered socially and politically benign, such as participating in fundraising for charities, or wearing clothing expressive of a cultural or religious inclination. Participants express an understanding that few spaces are neutral anymore; that the expanded powers of police and security agents mean that no cultural or religious Muslim gathering place is likely to escape surveillance.

Those participants who had personally undergone a security-related encounter very often told us they were at least initially willing to give security officials the benefit of the doubt, that they accepted the claim that "national

security” as defined by the state is a legitimate concern. The majority of participants, when faced with security requirements, even inappropriate questions about their personal beliefs, expressed their willingness to cooperate and to show that they have “nothing to hide.” Some participants who had been questioned in a security context have told us they still have faith in the justice system and in the protection of their rights according to the rule of law.

Nevertheless, we find that the impact of racial profiling in Canada on participants’ feelings overall, of belonging to a civil society, of enjoying fully all rights and freedoms guaranteed by citizenship are sufficiently negative to render more or less irrelevant the contention that there is a valid distinction to be made between the perception and the practice of racial profiling. In other words, racial profiling is a vital community concern which calls for state responses that reach beyond denial of its existence. In this regard, racial profiling mirrors security concerns as a socially constructed reality.

1.3 Rationales for Study: Contributing to Existing Literature

How are public and legal debates and policies coalescing around the topic of racial profiling in Canada’s new security climate? We find that while there is vigorous debate on the crucial question of whether the problem is one of perception as opposed to an established practice, there is also widespread agreement among government and law enforcement agencies, community advocacy groups, policy and research tanks, journalists and individuals in Canada that “racial profiling” is a phenomenon that urgently requires attention.

A steadily increasing number of studies, surveys, conference proceedings, news reports and public forums have sought to address this concern in Canada since the Anti-Terrorism Act became law in 2001. While the majority of academic research on racial profiling in Canada sets the historic context for the

way various communities have become racialized and stigmatized as a result of domestic law enforcement practices, it is Reem Bahdi's research article, *No Exit: Canada's War on Terror and Racial Profiling*, an analysis of how Canada's anti-terrorist legislation enables racial profiling and undermines national security, with a focus on the impact of this legislation on Arabs and Muslims, which provides the foremost scholarly impetus for our project.

The Department of Justice, in its 2005 survey, *The Anti-Terrorism Act and Security Measures in Canada: Public Views, Impacts and Travel Experiences*, takes a quantitative approach in its attempt to gauge wider public perceptions of racial profiling across the country. It becomes clear, too, that one of the aims of this study is to establish public support for the Canadian government's security measures; that is, to quantify the public's perceived need for protection from "terrorism"; hence, reporting that 58 percent of survey respondents expressed approval of government's measures to combat terrorism, while finding that only 1 percent of respondents could correctly identify the Anti-Terrorism Act. Nevertheless the report acknowledges a clear divide between the experiences of "visible minorities" and "non-minority" respondents, and states that, "One-fifth (20 percent) of the visible minority participants felt that they had been the target of racial profiling over the last 4 years. The nature and extent of this perceived profiling was not addressed by the survey."

Two further studies have been conducted by non-government advocacy groups on the issue of the profiling of Arabs and Muslims within a "national security" context in Canada, with significant results informing the direction of our own research. *The Presumption of Guilt: National Survey of Security Visitations of Canadian Muslims* conducted by the Council on American-Islamic Relations Canada (CAIR-Can) in 2005 reports that 8 percent of its 467 respondents were contacted at home or at work by Canadian security forces (CSIS,

RCMP and/or local police officials), and also reports quantitatively on how respondents felt on being contacted. Early in 2007, a report titled *The People's Commission on Immigration Security Measures* was publicly released at a popular assembly in Montreal. An investigation of security measures within immigration policies and how they affect international migrants in Canada, the report was based on three days of hearings held at a Montreal community centre in April 2006, of 30 individual testimonies focusing on the treatment of non-citizens, including racial profiling, denial of fair trials, secret evidence, deportations and security certificates.

This critical but necessarily limited body of work adds to our sense of the timeliness of a qualitative research process designed to highlight the personal voices of Canadians, most of whom have experienced these security measures directly. We are certain that these forty first-person narratives of the impact of racial profiling add an important new and multi-layered dimension to the growing body of research, activism and legislation arising from the current security climate in Canada.

1.4 Rationales for Study: The Value of Narrative

Framing our study as an exploration of the lived experiences of individuals, and employing an open, confidential interview format, allow us to foreground these narratives as significant work that participants have done; that is, by recording what they have to say, we witness the ways in which participants have extracted meaning from their experiences, forming conclusive ideas about how the experience of racial profiling is linked to larger questions about security, citizenship, equal rights, inclusiveness, freedom and prosperity—the very questions concerning all those who wish to understand the social, legal and

political changes taking place in Canada under the troubling rubric of “the war against terrorism.”

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Design

This study was designed as a qualitative research to examine the phenomenon of racial profiling through interviews with affected communities in light of the implementation of post-9/11/01 security measures.

The study plan was approved by the Behavioural Research Ethics Board of the University of British Columbia.

At the outset of the project, focus groups were conducted to test interview questions and topic areas to pursue in open-ended questioning. These were facilitated with the assistance of MOSAIC and the Mennonite Central Committee British Columbia.

The data were gathered by researchers through confidential in-depth interviews, conducted with individuals who had perceived themselves to have been racially profiled; with a particular focus on people who self-identify and or are perceived as being either Muslim and/or Arab and/or Middle Eastern and/or Persian who reside in Vancouver and the Lower Mainland area of British Columbia.

We situate ourselves in relation to this work by acknowledging first that our own study was carried out on Coast Salish land. The history of Canada is necessarily a history of unjust social, political and economic hierarchies constructed according to an ideology of the supremacy of one race, religion, and culture above all others. It is also the unsung, shadow histories of all those who have struggled to dismantle the various institutions of that ideology since

the idea of “Canada” first began to form. We undertake this research with the hope of increasing the understanding that the curtailment of the rights of any minority undermines the rights of all people in Canada, ultimately weakening the idea of Canada itself.

In research of this nature, neutrality is impossible to achieve. Indeed, by conceiving of such a project, we position ourselves in relation to its central questions: we value these. As well, social construction of racialization is highly relevant here. The funding for this project was held by principal investigators Zool Suleman and Catherine Dauvergne. Zool is a Canadian immigration lawyer and the Director of MARU, an arts and migration policy research organization. Catherine is a law professor at the UBC Faculty of Law. She holds the Canada Research Chair in Migration Law.

Zool and Catherine hired Alnoor Gova as lead researcher and Rahat Kurd and as a researcher. Both served as analysts and writers on this project. Rahat Kurd is an independent researcher and writer in Vancouver. She is the author of *Reading Rights: A Woman’s Guide to the Law in Canada*, a project of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, published by Quarry Press in 1999. Alnoor is a doctoral student at UBC with research interests articulating the link between compulsory education and production of complicit citizenry. The working title of his dissertation is *School Detention to Extra-Ordinary Rendition*.

2.2 Subject Selection

Participants (N=40) were chosen using a combined purposeful and snowball sampling technique. Purposeful sampling is used to select research subjects from within a predefined group according to a set of criteria. Participant criteria for this study were individuals residing in Vancouver and the Lower

Mainland who were from, or have been perceived as being from, a Muslim background and who self-identified as having been racially profiled due to post-9/11 security measures. Snowball sampling techniques utilize a participant's formal and informal networks to identify others who also fit the participant selection criteria of the study.

We developed a call for individuals to participate in our project (www.maruworld.org⁶) and distributed it through mosques, Islamic centers, Muslim cultural, political and business organization list servers, and at the offices of social services providers, at community centres and public libraries. Our study was also publicized through community radio and print media⁷. We asked participants to forward our call to others who fit our sampling criteria.

Subjects were contacted individually, to determine their suitability and willingness to participate in the study. All participants reviewed and signed a consent form which explained how their recorded interviews would be put to use, and they were paid a modest honorarium.

2.3 Data Collection

We employed the method of an in-depth interview to collect our data; sessions with participants lasted from 20 minutes to over 2 hours. Questions guided the researchers to cover the same issues with each participant, but were kept flexible to allow participants to probe different facets of their experiences as needed. Researchers focused on establishing connections and examining each independent narrative for insights and triangulation of the experience of being racially profiled. This research method is guided by "a view of human experience in which humans, individually and socially, lead storied lives... Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters

the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful.” (Clandinin et al. 2007: 477).

We understand narratives to be windows of individual perception and reflection from which people have derived meaning; that is, a truth emerging from lived experience, rooted in the indivisible subjective reality. We contend that in many cases the data emerging from these narratives had been analyzed and interpreted by the narrators, before they sat down with our researchers, and certainly before we conducted our analysis. As listeners, we enter into the narrators’ irreducible and personally situated “truth,” before attempting to interpret the narrator’s analysis (Riessman 1993, Lawler 2002).

We then strive, as researchers, to find the common and recurring threads of ideas within the collection of narratives, in order to arrive at our conclusions about racial profiling as experienced by our participants.

Interview research questions

To gain a sense of how participants understand racial profiling, researchers used eight guiding questions, modifying them when needed, to allow participants a wide range of entry points through which their narrative could take shape.

1. Do you perceive racial profiling to be a problem in Canada?
If so, who do you think is doing the racial profiling, and who is being profiled?
2. Do you feel that you have ever been racially profiled? Please relate your experiences.
How did you respond to the situation?
How did the profile experience end?

3. What does the term "race" mean to you?
4. What does the term "racial profiling" mean to you? How or is it different from racism?
5. Why do you think people are racially profiled? Who is profiled?
6. Have you done anything differently due to racial profiling?
7. How do you understand this treatment in Canada?
8. Do you think that the situation has changed for people who are racially profiled after the September 11 attacks in the US and in what ways? What would you suggest are some of the "best practices" to minimize its intrusive/dehumanizing effects?

Data Analysis

Interviews were transcribed into research text-data and then analyzed by means of the open coding method Strauss and Corbin (1990). When open coding, after examining the data, the researcher closely compares the similarities and differences, then clusters the phenomena into subcategories of prevalent themes (Creswell 1998; Merriam 1998; Stake 1995).

3. FINDINGS

3.1 Race

We asked our participants how they understood the term "race" and what they felt about its widespread use in public discourse.

Scholars and social commentators have noted that the US government's declaration of a "war on terror" after September 11, 2001, has evoked a response in Canada that has given rise to what Henry and Tator call a "discursive crisis." A discursive crisis "refers to a set of reactions that profoundly

affect society—specifically, the state of minority-majority relations” (2006:5). Immediately after 9/11, the Canadian public witnessed the eruption of a discursive crisis over the phenomenon of security-related profiling of individuals whose background was or appeared to be Muslim, especially at border crossings. “Racial profiling” was the term attributed to this practice by the state; it extended into academic, news media and other public spaces where “Muslims” began to appear in connection with the threat of terrorism, thus allowing the conflation of a religious category with the idea of race.

We found three general sets of ideas regarding the race and racial profiling:

(i) “Race” understood as a normative (i.e., socially acceptable) way of categorizing people for discrimination purposes —which can include people who are not visibly distinguishable from those who are perceived to belong to the dominant social group. “Race” is nearly always assigned to a person based on his or her skin colour, which many participants affirm to be a meaningless category.

(ii) “Race” and “racial profiling” of Muslims understood as politically motivated and externally driven category as a proxy for religious profiling for their unequal treatment within a generally tolerant Canadian society.

(iii) “Race” and “racial profiling” understood as tool for selecting only Muslims from a crowd in order to subject them to a security procedure. This in turn publicly validates a sense of guilt. And also “profiling” for the purposes of selecting individuals who will coerce, from within the Muslim community, informants willing to cooperate with government agents as to the activities of other Muslims in their communities.

(i) "Race" understood as a normative (a societal standard) visual classification category

Many people factored in cultural aspects, heritage, traditions, religion and values under what they understood as the term race, in addition to skin colour.

"Well, race is a group of people sharing the same type of living, the same type of habits, of culture, religion." RPAI_10

"To me it's my religion, my appearance, my background is race." RPAI_5

In this normative category, we also heard from several people that they had thought, prior to living in Canada, of the English word "race" in terms of competitive sporting events; and while they were familiar with prejudice and discrimination, it was not necessarily on the basis of skin colour, although they had come from multi-racial countries. The socio-economic significance of "race" as a classification category for people arose once they started living and working in Canada, and, significantly, they began to be regarded with suspicion only after their Arab or Muslim identity was disclosed to (or presumed by) others.

"When I grew up, I never really thought much about race. I never felt personally colour-prejudice or anything like that... when I came to Canada, when I first felt real colour-prejudice, and I realized 'oh, I am different,' or 'I am being perceived as different.'" RPAI_7

"The first thing I heard when I heard the word 'race' was horses, or racing, or competition, that's what I thought, you know... When I was called a Paki and got kicked out of a shopping mall in Orangeville, Ontario, in 1975. And I didn't know what Paki meant either, I thought it was like package... Same thing with race. Once I understood, all the other stuff started to make sense. But race to me is a very problematic word, it really doesn't explain anything. It doesn't. It doesn't mean anything." RPAI_2

"You know what? Sometimes people look at me and they thought that I'm Italian, you know? Or Jew. I don't know. So when they realize that I'm originally Palestinian, their behaviour will totally change... I think the one who profiles, from my own perspective as Arab, especially now after it being 9-11, particularly Muslim because they put Muslim as terrorists, with no negotiations." RPAI_8

Others stated that while cultural differences may evoke hostility, cultural similarity is no guarantee of just treatment and a sense of commonality. Their remarks help us understand how the notion of "racial profiling" also operates among people within a single cultural or religious grouping. As long as discrimination can be rationalized within a society, any evident difference can be a positive marker for unequal treatment.

But many, many experiences, even now I'm not going to say the Israeli, the American, the whites, I have been racially profiled within Jordan, and Egypt, those are Muslims. There is also racial profiling with them, within the Muslim community. So I know the purpose of the research is on racial profiling as it sees you know Canadian... I discovered earlier in my life that I'm different, if you will, because of my Palestinian background. So the word race is, in my dictionary it's to belong... I have to belong to a group of people and the other word comes to mind is exclusivity, racism is exclusivity. That's the complete opposite of inclusive... It's a special club to see if you're with us to belong to us, or you belong to the other. RPAI_45

In their discussions, participants suggest that "race" is a vehicle of discrimination toward someone who fits or is perceived to fit a "racial profile."

(ii) "Race" and "racial profiling" of Muslims understood as politically motivated due to fear and ignorance

Some participants argued that racism and racialization [to impose a racial character or identity] take place out of fear and ignorance; others contend, in addition, that a more systemic political exploitation of these fears enables the "racial" profiling of Muslims. Racial profiling is conducted by government

agents and perpetuated by influential popular media commentators who support the idea that increased security measures are necessary. Several participants raised the point that "racial profiling" is being extended to include targeting of a religious community.

"In times of fear, fear mongering, the accusation is, in and of itself, guilt."

RPAI_17

"Well, I think it's fear, I think is the number one factor. I don't know what's, if this fits into this question or another, but, one thing I can say since September 11th I feel much more religiously profiled than racially profiled."

A_I_18_REC036

I think it's the classic fear and ignorance. And yeah, I mean, you're not gonna stop somebody. I don't want to be blown up on a plane either. I don't think you're gonna stop somebody because you figured out that they're Muslim, or Arab. Or, whatever. I think you're gonna figure it out because you have proper bomb detection devices, and proper security measures that don't have to do with someone's identity. AK _30023

He got up and he said "You know it's not even racial profiling, it's religious profiling. Because you're profiling Muslims you're not profiling according to colour of the skin. ...you're profiling according to whether that person is Muslim or not." And so maybe that's a different way to look at it ... Well I think at the moment due to what's going on in the world the people that are most racially profiled are Muslims and maybe more of Arab backgrounds.

RPAI_3_REC 020

When I heard that, the word is ambiguous, it's foggy... I understand it [in terms of] racial profiling. It means that... I look Middle Eastern, my name is Muslim. So, therefore I am easily identified among the group and I can be...thinned out from the group as somebody who is suspicious, who's under surveillance, or...I think, singled out of a crowd. Now we are in a cycle that the Muslims, Arabs [are going] to suffer for a period of time. The Jews were before us in the twentieth century and now it is our turn to be the one who is paying the price for such...human behaviour. RPAI_5

Although I understand that it can be a measure of security. Because, when a threat happens to a certain nation, then...insecurity is felt, largely. A sense of not feeling safe. As a nation, as a people, becomes more apparent. And that's when people start taking measures. The government starts taking measures. Communities start taking measures. Perhaps that's, say, the reasonable part of it. Then the unreasonable part of it becomes the racists, racism, the negative connotations that come with that. So yes, I think racial profiling happens when a certain event in the world, is seen as a threat on a certain people. Then racism as an ideology or what we think in our heads, starts to become acted out, [inaudible] how to legalize it then? How to implement it into laws. Then it starts seeping there. [6]

It's political, it's politically driven on international politics more than anything else. I think in the case of Canada, all of us is trying to parallel whatever the US is doing because not by pressure of the US only, but to be held the same laws...there is a pressure from the US for Canada to have similar laws to the US, in all of their dealings, immigration, immigration specifically; immigration borders, the US wants Canada to be a copycat. And Canada, like the Canadian government, especially under the leadership of the conservative government like Harper's government, they want that, they want to walk the walk and talk the talk of the US, and I think that's what it boils down to and the US and Canada racial profiling is highly driven by international politics... And I think things are getting worse from the time Harper government came. Like, they're trying to imitate every single law in the US, and that's what's happening here, trying to copy all the new laws in US, security laws... I don't think it's productive for Canada at all. RPAI_16

"When I see some Buddhists crossing the street they are met with smiles. You know, because they are thought of as being peaceful, but as a person in hijab it's completely different and it's interesting to see the shift...it's not just race anymore. It's religious, but it's only towards Muslim, I think, because you don't see that towards Christians or other religious groups. But then, since 9/11, with, with people being, more made more aware of Muslims, that there are Muslims, because I think some people before, probably didn't even know what Muslims were, now... You're being profiled as a Muslim, wearing hijab, just wearing your Islamic gear, people will look at you kind of funny. Or look at you in a different way, or if, we go into like a, government offices,

you're sort of, you're, they sort of look at you, more funny and they follow you around a little bit more." [R_J_30035]

(iii) "Race" understood as a tool used to subject Muslims to a security procedure as an example to legitimize perceived security threat and then show that the danger is being mitigated

Some participants understood "race" as being used as a proxy for guilt and the scapegoating of Muslims. Muslims are required to cooperate with authorities for reasons of "national security," that is, for the general good of society, and this is embedded in a hierarchy of power which has the ability to manufacture "good" Muslims who are coerced into cooperating with the state's invasive methods of targeting members of their own communities.

"Race is a very misleading and misguiding signifier.." [6]

"How is it possible to ever liberate the concept of race that's embedded in this discourse? In this kind of racist discourse, from its foundations. But I think that, it's also important to know that the application of race, or like the racializing of particular people or particular bodies shifts constantly." [2]

"What makes you think this way and act on it is because you have power to do it. Because if you're not a policeman, or you're not wearing the uniform, you will see a Black guy in a Mercedes you would never, never stop him... So you only do it because you have a uniform. So the uniform, not only justifies you, but protects you. Even if you're not doing the right thing." [30023]

"It's easier for people to make those judgments that um, people, to, have certain expectations of people based on their experiences. And so, I think that's why it does take place, because, for, ease of, or for, well they would say, security reasons. But I think it's really downplaying, or oversimplifying an issue that is so large and classifying such a broad range of people into, sort of one definition. Which is not at all representative of themselves." [5]

"How can I put this in tangible terms? There is no problem distinguishing difference, every person is different, we are people and I think it's very

helpful to acknowledge, honour, and respect difference. Profiling heightens the idea of difference; it heightens the fear of difference; it heightens victimization. And I think when there is fear that people don't do their job and then there is a heightened, more pressure for them to seem to be doing their job... I think people are profiled because they are targets and when there is a problem the government needs to show that they are taking action... They also get away with it because we're living in a climate of fear. They're able to get away with it because they are perceived to be doing their job. They're able to get away with it because we live in a climate of fear, people feel powerless. And taking actions like that give people a sense of control and power. All of these reasons justify and enable it to happen." [RPAI_12]

"That's the problem...the people that would normally stand up and say, hey, that's not right. They're afraid, and institutional policies are preying on that fear. In order to allow them, to harm a certain sector of society. To, to racially profile. 'We have to do this to keep everyone safe. If, [9/11] didn't happen then we wouldn't have to do it'. No. That's wrong, because, before 9/11, there was racial profiling. But...it was a different sector. It was, the Jamaicans, you know, it was, or it was, the Indo-Canadians. So, there was racial profiling, before. And...there will always, be racial profiling if we do what we're doing which is, sit back and, allow it. Rather than coming together and saying this is not acceptable. And, then holding those who we elect, as our leaders, accountable. If, if we got together, a group of us, of all races, nationalities, and said, this is not acceptable and if you do this, we will vote for the opposition. That's what, because that's where it, that's where the buck stops. It stops at the top. Things roll down here, so you start at the top. We want this changed. I love my neighbour. I care about my community. And I don't want, my neighbour, to be stopped. And treated in any kind of way because he is Jewish, or because he's Native. Or because he's Muslim. Or because he's Black." [30037]

The conundrum of "racially profiling" Muslims as the "New Normal"

We wanted to explore through this study the effects of scenarios in which "race" and "racial profiling" have been re-constructed to evoke a fear of people perceived to belong to a category of religion and or culture (Islam and Muslim) in our contemporary Canadian "post-9/11" society⁸. And we wanted to understand how the individual victims of this kind of security profiling understand their own experiences.

As defined by the Department of Justice, the practice of racial profiling does not determine its potential range of suspects on the basis of race alone. By including "Muslim"—not a racial category but a religious group to whom "racial profiling" is applied—police or other state officials can attribute generally criminal tendencies to any Muslim and subject them to further investigation. We understand that the Justice Department's conflation of race with religion in their definition of "racial profiling" is a result of their reading of the Anti-Terrorism Act, but we wonder what the state's purpose is in the conflation? We encourage future researchers to investigate "religious profiling" beyond the rhetoric of national security, including an analysis of what interests are at stake in persistently targeting members of one religious community to the comprehensive degree evinced by participants in this study. We also think that further research in this area might investigate the treatment of other religious communities such as Sikhs, Hindus, and so on.

3.2 Media Representation

Several participants in our study expressed the view that "racial profiling" of Muslims occurs by and through media repeatedly signifying the Muslim as a suspicious and alien "other" suspected of terrorism, especially since 9/11, and this is normalizing an Islamophobia within the Canadian public.

Many media critics, notably McChesney, Phillips, and Parenti have pointed out that media today have undergone radical corporatization and conglomeration resulting in a narrowing of divergent views and a flattening of journalistic freedoms⁹. The mainstream media serves as an ideological distribution tool for elite voices to establish and disseminate dominant beliefs. Journalists can be viewed as the “stenographers to power” who rotate through the revolving door between politics, business and media. The mainstream media is a major influence for public perceptions and is a central catalyst in the construction and framing of who minorities are and what they represent (Henry and Tator 2005¹⁰; Karim 1993¹¹; Bullock and Jafri 2001¹²).

Canadian media have not been immune to this phenomenon. The Canadian Arab Federation’s commissioned study on the press image of Arabs over a ten-year period (1972-1982) showed that Arabs were consistently portrayed as irrational, backward, bloodthirsty, amoral and ignorant¹³. Such images have not abated in the two and a half decades since the study was published. Many of our discussants echoed the research findings of the scholars above noting that repetition leads to substituting the caricature for the real.

“I used to be able to read different newspapers and they had different perspectives. And now, I see the same image, the same title, the same pictures, the same headlines in different newspapers and I see a lot of other things happening in the media which I attribute to the whole problem of how the climate has changed since September 11th. So I think the government has had, through security apparatus, has been able to control the access media has to certain images that can influence the population supporting that government, foreign policy or not. And to add to that, I think it’s also problematic because the images that people see of fundamentalists are images of Eastern people ... and when they see those same images in Canada, you know, maybe they see a woman with a burqa or they see a man with a turban who might look like someone from Afghanistan they, the only context

they have for interpreting that is the context the media gives them: one of fear and danger." RPAI_12

"One media picks up information from another media, from another media from another media, and you have several media who are reporting the same issue, and it's slightly different what they are reporting information. But that's about it, you know?" RPAI_14

"The profiling, I would say is being promoted and cared for by the media and the media has been hammering into this issue." RPAI_5

"When I'm watching TV here, and they are viewing scenes on TV especially on the news about Arabs they put the scenes of poor people, camps only, no cars, camels, donkeys, something like this, you know? So they get really shocked when they [find out] that we have cars there, and computers and homes; that we're not living in shelters for example...they've been captured only by the headlines which [say], 'Arabs or Muslims are terrorists.'" RPAI_8

"We said that there should be some code of ethics, the media should not use these kinds of words, that is racial profiling. Because if the Muslim is caught, then the whole media is saying "the Muslims, the Muslims." And if the white guy is caught they don't use the word "he is a Christian," or "he is a Jewish," or "he is a Caucasian," they say he is a Canadian. ... But here in the mainstream media they do this profiling, so that adds to the discrimination, that adds to the hatred." RPAI_15

"I do believe that the media definitely does play a role in this ... just the fact that they are, that they're considered terrorists makes it more acceptable to put, to point fingers at them. Because that's normal, the majority of Arabs, Middle Eastern people, have been portrayed as terrorists. And that, I think, plays a role in accepting the fact that they will be, that they should be examined, just because, it's just a matter of stereotyping and generalizations." R_J_30034PP

The lack of what participants would consider inclusive or even accurate media representations of Muslims, set against what they describe as egregious and widespread misrepresentations, undermine any sense they may

have of belonging. This makes both interpersonal and inter-organizational work a challenge. Muslims constantly have to deconstruct the stereotype and then reconstruct who Muslims are and point out their positive participation and contribution to Canadian civil society.

"I mean, we get exposed on a daily basis, I mean you walk past that news store, that little container called newsstand, and there's a bearded man with a gun looking really angry, right? And he looks Muslim, unfortunately, he looks Middle Eastern, I just look at it and I'm like, oh man what is this telling people about who we are? ... So I think, you constantly see these images and it's like these men crying out loud "Allah we all burn," you know, "we hate Americans," you know, very angry, very loud, with guns and looking wild...it's like the more of those images that we see, the more you think that everybody is like that." RPAI_46

"... it's interesting because I'm Chinese, so, I don't really fit their idea of what a Muslim is, cause a Muslim is Arab, right? And a lot of times people come up to me and say, oh, you're Muslim, you're Chinese? And it's a puzzled look because they don't understand that Muslims could be all races. But, what they get from the media, and their misconception is that Muslims are Arabs." R_J_30035PP

"I'm sure you heard of this before, you know when you're a Muslim, you're linked as a terrorist. And, I have close friends of mine, who are not Muslim, and, and they tolerate me, because they know me. But, whenever you say anything about Islam, or Muslim, they think oh! Why do those people keep killing each other? Because that's their concept of what Muslims do. That we kill each other. That we're such a violent religion, that Mohammed, peace be upon him, [was] such a violent man, and, that's, that's the kind of perception that they have. And, they might still be my friends, because they know I'm not. But in their mind they think, you know, most Muslims are like that." R_J_30035PP

"I think that the prejudice, or the fear that the people do have, comes from the widespread of the media. ... So, people think they're justified, but they have to remember we're human. And, there's no race of people that haven't

[gone through] what we're going through. All of us have been through this. But, I think what they did, like, in New York State in the small communities, what they do is, they try to do the, inter-religious thing and going to churches and speak. And it gets people more comfortable, with seeing Muslims. And that helps, but, then on the other hand, you know when they hear it on the news, the next night, that, was a target plot...that the security is heightened. You know and then it puts the fear right back into them. You know and the human side that they see in us, is washed away. You know, so, um, I think it comes a lot from the media...you know trying to sell a story... So what they do is, they, they're implanting that fear themselves. ... So we all feel some kind of fear. But for a whole nation, to feel a fear of, of a few people that's here trying to live, just like they are. You know, I think it truly, comes from the media and, from the government." R_J_30036PP

"I have to, give a narrower context for where I would speak to this. And I think that it would be in the whole airport security thing. If I address that specifically then I would say that, you know in terms of racial profiling, it's going to be people who've been in the media. Groups of people that have, been vilified if you want, in the media. ... You know you're dealing with people on the ground. They're making decisions on the spot about how they treat people. Right? They're not checking in with anyone. ... Yeah, I had much more of a hassle when I had a beard. And I imagine that if I had a turban on I'd probably get hassled too. Because I think that the people on the ground who are making those decisions, are influenced by the media, probably influenced by whatever training they're receiving. And the easiest one to make, is, the racial one, it's easy. It's quick. It gives perhaps people false feeling that they're secure. Right? The white guy behind me, or the little old lady who just went in front of me, is probably going, oh good they're checking that brown guy. Right? You know what I mean? I feel safe. I can get on this plane now... I think because the media influences people and I'm thinking of you know, people who are doing the security checks... Because I think that they're, that, that the people on the ground who are making those decisions, are influenced by the media, probably influenced by whatever training they're receiving...you see here, I'm gonna make an assumption. They probably read, the Province. Right? Or they probably read the Sun that morning, or, you know and maybe they read the Globe

and Mail, but it's no better. In terms of its vilification of certain groups...if you can't identify the enemy in an easy way, it fucks you up, especially in the pluralistic society. Right? It's like, you gotta be able to tell who the bad guy is. Right? And, I think that society itself, you know that's why racism, often exists, is you need the scapegoats. You need the, group that you can pick on and identify as the bad people, right? Look at the way First Nations people are treated in our society. It's appalling." A_I_17_REC035

"The media plays a big role in Canada and I think that's why we have racial profiling here. I would say that our community has to reach out all the time, we have to rise above the media, and I think we should work together to have a media of our own. I think if the Muslim community could come up together and have their own media and help to cross this bridge to cross this era of empty Islam and explain to the rest of the community, focus on our history, focus on our present, focus on the future and show the world that we, we did a lot, we contribute a lot to civilization and we are not only the picture which has been imaged by the broadcast media, which is unfair, and we will try to put another image [to] the people." RPAI_5

Conversely, we must also attend to the question of how the primary stereotype in the mainstream media of the violent male and oppressed female Muslim permeates and informs the way Muslims in Canada, particularly the young and socially vulnerable, see themselves. That is, how does the mainstream media contribute to Canadian Muslims' imaginings of who they are and who they might become, and how they might find their place within Canadian society at large? We need to address how a persistently negative image, saturating the media and reinforced by security profiling practices, might impact Muslim identity formation.

"Now, as I mentioned, and I always say if you keep telling the people, the young people [that they are] "terrorists, terrorists, terrorists," well it becomes no meaning at the end of it and I'm terrorist or if I'm not terrorist, I am a terrorist by the Western definition. Even if I'm the best one and I am against the terrorism, I am a terrorist in their eyes so it doesn't make any

difference to me at the end of the line, if I am 20 or 18 years old it doesn't make any difference to me if I am good guy or bad guy because I am already labelled the bad guy. [Even if I do] the good thing all the time I'm defined as a terrorist. So, therefore I would probably go to the definition, to the thing that I am a terrorist and if I probably do stupid things I am justified because they already labelled me... The people who are doing the labelling and accusation keep repeating, repeating, repeating that it creates a generation of defiance who say it doesn't make any difference anymore... Yeah...and just to tell you I can read that in England when I have listened to the media every time on the BBC saying "so, so, so," keep repeating and repeating and I keep watching an event in England, well I guess that's, that's it what else definition I can come up with? And if I am 18 years old living in England probably I would join those people because that's the atmosphere, that's the thing pushing me into that direction. So, therefore I would say that the media and the policy is blind enough not to see beyond their footsteps... They [youth] do become antagonized." RPAI_5

3.3 The Experience of Racial Profiling

"Prior to September 11, 2001, the racial profiling debate largely focused on African Canadians, usually, though not exclusively, in the context of criminal law. ... After 9/11, however, the racial profiling debate focused more squarely on Arabs and Muslims while it also spilled beyond the criminal law to other contexts such as banking and employment. Moreover, 9/11 forced a fundamental shift in the racial profiling discourse. The central contention was no longer whether racial profiling was in fact taking place or how to best prevent incidents of racial profiling or even whether the Charter offered adequate remedial measures to address racial profiling. Rather, racial profiling debates in the context of the War against Terrorism focus on whether Canadian society can morally, legally, or politically condone racial profiling." (Bahdi 2003)

In this section we present some of our participants in their own voices, describing their encounters with security officials while travelling.

"It's very difficult to describe to someone who hasn't gone through these experiences about how painful and how humiliating it is...it's really a horrible feeling... I learned the hard way just to live with it. So, do I want to continue living with it? No, it's horrible it's very stressful doing something to his or her own humanity. You are ripping someone apart not because they're a bad person but because of the colour of their skin or where they were born and raised and that's also what's unhealthy for the people who are in power but I'm all hope. I really am all hope that this is a phase, a painful phase that humanity's going through and I really generally see the... Canada has treated me for the most part, very well, I really as I said I feel Canadian, I'm proud of my background and I feel balanced between the two worlds and I really think that it's a phase that Canada is going through and I think people will get it that we're part of this community, part of this society and there's more to people of Muslim background than what you see on TV."

RPAI_45

"I'm just saying, I'm not sure if the most effective way to do that, is to check just all the people with Muslim names. Or just check all the people with dark skin. You know, or check all the males... I don't think you're gonna necessarily catch the perpetrators, by doing that. And my interest as a citizen and as someone who travels is that, people who are planning to do things like this are caught. So I think there are probably more valuable things, you know that are important, about, you know deciding, who gets on. And you, you touched on that, when you talked about behavioural characteristics. How someone's acting, you know. Um, if someone's suspicious. I don't care what colour their skin is. You know, check them out, pat them down. And, if it, again if it happened to me uh say, uh four out of eight of the times I travelled to a particular airport um, I might be able to, fifty percent, I would maybe say, okay, it's random. You know they're checking people, maybe I look, maybe because I'm a single male, travelling by myself, with not much luggage, blah, blah, blah, you know, they have these fears. And, you know they check me out and, you know, I'm glad they did. But if it happens eight out of eight times. And it starts to feel really obvious to me, and I'm thinking, you just wasted your time. ... Yeah, if I'm flying to Ottawa six to eight times a year, and six to eight times out of six to eight times, I get patted down, in a so-called random, check, or moved to the

line. You know there's the line where, you get a little bit extra attention. ... Maybe the guy behind me or the woman behind me is carrying something. And you didn't check them. Right? You didn't think. You didn't check them and you know, maybe, maybe they're travelling under an assumed name. A false identity and it's not a Muslim name. And this is what bothers me about that. It's not that, I'm being checked. It's just that you know you're not checking other people, and...I'm a good Canadian citizen, whatever that means. And you know I'm not interested in, in violence, or any of that sort of stuff. But, the person behind me, might be, and you might not be checking them, just because they didn't fit your racial profile... So I don't think, it's a useful way... I think the question is what does a terrorist look like? You know, that's the interesting question." AI_17_REC003

Several participants pointed out that upon sight it is difficult to fit them into a racial category. Only when the customs officer had read their name or their place of birth on their passport did the routine interaction become clouded by suspicion.

At the border actually in between the two as I was held in interrogations at the border from Canada to the US, as soon as the immigration saw me I mean literally my name and that I was born in Saudi Arabia I was immediately asked to get out of the car, park it, and they went and searched the heck out of the car... RPAI_16

"Usually for me it's like when, they read that I was born in Iran, I'm a second-class citizen. Because of that. I don't feel that I'm treated equally to other Canadians. I mean it's obvious. ... And uh, I was with my girlfriend, who's, white. You know, Anglo, Canadian. And, uh, like I went in there and the guy, and I always could see when they look right at where you're born. I could see their eyes. So, cause everything's fine until they look at that. And uh, he said, [pause] okay, well come with me. You have to come in the back. And we were like, okay. So we went, well my girlfriend followed us, and she said to the guy, "Well what do I do?" And he said, "I don't care." Was his response [chuckle] so she just said, okay. So she just kept following us. And they put her on the, we sat on this bench and there was another room, with, with, like a, a desk in there. And there was a woman

actually who was uh, this was around eleven o'clock when we went in there. And this poor woman, she was, she said she'd been there since six thirty in the morning." AI_18_REC036

"Definitely I always feel it in the airport because my husband's name is Muhammad and I have a cover on my head...you know, when everyone is going through security at like nobody has to open his bags and you are specifically asked to [have] your bags opened." WS_30044

S: "Oh by the US every time I go."

I: "Every time you go they fingerprint you?"

S: "Yes."

I: "Do they snap a photograph of you as well?"

S: "Yes, every time... I joke about it, I said I would randomly get selected so I have to be there, I don't go for automated check-in thing. I walk up to the other [airline worker] who says, I'm going to send you back there... I go "No, I'm not going back to that automated check-in." You see, they will say "Why?" "Because," I will say, "I'm going to randomly get selected for the special checking, and then I have to come back to you, because it won't give me the boarding pass" ... And I do get selected, when they do it I will get selected...because I know even the [computer] won't give me the pass."

I: "Every time you go through special check-in?"

S: "Yes, every time..." ag09rpai9

It's that place in my Canadian passport, that place of birth is the Middle East, the Arabic last name, it's the...whatever it is. I discovered a long time ago, it has nothing to do... I used to play the game, like I would...almost taught myself... I realized it's not me. I know that I'm a good person, as a matter fact, an ideal person in Canada by all measures. But it's not about that, it's simply racial profiling, because of my background, my place of birth, that's my charge. It wasn't like the soccer team was like pulled the car aside, lined my entire soccer team said to them, "Can I have your passports, please—blah blah blah—yes, yes." They stood outside and came

to me and said, "Can you please come forward to the booth." I went to the booth and the interrogation started about my background, when did I come to Canada. RPAI_45

"They were asked to get out of the car, and the car was checked very, very, closely. Every bit of it, even as close as the carpet underneath the driver's seat. The seats themselves were taken out, very rigorously checked. And then they went inside and they were individually, each one individually put in a room and questioned for over an hour...questions about their background, their history, personal questions that someone would not feel comfortable, answering in a normal situation. They were asked about many private things. What they do, their education, what their interests are, as if to fit them into a category of some sort. And at the end of the day, they found nothing in the car. But the questioning still went on. And so, what, what is this based on? And the guess of my relatives was, this is based on some sort of racial profiling...then the next step was for them to be identified as religious fundamentalists, after their racial profiling. And putting those two together, they were identified as a threat, somehow." WS_30029, 30, 31

"I can never do pre-check-ins. You know how you can do check-in at home [on the web]? Or you can use the machines [at the airports]? I can't use the machines. I have to actually go [to the flight agent for my boarding pass]. Any time that I try to use it, it says that, you know, there has been an error. And whenever I've asked them, well why can't I? They're like, "Your name's too common." And I'm like, well no, it's not [laugh]...if I'm flying I'm usually selected out of the line to be frisked, or have my pictures taken. And then I know that a few people, who are kind of involved in either student politics, or, who are involved in other forms of activism, um, are Muslim, have been approached by CSIS. Which for their families is very uncomfortable. I see a link with the fact that they're Muslim, and that they're active in civil society and that they're being approached." RK AI_02

"At airports I would experience certain things where, you know, I wouldn't set off the metal detector, but I would be asked to take off my shoes. I was with a group of students. There were four of us, and three were Caucasian and then myself...none of us set off the metal detector. But I was sent in a different line than the other three. And I was asked to take off my shoes...

I think also the courtesy towards me was less...the security officers were more curt, towards me, and you know, first of all they're...singling me out in particular. And then they're not even making sure my shoes speedily get back to me...it's humiliating, in fact. Everyone looks at you because you're wearing hijab. So they know that you're Muslim... I was actually visiting Parliament. And the button on my skirt set off a metal detector and I was in front of the whole group, I was asked to step aside... They don't even have a sort of a private area where you could be searched. They were feeling you down in a public setting." WS_30027, 30028

3.3.1 Impacts of Racial Profiling on Private Lives

Direct incidents, recounted by participants, of being questioned and having their bodies and belongings searched by Canadian security guards and customs officials, at airports or when driving through the Canada-US border, or in other public places within Canada, were the primary focus of our exploration; however, in many cases they comprise only the first layer of the individual narrative.

Participants spoke about a number of different levels on which profiling, practiced within the climate of a heightened fear of "terrorism", had affected their lives. Not all participants had been directly questioned or screened by security officials. Nearly all, however, expressed an opinion or an expectation, often based on knowledge of what others have experienced, that, given the increased powers of security forces, Muslims, Arabs, Persians, South Asians or people with the appearance of belonging to those groups are now much more likely to be subjected to a higher level of official scrutiny.

For some participants the perception of racial profiling as a "new normal" has led to what we can only describe as self-censorship of their cultural or religious identities. These participants expressed fear of speaking or travelling freely, or they told us of others in their communities who had backed away

from social, cultural and religious activities out of fear of suspicion, surveillance, or persistent questioning by state officials, and out of fear of the wider social and economic repercussions of being so targeted.

Within this context, then, it is a fearful sense of expectation, or resignation, to racial profiling as an inevitable feature of this new climate, whether it happens directly to them or not, that participants attest is a factor in the changes they have made or witnessed others making in their private lives. Several participants describe adopting a practice of "self-censorship" in conducting their correspondence and phone conversations or by withdrawing from activities they previously enjoyed, or from the free expression of ideas in political or civic arenas.

Fear of the negative effects of questioning or surveillance by the state is also cited as a factor in the decision to avoid travel, particularly to the US, and to avoid participating in overtly religious events and spaces, such as going to the mosque.

Other participants, however, have been galvanized by their experiences; telling us they were now more determined to use their Muslim identity to engage society, to be more active and vocal in the defense of their own rights, to educate others about their rights, and to use the "profiling moment" to bring about a more positive understanding of what a Muslim is.

"I don't see a lot of anger, I don't see a lot of despair amongst the people that I circulate with. It's more like bemusement, and it's more like passive resignation. They just accept that this is how it is now..." WS 30039

"If they question me, I don't have problems. I expect it; if I travel somewhere, if I cross the border, I am ready. It's my normal. To be questioned, or, to take longer than others. It's my normal." WS 30047

"I like the term 'resigned' very much, because it does capture the feeling of... [being] constrained by a larger social, system [or] social intention, let's say... My own constraints [have] been more of a drive to...talk more, and to clarify more, almost defending, in a way, who we are, as different people...how to communicate difference in a way that is, that takes people away from their stereotypes...is really a big challenge, for me. Before 9/11 let's say there wasn't that sense, just as a citizen of this country, I didn't feel that." WS 30029, 30, 31

"There's this feeling that we have the responsibility to change our behaviour to accommodate the suspicion that is unfairly placed on us." WS_30027, 30028

"Certain minority groups are targeted all the time, then you wonder whether the reason being given is really what it is and right now it's come to a point where my husband shakes his shoulders and says 'whatever'. He doesn't want to fight it because fighting it would mean that they could really give him a harder time and then he'll end up missing his flight..." WS 30046

"I know not to write certain e-mails or to censor myself when I speak on the phone because I'm cognizant that there is someone watching me particularly because of the way that my body is read and my name etcetera, kind of put me in a high risk category...it's almost like self-surveillance. I know that I can't do certain things. I can't say certain things, because there is the potential that someone will be listening...and you know there would be very few things that could actually protect me, because the anti-terror laws give the state so much power and control over the whole litigation process...that makes me more nervous that because of [the fact that I'm] a Muslim, those legal safeguards won't be applicable..." RKAI_O2

The repeated use of "resigned" or "passive resignation" as a descriptor of several participants' perceptions of racial profiling as a "new normal" in the aftermath of 9/11 raises at least one possible question for further investigation. If 9/11 is indeed the most accurate marker of political and social change in Canadian society, how much of the past is being forgotten? Could there be

value in collecting data about the pre-9/11 experiences of those communities that are now a heightened security target?

"I remember as a teenager growing up in Canada and feeling free, and feeling I don't have to watch my back, I don't have to feel like my conversations with people are being recorded. No, I mean things were great at that time. And now all of a sudden I know I have never broken the law, never done anything wrong and yet why am I being targeted? It's just too much. I mean I've got a family, I've got a career, I've got a lot to lose so what do you do? You take the cowardice way out, right?" WS30046

"There has been an internal change. Prior to September 11th I had no emotional negativity, let's say, attached to declaring I am Muslim. And now when I say that if I meet someone or they ask, there is a sense of maybe trepidation or I start to wonder when they hear that I'm Muslim what are the images that are coming up..." RPAI_12-pt1_REC024

"We don't generally have that conversation, because the world that we live in is after 9/11 and...what things were like on September 10th of 2001 I don't think people even look back to that anymore...if you're looking at the long-term heritage of Muslim communities in Canada I think that there is value in doing that...there's definitely value in trying to understand [that heritage]." WS 30039

3.3.2 Impacts: Cultural Organizations and Charitable Causes

Participants who are members of community organizations representing at least five different cultural backgrounds described a climate of fear that now inhibits members they know from attending religious or cultural gatherings, or from donating money to charitable causes. The repercussions of this fear are such that charitable efforts on the part of communities face several systemic hurdles when applying for official charitable status. We would like to see further investigation of the collective impact of this widespread fear, particularly that arising from direct incidents of intimidation by security forces, and how

that fear affects community organizations whose success depends on the high morale and trust among their volunteers.

"I work with several organizations doing humanitarian projects abroad. And the climate of fear that exists within these organizations...I make sure there's absolute fiscal transparency to ensure that every single penny is accounted for. We have to ensure that no one on the board has any religious affiliation. It gets out of hand, you know. I mean, why is it that we cannot form an organization that helps needy people in Afghanistan or Iraq but not have anyone on the board that has religious—without basically kick[ing] the Imam off one of the boards that I'm on...this is that climate of fear that has taken effect. There is one organization that was audited three years ago that relied heavily on donations from our community. They have projects in Africa, they have projects in North America. They have projects in the Middle East. They were audited once. It just gave them such a climate of fear that people have refused to donate any funds to this organization... They do not [have] any incidences of misuse of funds. There is nothing stated that its activities are not legitimate. And so even though we know the people that are on the board and we trust them, members of the community have refused to donate funds to help..." [RK3]

"I've never seen people more worried, personally I'm not concerned, because I know we do everything in the light, everything's all open books for people, and for the world to see. But the people who are rarely associating themselves with even any kind of politics, they're afraid of even attending cultural events, these are people who are targeted too. [A lot] of people who got called from CSIS, intimidating calls that somebody would tell them, "you know, I'm just checking something..." have complained to us in person and to the community centre where I used to work saying that "We do get calls from [CSIS], we don't know why, and they're not telling us why."

RPAI_16

"Especially when it comes to raising funds...in the Tamil society it has almost become a scary thought...to help the people back home... When we had the last fundraiser in Vancouver because the northeastern area of Sri Lanka was...really badly affected. Kids are malnourished, there's no medical supplies going there and basically we were raising funds to send to a church, a

registered church in Sri Lanka for them to help out the people there. I mean this is an organization that's well known and when we set out to raise funds everyone and I mean everyone and anyone who was involved towards that event was questioned by the RCMP.. When we had the event, RCMP showed up and they just walked right in and started questioning people. They were told to leave the premises when the event started and they stood outside and collected the names of all the people who attended the event... People who came to the event and donated in good faith and good will, they were intimidated and I don't think an organization that calls itself a security organization should be targeting poor people who are just [doing this] to help another human being..." RJ_WS 30046

3.3.3 Manufacturing the "Good Muslim": State interference in Muslim religious identity and practices

A number of narratives from our study reveal ways in which the state engages in a pronounced form of religious profiling. In these cases, security and intelligence agents approach self-identifying Muslims who hold an elected post or who volunteer in religious, cultural or charitable groups. Participants report that they do not feel they can turn down the agents' request for a meeting, and that they are questioned in detail about their precise religious beliefs, habits, teachings and influences, questions wherein their interrogators display familiarity with, and make normative statements about, such concepts as formal Islamic prayers, mosques, Imams, Wahhabi teachings, jihad, and the like. In effect, security and intelligence agents imply that the Muslim being questioned must share the agents' own preconceived notions about correct versus suspicious religious beliefs.

This display of security agents' "expertise" in what is supposed to be the religious culture of Muslims places a subtle and effective pressure on individuals who are anxious to preserve the sound reputation and integrity of the organization to which they belong, to agree to a meeting in the first place.

Above all, the state agent's expressed foreknowledge of their targeted informer's social and religious commitments is an attempt to gain his or her cooperation on the pretext of shared goals or common ground; hence, "We know who you are," implies confidence in the person's integrity and good influence, leading to the claim that "We want to protect you from the bad guys."¹⁴

For the individual being contacted, to go any further along this trajectory by agreeing to be questioned by Canadian security agents, is to surrender, however conditionally, to the premise that there are or could be such "bad guys" lurking within the sphere of social, cultural or religious activities enjoyed by Muslims in Canada. Indeed participants describe how they cannot challenge the logic of the CSIS agents' claim that they want to stop "bad guys," but instead they face the anxious and time-consuming burden of "proving" that neither they nor any of their family, friends and community organization members are involved in anything that could be considered suspicious activity. The "good" Muslim is not entitled, according to this logic, to insist on her right to privacy, to refuse to co-operate with the state's invasive methods of questioning and "keeping in touch," because she must be willing to demonstrate repeatedly that she has "nothing to hide."

We question the logic and efficacy of a security and surveillance ethos that burdens the innocent with surrendering their privacy in order to "prove" their innocence, not just once, but in many cases repeatedly, when there is no question of their being otherwise, as security agents are continually at pains to reassure the Muslims of whom they want to "just ask questions." We also question especially those security measures that amount to state interference in the personal religious practices of targeted individuals.

"[M]y experience with CSIS is related to my religious identity... When I asked him 'why me,' he said we know you are a leader in the community

and everyone knows you and you are a principal of the weekend school. He was asking me what we teach in the school, what kind of topics we give the children, and I gave him brief answers. All our events are social gatherings—picnics, dinners. Of course they were all leading questions about our mosque...on the one hand I was not comfortable being targeted because of my religion, I know they are not asking questions from non-Muslims about what kind of teachings do they have, what kind of beliefs are being promoted in their church or temple, but they ask us these questions. But because I have nothing to hide, I did not feel I could say no." rp_RK013

"My son is going to school, and he was a leader of the youth activities. I found out that he was also contacted by CSIS, at first without my knowledge. And my son was granted a scholarship and he resigned his position at the mosque. And then I received a call in April or May from them [CSIS] asking me, where is my son? When is he coming back?" rp_RK013

"CSIS contacted me saying that since I'm the president of the Muslim Students' Association and I thought that this is not a bad thing after all since it's a good thing to have good relations with the government and show them that the MSA and almost every other Muslim organization in Canada has nothing to hide. I would meet them whenever they wanted... I would provide them with whatever details and answer every question... I thought that this would end right away since after a couple of meetings there's nothing else to actually say...everything is quite out there...the MSA website is updated all the time... And I've told them that time and time again that it's all there, why would you meet me again and they would just say the same words, 'touch base, ask questions'... I don't want to appear as a person who has something to hide. At the beginning it was all about the MSA but later on they would only ask me personal questions. 'What are you doing? How are you coping with this and that?' Really I couldn't figure the purpose of them, unless they are fishing for something and trying to find something that's really not there." WS 30041

"We're a little concerned about when we hear that the police are going to start focusing on what they're terming "radicalization"...what role they're going to play fomenting radicalization because the police are playing a more active role in the commission of crimes than they had in the past. What I'm

talking about here is informants maybe acting as agents provocateurs as we saw may have happened in the Toronto 17 case... There's an RCMP liaison officer and he basically serves all of BC, but he's focused mostly on, guess what, the South Asian and Arab communities here. We don't see a lot of Hindus and Buddhists at the meetings and that's just something, again, that we expect... The other goal [of the RCMP liaison officer] is to have constant contact within our community itself, to help us foster, sort of healthy good citizens [and] communities who are watching for, and again it's this word they keep using and it's "radicalization" and to find out what that means and what we can look for, what we can expect to find in our own communities." WS 30039

"I don't feel really comfortable when I found out that government agencies like CSIS would give a closer look at people like me who's active... I feel that I'm being intimidated just because I'm active [in the Muslim students' group]. This makes me uncomfortable and calculating if I wanted to do anything in the future, will this affect me if I wanted to for example renew my visa or renew my studies here, or anything...just because I feel that they have a watchful eye over me all the time." WS 30041

"I got a call, a phone call, from CSIS... They told me 'Oh, your name comes to us from others.' They told me we should do interview, we have to. And, I insist, why you chose me? They know I'm from Saudi community...here it's like, 200 Saudis in Vancouver. They told me, we want to protect you from the bad guys, from the bad guys among you. They ask me about the Saudi community here. Which mosque are you going to pray? Who is your spiritual leader? Which Imam is coming to your club? Which Imam or mosque do you have good relationship with? Which Imam you are praying with? They ask me, have you heard any calling for jihad, or like some extreme views about Islam in Vancouver? I think their aim from that interview, they want two things. First they want to collect information about the Muslim community in general and Saudi community in specific. Also they want maybe in that way, to frighten us. Like if you are active, and you are not of course supporting any terrorist group, you're just concentrating on the Muslim community, doing very peaceful things. I believe that they want to frighten the Muslims from being active, from organizing themselves, I think that is one of the main goals." WS 30047

3.4 On Citizenship and Civil Society

The narratives clustered in this section expose a serious fault line between state rhetoric of multiculturalism as a blessing enjoyed by all Canadians and the divisive, isolating reality experienced by several of the study participants. That rhetoric is employed by state powers whose practices of profiling individuals based on their religious or cultural identity lead to a considerable lessening of their confidence as to whether citizenship holds out enough protection against such practices; and whether the democratic principles of equality and inclusiveness, undermined by state practices, really apply to them.

These narratives also underscore the reality that the principles of democratic freedoms and civil rights as outlined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms are far from being foreign concepts to which newcomers or religious minorities must be scoldingly assimilated. Rather they are the deeply held ideals of social and political cohesion to which they repeatedly and warmly appeal when taking exception to the way they have been treated by state officials, or represented by the media; and because of these ideals, many participants also still speak of a hope that they can engage in community efforts to defend their rights, and of their commitment to improving the situation for others who might be even more vulnerable to discrimination than they are. Yet the conundrum is that when they do exercise their civic rights and, for instance, refuse to be pressured to meet with security agents, by virtue of their concern to defend their rights and to bolster the confidence of others, they are viewed as a threat.

These narratives also give voice, to grave concerns about the impact of racial and religious profiling on those who, being more recent newcomers and perhaps lacking language skills or being subject to other systemic disadvan-

tages, may be more vulnerable as they struggle through the authoritarian and impersonal cycle of immigration and assimilation. Worries are expressed about people experiencing alienation, depression, feelings of being marginalized, outcast, and negatively singled out. Other narrators elaborate on the ways in which newcomers to Canada are increasingly subject to invasive background checks and other forms of screening by immigration officers or potential employers. Here, the question arises of how the immigration process has become increasingly shaped by concerns about “national security” and how the difficulties faced by newcomers already dealing with socio-economic pressures become compounded by these extended “security” processes.

Participants who had had negative experiences of being singled out on the basis of their religious or racial identity often refused to be pessimistic; saying they hoped things would change in Canada, and more often expressing a commitment to be a part of the effort to bring about change through improved understanding between groups. However, they also expressed fear that others who share their cultural or religious background may not be as confident in asserting their rights as law-abiding citizens. In addition to expressing solidarity with those whom they regarded as being more vulnerable in Canadian society, participants often reflected on their experiences in the context of Canadian history, wherein different groups, such as Japanese Canadians during World War II, have suffered directly under the impact of racist political ideologies and the policies of security forces.

“It’s funny when these things happen, when people start to realize that they’re not really assimilated into society anymore. It’s almost they start feeling their difference, much [more] and in a negative sense. Not a positive sense. So...for my relatives, they felt wow, we’re not really, I mean at the end of the day, when something happens, we’re really going to be singled out, no matter what. I think they’ve come to realize that...they’re going

to have to live their lives. And they have to accept that this has become, unfortunately, may become, the norm, the way a person who is singled out, targeted, as different, this is how that person now has to lead their life... always with the risk of undergoing these really, really, very violating experiences." WS_30029, 30, 31

"At first [it was as if] we were living in a larger space where you can move around more. And it's your space, and all of a sudden you feel that the walls have closed in. And a person can't get out...this is one's home. And it's been home for a long time, for a lot of people here. And, the option of leaving one's home, it is very much unfair, unjust, to feel inclined, even if subtly, to leave one's home, for security reasons." WS_30029,30, 31

"From what I see they're [RCMP and CSIS] using intimidation tactics and a lot of people don't know what's out there to help them. And a lot of people fear because they came from a nation where they were intimidated; they came here for freedom and then they go through the same kind of questioning and they say, "You know what, it's too much hassle, we've gone through this before, we're going through this again. We don't want to, we just want a peaceful life," and they back out [of fundraising for charity]. So, basically the RCMP is successful in keeping the Tamils [in Canada] away from helping the suffering Tamils." RJ_WS 30046

"I definitely think that a lot of people are scared, especially the people I mentioned who have been visited by CSIS...so I think there is that sort of self-censoring pressure to prove that they're not a threat in any way...that they're, you know, as Canadian as anyone else. And I think that's very dangerous. 'Cause a lot of times it means not being critical of Canada, or being critical of anything, because you wanna make sure that you're coming across as being a real, homegrown, apple pie kind of person." Tape # 2

"I know that you are doing your job. But what you're doing is that you are now targeting innocent people, and you are putting things in our minds that are not there, you are marginalizing us. I never thought I would be treated like this in Canada. I am fine with this questioning for myself, I will be unmoved by it, I am not going to change anything about myself because of you [CSIS] calling me. But I'm really concerned if people feel because CSIS

is calling them, if they feel accused of something they've never even thought about, and they get frustrated from the pressure you're placing on them, you have to accept that is the consequence of your actions. People feel marginalized and become depressed about how we are being treated here." rp_RK013

"Every single person I know here has absolutely the best intention for the community and for Canada at large. And if you are going to go to these good people and intimidate them, ask them questions just because a few people around the world did something bad, you're going to turn these people against you. They are not going to do something bad but at the end they won't feel comfortable. They will feel like they are singled out. They feel that they are not part of this community, of this nation. They will feel that they are outsiders and you are helping in...just out-casting them." R_J_WS 30041

"The first thing that jumps to mind when a Middle Eastern person comes here and...a CSIS person contacts him, that person would really right away think of these kinds of officials in the Middle East. It's basically the same government branch. And it's absolutely the worst thing so you shouldn't use such a branch of government to beat around the bush and ask people such questions." R_J_WS 30041

"There's supposedly a new law, bill 16 or 18 and supposedly within that they have a right to secure evidence. So you can be deported without knowing why...they have something about withdrawing Canadian citizenship...[it's] been [on the books] for about three years. Now, there hasn't been a precedent yet...now having all these rules somebody might say, "Oh, none of this was ever implemented." Yeah, but why do you have it? It's as if they're waiting for the perfect case to make a precedent and then implement it. So a lot of people might say, "Oh my God I could lose my Canadian citizenship over saying no to injustice somewhere in some other country..." And that's terrifying for people to even voice their opinion about other countries. I have to say this is really damaging...being able to speak up freely in Canada is something that's very important to Canada to keep the tolerance. We all come from different backgrounds and we have problems in our country and there has to be a lot of tolerance and patience with people coming and

speaking out their minds, especially since...they came to Canada running away from a dictatorship regime where they had to basically close their mouth the whole time. Now when they come here, they're expecting a bit more freedom and that's why they came here, they were forced to come here more than anything else. To be able to live a better life where they can breathe, their kids can breathe and they're not threatened if they said no to something; to feel secure. And having such laws and rules and having this secret evidence, what the hell is this about?" RPAI_16

"I am actually cooperating with you today because if your study, your project, is doing something positive please do it. If one single document is put on my son's file it will follow him everywhere around the world. Where can we go, to escape this suspicion? We left our countries, so many of us, to get away from this, these regimes with police interrogations." rp_RK013

"I see a bright future actually, I don't see the future as grim or bad. I see this more of a passing phase...after a while I think government officials, at the end they will come to realize that Muslims are just like everybody else. They would contribute to the community and they would do more good if they are integrated in the community rather than singled out." R_J_WS 30041

"I don't want to leave, I still believe in Canada, because at least here I do think still we have rights and freedom, but we have to defend them for ourselves. I do think things can change. I'm not really worried for myself but for my kids, and for others like us. I think we should stand up for ourselves. And second, if they write anything on our file, I have nothing to hide and I'd rather stay here to defend myself, to clean up our file from the grassroots. We will not be able to live in peace anywhere in the world. Now with the no-fly list you know we don't know what's going to happen." rp_RK013

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

This research project aimed to hear the voices of individuals who have had experiences with racial profiling in our community. On the basis of what we learned in this process, we believe that racial profiling is occurring, and

that it is a practice that is particularly meaningful in Muslim communities. Our overall recommendation is that there needs to be greater transparency about what state agencies are doing and why. There also needs to be greater understanding of how and why this practice is experienced as harmful.

On the basis of this research, our recommendations are the following:

1. That all government agencies involved in security issues (including the CBSA and CIC) publicize their policies and practices regarding racial profiling.
2. That all government agencies involved in security issues keep records of their practices and make such records available so that the Canadian community can assess claims about government practices.
3. That community agencies providing services to newcomers to Canada also provide human rights education so that individuals who are likely to be targeted are aware of their legal obligations.
4. That targeted funding be made available for such training.
5. That security agencies engage in regular conversations regarding their policies and practices with communities that are likely to be particularly affected by these policies.
6. The place of birth identification be removed from Canadian passports.
7. The all government agencies involved in security issues continue to pursue diversity hiring.
8. That mainstream media be encouraged to portray accounts like the ones we heard during this project to provide some balance to security profiling in the media.

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ENDNOTES

¹ Our definition of racial profiling derives from two important Canadian sources: the Department of Justice Canada (2005) and the African-Canadian Legal Clinic (cited in Henry and Tator, 2005). "The phenomenon whereby certain criminal activity is attributed to an identified group in society on the basis of colour, resulting in the targeting of individual members of that group. In this context, race is illegitimately used as a proxy for the criminality or general criminal propensity of an entire racial group" (African-Canadian Legal Clinic, cited in *R. v. Brown*).

"Citing numerous academic and legal studies, the Justice Department report characterizes racial profiling as 'the use of race, religion, or ethnicity, either as the sole reason or as one factor among many, in a decision to detain or arrest an individual or to subject an individual to further investigation,'" Department of Justice Canada, 2005.

² The first component is a survey of community groups/individuals who believe that they have been affected by "racial profiling" in the post-9/11 world. The survey component consists of identifying approximately twenty to thirty community groups and approximately forty to fifty individuals (broadly defined as being "Muslim" and/or "Arab" and/or "Middle Eastern" and/or other visible minority groups, further divisible by gender, age, geography of origin, etc.) and confidentially surveying them to find out what impacts, if any, they have faced as a result of "racial profiling" and other "security" mechanisms since 9/11. The results of the survey was quantitative/numerical as well as based on subjective narratives.

The second component conducted research on the existing literature in Canada on racial profiling in the post-9/11 world. This survey of the literature formed a base from which to "track" how "racial profiling" is developing in Canada: what are the main issues in the "racial profiling" debate (security vs. privacy/equality rights, etc.) how is the law/policy in this area developing? What are some the "best/worst" practices which are developing etc., from MARU Society's project submission to the Law Foundation of BC, 2006.

³ Legal Education – This project has a legal education component since it will provide information to those who participate in the survey about their legal rights if they believe that they are being subjected to "racial profiling." The submissions made to the Canadian Border Service Agency (CBSA) will also be distributed to those who participate in the survey.

Legal Research – This project has a legal research component in the literature survey on the post-9/11 legal and policy responses to “racial profiling” and the development of submissions to the CBSA as a part of the “Fairness Initiative.”

Law Reform – The project has law reform component since intention of the submissions to the CBSA would be to highlight areas of concern arising when “racial profiling” is utilized in a “security” context and suggest best practices so as to ensure compliance with Charter and human rights.

Diversity – The project will be assisting impacted communities defined by race, religion, nationality and ethnicity. The very nature of the project is “diversity focused.” Law Foundation of BC grant application by MARU, 2006.

⁴ This project will contribute to grounding the discussion of racial profiling in immigration enforcement and law enforcement by seeking to uncover narratives which may reveal whether and how racial profiling is being deployed. Our starting point is an understanding that migrant communities are concerned about racial profiling. We seek to gather evidence about the extent to which this concern is validated and, in either case, to provide policy recommendations regarding both practices and perceptions of racial profiling.

⁵ MARU Society’s project submission to the Law Foundation of BC, 2006.

⁶ See Call to Participants in Appendix A.

⁷ Vancouver cooperative radio 102.7FM, Radio India 1600 AM, and al-Ameen newspaper, Vancouver.

⁸ Social imaginary as Charles Taylor (2004) defines it is an understanding of the type of consciousness people hold of their social reality – more so than an intellectual acuity – and the ways in which ordinary people understand their common social existence “both factual and ‘normative’; that is, we have a sense of how things usually go, but this is interwoven with an idea of how they ought to go, of what miss-steps would invalidate the practice. The social imaginary is that collective inarticulate understanding of our whole situation... it can never be adequately expressed in the form of explicit doctrines, because of its very unlimited and indefinite nature.” (24-25). Taylor, Charles. 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Duke University Press.

⁹ Herman, E. S. and R. W. McChesney. 2001. *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*. Continuum International Publishing Group.
Thornton, B., B. Walters, and L. Rouse. 2005. “Corporate Media Is Corporate America” in *Censored*. Available at: <http://s31076.gridserver.com/images/uploads/guide-corporate-media-ownership.pdf>
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¹⁰ Henry, F. and C. Tator. 2005. *Racial Profiling in Toronto: Discourses of Domination, Mediation, and Opposition*. Canadian Race Relations Foundation, Toronto. Available at: www.crr.ca/divers-files/en/pub/rep/ePubRepRacProTor2.pdf

¹¹ “The mass media are vital channels for dominant discourses (van Dijk 1991), which continually reproduce themselves in self-referential manners through the constant interaction between various communication channels. While oppositional, alternative, and populist discourses are carried by the mass media from time to time, they tend on the aggregate to be overwhelmed by the ubiquity of dominant discourses... However, notwithstanding the Canadian state’s allocation of symbolic resources to minority groups through legislative and administrative vehicles (Breton 1984), the latter are largely unable to gain effective control of the dominant discourses of society (Itwaru 1991). Traditional socio-cultural elites, in maintaining their substantive control of key institutions such as the mass media (Royal Commission on Newspapers 1981), are able continually to reinterpret public symbols in their own favour. Thus, having deconstructed exclusionary social structures, the

alternative discourses of multiculturalism then lose ground to the dominant discourses of elites, which proceed to reconstruct symbolically parts of the old order in which certain types of people were legally considered subservient to others (Patmore 1990:7-28)."

Karim, K. 1993. Constructions, Deconstructions, and Reconstructions: Competing Canadian Discourses on Ethnocultural Terminology. *Canadian Journal of Communication* 18(2). Available at: <http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=167>.

- ¹³ Bullock, K. H. and G .J. Jafri. 2000. Media (Mis)Representations: Muslim Women in the Canadian Nation. *Canadian Woman Studies* 20 (2): 35-40.

"Cartoons published between 1972 and 1982 were gathered from three major Toronto dailies. Mouammar found that Arabs were repeatedly portrayed as bloodthirsty terrorists who were blackmailing the West. They were depicted in the cartoons as ignorant, cruel, and backward. One cartoon after another in the ten-year sample portrayed Arabs in a negative and stereotypical manner, using images suggesting that they were tyrannical, untrustworthy, amoral, irrational, and the architects of international terrorism. The researcher appointed to the danger of this kind of racism by suggesting that the foundations for the Holocaust had been made by German caricaturists, who regularly depicted Jews in a similar fashion." (Mouammar, 1986:13, cited in Henry and Tator, 2005).

For more on the representations of Arabs in the entertainment media see *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*. Trailer at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8QKxHINgloA>

This groundbreaking documentary dissects a slanderous aspect of cinematic history that has run virtually unchallenged from the earliest days of silent film to today's biggest Hollywood blockbusters. Featuring acclaimed author Dr. Jack Shaheen, the film explores a long line of degrading images of Arabs from Bedouin bandits and submissive maidens to sinister sheikhs and gun-wielding "terrorists" – along the way offering devastating insights into the origin of these stereotypic images, their development at key points in US history, and why they matter so much today. Shaheen shows how the persistence of these images over time has served to naturalize prejudicial attitudes toward Arabs and Arab culture, in the process reinforcing a narrow view of individual Arabs and the effects of specific US domestic and international policies on their lives. By inspiring critical thinking about the social, political, and basic human consequences of leaving these Hollywood caricatures unexamined, the film challenges viewers to recognize the urgent need for counter-narratives that do justice to the diversity and humanity of Arab people and the reality and richness of Arab history and culture. Available at: <http://www.mediaed.org/videos/MediaRaceAndRepresentation/ReelBadArabs>

- ¹⁴ Mamdani, Mahmood. 2004. *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*. Pantheon.

"In this excellent, well-documented book, Mamdani dispels the notion that terrorism is based in culture (rather than politics), and explains 9/11 – and the popularity of terrorism as a tactic – as the direct result of the Cold War. The book examines the Western premise that 'bad' Muslims practice terrorism, are 'fundamentalists' and hate freedom, while 'good' Muslims are modern, secular and support US foreign policy. The underlying assumptions, of course, are that any Muslim could be a terrorist and that good Muslims should be ready and willing to prove their patriotism and loyalty." From a review by Erin Wiegand, 2004. Available at: http://www.lipmagazine.org/articles/reviwiegand_mamdani.htm