



Security and Immigration, Changes and Challenges: Immigrant and Ethnic Communities in Atlantic Canada, Presumed Guilty?

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explores changes and challenges arising out of new security and immigration laws in Canada, specifically the *Anti-Terrorism Act* and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*. While we trace the growing interface between security and immigration, more generally, we pay specific attention to the impact of these developments on women and men in immigrant and ethnic communities in Atlantic Canada. Multiple research instruments are used (from reviews of secondary literature, to town halls, focus groups, surveys and interviews) and the data are derived from work at six sites (Halifax, Charlottetown, Fredericton, Moncton, Saint John and St. John's) throughout the region.

In the final analysis, it becomes apparent that the current emphasis on narrower notions of security, as well as the primacy placed on market-based calculations, have led to the racialization of particular groups and the exacerbation of tendencies that result in the invisibilization of women. This has contributed to the general perception, and the reality for some, that citizenship plays out in radically different ways depending on one's race, ethnicity and gender. In turn, this undercuts a sense of security for citizens and non-citizens alike and undermines notions of Canadian citizenship. As a result, fundamental ideals and practices of Canadian citizenship, as well as of Canadian democracy, are now in question.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABA	American Bar Association
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AMA	Atlantic Metropolis Centre of Excellence
ANC	Association of Newcomers to Canada
ATA	<i>Anti-Terrorism Act</i>
CBSA	Canada Border Services Agency
CCR	Canadian Council for Refugees
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
DHS	Department of Homeland Security (United States)
IRPA	<i>Immigration and Refugee Protection Act</i>
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service (United States)
JUST	Standing Committee on Justice, Human Rights, Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness of the House of Commons (before April 2006) Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights of the House of Commons (after April 2006)
LC/LCs	Local co-ordinator(s)
LRG/LRGs	Local reference group(s)
MAGMA	Multicultural Association of Greater Moncton
MISA	Metropolitan Immigrant and Settlement Association (Halifax)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PATRIOT Act	Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act
PCO	Privy Council Office
PSEPC	Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SECU	Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security of the House of Commons (after April 2006)
SNSN	Sub-Committee on Public Safety and National Security (of the JUST Committee of the House of Commons)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPEI	University of Prince Edward Island
USCIS	United States Citizenship and Immigration Services

PREFACE

Good public policy depends on good policy research. In recognition of this, Status of Women Canada instituted the Policy Research Fund in 1996. It supports independent policy research on issues linked to the public policy agenda and in need of gender-based analysis. Our objective is to enhance public debate on gender equality issues in order to enable individuals, organizations, policy makers and policy analysts to participate more effectively in the development of policy.

The focus of the research may be on long-term, emerging policy issues or short-term, urgent policy issues that require an analysis of their gender implications. Funding is awarded through an open, competitive call for proposals. A non-governmental, external committee plays a key role in identifying policy research priorities, selecting research proposals for funding and evaluating the final reports.

This policy research paper was proposed and developed under a call for proposals in August 2002, entitled Engendering the Human Security Agenda. Research projects funded by Status of Women Canada on this theme examine issues such as human security and Aboriginal women, the impact of the national security agenda on racialized women, the effect of Canada's new immigration and refugee protection act on women asylum seekers, and changes and challenges arising out of new security and immigration laws in Canada and their impacts on immigrant and ethnic communities.

A complete list of the research projects funded under this call for proposals is included at the end of this report.

We thank all the researchers for their contribution to the public policy debate.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

The authors have been listed in alphabetical order here and on the title page.

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Edna Keeble is an associate professor of political science at Saint Mary's University. Her research and writing in the Canadian foreign policy field have focussed on issues of security, including recent articles in *International Journal* and *The American Review of Canadian Studies*. She was a member of the Advisory Board of Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy (1997-2000), and through this project, she is a member of the Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security which advises public safety and justice ministers.

Carmen Celina Moncayo is a community researcher, community advocate, psychologist and human rights specialist, originally from Colombia. From 2000 to the spring of 2005 Carmen Celina worked at the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) in Halifax as the family violence and cross-cultural awareness program co-ordinator, designing and delivering educational programs for new Canadians and mainstream service providers on cross-cultural issues and family violence prevention.

Evangelia Tastsoglou is a professor of sociology at Saint Mary's University. Her research and writing have focussed on gender and migration in Canada and internationally, immigrant women, ethnicity/race, and multiculturalism and anti-racism. Her publications have appeared in the *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, *Studies in Political Economy* and *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. She has co-edited with L. Maratou-Alipranti, *Gender and International Migration: Focus on Greece* (Athens, EKKE, 2003) and with A. Dobrowolsky *Women, Migration and Citizenship: Making Local, National and Transnational Connections* (Ashgate Press, 2006).

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To begin with, we are thankful for the funding and feedback provided by the Status of Women Canada Policy Research Fund and the Department of Canadian Heritage in carrying out the project and to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, for assistance with printing and distribution of the final report.

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In particular we would like to acknowledge the following institutions and organizations:

Association for New Canadians (St. John's)
Canadian Heritage – PEI Office
GoldNET Smart Technologies
Healthy Policy Branch Atlantic – Health Canada – PEI Office
Holland College Atlantic Police Academy
Legal Aid – Office of the Attorney General – Government of PEI
Multicultural Association of Greater Moncton (MAGMA)
Multicultural Association of Fredericton
PEI Association for Newcomers to Canada (PEI ANC)
Status of Women Canada – PEI Office
UPEI Student Services
UPEI Career Development and Employment

The Metropolitan Immigrant Association (MISA) in Halifax was our indispensable community liaison, connecting us to local immigrant settlement and multicultural associations in all the research sites and providing space for all our Halifax meetings, regional advisory workshops and local reference groups. Saint Mary's University provided invaluable in-kind contributions and supported the Research Team with time releases for research purposes. The Gender/Immigrant Women Domain of the Atlantic Metropolis Centre of Excellence (AMA) provided a useful forum for interaction with interested colleagues and discussion of research issues.

In addition, we would like to thank Barbara Cottrell our very capable project co-ordinator and our dedicated research assistants, interviewers and focus group facilitators at each of the six sites. Finally, the research team brought together individuals from wide ranging backgrounds with assorted skills, disciplinary insights, practical experiences as well as personal strengths. This diversity enhanced the process and contributed to the final report, truly representing a team effort throughout. We have all been enriched, both professionally and personally, by this experience. Heartfelt thanks to all.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study explores changes and challenges arising out of new security and immigration laws in Canada, specifically the *Anti-Terrorism Act* (ATA) and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA). While we trace the growing interface between security and immigration, more generally, we pay specific attention to the impact of these developments on women and men in immigrant and ethnic communities in Atlantic Canada. Multiple research instruments are used (from reviews of secondary literature, to town halls, focus groups, surveys and interviews) and the data are derived from work at six sites (Halifax, Charlottetown, Fredericton, Moncton, Saint John and St. John's) throughout the region.

We find that the growing interface between security and im/migration (encompassing both immigration and migration matters) fundamentally affects understandings of what Canadian citizenship means. Most notably, rather than promoting a more expansive Canadian citizenship for the 21st century, citizenship ideals and norms appear to be contracting. We identify a number of themes/trends that perpetuate these tendencies:

- the new emphasis on traditional, internal security (i.e., *securitization*);
- the new tying up of security with immigration matters (i.e., *securitization of migration*);
- the continued centrality of the market (i.e., *marketization*);
- the *expansion of the state* through increased, security-related bureaucratic processes and the *reinforcement of state boundaries*;
- the exacerbation of existing racism and even development of new forms, both overt and subtle (i.e., *racialization*); and
- the submersion of women's concerns (i.e., increased *invisibilization*).

Our report suggests that the Canadian state has directed its energies toward both securitization and marketization, and these, in turn, produce securitization of migration, expansion of the state and reinforcement of state boundaries and serve to perpetuate racialization, and women's invisibilization. As a result, new developments in security and immigration policies reflect exclusionary tendencies rather than inclusionary ones (e.g., contraction/retrenchment of rights and freedoms, reinforcement of state boundaries). Overall, these themes/trends illustrate that citizenship ideas, ideals and practices have shifted affecting male and female citizens, and non-citizens, to the detriment of Canadian democracy.

Accordingly, we make a number of policy recommendations as initial efforts to reverse these troubling trends. In terms of broader policy directions, we recommend that the government pay close attention to global trends that increasingly link im/migration and security policies in order to disentangle Canadian security concerns from immigration matters. In this vein, Canada's security and immigration policies must be based on Canadian priorities, and more attuned to the distinctiveness of Canadian political culture and its specific socio-economic and political context. Our research participants were clearly concerned about their perception that Canada was too often responding to or following the lead of the United States. Fundamentally, Canada should

adopt broader notions of security at home and abroad. Economic security (freedom from want), security as peace (freedom from fear) and the protection of human rights regardless of where individual women and men reside, as well as personal security for women and men, are the dimensions that should be brought to bear in any discussion of security in Canada. This, then, is by necessity tied up with the security of individuals globally.

In light of this, Canadian citizenship ideals should more closely fit with Canadian citizenship practices and apply to all Canadians. Laws should be reviewed with an eye for protecting civil liberties but also enhancing social and multicultural rights. For example, rights must reflect more than abstract or empty ideals, and be seen to be realizing concrete commitments. Substantive equality (not just formal equality) must be concertedly pursued, where equality of end result for all is a serious commitment, and steps are taken to make it a reality for everyone.

Finally, Parliament must revisit the definition of terrorism contained in the ATA. The ongoing parliamentary processes in both the Senate and the House of Commons offer an opportunity for changes to be recommended and made. At the forefront of demanding these changes, specifically, have been civil liberties organizations, immigrant and refugee advocacy groups, and Canada's Muslim communities. The government must pay close and careful attention to these voices and amend parts of Canada's anti-terrorism legislation.

More specifically, we recommend the following.

1. Given the repercussions of the ATA and IRPA, there is a need for more accountability and transparency. Authorities must recognize and address the fact that these laws show that there is significant leeway in the exercise of power without much oversight. The government needs to address the reality of the situation and the perception, articulated by many involved in our research, that these mechanisms are not available.

Most distressingly, as a result of the ATA and IRPA, citizens and non-citizens alike feel that their rights are being infringed upon, and that there are now different classes of citizenship at play based on one's race, ethnicity and gender.

To counter these perceptions, redress mechanisms must be established. At the very least, a complaints body needs to be put in place to deal with perceived rights infractions stemming from the ATA and IRPA. These accountability measures need to be highly visible, accessible to all (financially and otherwise) and work expeditiously to deal with complaints arising from the ATA and IRPA. Redress and claims entitlements should come not only from individuals but also from groups.

2. The Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security is a positive initiative, but its work must be tied in with the Advisory Council on National Security. Both bodies were mandated as part of Canada's National Security Policy, and both should have a cross-cultural component. There are no "technical" security issues and the government should have linked the work of these two bodies from the very beginning.

3. The division of responsibilities between immigration policy (undertaken by Citizenship and Immigration Canada/CIC) and immigration enforcement (undertaken by the Canada Border Services Agency under Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada) has led to the reallocation of resources away from immigration services to enforcement priorities. This must be remedied and more resources must be given to immigration services.
4. Citizenship and Immigration Canada requires reorganization. Among our participants, it has a reputation of being a difficult, bureaucratic and in many ways problematic department. As a result, there must be an open, public discussion, with multiple stakeholders, as to how it can be reorganized and what shape it should ultimately take.

Rather than simply shutting down CIC offices, and offering Internet and telephone access, there is a need for more direct contact with government officials to address concerns with the immigration system and provide advice to its clients. All of our participants agreed that there should be more resources directed to immigrant reception rather than siphoned off to border security.

5. As part of the CIC reorganization, current practices need to be re-evaluated and new programs need to be re-assessed and become more flexible. For instance, there is a need to speed up the process of the provincial nominee program, but there must be greater emphasis placed on family reunification as opposed to economic migrants. Not only should the government not create different classes of immigrants (literally), but it also should understand that the successes of immigrants — and their decisions to stay in Atlantic Canada — are intricately tied to the migrant networks that exist in their community. Attention needs to be paid to how men and women access services differently.
6. In general, there is a need for more support services and integration programs for immigrants, especially immigrant families and for women with a recognition of how public and private domains are perceived and experienced differently on the basis of gender, race and ethnicity. For example, since women's security may be more at risk in the private sphere, good integration policies are policies that ensure women's security in the private sphere and include programs that ensure access to appropriate services.
7. Training of, and cross-cultural sensitivity awareness programs directed to, state officials at various levels are needed. Raising general awareness about the nature of women's growing invisibility, and/or about racist discourses and practices, and/or about diverse cultural norms and practices, and all their intersections, is required. The following were identified as needing specific attention for training:
 - state officials (policy makers, immigration officers, those who work in detention centres);
 - security enforcers (police and customs officials in particular);
 - judges;
 - personnel in mainstream media; and
 - personnel in educational establishments.

8. There is a greater need for representation of societal diversity on all government service levels and service providers. Equity principles should be applied in hiring in government, service providers and non-governmental organizations to ensure representation of diversity in government and society in terms of race, ethnicity and gender.
9. Provide more guidelines and better monitoring of security officials, especially customs officials in airports, to ensure security measures are applied equally and not selectively.

In one instance, there was a recommendation to invite officials from Customs Canada to discuss their roles and responsibilities and see how they fit with community perceptions and experiences.

10. There must be greater priority placed on state-supported public education, including systematic efforts on the part of the government to:
 - disseminate information and explain to the public changes to immigration and security policies, detail what the new laws mean and their implications;
 - make the general public aware of how and why im/migrants feel targeted, the racialization that takes place, as well as women's invisibilization;
 - make clear what rights people have and what rights are being, or may be, infringed upon;
 - beyond the general public, focus on white, Canadian born, citizens, in particular;
 - support more anti-racist and feminist-inspired research and analyses of changes to public policy;
 - ensure anti-racism policies in all universities and institutions of higher learning;
 - start with providing systematic education on diversity and democracy from very early on in the public education system (elementary school) and continue on all levels of education;
 - ensure that there exists an educated and informed media and stress responsibility and critical reporting; and
 - dispel prejudices and discriminatory practices against Muslims, immigrants and ethnic community members from the Middle East specifically.
11. Greater state support of alternative media and grounded sources of information are needed to provide alternative sources to publicize notions of racialization and invisibilization, and critically examine changed policies and laws and their implications.
12. There must be more support for settlement associations and service groups, as well as advocacy groups, particularly women's organizations, to analyze the gendered repercussions of new laws and to spur education and action.
13. The government must continue to monitor the effects of the new legislation through ongoing studies on the general topic and ensure that relevant calls for proposals are regularly issued

by the research units of various government departments. Studies should stress the immigrant /refugee/ethno-cultural community perspective on the effects.

The government should also undertake comparative (by province) and cross-regional research that assesses the particular effects of legislation in the various provinces in Atlantic Canada (and in comparison with other regions) with a gender-based analysis. Our research indicates regional and gender-related specificities but the patterns were not clear enough and the sample was too small, to draw generalizable conclusions.

14. More sources for information need to be in place on changes in laws and policies for service providers, because they are overlooked or typically not systematically updated, when laws and policies change.

We sincerely hope the government will take the necessary steps to address the impacts of Canada's security and immigrant legislation on our immigrant and ethnic communities to build a truly more inclusive society where citizenship is grounded in substantive equality.

1. INTRODUCTION

To be able to live in peace, and go out, and walk the streets at midnight. Um, know that my kids are going out and that they will be coming back...[Do not] assume that I am guilty because I look different, or don't assume I am guilty because I have an accent, or don't assume that I am guilty because my eyes are brown, or my name is not too common (SIC 8, Christian immigrant woman from Latin America).

Ensuring the security of Canadians is a prime responsibility of the Canadian government, but what does security really mean? As we live in a democratic society governed by rules and laws, including the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, some of us may take for granted what it means to be secure in Canada. Certainly, looking abroad to regimes that routinely undermine and violate the rights of their own citizens, some Canadians may feel secure in the sense that what is happening “out there” is not happening “in here,” at home in Canada.

Indeed, it was in the context of regimes violating the rights of their citizens and using the coercive structures of the state, such as its police and military forces against their own people, that the Canadian government adopted a human security framework for its foreign policy. Taking a “people-centred” rather than a “state-centred” approach, the Department of Foreign Affairs, particularly under Lloyd Axworthy (Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1996 to 2000), highlighted the importance of making individuals and their communities secure. Increasingly, however, while the language of human security is still used by the Canadian government, concrete measures that put human security into practice are less evident. Especially after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, and given subsequent terrorist incidents in places like Bali, Spain and Britain, human security no longer serves as an organizing principle for the Canadian state nor does it predominate in discourses within Canadian foreign policy circles.¹ Now, only remnants of it are found in Canada’s official development assistance policy.

Instead, in the post-9/11 environment, the U.S.-led war on terror has coloured Canadian foreign policy. Now, national security (protecting the state, with force if need be) takes centre stage. As a result, human security is sidelined. This preoccupation with national security reflects broader trends of *securitization* that have taken hold around the world. While the United States has gone the furthest with its securitization thrust, Canada is not immune to these influences. We see this play out, for example, in the Canadian government’s recently released *International Policy Statement* (Canada 2005a,b,c,d,e), and its emphasis on failed and fragile states. Failed and fragile states are a cause of concern not simply, or even primarily, because they are humanitarian disasters, but because they may be the havens for, or contain the seeds of, terrorism.

But what does terrorism mean? It has multiple, if not elusive, meanings. There is little consensus between groups or individuals, be they experienced judges, academic researchers, media commentators or community members, on what it entails. We talk about the roots of terrorism only to realize that some see these roots as religious fundamentalism while others as the imposition of Western cultural values, and still others as fundamental socio-economic inequalities. Yet, the Canadian government has stated that having engaged in “terrorist activity”

renders one inadmissible to Canada. Terrorist activity is thus not framed as a domestic issue, but one that can be imported through immigration.

It is in this context that Canada's *Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA)* and *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)* were born. Both were passed immediately after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States although anticipated changes and reforms to Canada's immigration and refugee laws predated the 9/11 attacks. While the influence of securitization was already apparent in the IRPA, these tendencies were reinforced post-9/11 and solidified with laws like the ATA and other measures meant to shore up national security in Canada. No one could have foreseen the impacts that these legislative and other anti-terrorist measures would have on Canada's immigrant and ethnic communities, specifically the gendered repercussions.

Since 1990, every year, close to a quarter of a million people have chosen to make Canada their new home. Regardless of the specific immigrant status under which they come, the majority of them dream of Canada as the land of opportunity and freedom. Especially for those migrants who flee impoverished countries and oppressive regimes, they have a vision of their new home as a place where security is enforced and the rule of law upheld; where women and men's rights and freedoms are equally respected; and where they, the newcomers, will eventually be accepted as full participants in every aspect of social, cultural, political and economic life.

I know what freedom is, coming from Africa where a woman has no freedom. A woman has no freedom of speech, a woman has no freedom of worship, a woman has no freedom of owning even your own children. Freedom is something great for me, because when you have freedom you can do almost anything. I mean anything that makes me happy, anything brings some joy and peace to my children, to my life...it's freedom. And when I say that, in Africa women have no freedom. When you come to these countries then you realize that there is freedom! You can practise your freedom, you can own your own things as a woman, you can do your own things without having to be accountable for whatever or agreeing to report every little thing you do to your husband (SIC-45, professional from Africa).

Regrettably, our report poignantly illustrates that for many individuals and communities in Atlantic Canada, such dreams have been shattered by a harsh contemporary reality where ever more narrow notions of security are conflated with im/migration concerns.² While, from a legal perspective, the government may see itself as having taken steps to create safeguards, the public, particularly immigrants and visible minorities, do not see the government's actions in this way. For many, the perception is that laws, such as the IRPA and ATA, promote exclusion rather than inclusion and, therefore, undermine more expansive ideals and practices of citizenship in this country.

Our title, *Security and Immigration, Changes and Challenges: Immigrant and Ethnic Communities in Atlantic Canada, Presumed Guilty?* encapsulates the nature of the shifts that have taken place. Our report addresses important questions. With the passage of anti-terrorism legislation and changes to Canada's immigration laws, has the government created a climate of fear in immigrant and ethnic communities that has led them to question their equal rights and freedoms, and thus undermined their sense of belonging in this country they have chosen? In the

post-9/11 environment, do we, in effect, have different classes of citizens in Canada, because it matters where individuals were born, what colour their skin is and what faith they practise? And within this context, have women been made invisible and gender considerations simply left aside?

This report outlines our major findings from the study of the impact of the new security legislation, centering on the definition of “terrorism,” (defined as “terrorist activity” in the ATA) on immigrants and ethnic communities in Atlantic Canada. An integral part of our research and analysis is a gender perspective. This means we pay special attention to the lives of both men and women, and we compare their experiences. Throughout, we use gender as an analytical category shaping women and men’s understandings, their experiences and perceptions. In the end, we conclude with a number of recommendations for policy, as they emerged from our study participants through the use of a multiplicity of research instruments. Ultimately, the aim of this report is to identify and bring back to government policy makers the crucial questions and central concerns that arise from a community perspective with respect to the security and immigration legislation. In doing so, it is imperative to impart the overall climate of fear and suspicion that has emerged in North America post-9/11, and the detrimental repercussions that result in terms of Canadian citizenship and democracy.

The research originated in the ethnic and immigrant communities, and would have been impossible without the interest, co-operation and great investment in the research process of these communities. Academics from Saint Mary’s University, two political scientists and two sociologists, all identifying with feminism and anti-racism, and two community advocates from a major immigrant settlement organization in Halifax, the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA), collaborated on the original proposal in response to a call from Status of Women Canada’s Policy Research Fund, to study the effects of this new legislation. In recognition of the importance of the community participation components, a second proposal received support from the Department of Canadian Heritage and the integrated project came into being.

A variety of methodological instruments were used, including town hall meetings, focus groups, surveys and qualitative interviews, all with input and feedback from the ethnic and immigrant communities involved in the research. Further, the process was enriched by face-to-face meetings and conference calls between members of the Halifax research team and local activists/researchers, institutionalized into bodies, which we referred to as local reference groups (LRGs). The LRGs, which met regularly with the research team and on their own over the course of the project, were rooted in the local ethnic, immigrant and settlement/multicultural communities in the six cities that were the sites of the project in Atlantic Canada: Halifax, Charlottetown, Saint John, Fredericton, Moncton and St John’s. Our partner association in Halifax, MISA, provided the links to these sites and served as the liaison with the local communities, channelling the concerns of local people to the research team in Halifax who visited the various research sites during the project at least twice. Apart from the organized LRGs, local associations generously provided in-kind contributions, including the time of their staff and their overall support to the project.

In addition, immigrants and ethnic community members participated in the project, making an invaluable contribution to the understanding of how the new security legislation, the new

securitized climate (where security concerns and calculated measures to address such concerns are paramount) and the new securitization of migration affect the citizenship regime and citizenship practices for all Canadians. It is the experiences of those most directly affected that illustrate what the state of freedom for all Canadians might be. It is also the perspective from other cultures and political contexts that immigrants and ethnic community members bring to the discussion of the issue that is indispensable to understanding the broader context and assessing the advantages and disadvantages as well as potential risks of the unfolding changes to security and immigration in Canada.

As a result, our research project has contributed a significant and successful, model of university–community collaboration and knowledge mobilization. In practice, this model has meant organizing local immigrant and multicultural communities, tapping in on their experiences and knowledge, ensuring their voices are heard in the research process, providing further academic knowledge and training to community-based researchers, and educating the public. What is more, our multi-pronged methodology has generated interest, enthusiasm and genuine participation in this particular project, as well as in civil society in general on related topics.

In a nutshell, our study participants told us that Canada’s response to the current crisis in terrorism is eroding the principles of Canadian citizenship. This is not to say there have not been exclusions in the past and problems of racialization (where certain individuals and groups are constructed as “other” and face exclusion, overt and covert discrimination and abuse) and invisibilization of women (where women’s needs and concerns are un-, under- or misrepresented in policy thinking, design and implementation), but we see these problems re-emerging and being reinforced in different forms in the post-9/11 context.

As becomes evident, increased securitization exacerbates processes of racialization and the invisibilization of women; securitization also goes hand in hand with processes of marketization. The repercussions of these trends help to explain why our participants expressed serious concerns about the ideals, statuses and practices of citizenship in this country. And, what is more, multi-faceted aspects of citizenship are in question including the responsibility mix, rights and obligations, governance and belonging. These, in turn, have an impact on the state, market, families and communities (more on this “citizenship regime” conceptual framework below). More specifically, our participants make the following contentions.

- What is happening in Canada is especially troubling, because many of them left their countries of origin to escape politically oppressive regimes to join a society where civil and political liberties are protected. As a result, they are more sensitive to increased surveillance powers in the post-9/11 environment. In addition, many immigrants and ethnic community members feel a great sense of pride in that they have positively chosen to move to Canada, which is different from the United States. What our study participants give voice to is the intersection of the contraction of rights and freedoms in Canada with citizenship as a sense of belonging.
- Changes in security and immigrant legislation have a serious impact on the sense of safety and security, the rights and freedoms, and the equality rights of men and women. Although

overall, men and women are ready to admit that the changes are important for both sexes and, on occasion, both argue that the changes even affect men more obviously and seriously, when they discuss specific experiences and perceptions of the five central concepts of this project (security, terrorism, freedom, equality, citizenship), they often have distinct gender-based understandings and interpretations. Here, our participants give rise to the intersection of the contraction of rights and freedoms with gender.

- Marketization and securitization work together. Cutbacks, streamlining, administrative shifts and changes made in the name of efficiency (and necessitated by the new legislation and security environment) have a direct impact on services to immigrants and ethnic communities and, therefore, to the practice of citizenship by these groups. For example, our participants noted staffing re-allocations where immigrant service officials are replaced by telephone help lines and computer terminals, while security officials grow in numbers and security services at borders are expanded. And, given that men and women, because of different gender roles, use and interface with different kinds of services and organizations, they feel the impact of changes differently. Here, participants give voice to the intersection of the securitization of migration and the reinforcement of state borders with gender.
- Immigrant and ethnic minority women are, in unique, gender-based ways, affected by the current processes fixated on anti-terrorism and national security measures. As a result, they experience further diminished citizenship status. New and yet old invisibilities of women resurface, as the “public sphere” concerns of men, directly affected by the new definition of terrorist activity predominate. In this process, a whole range of consequences and outcomes of gender roles for women become submerged: women’s concerns and worries about the safety of their children and other family members, the loss of economic security when male family members are deported or detained, increased parenting responsibilities, and possible intensification of oppression for immigrant and ethnic minority women within their families and communities as concerns over presenting a proper façade to the outside world take precedence. Here, too, the securitization of migration intersects with gender.
- As the participants of this study attest, while all immigrants feel the effects of the security environment, they do not feel them equally. Certain groups are perceived to be the targets of the new legislation and set aside for all kinds of exclusionary treatments. New racializations of specific ethno-religious groups are under way (Muslims, Arabic-speakers, people of Middle-Eastern origin). Different tiers of citizenship are being created for various ethno-cultural and ethno-religious groups as they are assessed in terms of their potential as security risks. “National security” is being socially constructed as a legitimation of various kinds of exclusions, ranging from persecution to more subtle forms of discrimination. Gender interacts with new — and old — racialization processes and class dynamics for immigrants and ethnic community members, and creates unique experiences for diverse groups of immigrant and ethnic minority women in Atlantic Canada. Here, study participants give voice to the intersection of the new forms of racialization with gender, and at the same time, speak to the intensification of differential citizenship.

Our primary data combined with our secondary research suggest that the IRPA and the ATA reflect the changing nature of Canada’s citizenship regime.² A citizenship regime consists of four

elements: the responsibility mix, rights and obligations, governance and the sense of belonging. It also involves four sectors that can be conceived of as four points of a diamond: state, market, family and third/voluntary sector/community (Jenson and Phillips 1996; Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2004).

With these new laws, the state appears to be beefing up its policing capacities while propping up its market priorities. The IRPA, for example, “ushered in a public tolerance for discretionary government actions aimed at “outsiders” (Dauvergne 2003: 738) and the ATA exacerbated the matter. National security is paramount, but so too are market considerations as is evident with how the IRPA facilitates skilled worker admission, or how new security measures tie up the movement of certain individuals and groups, but free up the movement of goods across borders. And so, not only does the current emphasis lie more with traditional security than human security, but also, we see how the first aspect of the citizenship regime, the responsibility mix, has shifted in light of the IRPA and ATA: the state divests itself of some of its human security priorities, but intensifies traditional security powers and advances the workings of the market.

Although the state claims it is responding to family concerns (e.g., by expanding the definition of family member to include common-law and conjugal partners; the IRPA also contains compassionate grounds that deal with children; see Dauvergne 2005: 147) and seeks partnerships with not just the market but the third sector, in reality, the IRPA and ATA may cause more difficulties for the family and the third sector/community, and stretch the limits of both the family and the third sector. For example, the IRPA is less tolerant of, and puts further restrictions on people, who are refused or out of status. It also becomes more difficult to claim refugee status from a European country, that is, if you are a refugee in a European country but have travel documents and are “perfectly able to live there” (Janssen 2003: 131). These restrictions and refusals could provide significant roadblocks to family reunification. Changes in security policy have an impact on the third sector as well. For instance, the ATA and the *Budget Implementation Act* “served to amend close to 20 statutes including public safety and charities registration” (Janssen 2003: 128). As a result, many groups and individuals expressed the fear that the anti-terrorism legislation would “cast a chill over political, ethnic, and religious associations” (Schneiderman and Cossman 2001: 174).

The second aspect of the citizenship regime deals with rights and obligations. Obviously, with a law like the ATA, the state engages in a delicate balancing act between freedom and security. However, an even broader array of rights, beyond freedom and liberty, are at stake, including equality rights and multicultural commitments. Indeed, the danger here, as one commentator has pointed out, is that multiple rights and liberties could be “trampled upon on the war on terrorism” (Toohey 2002: 286). Although there were efforts to “Charter proof” (Roach 2001) the ATA, in people’s minds, the basic status of various rights and liberties in Canada, and in our Charter, from freedom of thought, speech and association, to basic legal rights are in question.

Given testimonies in our town hall sessions, we received a strong sense that certain individuals did not feel they had the same rights as others. People of colour, women, men and children especially those with Muslim or Arab “sounding” names suggested, time and again, that they were being singled out at airports and searched when no “white” passengers are being stopped

or searched. When pressed, customs officers provided little explanation or made comments that names were considered “suspicious” when these names were common and unremarkable. Both the perception and practice of racial profiling were widely felt. This not only jeopardizes notions of liberty and mobility, but also of equality. When all this is taken together, laws like the IRPA and ATA may weaken people’s belief that the Charter provides for legal rights and freedoms, but also for equality and a multicultural Canada. This tarnishes Canada’s image as a multicultural mosaic.

In relation to the third dimension of the citizenship regime, governance, there are also concerns. Governance involves state actions and inactions, and the actions and inactions of a wider array of non-state actors. Indeed, diverse individuals and groups were active in trying to affect the IRPA, lobbying, mobilizing, preparing briefs in relation to Bill C-11 and its precursors. In response, some amendments were made. Nonetheless, actors ranging from the Canadian Council for Refugees and Ukrainian associations, to the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, all expressed their concerns about the IRPA, and in particular how it extends the regulatory powers of the state and certain state officials. In addition, while the IRPA arguably received greater attention, because it was part of a process to update and reform Canada’s immigration laws, it was not the case with the ATA. In this case, because House of Commons and Senate hearings were held at the same time,³ it appeared as if the parliamentary process was squeezed into an abbreviated two-month period (Mazer 2003). Hearings on such an important bill could have been extended, and could have taken place across the country to get more input from concerned individuals and groups to engender processes of multi-level governance that were more open and accessible. This did not happen. As a result, concerns were expressed that the ATA did not receive proper scrutiny, and was insufficiently debated and discussed.

Now we find a lack of public awareness and understanding of the actual contents of the ATA. Our study reflects the fact that people in general, and individuals from minority groups, in particular, feel uneasy about the ATA and want to be informed about what it contains, what potential impact it can have, and what forms of redress they have if the provisions of the ATA are used improperly. Time and again, our participants requested clear, jargon free, easily accessible and digestible information on the ATA. They also wanted more accountability on the part of state officials from immigration officers to customs agents, recognizing that they act under the authority of the IRPA, the *Customs Act* and the *Canada Border Services Act*, and they do not enforce the ATA, per se. Individuals from across Atlantic Canada suggested that there are not sufficient mechanisms in place to curb potential abuse by government officials regardless of whether they are enforcing the IRPA, ATA or other acts. This calls into question governance practices and ties into the last aspect of the citizenship regime, the issue of belonging.

The stated objective of the IRPA was that immigrants to Canada should be welcomed and, although the stated intent of the ATA was to combat terrorism and terrorist activities at home and abroad, it was to result in the citizenry feeling a growing sense of comfort, safety and security. However, given our secondary research, and in light of the views expressed in our town hall sessions and focus groups, we see that the opposite is the case. That is to say, immigrants feel more likely to be targeted than those born in Canada. Many feel as if they have been cast as political, social, cultural or religious villains, as “aliens from within.”⁴

While much depends on the application of the IRPA and the ATA, negative perceptions are apparent and pervasive: the sense of more of a coercive, restrictive police state, and the feeling that basic rights are at risk, if not undermined, with the IRPA and ATA. In the end, this does little to enhance feelings of pride and appreciation about the fairness of Canada's justice system, and the Canadian government's commitment to Charter principles and democracy in general.

In this context, it is vitally important that opportunities for oppositional and critical dialogue be made available. Along with those of academics, legal experts and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the voices of ethnic and immigrant community members need to be raised and acknowledged; and the different perspectives on security, terrorism, rights and freedoms, equality and citizenship of immigrant and ethnic community members, both women and men, need to be clarified and publicized. Their experiences must reach the highest levels of government policy making, their concerns need to become the concerns of every Canadian, and their recommendations deserve our utmost and immediate attention as a nation of immigrants and as a continuing pole of attraction for immigrants from around the world.

Because this project uses a wide array of research tools, some slight contradictions or discrepancies may become apparent. However, rather than detracting from the veracity and legitimacy of our study, this nuance adds depth and complexity. That is to say, the range of research tools provides rich, albeit less than straightforward, results. Rather, like the different voices you hear in this report — from the respondents and participants, to the community and different research team members — the end product does not tell a seamless story, but reveals multiple, compelling stories. And yet, when these are woven together, they reveal a fundamental critique of the state of security, immigration and citizenship in Canada.

Our research is presented and structured as follows. First, we begin with a literature review that situates our study in a broader context and provides greater depth and breadth to our findings. Here we link trends in Atlantic Canada with Canada-wide developments, as well as with international experiences from countries like the United States and Britain. We also feature the scholarly assessments of Canadian and international academics to lend further credence to the contentions being made here. Second, we give voice to our participants and highlight their concerns and experiences by synthesizing and showcasing our research findings. Third, we provide more of an analytical response to our research questions, thereby delving more deeply into them, and our findings and, finally, we offer concluding remarks along with a series of recommendations.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Public perceptions with respect to im/migration, security and citizenship are changing, locally, nationally and transnationally. And, as our study illustrates, public perceptions can have real, concrete effects. Esses et al. (2002: 70-71) explained that changing public attitudes are significant for at least three reasons: they influence public policy; they affect “individuals’ day-to-day behaviour, which may have a large effect on the success and satisfaction of immigrants and on the overall social climate of a nation”; and “they may influence the collective vision of national identity and the perception of who is (and who is not) considered a member of the national ingroup.” Around the world, intensified migration patterns have contributed to shifting public attitudes toward im/migrants (a term which encompasses both immigrants and migrants), and states turning inward to protect their national security interests. Consequently, im/migration and security issues become conflated in the public consciousness, in politics and in policy. The war against terrorism and new national security measures cement these associations. This, in turn, has an impact on citizenship.

To be sure, im/migration and citizenship have always been hot button issues. As Kent Roach (2002a: 5) pointed out, even before September 11, in Canada, “our democracy risked the challenge of a politics that was less tolerant of dissent and the rights of minorities, especially when they were linked with the emotive issues of crime and/or immigration.” While this is undoubtedly true, the subsequent literature review, supported by our empirical work in this study, suggests that the post-9/11 environment has become even more challenging, especially for non-citizens, im/migrants and certain racialized groups. The racism, in specific cases, can be overt. More generally, it manifests itself in more subtle — albeit insidious — ways that play out in the form of pervasive perceptions and senses of being singled out and excluded.

This changed context also submerges women’s identities and concerns, and thus current processes are not only racialized but also gendered. For example, as national security takes centre stage, broad-based considerations of security, such as human security remain in the wings.⁵ Human security is much more encompassing addressing freedom from danger, want and need. Human security “recognizes that an individual’s personal protection and preservation comes not just from the safeguarding of the state as a political unit, but also from access to individual welfare and quality of life.” Furthermore, it “requires a multi-tiered approach, including non-state or sub-state actors” (MacLean 2000: 2-3).

The more expansive concept of human security has provided a better “fit” with women’s concerns and needs. Women are predominantly responsible for “care” work and are still less economically secure than men. Thus, social welfare and economic security become more compelling issues for women than men. What is more, women around the world continue to be underrepresented in formal politics (Interparliamentary Union 2006) and are overrepresented in informal politics, that is, they are much more active at non-state, sub-state, civil society or voluntary sector levels (Vickers 1997). At the same time, activist women often have had tempestuous relations with states.⁶ For all these reasons, narrow notions of security that rest on limited forms of governance (with decisions being made by a male-dominated executive), and that are solely geared toward keeping states secure, are not as salient for many women.

It makes perfect sense, then, that human security “has long been the primary concern of many women, including many women in politics” (Bunch 2004: 32). Human security has also been more in tune with feminist views of security (Tickner 1992, 2001, 2004; Chenoy 2000; Basch 2004) that are “rooted in an understanding of the gendered nature of power relations and how these support a range of power hierarchies involving gender, class, race and culture that make some peoples secure at the expense of others” (Denholm Crosby 2003: 90).

In the post-9/11 context, however, even limited notions of human security, let alone feminist informed ones, are sidelined. The overarching priority becomes one of responding to the fact that the terrorist may be “inside” the state. Because this makes him (and it is a “him”) even more threatening, the state must take more drastic measures to find, identify and deport him. As a result, for the securitized state, both broader human security, and women’s demands and needs, become less relevant. Securitization, then, perpetuates the *invisibilization* of women: their concerns and policy priorities fall off the state’s agenda.

In terms of the academic literature, prior to 9/11, scholarly accounts that highlighted the connections between security, immigration and citizenship were present, but not extensive. In the 9/11 aftermath, and over time, substantially more studies have been undertaken, especially those that include a comparative component. However, what becomes equally apparent in both early and later research is that a dearth of academic work links the concerns of security, immigration, citizenship and gender.⁷ This also contributes to the invisibilization of women both in theory and in practice.

With these issues in mind, the following offers an overview of the secondary literature on matters of security, immigration and citizenship as well as their implications vis-à-vis gender and race. The first section flags significant developments and trends in Canada. The rest of the literature review provides greater breadth, by situating Canada’s experience in a broader context, and then, more depth, by offering a detailed analysis of the Canadian case.

The literature review serves four main purposes. First, it contextualizes our study and relates it to patterns occurring globally. That is, although our primary research involves grounded, empirical data gleaned from six cities in Atlantic Canada, the perceptions articulated by our research subjects correspond to wider phenomena taking place across Canada and abroad. Second, the literature review provides a conceptual template with which to name and then identify key trends. Third, when it comes to gender, as alluded to already, the literature review underscores how the invisibilization of women is perpetuated. The literature review highlights the fact that women are still missing when it comes to crucial areas of study, notably with respect to security studies, but also in work that plumbs the connections between security, im/migration and citizenship. Fourth, this literature review supports our contention that citizenship ideas, ideals and practices have shifted, affecting male and female citizens, and non-citizens, to the detriment of Canadian democracy.

Immigration and Security: New Developments and Trends in Canada

Canada's new immigration policy, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA), was billed as responding to three concerns:

- contribute to economic development;
- protect refugees; and
- promote family reunification.

The main objective was to balance Canada's tradition of welcoming newcomers and protecting refugees with tough enforcement measures meant to strengthen national security and public safety. However, academic studies indicate that there has been more of the latter than the former. The IRPA falls in line with broader trends in wealthier democratic states (e.g., in the United States, Britain, Australia, Germany, France) already apparent prior to 9/11, that mesh security with immigration concerns, involve a "crackdown" on certain migrants, and protect the nation state. However, these tendencies are exacerbated by the turn of the securitization screw in a post-9/11 world. As Catherine Dauvergne (2003: 738) wrote: "September 11 did not alter the trajectory of immigration laws' crackdown, but it has hastened its pace and smoothed its progress."

While it is true that Bill C-11 came before Parliament before 9/11, the IRPA was passed in the post-9/11 context of hysteria and fear, and under pressure from the United States to harmonize immigration standards. Recall that the IRPA received royal assent on November 1, 2001 and was implemented on June 28, 2002; and the *Anti-Terrorism Act* (ATA) was signed into law on December 18, 2001. Although the government took pains to separate out these concerns, the IRPA obviously includes clauses that connect immigration, refugee and security issues.

Consequently, analysts have contended that the IRPA is more concerned with protecting Canada, controlling borders and fighting migration threats than with welcoming and integrating immigrants (Jimenez and Crépeau 2002: 20; Drache 2004). Howard Adelman (2002: 11) has written that the security threat "has been used as a cover to cut down on the entry of refugee claimants coming to Canada whether through visa controls or through the proposed implementation of a safe third country system." Further, the dovetailing of security concerns is evident not only given such indirect restrictions, but by various more direct measures.

The IRPA contains new tools to increase the security of Canadian borders, such as front end security screening for all refugee claimants, clearer grounds for detention, fewer appeals opportunities, suspensions of refugee claims for people charged with serious crimes and new grounds to refuse entry to Canada to foreign nationals. The Act sets out reasons why a person (i.e., foreign national) would be excluded from entering or remaining in Canada. These include security, violence or terrorism, or membership in an organization involved in such activities (IRPA, clause 34(1)). Moreover, reaffirmed in the IRPA from previous legislation is the inadmissibility of permanent residents if they are deemed to be a danger to the security of Canada, or are involved in espionage, subversion or terrorism, or being a member of an organization that has or will engage in such acts (IRPA, clause 34(1)). These changes in Canada's immigration policy mesh with global forces of securitization and marketization. The next section makes these connections more explicit.

Im/migration, Security and Citizenship: At Home and Abroad

On the one hand, the IRPA does not constitute a dramatic change if one examines the letter of the law and compares the Act to its legislative precursors. On the other hand, the context (both perceived and real) has changed globally, and in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks and those that followed (e.g., the Bali nightclub bombing, and the attacks on the transport systems in Madrid and London). This has led to incremental reforms that, when taken together, suggest a more fundamental shift is taking place. Bluntly stated, the application of the IRPA fits with global norms that attempt to stamp out illegal migration and step up economic migration.

Even before 9/11, as one author suggested, the IRPA can be shown to be “a product of an era of globalization” with changes that move in two directions: first “in the direction of ‘cracking-down’ on migration violations of various sorts, and in the opposite direction of making immigration for well-qualified migrants easier. The legislation does a lot more of the former than the latter” (Dauvergne 2003: 734).

Nonetheless, we also see the impact of marketization. The sway of labour market concerns is evident when, in Canada, by the mid 1990s, family migration, which used to be the largest immigration category, slipped to second place behind economic migration “signifying that building the economy takes precedence over reunifying families” (Dauvergne 2005: 6). Marketization dovetails with securitization. Consider the December 2001 Smart Border Declaration signed between Canada and the United States. This agreement facilitates smoother border crossings for commercial goods and, for example, transport drivers, in order to increase the volume of goods passing between countries. Even here, in terms of *who* the transport drivers are, racialization becomes an area of concern when certain drivers from particular ethnic backgrounds find it more difficult to cross the border. The Smart Border Agreement also seeks to improve co-operative intelligence and law enforcement efforts to screen out “higher risk flows” (Canada 2004b: 43).

Screening out “higher risk flows” is clearly part of a much more widespread crackdown phenomenon particularly among the wealthier immigration countries (Dauvergne 2003: 736). Around the world, attitudes toward migrants have hardened, immigration and asylum policies have become tougher, and citizenship regimes that emphasize universal human rights and non-discrimination are slowly, but progressively, being chipped away.

In Canada, the IRPA “cracks down” in different ways: “First, it broadens criminal inadmissibility and, second, it removes rights from those in the most serious criminal inadmissibility categories. Third, it introduces new penalties for trafficking and smuggling and, fourth, it ‘streamlines’ the secretive national security certificate procedures.” The IRPA also contains “lower standards of proof, fewer rights protections, and broad, amorphous definitions” (Dauvergne 2003: 737).

Again, while much of this was in the works before September 11, afterwards, there was more support for such restrictive measures. Furthermore, as Kruger et al. (2004: 86) detailed:

[Canada’s] post-11 September era restored the traditional discriminatory practice of dividing immigrants into preferred and nonpreferred groups based on country

of origin. However, the rationale for distinguishing the two groups differs; in the past, the goal was to select immigrants who were best able to integrate into Canadian society, while now the concern is to protect Canadians [from those] who are suspected as security threats.

Post-9/11, with the new emphasis on internal, national security, we see even more of a preoccupation with preventing illegal immigration and promoting border control. Indeed, since the IRPA and the passing of the ATA, the rules of the game have altered on security and im/migration matters, from the amplified border controls and information sharing between Canada and the United States, to modifications affecting Canadian permanent resident calculations (Janssen 2003).

For example, in December 2003, the Canada Border Services Agency was established. This brought together border security and intelligence functions which had been the remit of the Canada Customs and Revenue Agency, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and the Canadian Food Inspection Agency. Other measures were put in place to verify the identity of individuals seeking to enter Canada, such as LiveScan digital fingerprint machines at major border offices. Canadian Passenger Analysis Units were established that co-ordinated the efforts of CIC, the Canada Customs and Revenue Agency and the Canadian Border Services Agency “to predetermine whether anyone on an air flight is cause for concern” (Kruger et al. 2004: 70). These changes fit with American security imperatives (we go into greater detail in the section on U.S. influence), but also with global trends.

To illustrate, Brouwer (2003) looked at terrorism measures taken post-9/11 both at the European Union level and nationally, in France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, and their consequences in the fields of immigration, asylum and race discrimination. She concluded no new European legislation was adopted in the first half year after 9/11 “which can be directly explained to the terrorist events.” However:

At the national level new measures included extra search powers for police authorities, measures on detention and information exchange and even the activation of emergency plans. Only in Germany and the UK, amendments to the migration and asylum law, were directly related to the anti-terrorism policy. Nevertheless, an important consequence of the 11 September events is the new emphasis on internal security in EU and national policy, which can have in the long term a far reaching impact on immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers (Brouwer 2003: 422-423).

Australia’s “border protection” policy with respect to refugees and asylum seekers has reflected the following sentiment: “keep them out if possible but if they get in only give them temporary protection visas until they can be repatriated.” Moreover, the “international terrorist attacks in the USA on 11 September only deepened the criminalization of...refugees” particularly those from “Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran” (Humphrey 2003: 32). In fact, in Australia, “the figure of the refugee has been made the litmus test of citizenship, entitlement, even of compassion” (Humphrey 2003: 33).

As Thomas Faist (2002: 8) pointed out, “(g)overnments all over Western Europe and North America have not only strengthened border *viz.* [sic] external controls but also internal controls of non-citizens.” The securitization of migration only reinforces the “very stereotypes about cultural fears and clashes that politicians publicly deny,” because some in the society are seen as not belonging to that society. A reinforcement of the security/global im/migration nexus (Robin-Olivier 2004; Tirman 2004) has contributed to a deepening and widening anti-im/migrant backlash. Now im/migrants are seen as a threat to national interests and national security. In the pre-9/11 environment, im/migrants were seen as taking away jobs; in the post-9/11 environment, they are seen as taking away lives (as evident in constant reminders through the images of the twin towers burning in New York). They are seen as potentially very dangerous, and they live *within* the state.

Accordingly, the state must take measures to “secure” the state, resulting in a security culture that undermines human rights (Toope 2002). At the same time, the state strengthens law enforcement and intelligence agencies, broadening their powers to flush out potential terrorists. Again, these security measures are directed inward, and the priority of “national security” is literally that of the nation or the homeland against primarily internal, rather than external, threats.

In short, im/migration matters are increasingly infused with processes of marketization and securitization. Not only have, im/migration priorities, shifted both in Canada and more globally, so too have security priorities and it is to these that we now turn.

Security

Conceptions of national security have undergone a change in the post-9/11 environment. Realist conceptions centre on national survival and the use of the military to protect and defend the state against external or foreign attack (Chenoy 2000: 22). In the post-9/11 environment, militaries may still be used and wars may still be waged; however, the rationale is not that these (so-called rogue) states will attack the United States or its allies, but rather that these states house terrorists who may get into the United States (just like the 9/11 hijackers) and do harm. Although Canada did not support the U.S.-led war against Iraq, it does support military action in Afghanistan with the country playing a more prominent role since the movement of troops from Kabul to Kandahar. Afghanistan is a failed state, according to the Canadian government, and Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan is justified, not because it is a humanitarian disaster, but because it remains a harbinger of terrorism particularly with the continuing presence of the Taliban. That is why Canadian troops are involved not only in post-conflict reconstruction but also in combat efforts to root out Taliban elements. This apparent shift from peacekeeping or peacebuilding to war making leads many Canadians to question government policy and the use of Canada’s military. This sentiment is also echoed in our research, because many participants also embrace the view of “Canada as peacekeeper,” despite the very realist view of the Canadian government in using the military, albeit in collective fashion through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to deal with terrorists abroad.

In Canada, both the IRPA and ATA address security. However, the IRPA “focuses on the foreign national and the *Anti-Terrorism Act* focuses on the terrorist, thus causing the foreign national and the terrorist to be understood as one in the same in government discourse.” The link between

foreign national and terrorist “allows the terrorist threat to become an imported problem, encouraging a security-drive, regulatory mentality that seeks to prevent and deter outsiders from entering Canada” (Kruger et al. 2004: 78). Moreover, this approach implies that “foreign nationals want to enter Canada for terrorist purposes; they also create the outsider as target” (Kruger et al. 2004: 79). And so, Canada’s new national security objectives play out in such a way that people in Canada who are considered to pose a security threat become “objects of surveillance” as well as foreign nationals who also become “an object of security to be tracked, assessed and monitored” (Kruger et al. 2004: 80).

Concomitantly, for the Canadian government, the fear that terrorists seeking to harm the United States might go through Canadian territory further impels it to “take security seriously.” Despite arguments that economic motivations (i.e., the necessity to keep the Canada-US border open) may be the real driver behind Canadian anti-terrorism measures, the outcome is the same. Canadian law enforcement agencies must seek out terrorists in Canada. In this context, increased Canada-U.S. co-operation occurs, resulting in greater information sharing between the two countries. But it may come at a great cost to Canadian citizens, as evident in the deportation of Maher Arar to Syria by the United States and his subsequent torture at the hands of Syrian authorities.⁸ Again, in the post-9/11 environment, broader notions of human security (where human security encompasses such concerns as human rights, and freedom from fear and want) appear to have little application domestically.

Civil Liberties, Freedom and Equality

This post-9/11 response fits with Canada’s less than illustrious past experiences on these issues, as well as more global, contemporary phenomena. Historically, in times of crisis when domestic security was deemed at risk (as with the two world wars), Canadians lived through heightened anti-immigrant expression, racism and even repression (from the internment of Ukrainians in WWI to the Japanese in WWII). Then, the Canadian state flexed its muscle and visibly exercised its powers to exclude and revoke basic human rights (limiting freedom) and citizenship rights (taking away rights to vote). However, now, these fundamental rights are again in question. The irony is that citizenship rights are contracting even though we live in a time where the Canadian state along with others (such as Britain) employ discourses of inclusion and have adopted human rights measures that aim to combat exclusion (Haddad 2003; Dobrowolsky with Lister 2006).

David Paciocco (2002: 189) concluded quite forcefully that Canada has paid a price for the “modicum of security the *Anti-Terrorism Act* will be able to provide.” He demonstrated that “[w]ithout question, we have breached fundamental principles of criminal law, compromised liberty and freedom, conferred increased power on state agents to invade privacy and to deprive persons of liberty, hampered the freedom to associate, and increased the risks associated with racial or religious profiling and discrimination.”

While it is true that it is hard to measure the actual erosion of rights and liberties as a result of the ATA, some point to how Canada has betrayed its own values by sacrificing civil liberties in exchange for enhancing investigative and detention powers: “the very fact that countries such as Canada showed such readiness to jettison fundamental civil liberties...in the face of terrorist

threats reflected an abnegation of the very values [that] stand so starkly opposed to the logic of terrorism (i.e, the rule of law, etc.).”⁹

Again, this echoes broader trends in countries that have attempted to balance democratic freedom and security post-9/11. As in Canada, anti-terrorist laws were drafted hastily after 9/11 and have had deleterious effects on civil liberties. One study compared legislation in Britain, France and Germany and examined the claims of governments and civil rights groups in relation to the status of rights and freedoms in the respective states post-9/11. All three countries “have made it into the top five of a name-and-shame list jointly published by several non-governmental organizations concerned with the protection of human rights” (Haubrich 2003: 7) and “the British Anti-Terrorism Act represents the most extensive and, relative to the degree of infringement of liberties, the most disproportionate case of the three countries analysed” (Haubrich 2003: 21). One explanation for this is Britain’s “special relationship” to the United States and its support for American military operations. Such findings are noteworthy given Canada’s historic relationship (political, military, cultural and economic) with both Britain and the United States.

It is also important to emphasize here that, as with the United States post-9/11, sources in Canada did report an escalation of rights infractions with increased acts of discrimination and violence against visible minorities and specific religious groups: “Muslim, Jewish, Hindu and Sikh Canadians all once again found themselves on the receiving end of unjust treatment meted out by their neighbours” (Kruger et al. 2004: 85). Other direct problems for individuals of Muslim and Arab descent included surveillance of charitable donations, restrictions on travel to or from the United States and increased surveillance on the part of Canadian law enforcement and intelligence officials.

Terrorism’s Repercussions

It is quite evident that in Canada, as well as in the United States, Australia, and Europe¹⁰ in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks (and subsequent attacks in Bali, Madrid and London), anti-terrorism measures have had a problematic impact on immigration and asylum law.

Immigration, refugee and asylum issues have been linked with concerns about terrorism in the public consciousness and in public policy (Tirman 2004). With 9/11, the terrorists entered the United States as visa students, not immigrants or refugees, but, since 9/11 and post-7/7 in Britain, polls indicate that citizens of the United States, as well as Canada (Essess et al. 2002) and Britain are keen on tightening immigration laws. A poll conducted for the Council for Canadian Unity, showed that support for reduced immigration grew from 29 to 45 percent after 9/11, and 80 percent supported stricter immigration controls (Adelman 2002). Similarly, in Europe, studies show the prevalence of the suspicion and rejection of non-citizens and how this coincides with new anti-terror measures (Robin-Olivier 2005). The American example, however, is perhaps the most instructive.

U.S. Experiences and Influence

The linkages between immigration, terrorism and security are even starker in the United States where the perception of immigrants as security threats was already evident before 9/11 (Welch

2003; Tirman 2004). After the World Trade Center bombing in 1993 and the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, the *Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act* was passed in 1996 alongside the *Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act*. These acts essentially gave the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) “unprecedented authority to seek out and deport immigrants deemed a threat to national security” (Leadership Council and ABA 2004: 320). Although the Oklahoma City bombing was an instance of domestic terrorism (i.e., Timothy McVeigh was U.S.-born), anti-immigrant attitudes were already flourishing in the United States throughout the early 1990s. Politicians seized on the opportunity and enacted measures for greater immigration control. In the process, they limited “judicial review of deportation and detention decisions made by immigration judges...authorized the INS to use secret evidence to detain and deport suspected terrorists and expanded the scope of crimes considered aggravated felonies that are grounds for deportation” (Leadership Council and ABA 2004: 320).

After 9/11, further anti-terrorist measures focussed on immigrants. The INS, originally housed in the Department of Justice, was absorbed into the new Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Renamed the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) in DHS, the agency has been given more powers to detain and deport immigrants, further curtailing judicial review. According to the Leadership Council on Civil Rights Education Fund and the American Bar Association (2004), immigrants are being denied due process of law, and under the continuing discourse of national security with the divide between native- and foreign-born residents growing ever wider.

American anti-terrorism legislation passed in the wake of 9/11, the USA PATRIOT Act (the acronym for the *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act*) gives the Attorney General and the Justice Department “broader investigative powers in intelligence gathering activities” as well as “greater discretion in detaining immigrants suspected of terrorist activity” (Taylor 2002: 63). The PATRIOT Act was passed hastily. President George Bush signed it into law less than six weeks after 9/11 – too quickly, according to many critics, like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Criticisms are strong in the United States, but the focus has been on the infringement on individual rights, such as the right to privacy. Americans see immigrants as security threats (aptly demonstrated by the absorption of the Immigration and Naturalization Service into the Department of Homeland Security): 9/11 only crystallized who those immigrants were/are.

However, immigrants are not the only ones being targeted: American citizens, too, who are of Middle Eastern, Arab or South Asian descent face greater scrutiny, if not harassment. Racial and ethnic profiling occurs in the United States (Taylor 2002) whereby the 21st century terrorist becomes the “Arab next door” (Bellino 2002). Moreover, as one analyst found, the idea of “us” versus “them” has been further problematized. United States citizens were not only “turning against United States citizens who were of Middle Eastern descent” but also, “individuals who were previously a ‘them’, who had themselves been targets of racial profiling were now rationalizing discriminatory treatment” (Fiala 2003: 57).

In response, there has been an “alarmingly large number of violent and hostile acts committed against Arab and Muslim Americans...and an intensifying government campaign to restrict, and even end, Arab and Muslim immigration to the United States” (Gerstle 2003: 32). Multiculturalism

is displaced by American “uniculturalism” propped up by its unilateral foreign policy. Haideh Moghissi (2003: 595) distressingly depicted the situation in this way.

The hysterical reaction of the U.S. government, with its imposition of severe restrictions on the liberties of its terrified citizens, its extensive buildup of intelligence and surveillance apparatuses, its racial and ethnic profiling, its widespread questioning and detention of individuals of Middle Eastern origin and blockage of their bank accounts or businesses, and its wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, menacingly points to the path ahead.

This review of the U.S. case is critical because, although “Canada did not go the same path, at least not for long and certainly not with the same intensity as its neighbor...[nonetheless,] it is the United States that sets the tone for world politics” (Moghissi 2003: 5954). What is more, “Canadians receive this stereotype of the Arab as terrorist, or potential terrorist, through American media as well as Canadian sources.”¹¹ And, of course, 9/11 has clearly set in motion changes that “more closely align Canadian and American policies and that have sparked an earlier vision of *preferred* and *nonpreferred* immigrants. Consequently, there is a stronger focus on security that has far-reaching effects” (Kruger et al. 2004: 72).

Canada’s Anti-Terrorism Legislation and Its Impact

The omnibus anti-terrorism legislation, Bill C-36, Canada’s 96-page response to 9/11, came into force as Canada’s *Anti-Terrorism Act* in December 2001. This new law dovetailed with measures taken in the United States and Britain (Roach 2002). Although there clearly are differences between American, British and Canadian anti-terrorism legislation, concerns are shared and all three acts reflect informal co-operation, and a complementary approach (Jenkins 2003). To be sure, as Whitaker (2003) illustrated, Canadian preoccupations over its sovereignty and economic status shaped the Canadian response to 9/11. Yet, aside from these indigenous policy calculations, Canada’s legislation still meshes with the broader war on terror mandate, implicitly, if not always explicitly.

There are, no doubt, differences in opinion when it comes to the ATA. For example, David Jenkins (2003: 421) contended that “Canada has taken positive and firm steps, without overacting, to investigate, punish and prevent terrorism, by enacting the *Anti-Terrorism Act*.” Some have also noted that Canada’s approach is more tempered, moderate or guarded¹² than that of the U.S. and British legislative responses. Yet, as Paciocco (2002: 189) wisely observed: “We should not take too much comfort...in the fact that things could have been worse,” that we have not taken as forceful an approach as elsewhere in the world.

There have also been numerous concerns and criticisms of the ATA. Many have held that while core constitutional principles are being violated in the name of security, public safety is not being enhanced.¹³ Leading legal scholars suggest that 9/11 has had an impact on Canadian law and Canadian courts that, in turn, has affected the nature of our sovereignty and democracy. For instance, while Kent Roach has conceded that Bill C-36 may have been “Charter proofed,” he has made it clear that it does not mean that it is a good or desirable law (Roach 2001). Key parts

of the ATA set off warning bells. As Roach put it: “A Criminal Code that denounces certain religious or political motives as extreme and criminal...runs the risk of alienating our diverse and multicultural citizenry” (2003: 28). He goes on to point out how this motive section of the ATA evokes certain associations: specifically, “certain stereotypes about Muslims” that are “in the back of many people’s minds.” These views have been confirmed in our study.

The ATA amended the *Criminal Code* to include a number of new offences that pivot on the commission of a “terrorist activity,” an action now defined in Canadian law. These new offences combined with new investigative powers/procedures have been the focus of much critical attention. Don Stuart (2001) depicted the new crimes created in the ATA as a “power grab” where the state attempts to make Canadians safer but, in reality, endangers the freedoms of the most vulnerable: minority groups, immigrants and refugees.

What is more, Bill C-36’s overly broad definition of “terrorist activity” and its excessively broad powers to sanction “terrorist groups” have been identified as problematic and even dangerous. Since 1992, Canada’s immigration legislation included a provision whereby persons who have engaged in terrorism, or who are members of an organization that is (or was, or is likely to) engage in terrorism, face exclusion. However, with the ATA, for the first time in Canada, we see a legal definition of “terrorist activity” that has been incorporated into the *Criminal Code*. The Canadian Bar Association criticized the proposed definition as “too inclusive and unwieldy” and warned of the discriminatory potential of a definition that linked religion or ideology to terrorism.¹⁴ The definition includes motive as “a political, religious or ideological objective or cause” and this criminalization of motive has been widely condemned. What it means is that police will have to investigate the religious and political beliefs of terrorist suspects. The Canadian Council for Refugees, given its years of experience on these issues, suggested that the specific reference to “terrorism” in the law introduces a sense of vagueness and confusion, politicizing the issue and leading to inconsistent, discriminatory decisions.

Others point to the problems with the designation of “terrorist group.” Here, people “stand the risk of being convicted of this offence without proof ever being offered of the actual activities of the groups and without anyone every having to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that the group really is a terrorist group” (Paciocco 2002: 196). Reg Whitaker also stressed how the listing of terrorist groups is a “highly partisan exercise, with lobbying campaigns waged for and against the addition of various groups [e.g., Hezbollah and Hamas].”¹⁵

In general, many of the new ATA measures are problematically based on presumptions and predictions that leave room for significant discretion. For example, the ATA allows for preventive arrests where suspects can be detained and held without charge before they have committed an actual crime. Both the preventive arrest and investigative hearing provisions were very controversial and so both require annual reporting and are sunsetted. (They expire after December 31, 2006.) In the first and second year of the ATA, the preventive arrest provision was not used by the RCMP, but still, such provisions sparked concerns when it came to the status of civil liberties. The ATA also contains a “recognizance with condition” provision that restrains liberty due to the apprehension of future offences. Such presumption and predictions can slip too easily into stereotyping, racial profiling and blatant discrimination. This involves serious constitutional costs with few benefits. As one study (Jacobs 2003: 379) noted, “police inevitably

rely on informal and less rigorous profiles and utilize them in ways that reflect high-discretion tactics” and yet “the consequence is that profiling fails to be effective in preventing crime.”

Indeed, in practice, what has become apparent not only anecdotally, but also empirically, is that these measures have heightened the risk of discrimination for Muslims in Canada on the basis of race, religion, colour, ethnic and national origin. As Bhabha (2003: 3) argued, the ATA

will target Muslims, a community which suffers from historical disadvantage and ongoing stereotyping. The definition of “terrorist activity” and the designation of “terrorist groups” as outlined in the Act, will adversely impact on Muslims by subjecting them to differential treatment in the enforcement of criminal law provisions and administrative processes. An additional feature to consider will be the fact of intersecting inequalities, particularly those of a systemic nature, such as the case of non-citizen Muslims, who will be at an even greater risk of discrimination and for whom the adverse effects will be exceptionally grave.

Therefore, in Bhabha’s view, and in no uncertain terms, he suggested that the ATA constitutes an abrogation of Section 15(1) of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* that prohibits discrimination. In his estimation, the ATA “instills a well-grounded fear amongst members of a disadvantaged group not only that the law will adversely affect them, but also that, in implementation, it will actually target them on the basis of their race, religion, colour and ethnic or national origin” (Bhabha 2003: 25).

In practice, given, for example, the prevalence of racial profiling post 9/11, these fears are being realized. With Bill C-36 and subsequent legislation, and in criminal law, racial profiling is not a focus. Its presence is difficult to prove and thus it is difficult to challenge. However, anecdotal and growing empirical evidence (as in our study) points to the rise of racial profiling, particularly of Arabs and Muslims in the name of national security. As Boccabella (2003: 18) perceived: “A very damaging aspect of profiling is the stigmatization of those people belonging to the group being profiled. The effects of any further stigmatization of Arab/Muslims will be especially acute, given the social climate under the terrorist threat and the propensity for the fear elicited by these attacks to foster racism.”

Profiling takes place via the discretionary power of various administrators including but also beyond law enforcement and intelligence agencies, to immigration officers, customs officials and airline attendants, who may use stereotyping as a tool. And so, while the furor continues about “driving while Black” this injustice is now joined with the indignities that occur as a result of “flying while Arab” (Fiala 2003). The problem becomes even more pervasive. Beyond being harassed at airline counters, Middle Eastern and other peoples of colour find their jobs at risk and face other forms of explicit and implicit discrimination (Abu Laban 2004: 26).

And so, rather than increasing national security, racial profiling increases the “vulnerability and exclusion of Arabs, Muslims and other racialized groups in Canada” (Bahdi 2003). As Boccabella (2003: 1) stressed, “the targeting of Arab/Muslims for investigation, based on their race or religion, is cause for an array of concerns. Profiling not only poses a risk to the civil liberties of the targeted individual, it stigmatizes the Arab Muslim Community as a whole.”

This speaks to the very concerns Bhabha articulated in relation to the violation of equality rights in section 15 of the Charter. For Arabs and Muslims, Middle Eastern-looking citizens and non-citizens alike, this denies full membership, or the possibility of membership, in Canadian society. Racial profiling, then, provides a vivid illustration of how the ATA has broadened “the net under which abuses of discretion may take place, while at the same time reducing the state’s level of accountability” (Bocabella 2002: 3).

A whole range of other difficulties arise in relation to the ATA. For example, critics point to the ATA’s new police powers, its unprecedented investigative powers, broad offences and harsh punishment. They warn about the various limits and restrictions it sets up, such as placing limits on associational life (Schneiderman and Cossman 2001) through its restrictions on charitable status. In addition, they question its impact on individual liberty and privacy. When security is at stake, the Charter does allow for diminished protections, but critics argue that C-36 goes too far and has few accountability mechanisms. The Act insufficiently factors in both parliamentary and judicial accountability. The ATA assumes that the courts will be “scrupulous” and that the governments will be “conscientious” (Paciocco 2002: 237) but neither are givens. As a result, many authors conclude that it is not consistent with the principles of a free and democratic society.

Granted, since the ATA has come into effect, one would be hard pressed to illustrate the wholesale erosion of rights and civil liberties in Canada. However, what is apparent, and what our study shows is that particular groups have been targeted and racialization has indeed occurred, which in turn intersects with gendered norms. Thus, the ATA has contributed to a symbolic shift that is gradually having a tangible impact on civil liberties and on Canadian values (Gabor 2004). Some describe this as a “creeping incrementalism” (Roach 2001; Paciocco 2002) that supports the abridgement of civil liberties. In our view, these developments have clearly contributed to the shrinking of both the senses and practices of Canadian citizenship.

Gender

Where are the women? How is gender produced by, and does it contribute to, these processes? As the foreign policy world, including Canada in the last decade, has moved to broader conceptions of security, encapsulated in the terminology of human security (Oberleitner 2005), the domestic context has become more fixated on national security. Interestingly, it is in the foreign context that we “find” the women, specifically in the U.S.-led war against Afghanistan when the violations of women’s rights by the Taliban regime became part of the justification for U.S. military action. Leading the charge was the First Lady, Laura Bush. According to Charlesworth and Chinkin (2002: 602): “It is striking that this effort was launched by a woman with no official position rather than by government officials. The message appears to be that concern for the position of women in Afghanistan is women’s business and not a serious international concern.”

At the same time, in the post-9/11 environment, various forms of binary thinking have been perpetuated and reinforced: us versus them, freedom versus security, human security versus national security, inclusion versus exclusion and especially white versus “Arab looking”/Middle Eastern/South Asian/Muslim. Here too, male/female distinctions become more prominent. The stereotypical terrorist is a male who is Muslim, or “Arab looking” and, thus, women are factored

out of the new priorities of promoting security/combating terrorism. Public, internal and state security are at the top of state agendas and, thus, sex and gender are not expressly covered.

For instance, in some cases, women's security may be more at risk in the private as opposed to the public sphere. It is here that even broader conceptions of human security fall short. As Charlotte Bunch (2004: 32) observed: "Bodily integrity, reproductive rights, and violence against women in the family are all too often the missing chapters in human security literature and discussion." Yet, gendered relations (where public/private, local/global and between freedom/security, equality/difference distinctions are challenged) are becoming less and less of a consideration in this post-9/11 internal security climate.

The invisibility of women and gendered concerns are also patently apparent in our literature review. Two examples stand out. In our database created through ENDNOTE, we found that out of 206 sources, key words such as "women" or "gender" rarely arise. (Compare, for example, that the word, "women," is found in five sources, "gender" in six sources and "men" in 62 sources.) Even an extensive literature review of this kind fails to make the gendered connections. Another illustration comes with a recent Department of Justice publication, *The Views of Canadian Scholars on the Impact of the Anti-Terrorism Act* (Gabor: 2004). The document consists of a synthesis (written by a male professor, David Gabor) of the contributions of 11 scholars, all of whom are male.¹⁶ This confirms Tickner's claim that, "in spite of the presence of some women in foreign and defense policy leadership positions, the term 'woman' is still antithetical to our stereotypical image of a 'national security specialist'" (Gabor 2004: 44).

And yet, of course, an understanding of both racialization and gendered practices and their interconnection are crucial. Consider, for instance, the implications vis-à-vis immigration policy. Historically, given economic imperatives and the predominance of the male breadwinner model, men from "non-preferred races" were allowed into the country for cheap labour, but given the assumption that women did not engage in paid labour, women from "non-preferred races" were targeted for exclusion (Thobani 2000: 36).

Furthermore, in light of historical, ideological constructions and practices, the "independent" category (read as the economic category) of immigration has been associated with men, while the "family" category (read as the social and cultural category) becomes feminized. Popular sentiments link immigrants with the abuse of social programs and, thus, women linked to the "dependent" family class category are more of an issue. They incur greater costs, than the so-called "independent" immigrant who has more of a potential to contribute to the economy. Sunera Thobani (2000: 42) explained: "The benefits of immigration are defined as 'economic' and the 'problems' as social and cultural diversity which 'inflammes' racial 'intolerance'." Thus, many im/migrants are considered security threats, save for those who are perceived as economic assets, and while women may not be considered security risks, they are often viewed as economic and social liabilities.

As we have seen, post-9/11, there is the explicit racialization of those deemed as "Middle Eastern or Muslim" (Grewal 2003). This has an impact on Middle Eastern Canadian and South Asian citizens, and Middle Eastern and South Asian immigrants and immigrant communities, increasing their sense of alienation. At the same time, however, the implications of intersecting inequalities

must also be weighed. Clearly, beyond the obvious racialization that has taken place post-9/11, more work is necessary to uncover the processes of gendering taking place. Notably, female Muslims are marked as the “other,” especially given the visible signifier of those who wear a headscarf.

Other implications of post-9/11 racialization and gendering abroad can have an impact at home. For instance, one author argued that in Middle Eastern societies, as political and religious leaders hone in on the United States and Western political and cultural hegemony, feminist concerns are sidelined and suppressed, and women’s movements are forced underground. She added: “I fear that the tragedy of September 11 has created conditions to shrink the space for counterpatriarchal struggle for those of us who are committed to social justice and gender equity in our societies, both within the Middle East and in diaspora” (Moghissi 2004: 596).

Citizenship

The foregoing has an impact on citizenship. For example, if immigration policy is mostly about economic priorities, and security is mostly about national security and not human rights, what does this say about Canada’s culture and humanity? When assessing the state of security, broader areas of insecurity must be countenanced, those that include the economic imperatives, as well as the political, economic and social realities that tie into notions of citizenship. These considerations could include: “the conditions of refugees, migrants, and displaced persons; transition phases between war and peace; economic security that balances growth with minimum living standards and social safety nets; and access to healthcare and education” (Basch 2004: 7).

Instead, with the chill on certain types of migrants and an internal security agenda, we see tighter checks on applicants for citizenship, new provisions to revoke citizenship and a colder climate that supports the reigning in of citizenship statuses and practices, more generally. As a result, the environment has changed, especially for non-citizens, migrants and immigrant communities, and certain racialized Canadian citizens. For example, with the listing of terrorist groups and individuals and with racial profiling, we see how this “disproportionately affect[s] communities such as the Canadian Arab and Muslim communities, creating the perception of bias on the part of the state toward the affected groups” and, as a result we can also see the “exacerbation of inter-ethnic and religious rivalries in Canada.”¹⁷

Such changes to both formal and more symbolic aspects of citizenship have far-reaching effects on Canadians and would-be Canadians, particularly immigrants and those in the process of immigrating to Canada. Yet, at the same time, all Canadians must take responsibility to protect and promote, extend not retract, citizenship rights and responsibilities.

Summary

Fundamental liberal democratic principles as well as commitments to a more expansive citizenship are now in question. Therefore, the IRPA and ATA certainly have had deleterious humanitarian, egalitarian and multicultural consequences, when what we need is to improve our governance practices and enhance feelings of belonging.

More limited and restrictive notions of security appear to take precedence over broader conceptions of human security. This was arguably evident in the former Liberal Government's release of its new national security policy, *Securing An Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy* (Canada 2004b). This 60-page document was tabled on April 27, 2004 in Parliament by former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, Anne McLellan. However, it appeared that the Government was cognizant of the necessity to engage what it called "domestic partners" in the post 9-11 environment, and the document called for an establishment of the Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security to "improve understanding on how to manage security interests in a diverse society. It will be a partnership with all communities to work to ensure that there is zero tolerance for terrorism or crimes of hate in Canada."¹⁸ The former Liberal Government also committed itself to the mandated three-year review of the ATA.¹⁹

At the same time, the 2004 National Security Policy called for the establishment of the National Security Advisory Council, composed of "security experts external to the government" with the intent of advising the government on the implementation of an integrated security framework (Canada 2004b: 13). This Advisory Council appeared to differ from the Cross-Cultural Roundtable because the Council would deal with "evaluating and improving" Canada's security system. The problem with the establishment of this separate body is the assumption made that the implementation of security measures could be disentangled from its impacts, which we would highly contest. Arguably, the very fact that the former Liberal Government established the Cross-Cultural Roundtable would attest to the importance of looking at the impacts of security measures. Moreover, security experts are usually male, white and traditional in their thinking, pointing to a dominant view of security that, as we have argued, led to the invisibilization of women.²⁰

Moreover, the document spelled out distinctions between "personal security," "national security," and "international security" (Canada 2004b: 4), and although recognizing that the three were intertwined in some ways, the government stated explicitly: "National security deals with threats that have the potential to undermine the security of the state or society" (Canada 2004b: 3), thus invoking, as evident throughout the document, a more traditional conception of security predicated on the state as the referent. Accordingly, it was not surprising that the document focusses on what it calls its "six key strategic areas": intelligence, emergency planning and management, public health, transport security, border security and international security, with government funding allocated accordingly. The concept of human security had apparently disappeared from Canada's lexicon, because nowhere in the document do we see the word, "human security," despite the use of the term by former Justice Minister Irwin Cotler both in his writings prior to becoming minister and in his speeches and statements after taking over the Justice portfolio.

This is clearly an important development for the research project, because it is within the analytical framework of human security being developed that the binary distinctions between foreign and domestic can be transcended, and the calls by feminist international relations scholars for a multi-dimensional, multi-level approach to security can be realized. This brings together conceptions of security with justice, rights and citizenship, thus signalling the troubling aspects of Canada's new national security policy. And, of course, all this, in turn, suggests that we are seeing a problematic shift in our citizenship regime in Canada.

3. METHODOLOGY

The following section describes how data were gathered for this study. As becomes apparent, the methodology is designed to capture the multiple dimensions of the research question and the nuances and multiplicity of voices of our research participants, community advisory stakeholders and interdisciplinary research team. The different methodological instruments and layers of the research design, combined with the sensitive nature of the research matter, along with the intensive community participation help to explain why the research results may present themselves in a less than integrated manner. While the different levels of analysis and range of voices at play certainly complicate the findings, they also ultimately add a more grounded, nuanced and profound understanding of the implications of recent shifts in security, immigration and citizenship for women and men in Atlantic Canada.

As a piece of empirical work, this project involved a multi-faceted and multi-layered methodology with several data collection tools: focus groups, a survey and in-depth qualitative interviews. We also used a series of town hall sessions to generate input from the public. The research instruments are iterative in nature, with the findings from one contributing to the design of the next. This use of multiple methods enhanced the validity of our findings and allowed us to explore the issues from various angles.

The project began with focus groups and town hall meetings to get an overview of issues arising out of the implementation of the ATA and IRPA. Revolving around the themes of the research, the questions asked in these meeting were general and open-ended. The responses received and concerns raised helped us formulate the more specific and explicit inquiries in the survey that followed. The survey questions were detailed and sought to determine which issues were most critical to the community. The survey data led us to hone in on the most relevant issues and explore them in-depth in the qualitative interviews. One last group meeting, bringing together all the researchers and LRG representatives, followed by a final set of town hall meetings, in each of the six cities, helped us refine our final report and fine tune policy recommendations.

This research must also be viewed as more than a series of empirical measurements executed by a team of academics. The project aimed to allow for maximum involvement of community members. Through the LRGs, the community participated in the planning and implementation of the research at every stage. Appendix B presents a map of how we proceeded designing and executing research while involving community participants in a continual dialogue about research decisions. This led us, for example, to have numerous conference calls and site visits as well as innumerable e-mail interchanges.

This approach moves beyond involving community members as research subjects, or as consultants, and leans toward a model of community-based participatory research (St. Denis 2004). Central to this model is a question of who controls the research and a recognition that the answer relates to power differentials between those involved. At its core, community-based participatory research “suggests a way in which communities without socio-political power can use social science research to support their struggle for self-determination by gaining control of information that can influence decisions about their lives” (St. Denis 2004: 292). Many feminists

have embraced this approach (Pennell and Ristock 1996) as a means of conducting research with a social change agenda. In our research, adopting this orientation led to extensive involvement of our community partners (as detailed in Appendix B) and to addressing questions of transparency and reflexivity as the project progressed.

At times, given the intricacies of the project and the undeniable power differentials at play (e.g., the researchers' status, access to academic resources, among other privileges), challenges arose that required careful attention. Addressing these power differentials is critical to any community-based research process (Ristock and Pennell 1996). While concerted efforts were made to respond to any community concerns raised throughout the project, the researchers also recognize that some issues could have been handled better, especially given more time and resources. These experiences attest to the fact that this project constituted more than just a straightforward research exercise. It was truly an invaluable learning environment for all involved.

Phase One: Background Research and Preparation

Because this research is predicated on linkages with community partners, the project began with the establishment of important structures to facilitate university–community collaboration. Such structures included:

- local research teams in the six cities consisting of a local co-ordinator (LC), a focus group facilitator, an interviewer and a local reference group (LRG);
- the 18-member Regional Advisory Committee; and
- the Management Committee, which included the project co-ordinator for the integrated project.

We developed an organizational map (see Appendix A) to show the differing structures. We held an opening workshop on January 13, 2004 in Halifax to bring together the research team and our community partners from throughout the Atlantic Canada region.

This phase also involved the crucial analysis of the relevant sections of the ATA and IRPA, and the process that led to their development and adoption. It drew from several sources including media, parliamentary debates, government briefs, scholarly works and international conventions.

Phase Two: Data Collection and Analysis

All research instruments²¹ were designed by the project's main research team in Halifax, in consultation with the LRGs, in an iterative manner; that is, each instrument drew from the findings of earlier work. All instruments were translated into French and passed by the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board.

Local co-ordinators were instrumental in recruiting participants. We aimed at having an equal proportion of male and female participants at each stage but found that we had to over sample women for the final stage of qualitative interviews, because women were not as well represented as men in the earlier stages.

The most obvious limitation of our research lies in our inability to generalize from our research participants to the population of immigrant/ethnic groups in Atlantic Canada. This was not, however, one of our aims. Rather, we intended to get at the full complexity, diversity and richness of people's experiences. To this end we took special care to include people from as many diverse backgrounds as we could access, in terms of ethno-cultural and national origins, education, income, religion, age and migration status in Canada (e.g., permanent residents, citizens, refugees, newcomers and immigrants who have been to Canada for a long time). Our inability to generalize is assuaged by the richness and depths of the stories we can tell.

Another strength of this research, and the design of the research instruments, lies in our adoption of a gender-based analysis. As an approach to policy research, gender-based analysis is meant to

assess the differential impact of...policies, programs and legislation on women and men...with an appreciation of gender differences, of the nature of relationship between women and men and of their different social realities, life expectations and economic circumstances. It is a tool for understanding social processes and for responding with informed and equitable options.... Gender-based analysis challenges the assumption that everyone is affected by policies, programs and legislation in the same way (SWC 1998).

This approach has guided the very nature of our research questions and how we chose to address them through our research instruments.

Town Hall Sessions

Public town hall meetings took place in the six local sites, drawing between 20 and 35 people in each location. Participants commented from their perspectives and experiences on a description of the research project, its objectives and summaries of the ATA and IRPA. These sessions provided another means of gauging how the new security agenda has affected people's lives and communities and thus assisted the academic research team in honing in on the focus group guide and subsequent research instruments. In addition, the meetings supplied an opportunity and a forum for participants to network with others who shared their concerns or experiences.

Focus Groups

Focus groups took place in each city in March, 2004. Participants included staff of immigrant service organizations, community and advocacy groups, service recipients and ethnic community members. Local co-ordinators recruited participants through their professional networks. The focus groups opened with general questions about national security policies and their differential effects on men and women. The questions then looked at the central concepts: security, terrorism, freedom, equality and citizenship. Participants defined these terms and described how they have changed since 9/11. Participants also commented on how changes in security policies differentially affect ethnic minorities and religious groups.

Surveys

Based on the data from the focus groups and town hall sessions, we conducted self-administered, mail-back questionnaires of people working in immigrant service organizations and leaders of community and advocacy groups. Local co-ordinators in each city identified 60 potential

respondents through their professional networks, developing a convenience sample. Fifty-seven people responded.

The questionnaire included five parts. Part I explored national security policies, concentrating on those identified in the focus groups and town hall sessions. This section addressed gender by asking respondents to identify which policies affected women more than men. Participants were also asked to compare experiences of Canadian-born people, immigrants and visible/non-visible minorities. These questions measured respondents' views on how the national security agenda has affected their perceptions of security, equality, citizenship, freedom and terrorism. Finally, Part I asked respondents to rate the job being done by governments in terms of guaranteeing security for various groups.

In Part II, respondents compared how freedom, equality and citizenship are differentially experienced by immigrants, ethnic minorities, refugees, Canadians, and men and women. The questions also inquired about the types that were most important, (e.g., political or religious freedom), what government can do to enhance them and whether they are gender-neutral concepts.

Part III asked about issues relating specifically to the Atlantic region, including the level of tolerance and diversity, and whether these have changed since 9/11.

Part IV focussed on respondents' general understanding of what constitutes terrorism and how their perception of it has changed since 9/11. We also assessed how much respondents know about legal definitions of terrorism and asked their opinions about specific aspects of the ATA.

Qualitative Interviews

This part of the research is based on 58 in-depth interviews²² completed across the six cities. The interview guide was designed by the main research team in Halifax on the basis of findings from previously conducted focus groups, town hall sessions, a survey and in a consultation process with the six LRGs of this study that provided input and feedback for each of the six sites. The interview guide and important interview documents were translated into French for use in the French interviews. As in the previous stages of this study, this part of the research met the standards and obtained ethics approval from the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board before interview candidates were contacted.

Interviewers were local community-based researchers and individuals trained and instructed by the project's research team in Halifax on how to use the interview guide provided.²³ The local co-ordinators in the six cities assisted the interviewers in forming a selection list of interview candidates out of which 10 interviewees would be picked by the interviewer, ideally six or seven women and three or four men in each city. The intent of the unequal gender distribution was to balance previous research instruments that did not result in sufficient data about gender differences and women's experiences for the project. It was intended that participants should include clients of immigrant service agencies, immigrant, refugee²⁴ and ethnic community men and women. Interview participants should have arrived in Canada before 9/11 so they could make at least some of the comparisons they were asked in the interview. It was expected that the local co-ordinators and interviewers would have known the interview candidates personally prior

to the interview, either through their work in service delivery or through their own involvement in the local communities.

With a few exceptions requested by the interviewees, the interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. Wherever not audiotaped, notes in writing were taken by the interviewer during the interview. For the Moncton interviews, seven of which were in French, a bilingual transcriber translated and transcribed them at the same time. Data were coded and analyzed with the assistance of a qualitative analysis program (NU*DIST). The SPSS software was used for processing the background information provided on a form at the end of each interview.

Data obtained through this research instrument are not generalizable to the immigrant and ethnic community population of Atlantic Canada. The snowball technique used in the selection of the sample, as well as the nature of the questions aimed at deriving as much as possible from the full complexity, diversity and rich detail of the immigrant and ethnic community men and women's experiences in Atlantic Canadian cities. Special care was taken in the selection of our interviewees to include people from diverse backgrounds who were generally assessed to be "good informants" either because they were known to have some experiences with the new laws or because they were eager to reflect on and discuss the changes in their communities and in their lives. Even generalizations about this sample are formulated in a very tentative way as most participants' responses were not simple yes/no answers but in need of contextual interpretation. To protect the anonymity of participants in relatively smaller towns, minimal information about them is used in this report when introducing their voices in excerpts. For the same reason, we refer to Atlantic Canada in general, rather than specific city-based data in most cases.

Questions were semi-structured and included probes designed to help guide the interviewers. The interview schedule had three parts. The first asked about the participants' community and experiences of women. The next part addressed participants' experiences with, and opinions about, national security policies. In the third part, questions asked in the interviews were structured along the five key dimensions of this project (i.e. equality, freedom, citizenship, security and terrorism).

Phase Three: Feedback and Reporting

On completing the preliminary analysis of the qualitative interviews, we brought the local co-ordinators, interviewers and facilitators together with two members of the research team in each city to provide input on the data analysis from their experiences and ongoing LRG discussions. They helped integrate empirical and analytical research that appears in this report. In addition, we held the Regional Advisory Committee Workshop on October 24, 2005 to bring together the local co-ordinators and one member of each LRG with the research team in Halifax. The meeting focussed on further feedback to our final report, the need for continuing public education, strategies on the local and national levels, policy recommendations, the project's web site under construction and the reaffirmation of the project's continuation. With the research completed, the project moves more pointedly to its community education phase. Thus, built into the integrated project is an important component of disseminating the research to our community partners throughout the Atlantic Canada region.

4. SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This part of the report provides a summary of the research findings by research instrument beginning with the town hall sessions, moving to the focus groups, then to an examination of the survey results, and finally to an analysis of the qualitative interviews. Key concepts (security, citizenship, equality, freedom and terrorism) are interrogated throughout. These are assessed vis-à-vis the perceptions of immigrants, women and men, in Atlantic Canada, and in light of Canada's new security and immigration laws.

Town Hall Sessions

Effects of 9/11 and the Security Legislation

Several themes emerged from the town hall sessions surrounding the general social effects of 9/11 and the ensuing security legislation. Participants emphasized issues relating to travel. Despite measures to increase security in airports, many town hall participants felt that several holes still existed. For example, some questioned why the increased security measures apply only to passengers and not security staff. Many participants argued that people of colour have been especially targeted, being set aside at airport check-ins, and having their belongings searched.

Many felt unsafe to leave the region or go to the United States. This relates to a general sense of unease about the social climate in the United States and the attitudes of Americans. Participants also expressed a lack of trust of the American government. They complained that the Canadian government is too subservient to the White House and that we should not be collaborating so intensely with American law enforcement agencies. Overall, participants felt that incidents of hostility and racist discrimination against visible minorities have been on the rise since 9/11. They suggested, for example, that low-ranking government officials reject more immigrants. They perceived an increase in profiling and more discrimination by landlords against immigrants with foreign names. Participants also told stories of discrimination in employment, which many felt had increased since 9/11 and affected some immigrant groups (Arabs and Muslims) more than others. When immigrants are not hired in Atlantic Canada, our participants wondered whether this was due to a depressed economy or because of security concerns. Participants also raised concerns about their children being discriminated against and that they will always be perceived as different and negatively affected. They raised concerns about too much power being handed over to police and immigration officers. They discussed fears that what they perceived as longstanding abuse of power by these officials will now increase.

Participants felt that regardless of how long one has lived in Atlantic Canada, immigrants are always differentiated by different names and looks. A fear of outsiders still exists, especially in rural areas and by older adults. Youth were seen as more understanding, due to anti-racism and multicultural education. Some participants felt that 9/11 has been used as an excuse, and that certain areas in Atlantic Canada have never been open and friendly to immigrants and immigration. They suggested that security is used these days as an excuse to persecute indiscriminately.

Minority group members who are also immigrants have sought help with local representatives because they have been contacted by police or the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). People with full documentation are apparently being detained simply because they have common Islamic names. One local airport is notorious. People have been asked harassing and unacceptable political questions by the RCMP. Participants stated their perception that “lots of people” have been detained and denied access to legal counsel.

Participants expressed many general fears about the current security climate: it has become too easy to get permission for search and surveillance, one’s phone can be monitored easily, one’s hard drive scanned and so forth. They pointed out that immigrants who come originally from repressive countries are sometimes afraid to stand up against unfair treatment and surveillance, because their experiences lead them to avoid being known to authority figures. There were other specific concerns about the law being used as a repressive device. People expressed concern over how the Act will be interpreted. For example, some participants were afraid that the ATA will allow people to be found guilty by association and that it may become a tool for abuse of minorities. Finally, some people were afraid that the ATA may lead to even more intrusive laws or policies.

Participants also expressed concerns over the IRPA. Of most concern were changes in relation to refugee claimants. According to our participants, refugee clinics saw a significant reduction in the number of people they served after 9/11. Preference, according to our participants, is now given to the “right” type of refugee while deserving refugees may not be able to enter Canada, because of the way our immigration system works in favour of those who are self-sufficient. The Minister of Immigration is apparently increasingly involved in decisions pertaining to refugee claimants. A more general point was made about immigration staff who feel they must distance themselves from immigrants and refugees in order to appear objective. They no longer feel comfortable being friendly. This effect of the new security climate creates bitterness among newcomers who attribute the attitude to racism.

A final theme emerged surrounding the media. Many town hall participants complained that the media portray Muslims as criminals and terrorists, perpetuating the greater sense of fear and manipulating the facts. Greatest concern was expressed about the portrayal of Arabs and Muslims in the media, but many participants suggested that it extends beyond these groups, affecting visible minorities more generally.

Who Is Being Targeted?

There was a perception that Islamic and Arabic community members are very much affected: some are afraid to wear a veil in public, they dislike their Arabic names, they are afraid to travel to the United States, they are afraid that the stereotypes will harm them. There was also a perception that young men are the most affected group. In general, there was a sense that, if not born in Canada or if a visible minority, one is at greater risk of being targeted by the changing laws, policies and attitudes.

Focus Groups

General Comments on National Security

We began by asking a general question about changes in national security policies, without referring the participants to any specific government actions. Participants made most mention of tangible actions including the anti-terrorism law, the permanent resident card, changes to the refugee and immigration laws, increased airport security and security certificates. They also mentioned deportations, overseas detentions and arrests without cause. “Profiling” and stereotyping were commonly mentioned as an intangible change in national security practices.

With the exception of the somewhat equivocal reaction to increased airport security, the focus group participants did not present any positive views about recent actions to improve national security. Even when asked directly to suggest positive actions or effects, the participants did not give any specifics.

The general sentiment was that we are too cozy with the United States in terms of national security policies. Participants argued that we should preserve our political independence and the place we have had in the world that makes us distinct from the United States (e.g., our peacekeeping tradition). This came up throughout the discussions, particularly insofar as it relates to American pressure to take serious security measures. People felt insecure about the influence of American ideology and politics. One participant summed it up by observing that we speak now of “North American” rather than “Canadian” security.

Opinions about changes in national security directions were uniformly negative. Some participants stated that they were growing cynical; this feeling was evident in others’ views even if not expressed explicitly. Cynicism arose out of people’s sense that, for example, innocent people get caught in the security net while guilty people find innovative ways around it. Many participants were also uncomfortable with what they perceived to be a lack of discussion of human rights.

Travel issues, especially while crossing borders, were the most often discussed direct effect on immigrant and ethnic groups. There was also a lot of discussion of increased fear. This fear included fear of racism, stereotypes, profiles, prejudice as well as fear of government actions (e.g., deportation). Many noted that government services now take longer and that there has been a shift from service to security. Participants perceived these effects to be most evident for people from the Middle East and the Muslim community.

The focus groups had divergent views on how changes in national security policies differentially affected people in the Atlantic region. On the one hand, one focus group described the region as lacking in diversity and intolerant of differences. The recent emphasis on security has exacerbated this situation, highlighting the differences between “us” and “them.” On the other hand, other focus groups presented their region as very accepting, despite lacking in diversity.

The focus groups did not hone in on many gender differences, even when asked directly. One person suggested that changes to immigration laws that “raise the bar” vis-à-vis education or

income, for example, affect women more, because they tend to be less educated and independently wealthy.

Security

In general, security was described as a very relative term. In some places, it lies in the absence of violence, war or government corruption. In these places, it cannot be taken for granted. In Canada, our security concerns focus on things like getting stable employment and we can talk about larger security issues. Focus group participants described security in remarkably consistent ways. One person suggested three types of security: personal, external and internal. These categories can be used to summarize the focus groups' efforts to define "security."

Personal security comes when people respect and trust one another, when peoples' basic human needs are met and everyone is treated equitably. It is linked to freedom to pursue your individual potential and to live without being under surveillance. Most people described it as a feeling, not a reality.

Internal security, or the security of our place, comes with democracy, and governments that are not corrupt. Focus group participants described their desire to have wars of words, but not violence. Internal security is actually undermined, in the view of many participants, by the current overemphasis on national security — it serves to make people feel insecure.

External security is that which is maintained elsewhere and around the world. It comes with equitable access to the world's resources and will be maintained only if we get at the root causes of discontent.

Overall, focus group participants did not express a large loss of security since 9-11. They mentioned airports as one place where they feel less secure for fear of being targeted to be searched. Several participants did, however, agree that the concept itself has changed and become narrower with increased focus on the "homeland."

Participants did not view security as something the government can ensure through legislation. They did, however, mention several ways the government can enhance the feeling of security among immigrant and ethnic communities. Governments, in the view of several participants, should increase the level of cross-cultural sensitivity among their employees. There was also much discussion of how honesty, accountability and transparency would enhance the feeling of security, as would an equitable application of laws.

Freedom

There was a general sense that freedom is a balancing act between individual freedoms/rights and the responsibility to the collective, the community and the world. In this sense, the focus groups tended to view freedom in light of rights and responsibilities; freedom does not exist in their absence. There were also clear indications that freedom should not be achieved through violence and that abuse of power is often excused as a means of achieving freedom.

One participant identified two types of freedom: “freedom to” and “freedom from.” Several focus groups mentioned the former, including freedom of expression, religion, information, movement and choices. This would be the traditional notion of the concept. While not referring explicitly to “freedom from,” several participants discussed freedom from hunger and surveillance as enhancing freedom.

When mentioned directly, participants were very positive about the freedom available to them in Canada, and that Canadians take our freedom for granted. One stated that “freedom is being Canadian.” The criticism of Canadian freedom revolved around class issues; the upper classes have more freedom than others. One example revolved around the cost of post-secondary education making the lower classes less free to pursue higher education. In one focus group, this was contrasted with the political systems that provide less freedom, in the traditional sense while providing more free access to services, such as education.

In terms of how government can guarantee security, one theme emerged surrounding education and awareness. Several focus group participants discussed how the police, for example, need to be more broadly aware of how not to step over the line and the general public needs to be more aware of what constitutes freedom and how to keep it.

Equality

Focus group participants had a very multi-dimensional and global conceptualization of equality, seeing it as having many dimensions: social, political and economic. They also viewed it as going beyond equality in law and including less tangible equality of opportunity or equality of access to wealth. They also recognized the question of whether equality means that everyone is treated the same or whether equality can be achieved by treating different people differently, according to those differences. Multiculturalism, for example, was mentioned as difficult to achieve when equality means that everyone is treated the same and equality is culture blind.

Equality was not viewed as something easily achievable through government policies, because it arises out of social and political conditions. Socialist countries were mentioned as an example, because they could not eliminate inequalities. Participants discussed how the law can enshrine equality but that biases can remain hidden. The government can help promote equality by ensuring equal opportunities for newcomers and by being honest and accountable.

There was a general sense of the concept and its implementation having changed since 9/11. People mentioned, for example, how laws have changed to allow the state to hold someone in jail without charges. There was some discussion of how the concept has been eroded with the diminishment of fundamental rights. Others highlighted how people are more suspicious of certain immigrants since 9/11, and there is more assessment being done on the basis of negative stereotypes. One person suggested that even more subtly, people “notice” ethnicity more since 9/11 and this erodes equality.

Citizenship

This concept was defined as a balance between rights and responsibilities toward your country, your community and your family. It was seen as more than simply nationality (one person used the term “world citizens”) and should come with the assumption that you are an equal partner in

the society where you live. Citizenship was also defined as a sense of belonging and about being accepted as a human being, with all your faults. Many focus group participants discussed the importance of Canadian citizenship. One described it as “a dream come true.” Others said that it makes them feel appreciation and garners respect in other countries.

There was a general sense that this concept has changed a great deal since 9/11, that it has become more narrowly associated with nationality. This was not viewed as a positive shift and there were several illustrations. For example, according to the focus groups, legal categories, such as refugee and landed immigrant, bear more weight now than they did before. They also mentioned, citing the Mahar Arar case, that even citizens are in different levels — that there are first and second-class citizens.

Terrorism

Participants had a broad approach to terrorism. Some viewed it as any form of violence, physical, emotional or economic, with war being the epitome. The most frequently mentioned causes of terrorism were oppression and religious fundamentalism. Participants recognized that “one person’s terrorist is another person’s freedom fighter” and that states could be terrorists. One person mentioned that the word terrorism itself can be used to terrorize a population.

They discussed how popular or media definitions of terrorism are too narrow, tend to have racial connections and derive from the political interests of people in power. Indeed, one group discussed how it is actually useful for people in power to have terrorists around as an excuse to limit freedoms.

Summary Across the Themes

- Participants expressed pride in Canada and how it guarantees security, freedom and equality.
- The concepts are all global, multi-dimensional, inter-connected and derive from social, political and economic forces.
- Government cannot guarantee security, freedom and equality with laws or policies.
- Racism and stereotypes have been on the rise.
- Government needs to be honest, accountable and transparent.
- Security, freedom, equality and citizenship require a balance of rights and responsibilities.
- Terrorism is more complex than the image presented by politicians and the media.

Surveys

The most striking finding of this survey²⁵ is that the “don’t know” responses were most common for questions addressing gender. In contrast, we found more clearly expressed opinions and agreement on questions about the immigrant and ethnic communities. The fact that respondents had difficulty categorically answering the more gender-specific questions may suggest that we

have not sufficiently identified the particular effects that women deal with, or that the gender dimension may not be as immediately apparent as we assumed it would be. This finding was central to how we approached designing the in-depth interviews.

General Policies and Effects Since 9/11

We asked respondents for their views on how changes in national security policies have affected their clients and communities.²⁶ Respondents were most concerned about the ATA and least concerned about the permanent resident card. They identified the permanent resident card as the policy most familiar to them and their clients. This is interesting in light of their view that the card was, along with increased airport security, having the least negative effect on their clients or the people for whom they advocate. They viewed the ATA and the IRPA as having the most negative effects.

In terms of the core concepts featured in our research, notions of equality and freedom were selected by respondents as the concepts most changed since 9/11. At a broader level, respondents were ambivalent about whether the new national security agenda has affected their clients' perceptions of security, equality, citizenship and freedom.

We also inquired into several more general effects of the new national security agenda in a post- 9/11 environment.²⁷ A large proportion of respondents said they did not know whether the incidences of specific problems have increased, indicating that the consequences of 9/11 are still unclear. Respondents most strongly agreed that travel problems crossing borders and airport security have increased since 9/11. They also indicated an increase in delays getting government service, racial profiling among government officials, intensified questioning of citizenship at the border and increased government surveillance generally.

Security, Freedom, Equality and Citizenship

We posed a series of questions asking respondents for their views on what the government should do to guarantee our security.²⁸ Respondents generally agreed with the list we provided, but they most strongly agreed with the need for government to guarantee basic human rights, provide equality before the law and prevent discrimination. Focussing on external threats was the least supported suggestion. Respondents tended to agree that the Canadian government can enhance security with good national security policies. Almost all also agreed that the government tries too hard to accommodate U.S. interests and does not pay enough attention to human rights issues in its efforts to address security issues.

When asked whether governments can enhance freedom, equality and citizenship with good national security policies, most agreed, although no one concept was deemed more easily attainable than any other. We asked respondents to prioritize types of security, freedom and equality. National and personal security, political freedoms, freedom of expression and equality before the law emerged as the most important.

In general terms, almost all respondents thought that citizenship is a sense of belonging to your country. Only a small minority thought it is indicated simply by the passport you carry. Three quarters of respondents disagreed that violence should be used to gain freedom or that freedom is difficult to achieve in our multi-cultural society. Almost all agreed that equality must allow for

cultural differences and about three quarters thought it should be gender blind. They did not agree that equality is difficult to achieve in our multicultural society.

The Concept of Terrorism in General and in Law

Several questions probed into respondents' understandings of the concept of terrorism and the definition included in the ATA and implied in the IRPA. More than half the respondents said they were familiar with the ATA features that we listed.²⁹ Almost all said they knew about the "financing" and "facilitating" aspects of the ATA. They also tended to agree that these should be included in the definition. Respondents were also fairly familiar with the fact that political, religious and ideological motives are part of the definition of terrorism in the ATA. A relatively small proportion knew there was no right of appeal in cases of inadmissibility due to security although a larger proportion indicated that such a right should exist. Respondents were divided on whether security concerns should affect whether a refugee claim will be heard, and whether the police should have more powers to investigate terrorism.

Experiences of Men and Women

When asked about specific national security policies,³⁰ most respondents did not know whether any one policy affected women more than men. Respondents clearly did not view women as being more affected by changes in policies and practices since 9/11. In fact, while just over half said there was a gender difference, almost all of them suggested that men were being more negatively affected.

This pattern persisted when we asked respondents to evaluate the government's efforts to protect security and guarantee equality. Respondents did not see any difference in how well the government protects the security of men and women. We had the same finding around the question of equality, the only notable difference being between Canadian-born men and women.

Experiences of Immigrant and Ethnic Groups

In contradistinction to gender, clear agreement emerged around differential effects based on particular immigrant and ethnic groups. Moreover, in terms of comparing categories (Canadian born, immigrant, visible/non-visible minority) respondents indicated that visible minorities are more affected by changes in national security policies, other factors (such as gender) notwithstanding.

We asked respondents to compare how well the government protects the security and guarantees the freedom of various groups. A clear pattern emerged in that respondents rated ethnic minorities as being least well served by government and Canadian-born people as being most well served. In terms of guarantees of security, freedom and equality, respondents' ranking, from best to worst served was as follows: Canadian born, new Canadians, immigrants, refugees, ethnic minorities. Almost three quarters of respondents suggested that one group is more affected by policies since 9/11. Muslims, Arabs and Middle-Easterners were listed most often when respondents identified a particular group.

Atlantic Canada

The results of our questions relating specifically to Atlantic Canada indicate generally that respondents felt people in the region are fairly tolerant and value cultural difference. There was

general agreement on this, although the agreement was not terribly strong. Respondents tended not to agree that attitudes toward immigrants have changed since 9/11 or that immigrant women face more sexism in this region than elsewhere. On a less positive note, they did not tend to describe their communities, or Atlantic Canada, as very culturally or ethnically diverse, and less than half agreed that people in Atlantic Canada are more tolerant than those elsewhere. Also, more than half agreed that since 9/11, people's attitudes toward ethnic minorities have become more negative.

Analysis of Responses by Gender of the Respondent

Women were more likely than men, in general, to choose "don't know" as a response category even to questions asking about women's experiences. A higher proportion of women responded "don't know" to questions about the effects of 9/11 and national security policies. A higher proportion of men responded "don't know" to questions about racism, surveillance, discrimination and fear.

In terms of their knowledge of the definition of terrorism in the ATA and the IRPA, men and women were equally likely to say they did not know the response to the question. Specifically, a higher proportion of women than men knew that political, ideological and religious motives were part of the definition of terrorism. A higher proportion of men responded to our question about terrorism being grounds for inadmissibility and the government's compilation of a list of terrorist organizations. Male respondents were much more definitive than women in their views of whether religious, political or ideological motives should be part of the definition of terrorism and whether "one person's freedom fighter is another person's terrorist."

There was a relationship between gender and how our respondents ranked the types of security: economic, national, personal and ethno-cultural. Men more strongly agreed that economic, national and personal security were most important. Women more strongly agreed that ethno-cultural security was most important.

In terms of their assessment of the concept of equality, a higher proportion of men agreed that equality before the law and political equality are the important types. Additionally, a higher proportion of men strongly agreed that equality must be gender blind. We also found women more likely to agree that men and women have different understandings of what constitutes equality and that equality between the sexes is the most basic form of equality. Men were also more likely to agree strongly that equality must be gender blind. This suggests that male respondents were less likely than women to identify with the gendered nature of equality.

A higher proportion of women disagreed that religious or economic freedom are the most important types of freedom. We also found that a higher proportion of women strongly disagreed with the statement "violence must sometimes be used to achieve freedom." A higher proportion of women disagreed that freedom of the press or freedom of movement is the most important type of freedom.

Several gendered patterns emerged in terms of citizenship. A higher proportion of men than women agreed that citizenship involves being accepted as a human being, that citizenship is a

sense of belonging to your country and that citizenship is simply indicated by the passport you carry.

A gendered pattern also emerged in how our respondents assessed the tolerance and diversity of Atlantic Canada. Women were less likely than men to agree that people in their community are tolerant of cultural difference or that their community is culturally and ethnically diverse. We also found more women than men agreeing that since 9/11, immigrants are more discriminated against, that immigrant women face more difficulties than immigrant men, and that people's attitudes about immigrants have changed. Women were also more likely to agree that people's attitudes toward ethnic minorities are negative. In sum, it appears that women are more negative, in general, about the effects of 9/11 and about the level of discrimination and diversity in the communities where they live.

Finally, gendered responses emerged in several questions about terrorism, how it is defined and what it looks like. While most people agreed that governments around the world are responsible for terrorism, that terrorism should be grounds for inadmissibility to Canada, that security concerns should not affect refugee claims being heard, and that financing a terrorist activity is a criminal offence, men agreed with these statements more strongly than women did.

Men more strongly disagreed that the government should not compile a list of terrorist organizations and that facilitating terrorism should not be a criminal offence.

Qualitative Interviews

As our previous research instruments had indicated, most people did not make a clear-cut distinction in their minds between the effects of the security legislation and the post 9/11 climate, which is telling about how intricately connected the two are in people's minds. In addition, there was little knowledge of the specifics of the new legislation. For the most part, respondents commented on the aspects of the legislation they had experience with, or addressed questions from their experiences at the present time which they saw as different from before 9/11. As it is clear in many of our interviews and as was also confirmed by the interviewers and local co-ordinators in post-interview on-site visits by members of the research team, there was a lot of reticence and even fear among respondents in talking about the Canadian government and their own experiences, despite the team's best efforts to reassure them of anonymity and confidentiality issues. People declined to be interviewed and, even when accepted, some refused to respond to particular questions or did not want to be audiotaped. Some women expressed fears that their husbands "would not like it" if they expressed themselves fully. When providing feedback to the research team members in the on-site visits, interviewees reported on their own sense that women from certain cultural backgrounds found it odd to be asked to express their opinions and report from their experiences on such issues. Under the circumstances, it took particular effort on the interviewees' part to elicit responses about how the changes in the legislation and policies affected the interview participants and especially women. Anticipating this difficulty the research team had worked specific questions addressing women's experiences into the interview guide and had taken special care to include gender as a conceptual category in every question.

Participant Profile

The majority of the 58 participants (37 women and 21 men) from the six cities provided information about their own and their family's background, as well as about their life at present. All the participants were asked questions in regards to their personal identification, such as their identity, year of birth, current status and level of education. With respect to their year of birth, the majority of the participants were born during the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s (n=44 participants). In terms of current legal status in Canada, the majority of participants said they are a Canadian citizen (n=40 participants). In regards to their level of education, the majority of the participants have a college/university degree (n=36 participants). In addition, participants were asked how they identify themselves in terms of ethno-cultural/religious background. The identity of the participants was diverse, with the only consistent identity being Muslim. Participants came from 33 different countries in total:³¹ Algeria, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Colombia, Congo, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guyana, Guatemala, Holland, India, Iran, Kenya, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Palestine, Philippines, Russia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Syria, Thailand, Trinidad, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The majority of the participants were married (n=49 participants) at the time of the interview and had been for some time. The most consistent dates given for when these participants were married, were during the 1980s and 1990s (n=31 participants). The responses for the ethno-cultural background of their partner/spouses was diverse, with the only consistent responses from three or more of the participants being Muslim, African and Canadian.

For the country of origin question, the responses were diverse; not many participants came from the same country. The most consistent country of origin was Algeria. Other responses for the country of origin that had at least three participants were Bosnia, Columbia, Pakistan, Somalia and Turkey.

The majority of the participants had arrived in Canada during the 1990s or 2000s (n=42 participants). The majority of the participants said they had not lived elsewhere in Canada (n=30 participants). However, several participants had lived elsewhere in Ontario, Quebec, Alberta and Saskatchewan (n=24 participants). The duration of stay of these participants in these places throughout Canada range from only two months up to 10 years (n=17 participants).

The participants were asked about the current place they live. They were asked how they would classify their town in terms of size and about its approximate population. The majority of the participants stated their town classification would be a small town (n=31 participants). Several other participants stated they would classify where they live as a large urban centre (n=21 participants). In regards to their town population, the majority of the participants estimated their town contained less than or equal to 100,000 people (n=27 participants), and several other participants stated their town population as between 100,001 and 500,000 (n=20 participants).

The majority of the participants stated that they were employed (n=43 participants) at the time of the interview. However, the present employment was diverse, with the only consistent employment being administrative work, professor and instructor. The majority of those currently employed stated they worked full time (n=39 participants). The participants were further asked

what their line of employment was in their country of origin. Although the responses were diverse, the most consistent answers were student, teacher and accountant.

Participants were subsequently asked questions about their household and family members. The majority of the participants had between three and four members living in their household (n=37 participants). Several of these participants said the members living in their household were related to them by being their spouse and children. The majority of participants said the number of members in their household currently employed was between one and two (n=39 participants). In addition, the majority of participants said the number of members in their household currently in school was between one and two (n=32 participants). The participants were also asked to provide information about their average house income for the last year. For the majority, their average house income for the last year was in the broad range of \$10,001 up to \$80,000 (n=39 participants), with 20.7 percent averaging between \$40,000 and \$60,000, 17.2 percent averaging between \$20,000 and \$40,000, 13.8 percent between \$60,000 and \$80,000, while 10.3 percent earned over \$100,000 (17.2 percent did not respond). Finally, participants were asked whether they had any family members residing in their country of origin or another country. The majority of the participants said they do have members of their family living elsewhere (n=48 participants).

The Ethnic Diversity of Atlantic Canadian Communities

The majority of participants in four of the six cities felt there was not a lot of ethnic diversity in their communities. One reason cited was the relative lack of jobs, which makes local communities unattractive to immigrants. Some participants mentioned that their communities are changing rapidly since they have moved there, with ethnic diversity being on the increase. As SIC-33,³² a North African female participant, stated:

Ah, there's not a big...there aren't many people who are immigrants in...compared to a big center like Montréal, Toronto, etc. But for the local population, it's still, sometimes...we feel it's like a shock...even if in numbers there aren't many...but we sense that there's a growth and this region is trying to attract people from elsewhere.³³

Fredericton and Halifax are the only cities in the region where the majority of participants felt that there is a significant amount of diversity. In five of the six cities, the majority of participants considered the people of their communities warm, accepting, nice and welcoming. As SIC-40, a West Indian male participant, stated:

In Moncton I think there is a greater acceptance of cultural differences than in some of the other places in New Brunswick and I can see that evident in the kind of food they eat. You know you see this new ethnic kind of restaurants popping up and then you go there and you see Canadian people embracing this new culture in the food. I think there is a greater, greater diversity here in Moncton than used to be...when I first came.

Fredericton is the only city where the majority of participants felt that some individuals in the community were more accepting than others and whether an individual was accepting depended on that individual's level of education.

In Saint John, St. John's and Charlottetown, the majority of participants even felt that their communities were more accepting than other places. It's interesting to note that from the six cities involved in this study, these are the three smallest cities/sites and the ones with less diversity. SIC-43, a woman from the former Yugoslavia, commented:

A: I find here very nice, people are very friendly, very nice. I haven't been living anywhere else, but I hear from my friends who moved away there are bigger cities, communities they don't really even know their neighbours... Yeah, and here, here really people are very, very helpful. Like they are going out on their ways to help you any way they could. I find that especially when you live in a house, they have that, you know your neighbours, you see your neighbours.

By contrast, the majority of participants from Moncton, Fredericton and Halifax believed other cities in the Atlantic region are less accepting because, in their opinion, their communities haven't encountered a lot of immigrants and don't know how to deal properly with diversity. In four of the six cities, the majority of participants felt there had been changes since 9/11; these changes included hostility toward Muslims and people of Arab origin, difficulties while travelling, and white Canadians turning more sceptical toward immigration and more fearful of immigrants. According to SIC-31 (a South Asian woman):

In general here, yah, to a certain extent they tend to be more suspicious of your movements. Even you are going to the mall they look at you a little more and maybe, you know, they scrutinize your movements even within a shop. Sometimes you are completely unaware of it, because you are busy of buying and looking at things and stuff like that. But, in general, definitely, they are more hostile and the level of hostility has gone up. I can feel it from my students, the way they interact with you in the class and even the way they evaluate your performance; they are definitely more critical.

By contrast, the majority of participants from St. John's and Saint John had not noticed any changes since 9/11; however, a participant from Saint John had heard of bad incidents.

Discrimination against Women in Atlantic Canada

The general belief in the six cities is that women face the same amount of discrimination as in other cities and, occasionally, they face less in the communities where they live. SIC-51, a female participant, was one of those more certain about the improvement in her life as a woman on coming to Canada.

As a woman when I moved here, I liked the country more. Because this is a place where we can talk, we do anything as a woman we want to do. We have our own independence. Our rights. And we can go out in the nighttime without thinking

anything about. You know. Any victimization or anything. That is the best thing I like about here.

While most participants had a positive view about the quality of life for women in their communities with respect to equality and lack of discrimination in general, when the specific probes meant to assess progress on various fronts were asked, differences arose among cities and a more negative picture emerged. Regarding women working for pay, in Charlottetown and Moncton, the majority of participants felt that women worked for lower pay than men. In Saint John, Halifax and Fredericton, the majority of participants felt that not many women worked for pay, because of a scarcity of jobs, but also racial and gender issues. No one from St. John's was probed on this issue. Participants from Charlottetown, Moncton and Saint John commented that professional and university-educated women in their communities suffer from gender-based discrimination. SIC-47, a Black woman from Latin America, raised the issue of lower pay.

I think it is almost the same here; you can see a little bit more but it's not true. They are more freedoms and more help at home, I think. But professionally, the same, I think, I can say, I don't see much difference. There are the same number of women professionals in my country and here, but when they go to the work place, I think, men they are better paid and they get a better job.

Several participants from Halifax and Fredericton attempted to explain the discrimination that immigrant and ethnic minority women suffered in their communities by arguing that it happened because of the women's traditional dress and relative lack of communication skills due to language barriers. As SIC-29 (a woman from Africa) stated, immigrant women "seem slow" as newcomers to a totally different environment.

There is so much to deal with, in terms of learning new skills, raise families in an environment that we really don't understand and sometimes our struggles, and sometimes we seem so slow to catch on to things that most of the people who have been in the environment a long time, they can't simply understand or be patient enough for you to move as fast, or to understand as fast.

Some participants from Saint John, almost contradicting previous statements, commented that women were generally being treated the same way as men. In four of the six cities the majority of participants responded that women of some ethnic communities faced more discrimination than others; these groups included Muslims and any immigrant groups with dark skin. SIC-2, a man from Somalia, stated:

In a way they are, because Muslim women are required to cover their hair so that's the one big mark for themselves which I mean, you cannot victimize a Muslim man unless he tells you, but you can victimize a Muslim woman, because of the way she's dressing.

Some participants in Halifax and Fredericton responded that children, also, were being bullied and teased at school. This added stress on their mothers and, in turn, affected the family. In addition,

they felt there was not adequate family support in Canada for many immigrants as there would be in their countries of origin. SIC-4, a Muslim woman from the Middle East, commented:

I know that many Muslim ladies are being worried about their daughters, because they're covering. So now you're not only worried about yourself and your husband, you are now also worried about your children who are developing and who are in this, supposedly, free country, right?

In four of the six cities the majority of participants responded that they had not noticed any changes since 9/11. Halifax and St. John's participants responded that they had noticed more difficulty when travelling. Halifax participants mentioned that Muslim immigrants were being treated badly since 9/11. SIC-4, a Muslim woman from the Middle East, described a friend's experience.

She's a recent convert to Islam, and she started covering her hair and she was working for this law firm, very famous law firm I have to admit and first of all it started there. The boss started calling her the angel of death.... She obviously did not mind that much because she has been working there for some time.... That same person, she was walking downtown with her son, where someone pushed her and said, why don't you get liberated?

Participants' Experiences with the National Security Laws and Policies

The majority of the participants from across the six cities responded that they had no experiences with the ATA. However, one participant was a close friend of someone who had an experience with the ATA. This participant stated the experience with the ATA pertained to a good friend in a class of hers whose brother was one of the people held in Syria in detention for a year and a half. He kept this as a secret for almost a year, because he was afraid of what people would think of him and his family. He only spoke to two people about his brother. SIC-1 is a Muslim woman from the Middle East and a medical doctor.

He was afraid at the time. He was in his second year of medical school and there was a lot of pressure and I think he felt rightly or wrongly that if this spread his career would be jeopardized because, now he's the brother of the so-called terrorist even though there were no charges ever laid or never proven. But he felt there was a big stigma around his entire family and he was sort of dealing with that, you know, it was a very tough time for him.

The majority of participants from across the six cities responded that they had had experiences with the IRPA including border security when travelling. An example comes from SIC-46, a Bahai/Persian woman.

A: It happened to my son. He went with his co-workers, they were going to the States to Detroit or somewhere to from their job, five or six people were in the car. But he forgot to get his citizenship card with him, but when they went to the Customs they stopped him and the guy came and look in the car and said all were right except him and said: "OK you come out." And he took him out and asked

him: "Where are you from, originally?" He was three years old when we left our country. But he said he was born in Europe and they said: "OK show me your permanent resident card." He didn't have a permanent resident card. "I have citizenship but I forget to bring my citizenship card." And they said: "No, you cannot go to the States." He said: "You just put in the computer and see that I am Canadian, I have been here for 20 years [or 19 years at that time]." But they said: "No." They didn't even try. They put him in the Customs and he went to the hotel and stayed there and he couldn't go back to Canada and he couldn't go to the States and he stayed in the hotel and the rest of them went to the States and when the conference was over they came back and took him and came back to Canada. [laughter]....

Q: So this happened before 9/11 or after 9/11?

A: After 9/11.

Q: After 9/11 and had he gone into the U.S. before?

A: Later on, yeah before he was going, now he goes and comes, he has his citizenship card.

The majority of participants from across the six cities stated that they have had some experiences with other national security policies. Such experiences ranged from having air travel difficulties, especially with the airport security, such as being searched, questioned, singled out because of their names or their looks, random checks, taking longer to get through security and being held up at immigration in the airports. Participants from Halifax, Fredericton and Saint John specifically felt that regulations and procedures take longer, paperwork needs to be re-submitted and hearings are often postponed.

The majority of participants from across the six cities responded that, since the new policies came into effect, they have been more worried about their safety and that of their family members. Some felt scared; several did not identify themselves as Muslim anymore, and they have generally been more cautious about what they do in public. SIC-34, a Black professional woman, stated:

A: I think we are always on the lookout, because it is always constant and we never know when we are going to be searched or questioned, therefore we are always worried. As I was stating a while ago, always worried that we are believed to be associated even if we are not. We are very careful on what we say and do, we do not joke about anything that could possibly make anyone think we are associated with these terrorists. I would have to say we are worried about any kind of interpretation.

In sum, the majority of participants from across the six cities also responded that since the new policies came into effect their freedom has been restricted. Applying and being granted citizenship takes longer, and their border travel and air travel have been affected. Overall however, they saw these difficulties as balanced by the need for the new measures. SIC-39, a professional man from Africa, commented:

That's for sure. As I said before that we were not affected at the family level but generally, the anti-terrorist policies applied after September 11 affected me with my travelling, because I travel a lot. At the airport we are searched, have to pass through different security mechanisms, which sometimes could be annoying if we take into consideration that we are innocent. But at the same time, listen, regarding terrorism, nobody's innocent. We all lived/went through it. The more they search, there is more guarantee for security, then we all accept it.

Change in Social and Cultural Activities since Laws and Policies Came into Effect

The majority of participants from across the six cities responded that they personally, and their communities, had not had to change any of their social or cultural activities since the new security policies came into effect. SIC-9, a South Asian woman, stated:

No. Our community, the Muslim community, hasn't changed anything. We continue; the only gatherings we have are the two religious celebrations. We generally celebrate them by renting the hall, like the forum or the metro centre or something, and a local um. Weekly we get together is on Fridays for prayer. Then we have the afternoon prayers, and people come from their office, and everything to say their prayers and they are gone. They would never change that because of fear.

Smaller numbers of participants reported changes: in their relationship to religious institutions, charitable organizations and schools; in the use of community spaces; wishing to change their Muslim-sounding names; refraining from going outside often or at night; being more worried about their children; and avoiding meeting new people. As SIC-42, a Muslim, South Asian man, commented:

A: We changed actually something like before we go to pray and chapel. This is the Christians [who] pray mostly in exactly the same place. But after 9/11 we did not feel safe.... but, like before we don't have a place we just go to anywhere there is a chapel to pray, but after 9/11 we had to make some kind of arrangement because, you know, that time was really very sensitive time. Then we decided to have a place and got the place here in town and ever since.

Q: So you decided yourselves or someone else?

A: No, as a community.

Q: But did someone ask your community to not use this space or was it you yourselves as a community saying let's use another space?

A: No. Our whole community decided that we must have our own space because now the time is little bit sensitive with 9/11. People see.

According to most participants, people of particular backgrounds and their communities across the six cities have been affected the most. Such communities and people included Muslims or people of Arab/African origin, people of Middle Eastern and South Asian origin. Participants cited such reasons as religion, especially Islam; different sounding names; Arabs and Muslims always having to be apologetic in the post 9/11 era with attention always drawn to them; immigrants of visible minority backgrounds being singled out more because they are visibly

different; and many people assuming that being a Muslim equals being violent. SIC-34, a Black woman, made the following comment.

We are not at ease, because we know that we are identified as Arabs or Muslims and are aware of the black clouds that have been hovering over us for a long time and even more so since September 11. Therefore, we are always uneasy. Our people always feel that they have to present themselves by saying I am not a terrorist, [I am] a Muslim but do not practise as one, or again I am a Muslim, but I am not an extremist. Our people seem to always have to excuse themselves.

A few people across the six cities mentioned that their communities had not been affected any more than other communities in Canada, including the Canadian born.

Government Performance in Protecting Security

Some participants in Fredericton, Moncton and Saint John felt that the government has been doing a good job and that terrorism has never been an issue in Canada. Measures taken are no better or worse than those adopted by other countries. According to SIC-33, a North African woman:

Frankly...I mean...we've lived in other countries, and it was always the same in other countries. Enter France and you'll see; you'll be searched. Enter Algeria and you'll be searched from top to bottom.... So, now that they're searching in Canada, for me, it's normal. First of all, I don't want to board a plane that will explode and I don't want to live with the idea that my husband, when he goes to congress, that the plane might explode, so I think it's completely normal that there's minimum security, etc. It's good also to tell the people who have the intention of doing things, that they'll have to find more efficient ways of doing it, because we're going to be watching you, because we're going to search your luggage, etc. It's always been good in the sense that it's been quick, but the only inconvenience is that it's not as fast, but I feel more secure when I take a plane. I like the fact that they search everything.

Regarding the government's performance in protecting *immigrants* specifically, the majority of participants in Halifax and Fredericton, and also half of the Charlottetown participants responded that the government has not been doing a good job. However, the majority of participants in Moncton and Saint John, and also half the Charlottetown participants responded that the government has been doing a good job, because it offers immigrants financial aid and it takes appropriate security precautions. SIC-8, a Christian woman from Latin America, stated:

I don't think they are protecting minority groups, or immigrants, or new immigrants. They are doing their job to protect the community as a whole, and while protecting, they make them targets. Like when something happens in the newspaper for example, they say that it was an immigrant that did it. [Or] it was a Black person. But whenever it is a white person, they never say it was a Canadian born, white male.... And it's up to you if you wanted to label him mainstream, or whatever you want to think about the person. But when it comes

to minority groups and ethnic groups and women, they make sure that they know [who] was involved in whatever happened.

Regarding *refugees, ethnic minorities and new Canadians*, the majority of participants across the six cities felt that the government has been doing well. The few participants who responded to the probe on the security of ethnic minority groups had a rather positive reaction while the few who responded to the probe on the security of new Canadians had a more mixed assessment, not unlike the assessment of the government's protection of the security of immigrants.

In regards to the government's performance in protecting the security of *women in all categories*, only participants from Charlottetown and Moncton took up this probe, and the majority responded that the government's performance has been good. The reason the participants gave the government a positive evaluation was because of policies to help and protect abused women and because of laws and policies about equal treatment. Speaking about women's security and safety from abuse in the family, a specifically gendered definition of security, SIC-43, a woman from the former Yugoslavia, stated:

Well I think for like here in Canada they are lots of groups there helping groups to women to even more than in my home country. Like back home if you were abused, you really like the police said or the government said, we can't do anything till they don't see any blood, let's say. But here if you are abused by your husband, there is a community centre or there is help that you can go and ask for help or I think it is better here.

The majority of participants across the six cities believed that the government has been doing a good job and that they felt personally secure, because Canada has been against going to war and the participants have never felt threatened. There were, however, some participants who did not feel secure, because they felt terrorism can strike anytime anywhere. SIC-50, an African woman, commented:

A: Um. Yes [pause] I feel safe. The United States I wouldn't want to be right now. I think um Canada is a more friendly country toward other nations. And they are more peacekeepers than going out and starting wars.

Effects of National Security Policies on Relations of Ethnic/Immigrant Communities among Themselves and with the Canadian Government

The general consensus among the participants was that, overall, national security policies have not affected or changed their relationships with other communities. When asked specifically about changes in the relationship of their communities to other immigrant and ethnic communities, there was no agreement as to what has happened. Some people argued there has been no change, others argued that there have been a number of negative changes, and some others even identified positive changes in terms of increased collaboration and understanding among communities. The negative responses came from participants who felt that specific ethnic communities were being targeted by the legislation, as well as from those who felt that ethnic communities who could blend in with the Canadian-born white community have been turning

against visible minorities and discriminating against other ethnic communities. As SIC-44, an African, Muslim man, stated:

A: Well, I'll say so. I hate to admit this though but I guess I have to say this. Before September 11 I used to join Muslim brothers for prayers like especially on Fridays and things like that. Just as the Christian would say the Sabbath day on Sunday. I usually join Muslims for general prayer and what not but something is just in me that I don't really know I don't know if it is something personal or something, but because some of them are from the Middle East, not that I am categorizing them or trying to share the perception of the Americans, but because I don't want to like be seen. It's wrong I know, but because I do have that fear, saying Muslims are this and Muslims are that, because where I come from, Muslim is just a religion, just another religion, we don't have any fanatic Muslims at all from where I come from, but I do understand in the Middle East they do have people like that. So I tended to disassociate myself.

Q: So you distanced yourself from the Middle East Muslims?

A: Exactly. Exactly. So I believe it is because of September 11. Even myself, I wasn't sure who is a fanatic or who is, you know, so I decided to, well, just stay home and do my prayers at home and things like that, which is affecting me right now.

When asked whether the national security policies had changed the relationship of their communities to Canadian-born people, visible minority and white people, many participants who responded to this part of the question believed that national security policies had changed their community's relationship with Canadian-born people. Ways cited in which the relationship had changed included ethnic/immigrant communities being stared at in public, exploited in the media anytime someone who is not Canadian-born is involved in a crime or bluntly ignored; ethnic/immigrant communities being looked at with suspicion and shown negative feelings; policies that raise the stigma associated with certain origins and Canadians developing a belief that Arabs/Muslims are connected to terrorism; Canadians have become difficult to make friends with; Canadians have become more afraid of certain groups, but it has been getting better; and some people have being affected because of their accent.

The majority of participants from across the six cities responded that there had been no change in their relationship with the Canadian government or that, generally, the participants were not involved with any level of government in order to assess possible changes. A smaller number of people responded that there had been changes, some positive and some negative, which included the relationship between their community and the Canadian government not being good at the moment; especially for Muslims; immigrants becoming more honest with the government (positive change); the government treating immigrants differently than it did before and the procedures being followed differently; the procedure for receiving one's permanent resident card and Canadian citizenship becoming a much longer one; harder to move to Canada and even to come and visit in Canada; harder to get a visa and harder to travel, especially for non-Canadians. Overall, everything has become more complicated. SIC-1, a Muslim woman and a medical doctor, gave an example.

I lived in... Ontario for awhile. There were about 20 students who were pulled aside and these were like 18, 19, 20 year old guys who recently moved to Canada to study and essentially their crime was they had been living in Saudi Arabia and so they were interviewed by CSIS, and this happened in [name of Atlantic provincial capital]. This happened across Canada and by the RCMP for no reason. There was nothing; they had done nothing but be from a country or have a certain name. So it's easily imagined how that can erode the confidence a community has in the legal system when you see that most of us in the Muslim community come from countries where this sort of thing happens where you get pulled over for no reason, or you can get thrown in jail and rot there for no reason, and that's why we came to Canada. And now, I think, many people are disappointed, because you come to Canada for that reason and now again there's insecurity.

Those participants who had some experience with the government, had dealt mostly with the federal government.

Most Important Form of Security and Reasons Why

Twenty-one of the 58 participants responded that economic security was the most important aspect of security in their opinion. Their reasons included needing employment, being able to provide for the education of their children, being able to solve problems and ensure a future. SIC-43 (a woman from the former Yugoslavia) stated:

The most important for me is the economy...because if they are creating work and I mean if they are creating any place to work then you are safe. If there is no workplaces to go to then you will have to move away or you will have to find something to deal with that.

Twenty of the 58 participants responded that personal security was the most important form of security in their opinion. Participants referred to the need to protect themselves and their families, and their desire to feel personally safe regardless of their whereabouts and activities.

Sixteen of the 58 participants responded that national security was the most important aspect of security in their opinion. They argued that the need to protect oneself and one's country was primary, in their opinion, as it affected everyone regardless of which community people came from, and as it provided the basis for people to practise their religion safely and to become economically secure.

Eleven of the 58 participants responded that ethno-cultural security was the most important aspect in their opinion. Their reasons included wanting their family values to be safe and wishing to protect their culture, language and religion.

A few participants in Fredericton, Halifax and Saint John had different responses on the most important aspect of security: some mentioned having peace, and yet others felt that security could not be divided and that all its dimensions were interlinked. Even ecological security, the

security of the planet's ecosystems, was mentioned as the most important form in this category of "other" forms of security.

Improving Security for All Canadians

Participants' responses ranged here from expressing the belief that the government has been doing a good job; that the government has been doing all it could do and there is nothing further it could do to make people feel more secure; or that the government needs to improve on security measures to protect all people, not just some people. When probed specifically, participants mentioned measures they felt would improve security: preventing corruption (n=3),³⁴ providing stable employment opportunities (n=15), guaranteeing basic human rights (n=9), guaranteeing equality before the law (n=3), respecting democratic principles (n=1), being accountable (n=2), ensuring border security (n=12), preventing public health threats (n=4), preventing discrimination (n=8), focussing on external threats (n=4), ensuring employment in the non-government sectors (n=1) and a number of measures they felt were "other" (n=28) from the categories provided. The two largest of the specific categories involve economic security (e.g., employment opportunities) and border security.

This last category (of "other") comprised a number of diverse responses that refer to specific socio-cultural and economic measures suggested to ensure a more fair and equitable society, such as improving the quality of education people receive, becoming more educated, in general; allocating resources and personnel more efficiently, especially in health care and transportation; more security at night; and the government should facilitate more interaction between immigrant groups, other people in the community and themselves. Relationships between the three levels of government could be improved; the government should try to improve some of the existing laws; and better protect different cultures and communities. There needs to be more police in the streets for all our Canadian cities; equal policies for diverse groups should be adopted with equity in all domains of social life. International credentials need to be recognized in Canada and a welcoming environment where diversity is recognized, accepted and valued created. A neutral relationship with other countries should be kept; all countries should be looked at as unique cultures and accorded respect. Safety, freedom and equality should be extended and ensured for all ethnic minorities; and children should be provided with everything that they need. SIC-7, a Muslim man, stated:

No, the only thing they can do, to make things easier, is to stop spending so much money in the name of security. Because we have enough security, for the Parliament it's for control. See every time we spend another 10 billion dollars, for instance... that means somebody has to hire more people. Somebody had to purchase more equipment. We're talking about planting the seed of the sponsorship scandal. Right, increasing the budget for these nasty, nasty things. On the other hand, I don't know if you know it now, there are Native American communities that...Native Americans only wanted \$1 billion to upgrade their infrastructure. Their houses were breaking, they were only given \$310,000. And yet, they gave more than they expected to defense; \$12 billion and this is absurd.

What Can the Canadian Government Do to Prevent Terrorism?

Two main ideas came from across the six cities in response to this question: the government should try to improve border security, by becoming stricter with refugees and increasing border checks; and the government should not assume that people from certain ethnic and immigrant communities are terrorists because of their dress, religion, language or daily activities. Other comments, segmented by city, were made. That is, participants within each city agreed that certain precautions should be taken; however, their suggested precautions were different from those of other cities. One city's participants responded that they felt there needed to be more education and government surveillance. Another city's participants felt that Canada should always play the role of peacekeeper in the world. A third city's participants felt that the government should develop a new technology to get rid of paper money, because the latter is dangerous and digital money should be created. Another city's participants felt that aside from improving border security, nothing else could be done to prevent terrorism. A couple of sample responses in the participants' own voices follow. SIC-39, a man from Africa, stated:

Have to find out why terrorism exists in the world. If you watch what is going on in the Middle East...the reply says that the terrorist chooses terrorism as a way of claiming/demanding their rights, and imperialism exists everywhere all around the world.... But the Canadian government has to assure all around the world, has to recognize the autonomy and sovereignty of each state/country in the world. As soon as they realize/recognize this fact terrorism will be abolished. And Canada should play a role as an arbitrator/mediator. To play his mediator role, to assure the peace around the world, to be "porte-de parole" (spokesperson) not only in the Occident but for the underdeveloped countries, to be sure that the big powers like the United States do not impose their politics on other people in the world.

Similarly, SIC-1, a Muslim woman and medical doctor, advocated social justice and higher education as the best measures to prevent terrorism.

No one wakes up when they're happy and well fed and secure and educated and says oh today I think I am going to blow myself up and take a few hundred people with me, right, so you have to examine how a human being is driven to these conditions and the vast majority of these are people who don't have freedom or access to rights and who feel their only way of escape, their only way of changing things is to do these horrible horrific and wrong and crazy acts.

The Meaning and Most Important Aspect of Freedom

The majority of participants from across the six cities responded that to them freedom meant being able to express themselves (n=35). Other aspects of freedom that were mentioned included free movement (n=15), freedom of the press (n=2), economic freedom (n=4), religious freedom (n=12), political freedom (n=2), a balancing act between rights and responsibilities (n=6), freedom from patriarchal oppression (n=3), and a few participants cited "other" freedoms, such as freedom from fear, being safe and having the same privileges. The meaning of freedom as "free movement" was strongly gendered, though it was not explicitly expressed as "freedom from patriarchal oppression." For example, SIC-30, an Asian woman, commented:

Hmm...freedom means...means that I can go anywhere or do anything or study...or work wherever I want without anyone telling me that I cannot. Even my own family or husband or parents. You know how it is in our countries...before marriage, our parents control us; after marriage husband controls and then the children...(laughs)...you know that. But freedom is...women can't have every freedom...especially in our countries...here it is a little different. At least no neighbours are watching you.

Participants mentally ranked the different aspects of freedom, as asked in the probe, and mentioned a number of different freedoms as being the “most important,” such as freedom of expression, respect, free movement, economic freedom, education, freedom as a balancing act between rights and responsibilities, equality, acceptance, freedom from discrimination, gender equality, social justice and political freedom. These were the most commonly mentioned “most important” aspects and responses were grouped under all of them, with the highest numbers of participants ranking as number one either freedom of expression, or free movement, or economic freedom.

A distinct category of freedom that was common across three of the cities (Saint John, Charlottetown and St. John’s) was religious and cultural freedom. An important reason why freedom to practise their religion and culture was the most important freedom for some participants was that religious practice was seen as a way of being able to express yourself. Thus, freedom of religion was linked with freedom of expression. SIC-44, a Muslim man from Africa, expressed this perspective.

A: Well I guess that's the best one, because expressing yourself through your religious practice, through your ethnic practice and things like that, and Canada is a wonderful place in allowing people to do that. Practice their religion, free in Canada. I'm not sure if for right now the U.S. is doing that, because I don't think Muslims are practising their religion as before 9/11. So but in Canada I don't experience any difference at all.

Q: And that is the most important aspect, your freedom for you is it?

A: Yes, yes.

Q: Why do you think that's the most important?

A: Because that [laughter inaudible]. I come from a religious background. So for the fact that I am a Muslim and I am safe to be in Canada practising my religion, like free it is a wonderful thing to me.

Some participants in Moncton, Fredericton, Charlottetown and St. John’s responded that peace and security were the most important aspects of freedom in their opinion, or that freedom without peace and security is meaningless. SIC-27, a Muslim woman from Bosnia, fleshed out a gender-based perspective.

For me, I think the most important is to go to bed with, you know, in mind that you are secure and safe. That you don't have to worry that someone is going to do something to, in the sense of you know, killing, making you go away, because you are this or that.

The Canadian Government's Performance in Guaranteeing Freedom

The general belief was that the government has been doing a good job in guaranteeing freedom for *new Canadians, immigrants and refugees*. SIC-45 (a professional woman from Africa) commented, from a strong gender perspective, about new Canadians.

A: They do a great job. I love Canada. Because when we are out there in our own countries, you don't even know what freedom means first of all because you are born in this, that is how your mother grew up and if you tell your mother you don't like this, she is like what don't you like? This is how your great grandmother was raised, your grandmother, your mother, everybody. But when you come here then you realize oh, I can breathe easily you know, I can do things without fear and I can do things without hurting anyone. And these are the things I love to do the most. And the government makes sure you have that right, you have that right of your freedom to worship, you have that right of owning your own things, you have that right of expressing yourself and I think it is a great thing. I love it.

However, pertaining to the government's protection of *immigrants'* freedom specifically, some participants in Moncton, Halifax and Charlottetown felt the government was not doing a good job and that more needed to be done. Overall, participants from Charlottetown and Moncton felt the government could improve upon its performance in guaranteeing freedom for ethnic minorities. Finally, some participants felt that the government has been doing a good job in ensuring the freedom of *men and women*, and there has been improvement in the government's performance.

The Meaning and Most Important Aspect of Equality

The majority of participants across the six cities mentioned that their idea of equality was having the same treatment for everyone. Several mentioned economic equality as well. Other, less frequently cited forms of equality included equality before the law (n=5), political equality (n=4), equality as a balancing act between rights and responsibilities (n=7), equality between the sexes (n=14), allowing for religious or cultural differences (n=7) and allowing for gender differences (n=3). SIC-45 is a professional woman from Africa. Starting off, from a gender-based perspective, with the private sphere of the family, she was steered to think about the public sphere. Equality for her referred to sameness of treatment in both the private and public spheres.

A: But to me equality means when you are able to do same thing, for instance, if my husband if I am not in the house, he should be able to clean up. He should be able to feed the kids, he should be able to do homework with the kids, he should be able to do practically anything that I can do and on the other hand if he is not there, and he has some job that he needs done I should be able fill in for him, I should be able to do, like when he is not there I can do the fund raiser, I do a great job about it. Without having to say, well, he is not here, we must postpone this until he gets here. So equality is very important.

Q: Now you are talking about equality in the home.

A: Yeah,

*Q: Can you think more like in a public sphere. What do you think is equality?
Like that same equal treatment—*

A: Yeah exactly. Well I have experienced that, because where I worked I have been treated as an equal. I haven't been treated like anything less by my superiors or my work mates, may they be men or women or more superior in their job like the manager treating me as inferior, because of the kind of work I am doing. No I haven't experienced that. And I believe equality there has been really practised.

While most participants identified sameness of treatment as the meaning of equality par excellence, when they were asked about the most important aspect of equality, the majority of the participants from five of the six cities responded “equality between the sexes.” Interestingly, the examples they provided for equality between the sexes and for “same treatment” are, more often than not, interchangeable. SIC-33, a North African woman, gave the following illustration.

It's just...it's a question of dignity, that it is. Uh...whether it is at home or in the street, it always comes back to a question of dignity. Why is it that I work eight hours? I have the qualification; I have all the required diplomas...and I'm paid \$30,000 a year, and someone with the same qualifications who does the same work...because he's a man is paid \$40,000 a year? Or, same thing, if one is white and one is black. Why? For me, equality comes back to reality...a question of dignity...because, in the end, maybe the \$30,000 is OK for me, but because I'm as competent as the other and he earns \$40,000...it frustrates me. There's no difference there. It can go both ways. Equality for all; not only for women, for visible minorities...for everyone.

The following arguments were provided to justify participants' belief in equality between the sexes as the most important dimension of equality.

This form of equality is most important, because women are being treated unfairly and it is also the hardest habit to break.

All men and women should be equal.

It is unfair to pay men and women differently for the same job.

A man is no better than a woman and women can do everything a man does.

It is important to be respected and treated equally at home and at work.

Equality between the sexes will result in there being no struggle between men and women anymore.

Both men and women should have the same rights.

Another aspect of equality that the majority of participants from five of the six cities deemed most important was that everyone receives the same treatment. As before, many of the actual examples of our participants implicated gender relations and referred to equal treatment on the

job etc. of the two sexes. The reasoning provided why the most important aspect of equality was equal treatment went the following way.

Everyone should be given the same due process; otherwise people will end up revolting.

People deserve to be respected and treated equally on the job.

People would feel much better if they were treated the same.

It is important to be treated the same, even after recognizing individual differences, because we have to accept, recognize and value each individual's differences.

It is important to have equal access to services in the area of health care, especially.

Other aspects of equality mentioned by smaller numbers of participants as most important were economic equality and equality as a balancing act of rights and responsibilities.

The Canadian Government's Performance in Guaranteeing Equality

In regards to how good a job the Canadian government does at guaranteeing equality for *new Canadians and refugees*, only participants from Charlottetown and Moncton responded, and they felt that the government has been doing a good job; however, it could improve its performance. Also, pertaining to *ethnic minorities*, only participants from Moncton responded, and they felt that the government could improve on its performance.

The majority of participants from across the six cities felt that the government has not been doing a good job in guaranteeing equality for *immigrants* and that it could do better in ensuring equality for men and women in general. The most common reason was that "the government doesn't recognize work and education credentials from other countries." Other reasons provided why the government did poorly in guaranteeing the equality of immigrants included that the government did not ensure that

people are treated the same and have access to everything.

It does not seem to it that rules and policies in place are applied.

It does not offer the same opportunities to everyone.

Does not help sufficiently in improving language and communication skills.

As SIC-22, a Latin American woman, put it:

In my perception, for us as immigrants, it's very easy for to find a job. For me, that's easy. It looks like all the cleaning organizations they like to hire people,

immigrant people, because they think immigrants are the best workers, the same with the people who come over. They say that the immigrants are really hard workers. But, um, when you are going to look for a professional or technical job, looks like it's not the same load, they prefer to hire people from Canada and we never match with the jobs that they have. That's really one of the points. If you are looking for a job, and you want to start you have to clean something, but if you are looking for another job you have to wait for the exact position that you are going to match.

The Meaning and Most Significant Aspect of Citizenship

The majority of participants across the six cities responded that to them citizenship meant a “sense of belonging to your country” (n=27). Other responses included a balancing act between rights and responsibilities (n=16), a sense of being accepted as a human being (n=4), and “other” (n=14). The most important of the latter are freedom, security and equality. SIC-45, an African/Christian, professional woman, with permanent resident status, was full of hope for the Canadian citizenship that she eagerly anticipated.

It's very important to be a citizen, to get your citizenship, because that way you feel you belong. You feel this is my home, this is you know, where I belong and you don't have any fears of anything happening to you or being sent back home, maybe you left home some 10 years ago, and there is really nothing to go back to for you, so citizenship is very, very important to the people who are moving to this country. And I think it is very scary when you stay in a country for four or five years and you are just waiting on that paper and you are not getting it. It's really frustrating so in a way you are not even as productive as you should be, because you don't know what is going to happen to you. So it is very important for a person to get a citizenship.

But there were also sceptics. SIC-7, a Muslim, South Asian man, with Canadian citizenship, was more critical of the concept of citizenship.

Citizenship, yeah it's belonging to the country. [Personally] I don't like the concept of warranty to the country. You should have loyalty to humanity. The moment we start to say I am loyal to Canada. Well that's wonderful. What if Canada is doing something drastically wrong today, right? What if 51 percent voted today that women should not have voting rights? Does that make them right? No. So, for me citizenship does not do anything extravagant. It binds me to a certain aspect, because I don't personally agree with this concept that you have to be loyal to the country.... To be cautious comes first.

Several participants from across the six cities felt the balancing act between rights and responsibilities was the most significant aspect of equality. Their comments and justifications included having equal opportunities and treatment as well as having the same responsibilities as any other Canadian citizen. This was very important. Having the ability to participate in voting and other national affairs (i.e., “having a say in what happens in your country”) was also very significant.

Another very common response across the six cities was the sense of belonging to your country as the most important dimension of citizenship. The reasons and comments provided included the following. Some participants thoroughly enjoy having a country they considered home and a country they felt would protect them no matter what. Other participants said they would like to have a sense of belonging to the country where they and their families lived, worked and enjoyed freedom. Others wanted to be part of the country by becoming a Canadian citizen. Finally, for others a sense of belonging meant that one had the right to express oneself and be known as a citizen of Canada. SIC-6, a British woman, who had permanent residency, stated:

I'm going to be far prouder of becoming a Canadian citizen, that political thing. I am not going to be, I am not going to consider myself British anymore. So that's what citizenship is, it's not really about roots and harping about being British. It's a place where I know if I were to be in trouble.... I think it's a fundamental right and everyone in the world [has to have] that, and it would be wonderful if they did. I don't think citizenship isn't a political thing, I think it's a basic human right, to have the right to belong somewhere. Yeah, definitely.

The Canadian Government's Performance in Safeguarding Citizenship Rights

The majority of participants felt that the government was not doing a good job in safeguarding the citizenship rights of *new Canadians*. Their reasoning and comments included some of the following. People had in general not been encouraged to be involved in the community, with or without citizenship. They felt there was a need for more organizations in different communities to aid newcomers and help them understand the system in Canada. SIC-19 (a Canadian Colombian woman, with Canadian citizenship) argued that people with citizenship were treated differently from those without it.

There used to be differences in what they do for you if you are just on a permanent visa, from you being an immigrant and from you being a citizen. ... They may tell that it is not, but there is a difference even in the level of friendliness with you.

However, some participants from Halifax, Saint John, Moncton and Charlottetown felt the government's performance was good because, in their opinion, new Canadians had been treated the same way, the government granted citizenship fairly and did not revoke one's citizenship when a crime was committed.

Regarding *ethnic minorities*, the majority of participants felt the government's performance was good because, in their opinion, the government did a good job in granting citizenship, treated ethnic minorities equally, helped sort out travelling difficulties and believed in and practised multiculturalism. However, participants from Halifax and half the participants from Fredericton and Saint John felt the government was not doing a good job. Their reasoning included:

There is still discrimination in that the government is still giving preference to white citizens above others.

Difficulty when travelling still exists.

The volume of rules and regulations restricts people's freedom.

There is not enough money being invested in immigration which makes the process very difficult.

SIC-26 (an Asian woman with Canadian citizenship) expressed her disappointment in the government.

(laughs)...I don't know...about Maher Arar person...poor thing...he was a citizen...but poor man...he was still arrested and no one to help him.... We were reading about that.... He was troubled so much and no one helped him.... So why the Canadian government did not help him first? And many people also...same thing...then...if we travel also why then do they trouble us?... they should not be allowed if we are citizens.... Here in Canada they also trouble us sometimes.... Then, it is no use...then why should we be citizens?

In regards to men and women, the majority of participants from the six cities felt the government was doing a good job safeguarding their citizenship rights in general.

As far as the desirability of Canadian citizenship, 16 of the 58 participants responded that, if they did not already have citizenship, they would pursue it. Also, 24 of the 58 participants responded that their friends would also pursue citizenship if they didn't already have it. SIC-37 (a North African, professional woman) expressed her appreciation for Canadian citizenship.

A: For sure, for sure, I would pursue it because it is a very good nationality. The Canadian citizenship means to enjoy a good nationality and gives you the freedom, the freedom of movement without being scared. Even if you travel outside the country, you are considered to have a good nationality.

Change Since the New Laws and Policies Came into Effect

The two most common responses from the six cities were that participants had either noticed no change in freedom, equality and citizenship or, of the three, participants felt freedom was the most affected since the new laws and policies came into effect. Participants justified the second response (i.e., that freedom had been the most affected by the changes) by commenting that people are scared and are losing their privacy, with more restrictions. Some felt they had become targets and that they did not have freedom anymore. SIC-7 (a South Asian, Muslim man) stated:

That people are scared to even think properly. They are afraid to even talk on the phone at home. Every Muslim thinks their phone is tapped. Yes, because of this law. Literally, that is how they feel. So if someone calls, are you harbouring terrorists, we think that my phone is tapped. So it's scary and I'm afraid to talk in another language, thinking that they will think what is he talking about? So with my students, I speak English, so transparency isn't the issue; it's the fear of transparency that is the issue.

Participants who argued that there had been changes since the new laws came into effect, identified citizenship as the second area of change. They did not understand how the government viewed citizenship and why procedures to obtain citizenship were taking longer than they did before the new laws and policies came into effect. SIC-45 (an African/Christian, professional woman) expressed her frustration over the citizenship process taking so long and the fact that, as permanent residents, she and her family had to do so much more paperwork than Canadian citizens to obtain the same things.

A: I believe citizenship because then, after the 9/11 they prolonged everything. Immigration, I think, they are taking their time to completely check you, check your background, for instance, they asked us to once again get our papers from home and these are things that came after 9/11. They are checking you properly to make sure you are who you say you are. And that is prolonging the stay, before you can get your papers, it is taking so long because of that. And it feels really uncomfortable and like, for instance, I have children who are going to university and you need and without that citizenship you go through so much, questions and paper filling in, everything in order to be able to secure a student loan or to do almost anything, so it is very distressing.

Q: So your kids have to show that they are residents of Canada, that they are no foreign students, even though they don't have citizenship.

A: Yes, so we are getting everything that we need but it's taking longer. The fact that we don't have our papers completed yet, even after all these years.

Equality was the least changed according to the participants who responded to this question, though they felt that people were not being treated the same, before or after 9/11. Only participants from Halifax and Fredericton mentioned that equality had changed for the worse. SIC-22 (a Latin American woman) elaborated.

I think equality would be one of the fairly big changes, because now again the people aren't treated the same ways. If the people are white, and they look like Canadian, it's easy for them to be defended, to go out, to go in, whereas people who came from other cultural backgrounds and exactly where the people came from other religions, that is where things happen in this moment.

Desirable Changes in the Definition of Terrorism or the National Security Legislation

The majority of participants responded that the definition of "terrorist activity" as it stands in the law was either too general and all encompassing or too specific and, as a result, it had been affecting certain ethnic and religious groups, by assuming that these people were terrorists without having sufficient evidence to support this claim. SIC-27 (a Muslim, Bosnian woman) commented:

Well I think the profile which was made, and I am certain it was made based on whatever happened in the past, but it leads citizens sometimes the wrong way, because they assume you know, if the terrorist was defined as this looking, and this belonging to, then everybody else belonging to this group [must be terrorist]. The government can't probably change, if the terrorist acts were done by certain

groups or certain people, then this is a fact, but maybe it should be somehow when it goes out to people, it should somehow, I don't know how, but, I think, people sometimes experience mistakes. Unfortunately, you know bad things happen that shouldn't, because they just happen to belong to this religion or looking like whatever, this terrorist.

SIC- 33 (a North African woman) commented on racial profiling.

Really, now. I don't know. I'm not sure what the word is.... The only thing that bothers me is, well...the fact that someone wears a turban or has a beard is a terrorist, and just the fact that these people are infiltrating, and it's because they're not wearing beards or don't have turbans.... So we have to stop thinking that because someone has dark skin, they're potentially dangerous...uh...it's too simple...too simple to think this.

The second most common response was that participants were unaware of the definition and therefore held no opinion in this question or that nothing should be changed. Other implicit criticisms and consequent suggestions about changes that participants would like to see in the anti-terrorism legislation included that Canada should stand on its own feet, away from the United States and not try to please the United States, that the government should try less to control people with the definition of terrorism and should refocus its efforts on Canadians; that people should always be cautious and aware of government actions; that there should be more resources available; and the government should be monitored so it could not be allowed to abuse its power over people. SIC-16 (a man, self-identified as mixed origin) underscored the need for caution and monitoring of the government by the people.

I'm just hoping in order...you have to have someone monitoring the government to know that they are using [their power] in a good way and that they are not abusing it. I can understand from the point of the government that they need to look after the security of their citizens and the people and the country. So in that sense, I can see them wanting to do that but, in a sense, we have to make sure that there are certain (pause) things in place to ensure that it is not abused and it is used with proof and that if you charge someone of this, there is definitely enough proof or that this person is a definitive threat.

Other Comments and Observations

In the end, the majority of participants (n=26) shared some final thoughts or comments on issues they felt were not covered (or sufficiently covered) during the interview. Some (n=8) gave suggestions about how to improve the country, or specifically what the government should do, and mainly how to conduct its external affairs. For example, participants believed that awareness of "otherness" was the best way to prevent problems that arose in societies with different communities; that the government should sensitize the population about terrorism and, at the same time, the government should avoid racial profiling of Arabs or Muslims as terrorists; that it is important for children to be educated about world problems; that the Canadian government should make more of an effort to assist and integrate new immigrants; that the Canadian government should not have relationships with organizations and countries that are

terrorist; that there should be more communication between the government and immigrants; that the Canadian government should let other countries solve their own problems without involving Canada; and, last but not least, that the immigration and citizenship process should be expedited. SIC-21, a Black man, underscored the need for dialogue.

Everybody has some dreams and goals in their life, and none should be persecuted because of his race. There should be a lot of dialogue among people of immigrant descent and immigrants themselves and the local government, if they truly believe in multiculturalism.

Other participants (n=5) felt they should reiterate earlier comments about the need for security measures, though their specific recommendations pointed in different directions. Participants believed, for example, that we must think of national security before we just let anybody into the country; and that it is necessary for the justice system and correctional system to work together on security; that more security in general is needed. Others believed that, on the contrary, human rights have not been sufficiently protected by the designated security officials and institutions. Yet, a third category believed that security has been adequate in Canada.

Finally, several participants commented about the treatment of specific people, such as people of Middle Eastern origin. Statements included that Middle Eastern people were treated differently because of 9/11; that many people have been afraid of Middle Eastern people at this point; that in the airports people tended to look at darker-skinned individuals differently; and, finally, a belief that Muslims are being treated the same way as Jewish people were in the early stages, when Hitler assumed power.

Systematic Gender Differences

First, it is important to note that the questions used in this section are abbreviated versions (for quick referral purposes) of the actual questions asked in Appendix E.

Although both male and female participants asserted a significant impact of the new laws on men and women, they stated that the laws affected them equally or, even, that they affected men in more profound ways. Although some women spoke of the economic consequences for them when male family members suffered more directly the effects of the new policies, for the most part women were not prepared to make such connections openly between policies perceived to operate on the public sphere and their private lives.

When we analyzed what women and men actually said when they spoke about their concrete experiences, it is clear that women and men often do speak about such experiences from a gender-based perspective. Similarly, their understandings of the same concepts and ideas, are highly gendered. For example, the meaning of “freedom of movement” for women seems to refer to being free to move around in society without criticism or consequences stemming from rigidly defined gender roles. Equality as freedom from the fear of war, which is important for both men and women, when it comes to women refers specifically to freedom from the fear of gender-based violence in conflict zones. Equality also means equal treatment as everyone else for women, and especially equality between the sexes. Security for women takes the gendered

form of being safe from abuse in the private sphere of the family and security from the gendered risks of violence against women in conflict zones. In contrast to men, many women emphasize economic security or the economic dimension of security. Finally, when it comes to citizenship, for the majority of women, in contrast to men, citizenship refers to a feeling, the socially rooted “sense of belonging.”

If we examine more closely who (male or female) said what in response to each question, some more systematic gender patterns emerge. Because this is a qualitative study, any generalizations expressed here are cautious and preliminary. They pertain only to the group of men and women interviewed and do not necessarily reflect immigrant and ethnic minority men and women’s experiences in Atlantic Canada. Identifying more systematic gender patterns in this sample can only allow us to formulate hypotheses that need to be further investigated. The systematic gender patterns observed do not necessarily refer to the gender-based dimensions of questions. Associations and patterns emerged in analyzing participants’ responses by sex to the following questions.

- **Have you noticed any changes in ethnic diversity since 9/11?** The majority of the women believe there have been changes to ethnic diversity since 9/11 compared to only some of the men saying this. Further research is necessary to confirm the systematic character of the difference and understand the reasons behind it.
- **Have you, or any member of your family, had any experiences with other national security policies which were put in place after 9/11?** The majority of the women said their experience with other national security policies is with airport security whereas only a few of the men said this. Is this indeed a case of systematic gender difference and if so, why?
- **In your experience, how have the national security policies affected the relationship and interaction of your community with Canadian-born people (visible minority and white)?** Some of the women said their relationship with Canadian-born people has changed whereas none of the men said their relationship with Canadian-born people has changed. Further research to confirm this difference and to find out why the experience appears to differ is warranted.
- **What type of security is the most important for you?** The majority of the women’s responses went in one direction and almost the majority of the men’s responses went in the opposite direction. The majority of the women participants said the most important type of security for them was economic security. In contrast, almost all of the men said the most important type of security for them was personal security. Therefore, what appears as systematic gender difference in this sample is worth confirming more generally as well as identifying some of the bases for such a gender difference in feelings about security.
- **What could or should the Canadian government do to guarantee security for all Canadian men and women?** Some of the women believe the measure the government should take to guarantee security is to ensure border security whereas only one of the men said this is the measure the government should take. This possible gender difference merits further research for confirmation as well as for understanding its origin, because at first sight

it appears contradictory with women's most common definition of security as economic, although it may stem from women's increased concerns over personal security and the specifically gendered risks of violence brought upon them in conflict zones or through abuse in the family.

What does equality mean to you? What is the most important aspect of equality for you?

The majority of the women said the meaning of equality or the most important aspect of equality for them is to have the same treatment of everyone whereas only some of the men said this. Furthermore, some of the women said the meaning of equality, or the most important aspect of equality for them is to have equality between the sexes whereas only a couple of the men said this.

- **What does citizenship mean to you?** The majority of the women said the meaning of citizenship for them was a sense of belonging to your country whereas only some of the men said this was the meaning of citizenship for them.
- **What (if anything) would you like to see changed in the definition of terrorism or the national security legislation?** Some of the women believe the definition of terrorist activity targets specific groups whereas only a couple of the men believe this.

Systematic Differences by Ethno-Religious Identity

First, it is important to note that the questions used in this section are abbreviated versions (for quick referral purposes) of the actual questions asked in Appendix E.

A number of associations and patterns emerged in analyzing participants' responses by ethno-religious identity, specifically the identity of Muslims compared to the other identities of the participants. Further research is necessary to confirm the systematic character of the differences and understand the full range of reasons behind them. The fact that consistently Muslim participants seem to provide the most conservative responses to a number of the questions, by contrast to everybody else, leads us to hypothesize tentatively that Muslim participants have been trying hard to disassociate themselves from terrorism by stating that they support the changes in the national security legislation and feel more secure in this present climate, though they do admit that there have been changes in their lives and, especially, in the lives of Muslim women.

- **In your experience, are the people in the community where you live more or less accepting than in other parts of Canada?** The majority of the Muslim participants believe the people in their community are more accepting than other parts of Canada compared to only some of the participants of other identities saying this.
- **Have you noticed any changes in ethnic diversity since 9/11?** Almost half of the Muslim participants went in one direction and the majority of the participants with other identities (e.g., African, Indian, Hindu, South Asian, Filipina, Russian, Yugoslavian, etc.) went in the opposite direction. The majority of the participants of other identities said they have noticed changes in ethnic diversity since 9/11. In contrast, almost the majority of the Muslim participants said they have not noticed any changes in ethnic diversity since 9/11.

- **Have there been any changes to discrimination against women since 9/11?** The majority of the Muslim responses went in one direction and the majority of the responses from the participants of other identities went in the opposite direction. The majority of the Muslim responses believed there have been changes to discrimination against women since 9/11. In contrast, the majority of the participants of other identities believed there have been no changes to discrimination against women since 9/11. Further research to confirm this difference and understand the reasons behind the perception among Muslims of increased discrimination against women is warranted.
- **Have you, or any member of your family, had any experiences with other national security policies which were put in place after 9/11?** The majority of the participants of other identities said their experience with other national security policies is with airport security whereas only a few of the Muslim participants said this. Could this be a reflection of more serious issues and threats felt by Muslims in comparison to other ethno-religious groups? A study focussing on Muslims and Arabic speakers should pursue this question further.
- **Do you feel more or less secure from terrorism?** The majority of the Muslim participants said they feel more secure from terrorism compared to only some of the participants of other identities saying this.
- **What type of security is the most important for you?** The majority of the Muslim responses went in one direction and the majority of the responses from the participants of other identities went in the opposite direction. The majority of the Muslim participants said the most important type of security for them was national security. In contrast, the majority of the other participants said the most important type of security for them was economic security.
- **What does freedom mean to you?** The majority of the participants of other identities said the meaning of freedom for them is to have freedom of expression whereas only some of the Muslim participants said this. Our tentative hypothesis here is that more fundamental freedoms may be at stake with the security legislation among Muslims, so the freedom of expression might take secondary significance. A further study is needed to assess this question.
- **What does citizenship mean to you?** The majority of the participants of other identities said the meaning of citizenship for them was a sense of belonging to your country whereas only some of the Muslim participants said this was the meaning of citizenship for them. We tentatively hypothesize that far more serious citizenship issues, such as deprivation of, or inability to exercise fully citizenship rights, are probably faced by Muslims, so the feeling of belonging might take secondary significance. A further study is merited to assess this question.
- **In what area (freedom, equality, citizenship) have you, other members of your family and/or community experienced most change since the new laws and policies came into effect?** The majority of the participants of other identities believe there have been no changes

to any of these three areas since the new laws and policies came into effect whereas almost none of the Muslim participants believe this. Further research to confirm this difference and assess its meaning and significance is warranted.

In the next section, we concentrate on three important findings from our research. The first two findings stem from the focus on national security. We first look at the nature of insecurities underscored by many participants in their countries of origin and why the current security environment in Canada is particularly troubling. We then discuss the level of anti-American sentiments evident in immigrant and ethno-cultural communities throughout Atlantic Canada and explore why immigrants have *chosen* Canada. Finally, we bring out broadened conceptions of security that participants themselves expressed throughout our research. Here, we begin to see the connections between gender and security in the post-9/11 environment and point out the significance of broadly conceptualizing security in highlighting impacts on women.

5. SYNTHESSES BY CONCEPT

Our research findings lead us to argue that, with the passage of anti-terrorism legislation and changes to Canada's immigration laws, the government has created a climate of fear in immigrant and ethnic communities, leading them to question their equal rights and freedoms, and thus undermining their sense of belonging in this country that they have chosen. In the post-9/11 environment, we have, in effect, different classes of citizens in Canada, because it matters where individuals were born, what colour their skin is, and what faith they practise. And within this context, women have been made invisible and gender considerations have simply been left aside. We begin with a discussion of the concept of "security" itself and then address the need to widen this concept to include gender.

Analysis of Security

Insecurities in Countries of Origin

The reasons vary when individuals and their families decide to immigrate and can range from the desire to explore new lands to the search for better economic opportunities. Many also immigrate to escape politically repressive regimes and join a society where civil and political liberties are protected. Arguably, the debate between security and rights is inevitable in a democratic society like Canada, but the debate becomes particularly poignant when immigrant voices are heard.

Participants in our town hall sessions pointed out that many immigrants left their countries of origin to live in a more secure situation in Canada. For them, insecurities stem from living under repressive regimes where the state exercises extensive coercive powers. With perceptions of civil rights in Canada being curtailed, of too much power being handed over to police and immigration officers, and of privacy being invaded, such as phone calls being monitored, similar sorts of insecurities begin to arise again. As the town hall participants highlighted, immigrants care about security, perhaps even more than native-born Canadians, and generally agree with reasonable security measures. Understandably, they are fearful of government and police actions often associated with the police states that characterized their countries of origin. Consequently, immigrants may be even more sensitive to increased police and surveillance powers in the post-9/11 environment. Instead of producing greater security, increased police powers result in greater, and familiar, insecurities.

Moreover, town hall participants pointed out that people from repressive countries are sometimes afraid to stand up against unfair treatment, because their experiences in their countries of origin have taught them to avoid being known to authority figures. Immigrants are then left in untenable situations where, having experienced discrimination or profiling, they are unable to speak about such experiences for fear of state authorities. In effect, silencing takes place, which is reflective not merely of the security situation in Canada, but also of the security situation experienced in countries of origin.

Interestingly, we heard in the town halls of immigrants returning to their countries of origin due to racial profiling. As we pointed out, with similar sorts of insecurities experienced in Canada,

they may have felt it best to return, because they would at least have family support in their countries of origin.

Anti-American Sentiments

At the same time, many immigrants feel a great sense of pride of having moved to Canada, and a large part of that pride is Canada not being the United States. To the extent that participants felt secure, they attributed it to Canada not following the American lead, particularly in the war against Iraq to depose Saddam Hussein. We found clear anti-American undertones throughout the research.

During the town hall sessions, participants asserted that the U.S. government has exaggerated the threat since the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. They warned that Canada should not be subservient to the United States and criticized collaboration between Canadian and American law enforcement agencies. Some participants had little or no desire to travel to the United States, because of the heightened perceptions of threat in that country, which have led to greater difficulties in crossing the border, particularly for immigrants.

The general sentiment in the focus groups was that Canada was too close to the United States in terms of national security policies. Participants argued that Canada should preserve its political independence and maintain its distinctiveness in the world, such as the country's peacekeeping tradition. Focus groups pointed out that people felt insecure due to the influence of American ideology and politics as well as U.S. pressure on Canada to take serious security measures. One participant asserted that we now speak of North American as opposed to Canadian security, which has only made Canadians more insecure.

Respondents to the surveys tended to agree that the Canadian government can enhance security with good national security policies, but also agreed that Canada tries too hard to accommodate U.S. interests in its efforts to address security issues. Similarly, the majority of participants in the qualitative interviews agreed that the government has been doing a good job in maintaining security. They felt personally secure, because Canada did not participate in the war against Iraq. Indeed, some of those interviewed highlighted again the importance of Canada remaining independent of the United States.

The U.S.-led war against terrorism has not been popular among the Canadian population as a whole. What is interesting about the anti-American undertones found in immigrant and ethno-cultural communities is that these sentiments are shared with native-born Canadians and the mainstream society as a whole. Indeed, many immigrants choose Canada because of these sentiments; Canada *is* different from the United States. For many people in the world, the United States represents an aggressive, domineering state that imposes its will throughout the globe because it has unequalled military strength. In contrast, Canada is perceived as a peacekeeping state.

Perhaps that is why many participants see the Canadian government's emphasis on national security policies as resulting from American pressure. That kind of emphasis on the coercive power of the state does not seem to be in keeping with the Canadian national character. For the same reason, many participants emphasized the importance of keeping Canada distinct from the

United States because, in their view, that is how the government can keep Canadians secure. Keeping Canada sovereign and independent in the post-9/11 environment is also a theme that runs through much of the literature on maintaining Canadian security in the face of terrorism. As Kent Roach (2003: 168) explicitly asserted, “the survival of Canada as an independent nation could depend in part on its ability to develop effective and creative security policies that do not mimic the American tendency to rely on imprisonment and military force.”

Gender and Security

Once the sole purview of realist thinking, the concept of security has been problematized and re-conceptualized by feminist pioneers, such as Ann Tickner (1988, 1992, 2001, 2002, 2004) and Cynthia Enloe (1989, 1993, 2000), who have pointed out that the (masculinist) focus on war and peace issues predicated on the state’s maintenance of militaries to fight off external attacks is far from what security is all about. Security is about meeting needs, protecting rights, stopping abuses, ending exploitation and fundamentally understanding that race, gender, class and culture issues matter in a global context intricately connected to the local context. The problem is not merely that the state is the referent or subject of security, but that dichotomies of order/anarchy and inside/outside perpetuate the illusion that what is going on “out there” in the international arena is somehow fundamentally different from what is going on “in here” in domestic society. According to realist thinking, liberal-democratic states in the West, like Canada and the United States, need militaries to deal with threats in the international arena, be they coming from imperialists and fascists during the two world wars, communists during the Cold War, or terrorists in the post-9/11 environment.

Clearly missing in the domestic debate, however, is the gender dimension, and this is not surprising. When security is defined primarily in national security terms (i.e., when the state or country is the referent or subject of security), then gender issues become invisible. When security is defined more broadly, as in human security terms (i.e., when the individual is the referent or subject of security), then gender issues become more paramount. First articulated in the 1994 Human Development Report (UNDP 1994), the conception of human security is predicated on freedom from fear, freedom from want, and protection of human rights for every individual, regardless of where she or he resides (Hampson et al. 2002). As Tickner (2004: 47) stated: “Perspectives on security that begin with the security of the individual provide an entry point for feminist theorizing.”

Yet, it has become clear that in the post-9/11 environment, international and domestic concerns, particularly as expressed by governments, revolve around issues of national security. Accordingly, although our research shows the impacts of the government’s anti-terrorist measures on immigrant and ethno-cultural communities in Atlantic Canada, it has, not surprisingly, been more difficult to determine how women have been differentially impacted. In order to get at the connections between gender and security, the concept of security itself must be broadly conceived.

The changed security context submerges women’s identities and concerns, so current processes fixated on anti-terrorism and national security measures are not only racialized but also gendered. The stereotypical terrorist is a young male who is Muslim or “Arab looking,” and thus women are factored out of new priorities of promoting security or combatting terrorism. As town hall participants highlighted, this stereotype is propagated by the media. Some immigrants feel less

welcome in their communities; others see some fellow Canadians in their communities going out of their way to be more inclusive in order to dispel harmful stereotypes.

Still, the stereotype is male. Our focus groups did not hone in on gender differences, even when asked directly about the effects of national security policies. Indeed, survey respondents, when asked about specific national security policies, clearly did not view women as being more directly affected by changes in policies and practices since 9/11. To the extent that there was a gender difference, respondents stated that men were being more negatively affected.

At the same time, one female participant in a town hall session attested to her foreign-born husband being taken away and deported to his native country without explanation to his family. She stated that, as a result, she has been forced to be a single mother. Other town hall participants pointed out that the media also stereotypes Muslim women, interestingly both as victims and agents of terrorism. On the one hand, Muslim women are portrayed as oppressed and, on the other, they are seen as raising their children to become terrorists. In our surveys, women were more negative, in general, than men about the effects of 9/11 and about the level of discrimination and diversity in the communities where they live.

Moreover, the qualitative interviews brought out that the majority of the women participants said the most important type of security for them was economic security. In contrast, almost all of the men said the most important type of security for them was personal security. The interviews also showed that immigrant women generally work for lower pay than men. Human security points to a freedom from fear and coercion as well as freedom from want and need. Meeting economic needs becomes crucial to any consideration of security, but this broad-based way of thinking is left out of national security priorities. Yet, this is how many women define security and is even more compelling when the male is taken out of the home for national security reasons.

Our focus groups demonstrated a broad-based understanding in their efforts to define security. They described personal security as instances when people respect and trust one another, when people's basic human needs are met, when everyone is treated equitably, and when everyone is able to pursue one's individual potential. For personal security to exist, according to focus group participants, individuals must be able to live without being under surveillance by the government. They then described internal security as concomitant with democracy and governments that are not corrupt; and as achievable when the society can deal with differences without violence. They pointed out that internal security is undermined by the current overemphasis on national security, because it makes people feel insecure. Finally, focus group participants described external security as one where there is equitable access to the world's resources, and is only achievable when we get at the root causes of discontent throughout the world. Interestingly, when asked to define security for themselves, focus group members dispelled any emphasis on national security in the post-9/11 environment.

Beyond this, the literature tells us that women's security may be more at risk in the private as opposed to the public domain. Because the private sphere includes concerns about bodily integrity, reproductive rights and violence against women, even broader conceptions of human security may fall short in capturing the impacts of the post-9/11 environment on women. Time and again, female participants in the qualitative interviews underscored this gendered definition

of security (security from violence at home; security from gender-specific violence during conflict), which is missing from the security legal and political discourse post- 9/11.

In the final analysis, the focus on more limited and restrictive notions of security will continue to make women and women's concerns invisible. Canada's anti-terrorist measures have created a climate of fear that forces us to take seriously the kind of racial discrimination stemming from views of the immigrant as the security threat. At the same time, that climate of fear has subsumed considerations of gender discrimination despite the fact that women participants in our town hall sessions, focus groups, surveys and qualitative interviews highlighted that their lives are different and, indeed, expressed more negative effects of 9/11 than men.

Analysis of Terrorism

When it comes to defining terrorism, this research has uncovered unanimous agreement among researchers, commentators and research participants: "terrorism" is almost impossible to define. Its meaning is elusive, because it is more than an act, or an effect of an act; it is more than a motivation or an intention. It is so deeply contextual — across time and place — that any definition is bound to lack general applicability. Because of the complexity associated with defining the term the International Court has not included terrorism in its mandate (Roach 2003). Interestingly, the Supreme Court of Canada has decided that the term "terrorism" is not unconstitutionally vague.³⁵

Despite this elusiveness, the term evokes powerful reactions. It elicits fear among the general population; it prompts governments to enact laws and policies to prevent and punish it; and it is commonly used around the world in the name of countless causes. For something so intangible, it has a surprising level of currency and potency. This came out in our research. Generally, the people with whom we spoke did not express fear of being directly affected by a terrorist attack, but that the climate of concern over terrorism has affected their day-to-day lives and how they interact with others in their communities.

One way to discover what constitutes terrorism is to look at what the state is doing to address the problem. In this research, we have focussed on how the Canadian state has approached terrorism in two pieces of legislation: the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* and the *Anti-Terrorism Act*. The very fact that "terrorism" is mentioned in the IRPA reveals something about how the Canadian government has conceived of the concept. Having engaged in "terrorism" renders one inadmissible to Canada. Terrorism is thus not framed as a domestic issue, but one that can be imported through immigration. Indeed, other government documents have reiterated this notion, by pointing to how multiculturalism can result in having "homeland conflicts...play out...on Canadian soil" (CSIS 2000).

The fact that this abstract concept may be applied in immigration and refugee hearings causes fear among immigrants and refugees, as we found in our research. The uncertainty about what constitutes "terrorism" (or being a member of a terrorist organization), and the consequences of being an alleged terrorist, is of concern for anyone facing an immigration or refugee adjudicator. Our research participants revealed that this fear has increased since 9/11, but has also become a more focussed fear, because the "face" of terrorism is now quite distinct. The face of terrorism is

now a young, Arabic or Muslim male.³⁶ This is a problem created by the use of a concept as a means to exclude someone from immigrating to Canada, rather than using actions or behaviours (e.g., murder). It is much easier for us to create a “composite” terrorist, based on current events and media/political discourse, than it is for us to create a composite murderer. Potential immigrants know whether they have committed certain acts, but may be uncertain — as uncertain as anyone else — about knowing whether their activities could be construed of as terrorism. The abstraction in the law allows room for stereotypes to prevail and explains, in part, the fear expressed throughout this research.

This is an important point, because almost three quarters of our respondents felt that the biggest consequence of terrorism is fear. This fear may be derived from the acts of terrorism themselves but, as the above discussion suggests, it may also arise out of state discourse enshrined in law and social policy. In this regard, it is interesting to note that almost three quarters of the survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that terrorism should be grounds for inadmissibility to Canada. Interview participants also expressed fear deriving indirectly from the presence of terrorism in our world. They described the fear of being accused of being a terrorist or being seen as associated with terrorists.

All of this is made more troublesome by the fact that the IRPA does not define terrorism. It appears that the courts have come to rely on the definition of terrorism laid out in the 1999 International Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. As Roach has described, this definition focusses on serious violence against civilians, aimed to compel a state, or a population or an institution of some kind, to act in a particular manner. “Any ...act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian...when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.”³⁷

The courts appear to be using this definition to supplement the more detailed and broader definition in the ATA. This definition is broader by including, for example, threats to economic security and disruptions to public and private services. Many of the acts covered in the new definition were already criminal offences. The new offences lie in financing and facilitating terrorism, and almost all of our survey respondents knew about this aspect of the ATA. A large majority, about 80 percent, felt that facilitating or financing terrorism should be criminal offences.

When asked more open-ended questions about what the state should be doing to address the problem of terrorism, participants expressed a broader approach, the complexity of which would be difficult to convey through statutes alone. Several felt that we should be promoting cross-cultural education and play a central role in developing world peace and social justice. This speaks to how our participants view terrorism as more than simply bombs or violence but as a systemic, global problem with deep social and political roots.

There were conflicting messages from our research participants in terms of defining terrorism in the law. On the one hand, they did not generally oppose most of the measures in the ATA. On the other hand, there was a sense of fear arising out of the law and how it could be used. The former finding arose mainly in the surveys while the latter trend emerged from the qualitative

research data. In these interviews, participants also suggested that the definition in law targets certain groups and promotes racial profiling. These different data sources represent different groups. Respondents to the survey were mainly individuals working in immigrant or ethnic community service agencies, while participants in the other aspects of the research were members of the immigrant or ethnic minority communities. This could suggest that these groups have different views, or people could hold contradictory views on defining terrorism. Their experiences, their fears and their personal critiques of how the state has come to address terrorism conflict with their views when asked directly about particular aspects of laws, and how it comes to define terrorism.³⁸

Respondents to our survey were divided, however, on whether political, religious and ideological motives should be part of the definition of terrorism. Indeed, only slightly more than half were aware of these aspects of the law. Motivation is another window through which terrorism can be defined. As Dershowitz (2002) has pointed out, the motivation of terrorism distinguishes it from other forms of crime, such as organized crime. That this is now enshrined in law is of concern, because the norm is for intention rather than motivation to be an element. Defining terrorism by its intentions is quite different; it involves deciding whether someone intended to disrupt services, compel government actions and so on.

The above discussion points to the difficulty in defining terrorism. This difficulty is exacerbated by an issue summed up by the phrase “one person’s freedom fighter is another person’s terrorist.” About two thirds of our respondents agreed or strongly agreed with that phrase, and this message also came out in the other data sources. As one interview participant explained, the line between terrorism and legitimate action is not just thin but blurry. Some commentators do not agree that our definition should fall prey to relativism, arguing that the actions of terrorists were illegal prior to 9/11 and we can recognize those acts, regardless of their motivation (Roach 2003). Lawmakers and judges must grapple with this relativism, while members of the immigrant and ethnic communities must live with its effects.

Analysis of Freedom

The Legal and Theoretical Background

Rights and freedoms are often categorized as fundamental freedoms, legal rights, equality rights and economic rights. One can also classify rights in terms of being negative or positive. Negative rights are those protections that prevent the state from acting in ways that limit certain freedoms, which are basic rights. For example, many fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of association, are all examples of negative rights in that these rights keep the state from interfering with these actions or behaviours. In contrast, positive rights, also called positive entitlements, are rights that provide specific goods, services or resources. Positive rights would compel the state to act to provide certain standards, such as the right to social assistance, the right to shelter or the right to food. Canada’s constitution contains more negative rights than positive entitlements.

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* protects numerous freedoms from state transgressions including freedom from discrimination, and thus these are considered to be negative rights. Neither the federal government nor provincial governments can pass laws that violate these freedoms. If they do, given that the Charter is Canada’s supreme law, legislation

that contravenes the Charter will be struck down by the courts and such laws deemed unenforceable. The fundamental freedoms enumerated in the Charter are found in section 2 and include the following rights: freedom of conscience and religion; freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression including the press and other media; freedom of peaceful assembly; and freedom of association.

There are also rights in the Charter that are not listed under the fundamental freedoms section, but nonetheless pertain to considerations of freedom. For example, there is the distinctively Canadian section that deals with mobility rights. Section 6 provides every Canadian citizen with the right to enter, remain in and leave Canada. In this section, every citizen or permanent resident also has the right to take up residence and pursue a livelihood in any province. The Supreme Court has held, however, that section 6 does not guarantee the “right to work” and it has ruled that each province has the right to establish its own professional qualifications.

Beyond these fundamental freedoms (s. 2) and mobility rights (s. 6), sections 7 to 14 of the Charter outline various legal rights. Section 7 deals with the right to “life, liberty and security of the person.” Sections 8, 9 and 10 guarantee the right to be secure against unreasonable search or seizure (s. 8); the right not to be arbitrarily detained or imprisoned (s. 9); and, on arrest or detention, to be informed promptly of the reasons, to be able to retain or instruct counsel without delay, and to be released if the detention is not lawful (s. 10).

It is also important to point out that there are two limitation clauses. Section 1 of the Charter makes it possible for the state to uphold laws that are considered to be in violation of the Charter, “subject to reasonable limits prescribed by law as can demonstrably be justified in a free and democratic society.” In addition, section 33 allows Parliament or legislatures to override three parts of the Charter: fundamental freedoms (s. 2); legal rights (s. 7-14); and equality rights (s. 15), but they cannot violate mobility rights, democratic rights or linguistic rights. The override ceases to have effect after five years. This controversial provision is rarely used, but it does allow democratically elected legislators to have the final say over an appointed judiciary, the Supreme Court.

The State of Freedom in Atlantic Canada from a Community Perspective

Our focus group participants were very positive about the freedom available to them in Canada and did not fail to notice that Canadians take this freedom for granted. As one individual stated, “freedom is being Canadian.” Nevertheless, there was criticism of “Canadian freedom,” which revolved around class issues — the upper classes have more freedom than others. One example revolved around the cost of post-secondary education making the lower classes less free to pursue higher education. In one focus group, this was contrasted with political systems that provide less freedom, in the traditional sense, while providing more free access to services, such as education.

Since 9/11 however, according to the general perception of town hall participants, significant negative changes have affected people’s freedoms. Most importantly, hostility and discrimination against immigrants with foreign-sounding names has been on the rise. Participants told stories of discrimination in housing and in employment, which many felt had increased since 9/11. Such discrimination, town hall participants felt, has affected some immigrant groups (e.g., Arabs and

Muslims) more than others. Issues relating to travel and differential treatment in airports were raised as well as the application of security measures to passengers only. On the other hand, some participants felt that 9/11 has been used as an excuse, and that certain areas in the Atlantic region have never been open and friendly to immigrants.

Town hall participants across the six sites described both specific incidents and an overall environment of fear that speaks to their sense of diminished political and civic freedoms in Atlantic Canada post-9/11. Participants expressed fears that, for example, it has become too easy to get permission for search and surveillance; that one's phone can be monitored easily; one's hard drive scanned and so forth. They expressed scepticism that people originally from repressive countries would willingly come forward and stand up against unfair treatment and surveillance. Concerns about the law being used as a repressive device were raised. Some people were afraid that the ATA may lead to even more intrusive laws or policies, and they expressed concern over how the Act would be interpreted. For example, some participants were afraid the ATA would allow people to be found guilty by association and that it might become a tool for abuse of minorities. Town hall participants also expressed concerns over the IRPA and, especially, changes in relation to refugee claimants. Refugee clinics saw a significant reduction in the numbers of people they were serving after 9/11. There was a fear that preference was given to the "right" type of refugee while deserving refugees might not be able to enter Canada.

While our survey revealed no differential effects of national security policies on the freedom of men and women, it also revealed a clear agreement around differential effects based on particular immigrant and ethnic groups, confirming our town hall and focus group findings. Moreover, in terms of comparing categories (Canadian born, immigrant, visible/non-visible minority), survey respondents indicated that visible minorities were more affected by changes in national security policies, other factors (such as gender) notwithstanding. We also asked survey respondents to compare how well the government protects the freedom of various groups. A clear pattern emerged in that respondents rated ethnic minorities as being the least well served by government and Canadian-born people as being most well served. In terms of guarantees of freedom, respondents' ranking, from best to worst served, was as follows: Canadian born, new Canadians, immigrants, refugees, ethnic minorities. Almost three quarters of respondents suggested that one group has been more affected by policies since 9/11. Muslims, Arabs and Middle Easterners were listed most often when respondents identified a particular group.

Interview participants were in agreement with town hall, focus group and survey participants, that the treatment of specific people, such as people of Middle Eastern origin after, and because of, 9/11 leaves much to be desired. Not unlike the survey respondents, our interview participants differentiated among categories of people as far as government performance with respect to the protection of freedoms. The general belief was that the government has been doing a good job in guaranteeing freedoms for new Canadians, immigrants and refugees, men and women, though, according to some, more could be done with respect to immigrants and ethnic group members specifically. For example, as SIC-45 commented, from a strong gender perspective, about new Canadians:

A: They do a great job. I love Canada.... But when you come here then you realize Oh, I can breathe easily you know, I can do things without fear and I can

do things without hurting anyone. And these are the things I love to do the most. And the government makes sure you have that right, you have that right of your freedom to worship, you have that right of owning your own things, you have that right of expressing yourself and I think it is a great thing. I love it.

When the interview participants were asked to compare the change that citizenship, freedom and equality have undergone since the national security policies came into effect, those who had noticed change (about half the participants) readily identified freedom as the area most affected.

The Meaning of Freedom

Among our focus group participants there was a general sense that freedom is a balancing act between individual freedoms/rights and the responsibility to the collective, the community and the world. Several focus groups mentioned specifically freedom of expression, religion, information, movement and choices. Individual participants discussed freedom from hunger and freedom from surveillance as enhancing freedom generally.

Political freedoms and freedom of expression emerged as number one priority among the different types of freedom for our survey respondents. Some gender differences became apparent on specific dimensions of freedom. A higher proportion of women survey respondents disagreed that religious freedom or economic freedom are the most important types of freedom. A higher proportion of women strongly disagreed with the statement “violence must sometimes be used to achieve freedom.” A higher proportion of women disagreed that freedom of the press or freedom of movement is the most important type of freedom.

For the majority of interview participants from across the six cities, freedom meant being able to express themselves. Free movement, freedom of the press, economic freedom, religious freedom, political freedom, freedom as a balancing act between rights and responsibilities, freedom from patriarchal oppression and some “other” freedoms, such as freedom from fear and having the same privileges, were also mentioned, with free movement and religious freedom being among the most frequently cited. This was in agreement, more or less, with the survey findings. However, the female interview participants (ethnic and immigrant women) stressed freedom of movement, unlike the female survey respondents (service providers and policy makers). Furthermore, the interview being a qualitative research instrument allows us to contextualize this response better. More specifically, the meaning of freedom as “free movement” for the female immigrant and ethnic group members interviewed was based on a strong gender perspective and highlighted freedom to move around without criticism or consequences stemming from rigidly defined gender roles. Interestingly, this meaning of freedom was not captured by the probe of “freedom from patriarchal oppression.”

A distinct category of freedom that was common across three of the cities was religious and cultural freedom, as religious practice was seen as a way of being able to express oneself and thus, freedom of religion was linked with freedom of expression. On the other hand, some participants identified peace and security (or freedom from fear) as the most important aspects of freedom. However, “freedom from fear” for female interview participants had a gendered meaning and referred to freedom from fear of gender-based violence in conflict zones.

Perceptions of Government Action and Recommendations

Town hall participants felt that incidents of hostility toward visible minorities have been on the rise among government officials as well. In their perception, low-ranking government officials have been more frequently rejecting immigrants, and there has been an increase in profiling among government employees. Individuals with full documentation have been detained simply because they have common Islamic names. Town hall participants complained especially about one local airport and about being asked harassing political questions by the RCMP. In the participants' perception "lots of people" have been detained and denied access to legal counsel. A general sense of unease and, in addition, distrust of the American government were stressed in the town hall sessions. Participants would generally like to see less collaboration with the American law enforcement agencies.

Among our focus group participants, there were clear indications that freedom should not be achieved through violence and that abuse of power has often been excused as a means of achieving freedom. Several focus group participants discussed how the police, for example, need to be more broadly aware of how not to step over the line and the general public needs to be more aware of what constitutes freedom and how to keep it. When survey respondents were asked whether governments can enhance freedom, equality and citizenship with good national security policies, most agreed. Three quarters of respondents disagreed that violence should be used to gain freedom or that freedom is difficult to achieve in our multicultural society.

Interview participants spoke strongly against racial profiling practices. They also expressed strong views that Canada should stand on its own feet and not strive to please the United States; that the government should try less to control people with the definition of terrorism, refocus its efforts and invest more on Canadians; that people should always be aware of government's actions and cautiously monitor the government to prevent abuse and transgressions of people's rights. SIC-16 underscored the need for caution and monitoring of the government by the people:

We have to make sure that there are certain things in place to ensure that is not abused and it is used with proof and that if you charge someone of this, there is definitely enough proof or that this person is a definitive threat.

Analysis of Equality

Equality was one the most cherished values expected by participants to be part of the experience of being Canadian. During the various stages of the research project, both women and men placed high value on this principle as it is considered the foundation of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the multicultural policies that guarantee the inclusion of immigrants in this country they now call home.

Equality was perceived, for the majority of participants, in terms of its substantive and collective nature. They considered equality as a condition/outcome and as an opportunity. Therefore, changes in the law should go hand in hand with other structural and practical changes that will allow the removal of barriers that prevent equality. Equality before the law was seen as the most important form of equality. Men, in general, agreed that equality before the law or political equality is the most important form of equality.

However, many participants felt the principle of equality goes beyond equality before the law to include a more global conceptualization of equality that is multi-dimensional: social, political and economic. In this sense, equality for immigrants is linked to their opportunities to be fully integrated into the Canadian society enjoying all the benefits that mainstream Canadian-born residents have.

A very important aspect of the principle of equality was its embedded connotation of *being treated as others*. On the one hand, this view was interpreted as the right to access the same opportunities that Canadian-born citizens have, including access to education and health care services, access to employment according to their education and background, and respect for cultural and religious expression. On the other hand, equality also meant the right to be treated differently and valued according to cultural differences.

Gender equality was the most basic form of equality for female survey respondents. They considered gender equality to be at the forefront of the equality concept. Male respondents strongly agreed that equality must be gender blind. Both male and female participants recognized the historic systemic discrimination faced by women in all spheres of Canadian society. Most participants were aware of the significant advances in this matter in Canada but at the same time they were very critical of the discrimination faced by women in the work place and in accessing higher education and adequate employment.

In Charlottetown, Moncton, Saint John, Halifax and Fredericton, participants felt that immigrant women faced discrimination based on gender, race, language and dress (used to socially construct as “other” and thus racialize). Discrimination was manifested in various forms. Women receive less pay than men when working in the same positions. Highly educated women cannot access employment appropriate to their skills and training. Nevertheless, there was a recognition that the lack of jobs in Atlantic Canada constituted another factor that affected immigrant women’s opportunities to develop fully their potential.

Equality was seen as a principle that prevents violence and guarantees peace. When the government provides the conditions for everybody to achieve their full potential and have access to similar opportunities, people feel respected and valued. Equality was also seen as a core principle that defines Canadian society and differentiates it from other countries, especially the United States. As a response to “the fear of the other,” according to our study participants, changes in the meaning of equality after September 11 have eroded the original principle of equality. Both male and female interview participants stated that their lives have been shaken and their freedom curtailed as a result of the new climate produced by the changes in legislation.

According to participants, the concept of equality and its implementation has been undermined with the erosion of fundamental rights. The right of police to hold individuals in jail without charges is often mentioned by participants as an example of this erosion. Participants expressed fear that equality before the law is not a reality for some groups being discriminated against under the presumption of being guilty of terrorism. The legal principle of innocent until proven guilty does not apply to some. Arabs and Muslims were believed to bear the weight of discrimination in this new age of fear and to suffer the impact of the new security measures. Nonetheless, participants believed that this discrimination has been extended to all people who

are constructed as racially different while “the fear of the other” has deepened the division between different categories of immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, independent and business class immigrants. Some participants asserted that, before 9/11, people were not aware, or didn’t care, about the different categories that are now the focus of scrutiny under a lens of suspicion.

Although there have not been reported cases of people held in jail in Atlantic Canada under the ATA and the new security measures, newcomers in this area felt that the effect of 9/11 has permeated their lives, creating a climate of subtle discrimination manifested in various ways. For some, this new wave of discrimination is the expression of structural and systemic discrimination in the Canadian society. Participants felt that the threat of terrorism resulted in discriminatory practices that were needed (and justified) to protect the country. As a result, some people were granted permission to express hidden biases that were not as visible before 9/11. Some of those biases are expressed in public policies relating to the settlement integration process of newcomers into the society, in which particular ethno-cultural groups and categories are welcome and others, such as refugees, are encouraged to leave the country.

Participants in all the cities expressed a great deal of pain when speaking about discriminatory practices at airports, especially the Halifax Airport. Many have faced more intense security screening in airports, because of the way they look or because they have common Islamic names. Many commented that security measures are applied according to racial profiles and stereotypes held by security, customs and immigration staff. People felt that there are different categories of citizens based on the country of origin, leading to different practices regarding security procedures.

The fear of the “other” emerged from the concept of the terrorist as a foreigner, as someone belonging to a particular religious or ethno-cultural group. This fear has deepened the division among newcomers and mainstream, Canadian-born citizens. Participants described how newcomers perceive themselves as the recipients of more discriminatory practices than in the past. They feel this has affected the relationships between immigrant communities and the Canadian society at large. Interviewees mentioned that they notice Canadians being more sceptical toward immigration and more fearful of immigrants. In this regard, participants were emphatic in pointing out that the media is a very important instrument to portray, maintain and increase stereotypical thinking toward particular groups such as Muslims, Arabs and dark-skinned newcomers.

Women were more outspoken in describing the rise in discriminatory practices in Atlantic Canada, although in some cities, Saint John’s and Saint John in particular, few participants expressed awareness of changes since 9/11. Women acknowledged subtle discriminatory practices rooted in everyday life. They described different acts of discrimination based, in their perception, on the way they look or dress. They also acknowledged changes in their children’s lives, including increased bullying in schools. This added stress on the mother’s life and, in turn, affected the entire family.

While discussing the issue of women’s heightened perception of discrimination, two hypotheses emerged. First, immigrant women belonging to minority groups might have a higher likelihood of being harassed by mainstream Canadians, because of the assumption that women might not

stand up for themselves as men do. Another hypothesis to explore was related to the possibility that women might have a higher sensitivity to subtle forms of discrimination, expressed in more “female spaces and activities,” such as at the line-up in the grocery store.

Muslim and dark-skinned immigrant women were considered more likely to experience discrimination. In general, women were more negative in assessing the changes produced after 9/11 and more sceptical about diversity and inclusion in Atlantic Canada.

Many stories of discrimination were heard during different phases of the research project implementation. People told us about having to change their names, because they felt they would not get a job. They spoke about experiencing feelings of mistrust from mainstream Canadian-born individuals they met due to their Arab origin or Muslim religion. Participants felt they were coming from the “wrong” countries when encountering endless obstacles to making a living in the Atlantic Provinces. It was difficult for them to differentiate whether these difficulties emerged from the fragility of the Atlantic Canadian economy or the fact that they were feared as outsiders. Some participants believed that 9/11 has almost “given permission” for imposing obstacles to immigrants in their integration process, making it more difficult to achieve equality and inclusion in Atlantic Canada. Security, once again, was seen as an excuse to persecute people indiscriminately who are considered “outsiders.” Feelings of not being accepted are related also to the fear expressed by women that their children will never be seen as “Canadian” and that they will always be the “other” with the unfortunate consequence of permanent subjection to discrimination. This feeling has especially increased among immigrants residing in rural areas.

Some people were more vocal than others in expressing the subtle discrimination faced after 9/11. In discussion with the local co-ordinators, the research team reflected on the impact of the size of communities (immigrant and overall), on the ability to speak out and address discrimination. Further exploration is needed to determine how small immigrant and ethnic communities feel disempowered to speak out when they believe their chances of integration are jeopardized as a result of criticisms toward the community hosting them.

According to participants, all these changes have created a climate that prevents them from exercising their rights in the same way as native-born Canadians. Because of their fear of being discriminated against or labelled as a security threat, people tend to withdraw from public activities that could lead to their identification with “dangerous groups.” Being different has become a source of danger. Our study’s immigrants and ethnic group members are afraid of expressing themselves in ways they thought they could in the country that sings its own praises regarding multiculturalism, respect and acceptance of differences.

Participants strongly agreed with the need for the government to guarantee basic human rights, provide at least equality before the law and prevent discrimination. They emphasized the need to create changes in the social, political and economic spheres to achieve equality for all. To guarantee equality of immigrants, ethnic group members, newcomers and refugees, participants suggested that the government develop policies and strategies that facilitate immigrant integration through efficient and effective systems, including accreditation and language programs that better prepare them to enter the labour market. More efforts are needed to

implement the laws that protect people's equality rights. Such implementation would provide opportunities for everybody to access the services they need.

Analysis of Citizenship

The conceptual framework we have used to analyze the status of citizenship draws on Jane Jenson's theorizing where she identifies four prongs of a "citizenship regime": the responsibility mix, governance practices, rights and obligations, and belonging (Jenson and Phillips 1996). We have applied this framework to our secondary research as well as our primary, empirical research, and in the following, integrative analysis of our project's findings vis-à-vis citizenship.

In the final analysis, there is little doubt that the growing interface between security and im/migration affects the citizenship regime.³⁹ Most notably, rather than promoting a more expansive Canadian citizenship for the 21st century, citizenship ideals and norms appear to be contracting. We have identified a number of themes/trends that perpetuate these tendencies. They include but are not limited to the following:

- the new emphasis on traditional, internal security (i.e., *securitization*);
- the continued centrality of the market (i.e., *marketization*);
- the exacerbation of racism, both overt and subtle (i.e., *racialization*); and
- the absence of women's concerns (i.e., increased *invisibilization*).⁴⁰

Our report suggests that the Canadian state has directed its energies toward both securitization and marketization, and these, in turn, perpetuate racialization and women's invisibilization. As a result, new developments in security and immigration policy reflect exclusionary tendencies rather than inclusionary ones. Overall, these themes/trends illustrate that citizenship ideas, ideals and practices have shifted affecting male and female citizens, and non-citizens, to the detriment of democracy.

Responsibility Mix

In terms of the responsibility mix (the state, market, family and community, conceived of as four points in a diamond figure) we see new emphases and tensions, along with contradictory pushes and pulls. For example, when it comes to security, protecting the internal state (and furnishing the state with tools with which to do so), is now a prime consideration. Consider, for instance, the federal government's \$690 million national security plan announced in April 2004. "The money, to be doled out over five years, is intended to tighten security at seaports and computer data centres, make it more difficult to forge Canadian passports, allow security agencies to hire more officers, improve the analysis of intelligence, and make it easier for agencies to operate alongside each other during a crisis" (Sallot 2004: 5). Thus, when it comes to security, the state sector of the responsibility mix carries a heavier burden than in the recent past.

At the same time, however, market considerations are also important. This is evident in explanations of why Canada is taking pains to harmonize its security measures with its most significant trading partner, the United States. As Anne McLellan, former Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, indicated in March 2004 (p. 4): "Canada and the United

States place the highest priority on ensuring our borders are safe and secure in order to facilitate the \$1.9 billion in daily trade between our two countries.” Indeed the new (April 2004) security plan was strategically unveiled on the eve of former Prime Minister Martin’s Washington Summit with President Bush.

The greater emphasis on both the state and the market points of the diamond that come with this new securitization thrust also mean that the concerns of non-state actors in the community and the family are rendered less significant. For example, the state and market emphases underscore the public realm, and marginalize the private, sidelining the role of the family. This is of particular relevance to women who have historically been associated more with the private domain, continue to be underrepresented in the public sphere, and are more compelled than men to negotiate and reconcile the demands of public and private. If the state’s security focus means less of an emphasis on the private realm, and less recognition of the intersections between public and private, it is clear that this will contribute to the invisibilization of women.

Conversely, when it comes to immigration, all points of the diamond — state, market, community and family — are significant, albeit not equally so. For example, the Canadian government continues to acknowledge that family reunification plays a part in its immigration plans. Nonetheless, market priorities appear to be the driving concern behind any immigration reforms. This also serves to marginalize women as the perception (and often misperception) is that they constitute family class and not economic class im/migrants.

With new immigration initiatives, and unlike mainstream security measures, the community, especially service providers in the third sector, become increasingly important. As the state tries to streamline and become more prompt and efficient in immigration matters,⁴¹ it relies on various partners in the community to provide immigration services. What this means is that we have witnessed the state, in one realm, building up its capacities in terms of security, but in the other, divesting itself of some responsibilities having to do with areas like immigrant support and services. Yet, as our report attests, both realms inform one another. And so, preoccupations with security will also trickle down to the community. To paraphrase the views of one town hall participant, *even immigration staff feel they must distance themselves from immigrants and refugees to show objectivity and strength; they can’t be perceived as coddling refugees*. In turn, these cooler relations may also have an impact on third sector organizations.

At the same time, and ironically, despite efforts to speed up im/migration processes, many respondents commented on how new bureaucratic hurdles combined with security preoccupations have slowed down various im/migration-related procedures. Applying and receiving citizenship takes longer, just as travelling through airports takes longer, and so on.

Moreover, state downsizing in the name of efficiency, has translated into less interaction with state officials. Project participants bemoaned the growing lack of human interface with, for example, CIC officials. Instead of being able to walk into an immigration office and discuss difficulties with an actual official, service users are left with only virtual interaction via telephones and computers. These shifts in the responsibility mix also affect and relate to issues of governance.

Governance

In terms of governance, then, the state sheds some of its responsibilities, and in other ways becomes more coercive and restrictive. On one hand, with marketization, the state offloads some of its concerns onto the market, family or community. On the other hand, the securitized state exerts its control, to the detriment of non-state actors. State officials can now exercise more discretion about how, when and why they adopt coercive measures, and can do so on the basis of mere presumptions. Whereas human security is premised on multi-level governance, now, as more traditional notions of security take hold, the state has reverted to more conventional top-down forms of governance. And so, despite pervasive discourses of partnerships, the security state has the upper hand.

In addition, our research attests to the fact that, post-9/11, community and associational life have been adversely affected. For instance, some participants noted that their contributions to charities in the Muslim communities *were hit hard, because of the stigma of being attached to a so-called terrorist organization*. Others detailed how they felt they had to curtail their social and cultural activities in the current climate. Some also remarked on the fact that relations between ethnic communities have been strained. Most, however, acknowledged that national security policies have changed their relationship with Canadian-born people. This is particularly apparent for non-Canadians and new Canadians of colour, and these changes are not for the better.

Rights and Obligations

Our research shows that most participants do not believe the government is doing a good job of safeguarding the citizenship rights of new Canadians. Our research also indicates that, for non-citizens and citizens, and particularly for certain racialized groups, the strength and scope of various rights and obligations in Canada are less apparent in the aftermath of 9/11. In balancing freedom and security, the status of the former is, especially, in question. Participants expressed their fear, at a minimum, that their freedom has been restricted, and at a maximum, that they are being made targets and simply do not enjoy freedom at all anymore.

At the same time, given increased racialization and the gendered processes at play, other rights beyond freedom are also at stake including equality rights and multicultural commitments. This can manifest itself in blatant ways, but typically takes more subtle forms. For example, racial profiling can result in glaring discrimination that contravenes the Charter of Rights. At more than one town hall session, it was suggested that there are widespread perceptions that every bearded Muslim man is a terrorist and this can have an impact on everything from getting an apartment, to obtaining employment. As one town hall participant expressed it, a man named “Hussein” will have difficulty securing employment.

Less visible calculations are being made that can also undermine people’s sense of their rights and liberties, and chip away at Canada’s so-called multicultural mosaic. For instance, some families now weigh whether their sons should go out into the world with the name “Mohammed” or simply use the more ambiguous short form “Mo.” Women now question whether they should refrain from wearing headscarves or other forms of traditional dress. Yet as one town hall participant evocatively expressed it:

Why do people have to be similar? We surely do not want all flowers in the garden to be the same and smell the same.

And yet, this minimization of difference becomes the strategic response for some racialized groups.

Both our literature review and our empirical work clearly demonstrate that certain individuals and groups do not believe they are subject to the same rights protections as others. People of colour, women, men and children, especially those with Muslim or Arab “sounding” names, have articulated how they are being singled out and thus feel increasingly excluded. Our empirical work details how most participants identified hostility toward Muslims and people of Arab origin. They encountered difficulties with state officials, particularly when travelling, and they believed that white Canadians, in general, were more fearful, suspicious and sceptical of immigrants in general post-9/11.

While women did not suggest that they experience more discrimination post-9/11 than men, this also tends to reflect the pattern of invisibilization that we have noted. Women, did, however, point to the prevalence of sexual discrimination by referring to factors, such as pay inequities, between men and women. Moreover, these inequities are exacerbated given other intersecting forms of discrimination based on race and ethnicity, for both women of colour and immigrant women. For instance, our empirical work points to the discrimination immigrant women face because of how they dress, and in some cases, their communication skills.

Clearly, with growing securitization, basic civil, political and cultural rights are more vulnerable. Additionally, because the market becomes a crucial factor, broader citizenship rights, such as social rights, also fall by the wayside. And of course, these market priorities are even more acute in the Atlantic region, given job scarcity and economic disparities. For example, one participant made the link between the chilly climate toward immigrants and the lack of jobs in her small community.

Here too, women are disproportionately affected. Given their historical and culturally assigned caring role (caring for children, caring for sick and elderly family members and so on), women tend to rely more on social services. And so, cutbacks to social services come on the backs of women. Hence, the contraction of social rights has a direct, negative impact on women.

With the invisibilization of women, with marketization, and with the turn to more traditional notions of security, women’s concerns are submerged. For example, unequal pay between men and women contributes to women’s economic security. Violence against women makes women feel less safe and secure when going out at night than men. These are precisely the questions left unasked, and issues left unaddressed when limited notions of security are advanced.

Overall, our report indicates that while many respondents have not necessarily experienced direct discrimination, the racism they do experience is more insidious. As a result, many live with feelings of fear and anxiety. Consequently, the state’s response to 9/11 has made people feel more insecure than secure. Yet, as one respondent suggested, there are other ways of making people secure.

I think something the government has to do is to create or encourage to create that type of [welcoming] social environment.... We can do so many things to raise people's understanding and awareness of different cultures, people coming from different countries. And having programs and policies in place to help assist with this individual, providing various services.

This brings us to the last element of the citizenship regime, that of belonging.

Belonging

Belonging encapsulates the idea that citizenship involves more than the narrow passport-holding sense of citizenship, and encompasses broader understandings of inclusion, acceptance, attachment and connection. These are exactly the feelings and relations that have been undermined in the post-9/11 context. In our town hall sessions and focus groups especially, participants voiced how Canadian citizenship, once considered a prize possession, now post-9/11, has been tarnished, dented and scratched as exclusion rather inclusion appears to have become the norm.

To conclude, one participant described her desire for the reverse.

The best thing would be to...[create] a welcoming environment, welcoming community where diversity or any type of differences are recognized, accepted and valued. That understanding is the key point, and the most important thing.... I think something the government has to do is to create or encourage to create that type of social environment.

The sense of belonging by everyone in Canadian society is essential to citizenship. It ensures that no one feels left out, alienated, excluded or second class regardless of gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or (dis)ability. It demands that everyone is equal in the society, and is treated as such by government. Equality is fundamental to the functioning of a democracy, and when it is undermined under the apparent guise of new security threats, such as terrorism in the post-9/11 environment, everyone in the society loses. This loss of cherished values, of what it means to be a citizen in Canada, in a democracy envied throughout the world, is what our research shows. Ethno-cultural and immigrant communities throughout Atlantic Canada strive to belong to a country where substantive democracy flourishes and they are treated equally, regardless of their country of origin, the colour of their skin or the monies they possess. University researchers conceptualize equality/inequality, but communities live and feel it. Our research process brought out the necessary partnership and collaboration between academics and activists to illustrate democratic ideals in Canada. Where there were perceived shortcomings, communities offered their voices to help rectify them. In that vein, they helped to formulate policy recommendations, and that is where we now turn.

6. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

We conclude this report by proposing a series of *broader policy directions* and specific policy recommendations. These recommendations have emerged directly from our research participants during the various phases of this research project; indirectly through the findings indicating the importance of certain measures needed from a community perspective to honour fundamental principles of Canadian human rights, freedoms and citizenship; and in feedback discussions of our findings with the local research teams, local reference groups, and research participants during the site visits of the Halifax Research Team and during the Final Halifax Regional Advisory Committee Workshop that concluded this research project.

Broader Policy Directions

- A. *Global trends that increasingly link in/migration and security policies need to be critically examined to disentangle Canadian security concerns from immigration matters.*

As our literature review demonstrates, security and immigration policies dovetail with, for example, parts of the IRPA really focussing on security issues and the Act in general having a “crackdown” tone, aimed at dealing with security not just immigration per se. Both focus group and interview participants noted that immigration officials act more like security officials — suspicious and lacking compassion. In addition, they remarked that government services now take longer and there has been a shift from service to security.

- B. *Canada’s security and immigration policies must be based on Canadian priorities, and more attuned to the distinctiveness of Canadian political culture and its specific socio-economic and political context.*

Our literature review demonstrates the U.S. links of Canadian immigration and security policies. Our town hall participants asserted that there is a sense that many specific changes in policies/processes have come to Canada from the United States; that they have a sense of pride in that they have positively chosen to come to Canada which they see as different from the United States; and that they do not trust the American government. Focus group participants also complained that, in their opinion, the Canadian government is too subservient to the White House and it should not succumb to pressures vis-à-vis security. One participant summed it up well by observing that we speak now of “North American” rather than “Canadian” security.

- C. *In light of Canada’s distinctive reputation and contributions in peacekeeping, development and human rights, Canada should adopt and act on broader notions of security at home and abroad.*

Human security and women’s security concerns should apply internally and externally. Economic security (freedom from want), security as peace (freedom from fear), and the protection of human rights regardless of where individual men and women reside, as

well as personal security for men and women, in both the public and the private spheres, are the dimensions that should be brought to bear in any discussion of security in Canada. This, then, is by necessity tied up with the security of individuals globally.

This shift would allow the government to address the types of security that are of most concern to immigrants, refugees and ethnic minorities. Our literature review indicates that our post-9/11 conceptualization of security has shifted from a notion of human security to national security. Focus group participants stated that personal security comes when people respect and trust one another, when peoples' basic human needs are met and everyone is treated equitably. It is linked to freedom to pursue your individual potential and to live without being under surveillance. Most interview participants described it as a feeling, not a reality. Internal security, or the security of our place, comes with democracy, and governments that are not corrupt. Focus group participants described their desire to have wars of words, but not violence. Internal security is actually undermined, in the view of many participants, by the current overemphasis on national security — it makes people feel insecure. External security is that which is maintained elsewhere and around the world. It comes with equitable access to the world's resources and will be maintained only if we get at the root causes of discontent. Interview participants spoke about the importance of economic security on their lives in Canada.

Here, it must be remembered that technical security calculations cannot be separated from the psychological, social and cultural impacts of security policies. In other words, assessments of Canada's security policy must keep at the forefront the real-life repercussions on the lives of men and women in this country.

- D. *Canadian citizenship ideals should more closely fit with Canadian citizenship practices. Citizenship rights and responsibilities should apply equally to all Canadians. We should be vigilant about differentiated citizenship practices, both perceived and real. Canadian citizenship's gendered and racialized practices, historically and presently, must not be overlooked. The exclusions of the past must not be forgotten, and the exclusions of the present must remain front and centre, to build a more truly inclusive citizenship.*

Both our literature review and research participants reiterate the sense of a split in citizenship rights between those of "first" and "second class" citizens. For example, according to the Leadership Council on Civil Rights Education Fund and the American Bar Association (2004: 17), immigrants are being denied due process of law, and under the continuing discourse of national security; "the divide between the foreign- and native-born populations grows ever wider." At the same time, Canadian citizenship is highly valued and appreciated. Our interview participants, thoroughly enjoy having a country they consider home and a country they feel would protect them no matter what; other participants said they would like to have a sense of belonging to the country where they live, work and enjoy freedom; others want to be part of the country by becoming a Canadian citizen; and, finally, for others a sense of belonging means the right to express oneself and be known as a citizen of Canada. For focus group participants, the Canadian citizenship is highly valued, a "dream come true." At the same time, the government

does not do a good job in safeguarding the citizenship rights of new Canadians. Research participants urge that we resist the tendency toward contracting the meaning of citizenship and find ways to enhance newcomers and ethnic minorities' sense of belonging.

- E. *Laws should be reviewed with an eye for protecting civil liberties. We should ensure that Canada keeps its reputation as a place that values and preserves freedom for men as well as women. In addition, Canada should ensure that women's particular issues (i.e., the gendered dimension of freedom) are adequately addressed through the laws as well as the freedoms of men and women of different socio-economic classes.*

Both the literature review as well as our study participants in the various phases of this project echo concerns about the new laws possibly eroding civil liberties, but also recognize that Canada is struggling with the balance between individual freedoms and the security of the collective. Our focus group participants considered freedom a balancing act between individual freedoms/rights and the responsibility to the collective, the community and the world. In this sense, the focus groups tended to view freedom in light of rights and responsibilities. At the same time, the focus group participants were full of praise about the freedom available to them in Canada but also expressed concerns about how Canadians take it for granted. Criticisms of Canadian freedom revolved around class issues (i.e., that some classes are more "equal" than others). Interview participants considered freedom of expression and movement of utmost importance and believed that the government has been doing a good job in guaranteeing freedom for new Canadians, immigrants and refugees, despite the fact that, in the perception of the same participants, freedom has been most negatively affected by policy changes than the other principles we examined in this study.

- F. *In addition, laws should be reviewed with an eye for implementing and enhancing social and multicultural rights. Rights must reflect more than abstract or empty ideals, and be seen as realizing concrete commitments. Although there are limitations to laws and policies, the government can still set the tone of the discourse for equality. Substantive equality (not just formal equality) must be concertedly pursued, where equality of the end result for all is a serious commitment, and steps should be taken to make it a reality for everyone. Equality between the sexes is a significant dimension of equality that needs to be pursued in both private and public domains. Any revision of laws or new laws should be based on careful and thorough gender-based analysis assessing the effects of changes on women's equality.*

Although our focus group and interview participants recognized that equality is not easily attainable through government policies but it also arises out of social and political conditions, they considered it very important to include less tangible qualities, such as equality of opportunity and equality of access to wealth. Focus groups articulated a sense in which equality has eroded since 9/11 due to the government and public focus on security and its link to immigration. Interview participants articulated the need to ensure equality in both the private and public domains.

G. *Parliament must revisit the definition of terrorism contained in the ATA. The ongoing*

parliamentary processes in both the Senate and the House of Commons offer an opportunity for changes to be recommended and made. At the forefront of demanding these changes, specifically, have been civil liberties organizations, immigrant and refugee advocacy groups, and Canada's Muslim communities. The government must pay close and careful attention to these voices and amend parts of Canada's anti-terrorism legislation that promote stereotypes and undermine people's sense of freedom, equality and security.

Study participants spoke repeatedly about the need to revisit the definitions of terrorist activity and terrorist group; about the need to review the ATA with a clear mind to uncovering how it may reinforce stereotypes and promote discrimination. They often expressed their scepticism about the political definitions of such concepts. According to our literature review, the worrisome, broad and ambiguous definition of a terrorist group will result in their listing being a highly partisan exercise, with lobbying campaigns waged for and against the addition of various groups. Interview participants thought that the definition was either too general and all encompassing or too specific and, as a result, it had been affecting certain ethnic and religious groups by assuming that people from such groups were terrorists without having sufficient evidence to support this claim. They were worried about being found guilty by association. This concern also echoes the findings of our literature review. For example, as Roach (2003: 28) put it: "A Criminal Code that denounces certain religious or political motives as extreme and criminal...runs the risk of alienating our diverse and multicultural citizenry." He also pointed out how this motive section of the ATA evokes certain associations: specifically, "certain stereotypes about Muslims" that are "in the back of many people's minds" (p. 19).

Specific Policy Recommendations

1. *Given the repercussions of the ATA and IRPA, there is a need for more accountability and transparency. Authorities must recognize and address the fact that these laws show that there is significant leeway in the exercise of power without much oversight. The government needs to address the reality of the situation and the perception, articulated by many involved in our research, that these mechanisms are not available.*

Most distressingly, as a result of the ATA and IRPA, citizens and non-citizens alike feel that their rights are being infringed upon, and that there are now different classes of citizenship at play based on one's race, ethnicity and gender. To counter these perceptions, redress mechanisms must be established. At the very least, a complaints body needs to be put in place to deal with perceived rights infractions stemming from the ATA and IRPA. These accountability measures need to be highly visible, accessible to all (financially and otherwise) and work expeditiously to deal with complaints arising from the ATA and IRPA. Redress and claims entitlements should come not only from individuals but also from groups.

These changes should help counteract the way in which the conceptualization of citizenship has been contracting. The government should resist this tendency. Our research participants indicated they valued Canadian citizenship, but were concerned about their citizenry becoming a piece of paper rather than a sense of belonging. The government should strive to counter the way the application of the ATA and the IRPA has eroded this sense of belonging among many immigrants, refugees and ethnic minorities.

This specific policy recommendation follows from the description of the perceptions about a two-tiered citizenship as well as the overall impact of the ATA and the IRPA on immigrants and ethnic community members documented throughout this research. This specific recommendation emerged in discussions during the final feedback visits of the Halifax Research Team to the various project sites as well as the Final Regional Advisory Committee Workshop.

2. *The Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security is a positive initiative, but its work must be tied in with the Advisory Council on National Security. Both bodies were mandated as part of Canada's National Security Policy, and both should have a cross-cultural component. There are no "technical" security issues, and the government should have linked the work of these two bodies from the very beginning.*

This specific recommendation follows the broader definition of "security" (including beyond "technical issues") urged by community stakeholders, including women, racialized and immigrant groups. It emerged in discussions during the final feedback visits of the Halifax Research Team to the various project sites as well as the Final Regional Advisory Committee Workshop.

3. *The division of responsibilities between immigration policy (undertaken by Citizenship and Immigration Canada) and immigration enforcement (undertaken by the Canada Border Services Agency under Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada) has led to the reallocation of resources away from immigration services to enforcement priorities. This must be remedied and more resources given to immigration services.*

Many focus group and interview participants noted that government services take longer and that there has been a shift from service to security.

4. *Citizenship and Immigration Canada requires reorganization. Among our participants, it has a reputation of being a difficult, bureaucratic and in many ways problematic department. As a result, there must be an open, public discussion, with multiple stakeholders, as to how it can be reorganized and what shape it should ultimately take.*

Rather than simply shutting down CIC offices, and offering Internet and telephone access, there is a need for more direct contact with government officials to address concerns with the immigration system and provide advice to its clients. All our participants agreed that there should be more resources directed to immigrant reception rather than siphoned off to border security.

5. *As part of the CIC reorganization, current practices need to be re-evaluated and new programs re-assessed to become more flexible. For instance, there is a need to speed up the process of the provincial nominee program, but there must be greater emphasis on family reunification as opposed to economic migrants. Not only should the government not create different classes of immigrants (literally), but it also should understand that the successes of immigrants — and their decisions to stay in Atlantic Canada — are intricately tied to the migrant networks that exist in their community. Attention needs to be paid to how men and women access services differently.*

Of most concern were changes in relation to refugee claimants. Procedures and processes for refugee claimants and, according to our participants, refugee clinics saw a significant reduction in the number of people they were serving after 9/11. Preference is now given to the “right” type of refugee while deserving refugees may not be able to enter Canada, because of the way our immigration system works in favour of those who are self-sufficient. The Minister of Immigration is apparently increasingly involved in decisions pertaining to refugee claimants. This specific recommendation came up in discussions of the research findings during the feedback site visits of the Halifax Research Team.

6. *In general, there is a need for more support services and appropriate integration policies and programs for immigrants, especially immigrant families and for women with a recognition of how public and private domains are perceived and experienced differently on the basis of gender, race and ethnicity. For example, since women’s security may be more at risk in the private sphere, good integration policies are policies that ensure women’s security in the private sphere and include programs that ensure access to appropriate services.*

We heard repeatedly from our interview participants about the heightened insecurity of women at home or the gendered nature of security.

7. *Training of, and cross-cultural sensitivity awareness programs for, state officials at various levels are needed. Raising general awareness about the nature of women’s growing invisibility, and about racist discourses and practices, and about diverse cultural norms and practices, and all their intersections, is required.*

The following were identified as needing specific attention for training:

- *state officials: policy makers, immigration officers, those who work in detention centres;*
- *security enforcers: police and customs officials in particular;*
- *judges;*
- *personnel in mainstream media; and*
- *personnel in educational establishments.*

Town hall participants expressed concerns over profiling taking place via the discretionary power of various administrators including, but also extending beyond law enforcement and intelligence agencies, to immigration officers, customs officials and airline attendants, who may use stereotyping as a tool. They also felt more discrimination and suspicion from government officials. A more general point was made about immigration staff people who feel they must distance themselves from immigrants and refugees in order to appear objective. They no longer feel comfortable being friendly. This creates bitterness among newcomers who attribute the attitude to racism. A clear pattern emerged in that respondents rated ethnic minorities as being the least well served by government and Canadian born people as being most well served. Interviewees recommended that the government not assume that people from certain ethnic and immigrant communities are terrorists because of their dress, religion, language or daily activities. Our study participants overall did not engage in a wholesale critique of government. While there were complaints, it was not all negative. Some recognized how hard it is for government to balance all the competing interests. The diversity training and cultural services offered by the RCMP, CSIS, CBSA and other agencies are little known to the participants of this project, as it is their perception that not enough is being done along these lines.

8. *There is a greater need for representation of societal diversity on all government service levels and service providers. Equity principles should be applied in hiring in government, service providers and non-governmental organizations to ensure representation of diversity in government and society in terms of race, ethnicity and gender.*

This recommendation emerged indirectly through the research findings suggesting the need for government to take measures to redress racial profiling and discriminatory practices but was fully articulated during the feedback site visits of the Halifax Research Team and the Final Regional Advisory Committee Workshop.

9. *More guidelines and better monitoring of security officials, especially customs officials in airports, is needed to ensure security measures are applied equally and not selectively.*

Research participants throughout the various phases of this project and its different research instruments stated that certain groups are perceived to be the targets of the new legislation and set aside for all kinds of exclusionary treatments. Focus group participants did not express a large loss of security after 9/11. Interview participants talked specifically about problems crossing the border into the United States. Their experiences ranged from having air travel difficulties, especially with the airport security, such as being searched, questioned, singled out because of their names or their looks, to random checks, taking longer to get through security and being held up at immigration in the airports.

In one instance, there was a recommendation to invite officials from Customs Canada to discuss their roles and responsibilities and see how they fit with community perceptions and experiences.

10. *There must be greater priority placed on state-supported public education, including systematic efforts on the part of the government to:*
- *disseminate information and explain to the public changes to immigration and security policies, detail what the new laws mean and what their implications are;*
 - *make the general public aware of how and why im/migrants feel targeted, the racialization that takes place, as well as women's invisibilization;*
 - *make clear what rights people have and what rights are being, or may be, infringed upon;*
 - *beyond the general public, focus on white, Canadian-born citizens, in particular;*
 - *support more anti-racist and feminist-inspired research and analyses of changes to public policy;*
 - *ensure anti-racism policies in all universities and institutions of higher learning;*
 - *start with providing systematic education on diversity and democracy from very early on in the public education system (elementary school) and continue on all levels of education;*
 - *ensure that there exists an educated and informed media and stress responsibility and critical reporting; and*
 - *dispel prejudices and discriminatory practices against Muslims, immigrants and ethnic community members from the Middle East specifically.*

Both our literature review and study participants in the various phases of this research project confirm the climate of fear, especially among the Muslim and various Middle Eastern communities. We heard about the bullying of kids through our town hall sessions; the increased suspicion against Muslims and Middle Eastern immigrants; the increased fear of racism, stereotypes, profiles, prejudice as well as fear of government actions. Our interview participants told us that ethnic/immigrant communities were being stared at in public, exploited in the media anytime someone who is not Canadian born is involved in a crime or bluntly ignored; ethnic/immigrant communities were being looked at with suspicion and shown negative feelings. These policies have raised the stigma associated with certain origins and Canadians have developed a belief that Arabs/Muslims are connected to terrorism; Canadians have become difficult to make friends with; Canadians have become more afraid of certain groups, but it has been getting better; and some people have been affected because of their accent. Our literature review asserts the perception of increased discrimination, but also racial profiling and a changed environment for Muslims in Canada on the basis of race, religion, colour, ethnic and national origin. Interview participants reiterated the importance of educating both the public and the government about avoiding racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims.

11. *Greater state support of alternative media and grounded sources of information are needed to provide alternative sources to publicize notions of racialization and invisibilization, and critically examine changed policies and laws, and their implications.*

This recommendation is related to the previous one (i.e., number 10). It was fully articulated in discussions during the site visits of the Halifax Research Team and at the Final Regional Advisory Committee Workshop in Halifax. The recommendation emerged in the context of a general lack of public awareness and understanding of the specific laws as well as out of the need to counteract and denounce racialized images of ethnic groups in the mainstream media, as well as women's invisibilization.

12. *There must be more support for settlement associations and service groups, as well as advocacy groups, particularly women's organizations, to analyze the gendered repercussions of new laws and to spur education and action.*

This recommendation is intricately connected to specific recommendations 6 and 3 and to Broader Policy Direction A.

13. *The government must continue to monitor the effects of the new legislation through ongoing studies on the general topic and ensure that relevant calls for proposals are regularly issued by the research units of various government departments. Studies should stress the immigrant/refugee/ethno-cultural community and women's perspective on the effects.*

The government should also undertake comparative (by province) and cross-regional research that assesses the particular effects of legislation in the various provinces in Atlantic Canada (and in comparison with other regions) with a gender-based analysis. Our research indicates regional and gender-related specificities but the patterns were not clear enough and the sample was too small, to draw generalizable conclusions.

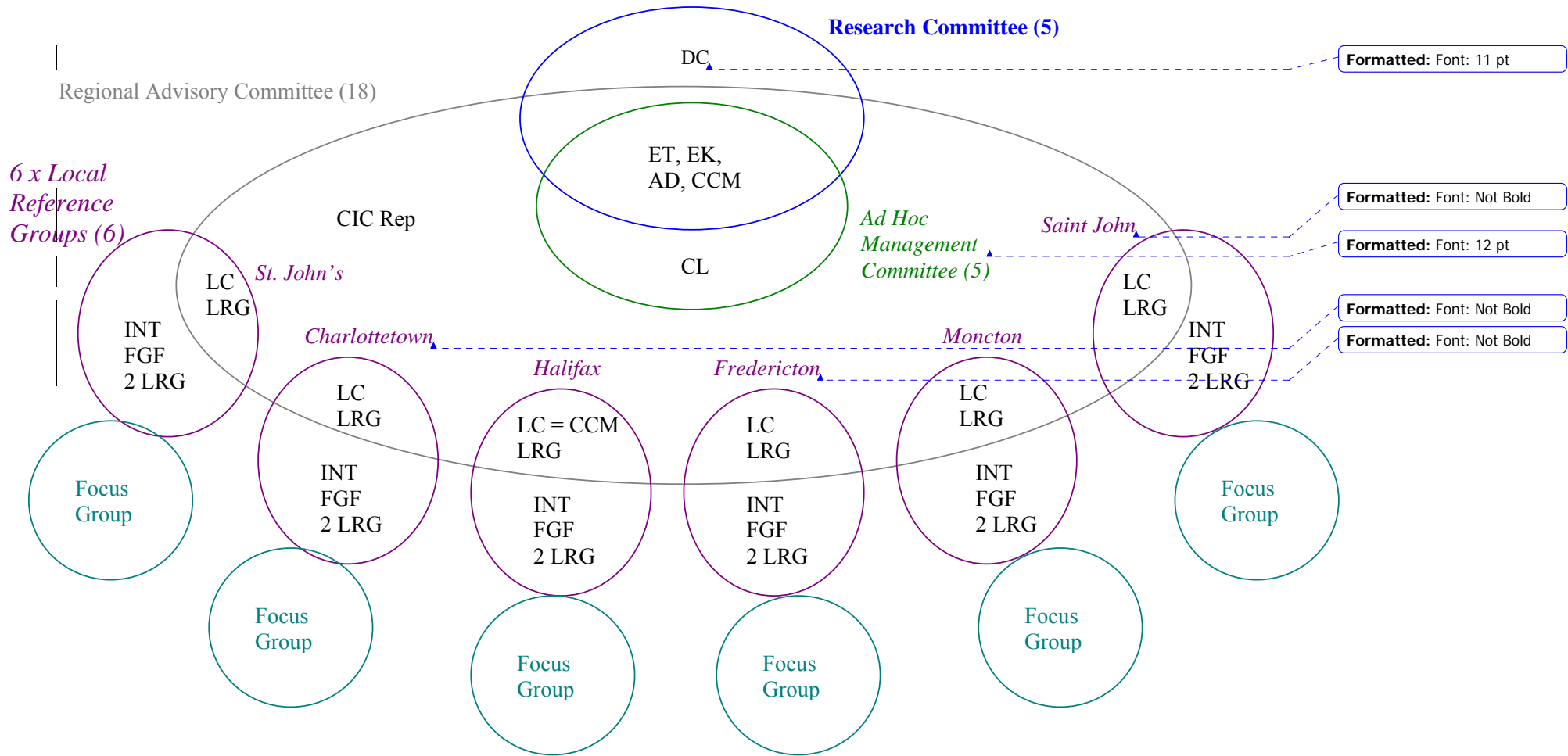
There was an overall sense of security being eroded since 9/11 and the new security policies, which led to the realization that continued monitoring is needed. Survey respondents (service providers) were ambivalent about whether the new national security agenda has affected their clients' perceptions of security, citizenship, equality and freedom. Survey respondents were particularly at a loss with respect to questions relating to gender. This lack of information is confirmed by our literature review findings: there is a general lack of literature about the effects of the security agenda on women.

14. *More sources for information need to be in place on changes in laws and policies for service providers, because they are overlooked or typically not systematically updated, when laws and policies change.*

This recommendation emerged out of the general lack of information that the survey respondents (service providers) repeatedly claimed. It was more fully articulated in discussions during the feedback site visits of the Halifax Research Team.

APPENDIX A: ORGANIZATIONAL MAP

SECURITY AND IMMIGRATION, CHANGES AND CHALLENGES: Immigrant and Ethnic Communities in Atlantic Canada, Presumed Guilty?



Research Committee (5)

Diane Crocker (DC)
 Evangelia Tastsoglou (ET)
 Edna Keeble (EK)
 Alexandra Dobrowolsky (AD)
 Carmen Celina Moncayo (CCM)

Ad Hoc Management Committee (5)

Evangelia Tastsoglou (ET)
 Edna Keeble (EK)
 Alexandra Dobrowolsky (AD)
 Carmen Celina Moncayo (CCM)
 Claudette Legault (CL)

6 x Local Reference Groups (6)

Local Co-ordinator (LC)
 Member of Local Reference Group (LRG)
 Interviewer (INT)
 Focus Group Facilitator (FGF)
 Member of Local Reference Group (LRG)
 Member of Local Reference Group (LRG)

Regional Advisory Committee (18)

Evangelia Tastsoglou (ET)
 Edna Keeble (EK)
 Alexandra Dobrowolsky (AD)
 Carmen Celina Moncayo (CCM) and Local Co-ordinator, Halifax (LC=CCM)
 Claudette Legault (CL)
 Barbara Cottrell-Project Co-ordinator (BC)
 Citizenship and Immigration Representative (CIC Rep)
 Local Co-ordinator, St. John's (LC)
 Member of Local Reference Group, St. John's (LRG)
 Local Co-ordinator, Charlottetown (LC)
 Member of Local Reference Group, Charlottetown (LRG)
 Member of Local Reference Group, Halifax (LRG)
 Local Co-ordinator, Fredericton (LC)
 Member of Local Reference Group, Fredericton (LRG)
 Local Co-ordinator, Moncton (LC)
 Member of Local Reference Group, Moncton (LRG)
 Local Co-ordinator, Saint John (LC)
 Member of Local Reference Group, Saint John (LRG)

APPENDIX B: BREAKDOWN OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

YEAR ONE 09/2003 TO 04/2004	Date	Site	Participants
Regional Advisory Committee Meeting	01/13/04	Halifax	18 members of the Committee
LRG Meetings (#1)	01/29/04 02/03/04 02/10/04 02/12/04 02/10/04 02/10/04	Halifax Charlottetown St. John's Saint John Fredericton Moncton	LRG Members
Training of Community Researchers by Research Team	02/18/04 02/27/04 03/02/04 03/09/04 03/16/04 03/05/04	Halifax Fredericton Charlottetown Saint John St. John's Moncton	Research Team, LCs and Interviewers
Town Halls	03/10/04 03/16/04 03/02/04 03/09/04 02/27/04 03/06/04	Halifax St. John's Charlottetown Saint John Fredericton Moncton	LRG members, general public, representatives from the Research Team
Conference Call	02/18/04	all sites	LCs and Management Committee
Focus Groups	03/2004		Research Participants, Interviewers, representative from the Research Team

YEAR TWO: 04/2004 to 03/2005			
Conference Call	04/07/04	all sites	LCs and Management Committee
LRG Meetings (#2)	05/06/04 05/07/04 05/25/04 05/20/04 09/13/04 05/25/04	St. John's Charlottetown Saint John Halifax Fredericton Moncton	LRG members
Conference Call	05/04/04		LCs and Management Committee
Year Two (cont.)			
LRG Meetings (#3)	10/20/04 10/25/04 10/27/04 10/29/04 11/02/04 01/28/05	Halifax Saint John Moncton St. John's Fredericton Charlottetown	LRG members
LRG Meetings (#4)	01/26/05 03/30/05 01/26/05 01/31/05 01/31/05 02/02/05	Halifax Charlottetown Saint John Fredericton Moncton St. John's	LRG members
Conference Call	11/01/04	all sites	
Conference Call	01/31/05		
Survey	Fall 2005	all sites	
Qualitative Interviews	02-04/2005	all sites	

YEAR THREE: 04/2005 – 03/2006			
Team Travel to Sites	09/22/05 09/19/05 09/27/05 09/19/05 09/25/05 10/07/05	Charlottetown Fredericton Halifax Moncton Saint John St John's	Research Team, LCs and LRG representatives
Conference Call	06/07/05		
Conference Call	09/13/05		
LRG Meeting (#5)	10/17/05 10/17/05 09/19/05 10/18/05 09/19/05 10/21/05	St. John's Saint John Moncton Halifax Fredericton Charlottetown	LRG members
Regional Advisory Committee Workshop	10/24/05	Halifax	18 members of the Committee
Town Halls	02/16/06 02/28/06 03/03/06 02/20/06 02/24/06 02/03/06	Halifax St. John's Charlottetown Saint John Fredericton Moncton	LRG members, general public, representatives from the Research Team

APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

Focus Group Moderator's Guide* Human Security, Immigration, Citizenship and the Profile of Terror

General Information

Role of the moderator:

- Establish rapport with the participants.
- Explain the aims of the research and the focus.
- Elicit diverse opinions rather than arrive at a consensus among participants.

Role of the recorder:

- Take as complete a set of notes as possible.
- Note gender of the speaker.
- Note time every 13-15 minutes.

Aim of the focus groups:

- Help direct our survey and interviews by identifying major issues related to the research project.
- Get the views of participants on the major concepts being investigated and how they may have changed since 9/11.

Participants (5 in total):

- Service providers.
- Community/advocacy groups/leaders.
- Pay attention to the balance of gender and type of participant (e.g., they should not all be advocates).

Time:

- The focus group should last no more than two hours.

Moderator=s Guide

1. Introduction

Introduce yourself with a bit of background information and describe the research project to the participants (see the project description attached). Also describe your role and the fact that you are neutral, do not work for government and are not an expert in law.

Introduce the recorder and explain his/her purpose. Introduce the researcher and explain that she is just observing.

Have everyone in the room introduce themselves.

2. Statement of the Basic Rules or Guidelines for the Focus Group

Discuss and have everyone complete the informed consent form and the confidentiality form.

Establish the ground rules, emphasizing that you are interested in all varying opinions.

Discuss the presence of the tape recorder. We will tape and take notes but not transcribe. We will refer to the tape, if needed, to confirm details not clear in the notes.

3. Brief, Introductory Comments, General Discussion

During this part of the focus group, the moderator will ask direct questions, with relatively straightforward answers, trying to elicit comments/answers from everyone present. There should not be much probing at this point and you should not interject examples or cases that you know of. It is important to try and go around the room getting comments from each person to enhance their willingness/comfort to participate throughout. You say:

As you are probably aware, the Canadian government has taken some action recently to improve national security. I=d like to go around the room and get a brief general comment from each one of you on what you think of these actions and how you think they will affect immigrant and ethnic groups.

If no one mentions anything positive, ask directly.

Does anyone see any positive effects?

Will these changes (or have these changes) affected men and women differently?

Do any of these issues affect people here in Atlantic Canada differently than elsewhere?

If the changes to immigration law or the anti-terrorism law have not come up, introduce them.

What about recent changes to the immigration laws or the new anti-terrorism act?

Please refer to the handouts that we have provided with information on the Bill C-11 and C-36 to answer basic questions but do not go into detail.

4. Depth Questions and Discussion of Themes

During this part of the focus group, the discussion should become more fluid and move around more complex issues. Please avoid referring to the one-page definitions that we have developed. We would like to hear from the participants without them referring to any previously developed definitions.

Security

How do you define Asecurity@?

Do your clients/people you represent share this definition?

Does the term Ahuman security@ mean anything to you?

Would your clients/people you represent have a sense of this term?

How can the government best guarantee security for your clients/people you represent?

How has this concept changed since September 11 for your clients/people you represent?

Freedom

How do you define Δ freedom@?

Do your clients/people you represent share this definition?

How can the government guarantee freedom for your clients/people you represent?

How has this concept changed since September 11 for your clients/people you represent?

Equality

How do you define Δ equality@?

Do your clients/people you represent share this definition?

How can the government guarantee equality for your clients/people you represent?

How has this concept changed since September 11 for your clients/people you represent?

Citizenship

How do you define Δ citizenship@?

Do your clients/people you represent share this definition?

How has this concept changed since September 11 for your clients/people you represent?

Terrorism

How do you define terrorism?

Do your clients share this definition?

How has this concept changed since September 11 for your clients/people you represent?

Who do you think is being targeted by the new definition of terrorism?

Who is not being targeted?

How is this playing out for your clients/people you represent?

Groups Affected

What groups are differentially affected by the enactment of new security legislation? And how are they differentially affected?

- *Women?*
- *Socio-economic groups?*
- *Ethnic groups?*
- *Ethno-cultural?*
- *Racialized?*
- *Religious groups?*
- *Age groups?*

APPENDIX D: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I	National Security Policies Since September 11, 2001, countries around the world, have adopted laws, regulations and policies aimed at improving national security. We'd like to get your views on these changes, as they played out in Canada, and their effects on the people you work for or with.			
1	The following is a list of policies that have been implemented to address national security. In terms of your experience with these groups which one concerns you most and which one concerns you the least:			
		Most Concern (check one)	Least Concern (check one)	
	A <i>Anti-Terrorism Act</i>	[] ₁	[] ₁	
	B Permanent resident card	[] ₂	[] ₂	
	C Changes to the <i>Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act</i>	[] ₃	[] ₃	
	d Increased airport security	[] ₄	[] ₄	
	e Other, please specify _____	[] ₅	[] ₅	
f Don't know	[] ₉₉	[] ₉₉		
2	Which one are YOU most familiar with?			
3	Which one are YOUR CLIENTS most familiar with?			
4	Which, in your view, has MOST negatively affected your clients or people you advocate for?			
5	Which, in your view, has LEAST negatively affected your clients or people you advocate for?			
6	From the list above, is there one policy that will affect WOMEN more than MEN?	NO [] ₀	YES [] ₁ If yes, which one? ↓	DON'T KNOW [] ₉₉

7	The new national security policies have, and can have, many effects on immigrants and ethnic minorities. The list below includes some of these possible effects. Which ones have you seen INCREASE since 9/11? In general? For men? For women? Check as many boxes as necessary.				
		In General	For Men	For Women	Don't Know
a	Deportations	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
b	Overseas detentions	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
c	Arrests without cause	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
d	Travel problems crossing borders	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
e	Delays in getting government service	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
f	Increased airport security	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
g	Immigrants who have returned to their country of origin	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
h	Racial profiling among government officials	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
i	Denial of government services	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
j	Questioning citizenship of new Canadians at borders	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
k	Increased government surveillance generally	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
l	Harassment from the local police	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
m	Decrease in number of refugee claimants	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉
n	Other, please specify	[] ₁	[] ₂	[] ₃	[] ₉₉

8	Which one has increased MOST dramatically since 9/11?		Don't Know [] ₉₉
9	Is there a difference in how these policies affect MEN and WOMEN?	NO [] ₀	YES [] ₁ Don't Know [] ₉₉ ↓ If yes, who is affected more? MEN [] ₁ WOMEN [] ₂

10	Is any one IMMIGRANT GROUP more negatively affected than others by security policies?	NO [] ₀	YES [] ₁ If yes, which group?	Don't Know [] ₉₉
11	Is any one ETHNIC GROUP more negatively affected than others by	NO [] ₀	YES [] ₁ If yes, which group?	Don't Know [] ₉₉

12	In your view, which group is MOST affected by changes in national security policies? Place a check mark in the box next to the group MOST affected.						
	Who is most affected . . .						
a	Canadian-born visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Immigrant visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉
b	Canadian-born non-visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Immigrant non-visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉
c	Canadian-born visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Canadian-born non-visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉
d	Immigrant visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Immigrant non-visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉
e	Female, visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Male, visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉
f	Male, non-visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Female, non-visible minorities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉
g	Female visible minority immigrants	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Male visible minority immigrants	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉
h	Female visible minority immigrants	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Female non-visible minority immigrants	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉
I	Male visible minority immigrants	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	OR	Male non-visible minority immigrants	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₉₉

13	Read the statements below and indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree. Circle the letters that corresponds to your level of agreement. SA= Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, dk = Don't Know					
A	The Canadian government can enhance my sense of security with good national security policies	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
b	The new <i>Immigration and Refugee Protection Act</i> has increased my clients' fear of terrorism	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
c	The new national security agenda has increased my clients' sense of EQUALITY	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
d	The new national security agenda has narrowed my clients' sense of what constitutes CITIZENSHIP	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
e	Canada tries too hard to accommodate U.S. interests in our security policies	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
f	The <i>Anti-Terrorism Act</i> decreased my clients' cynicism about the government	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
g	The new national security agenda has decreased my clients' sense of FREEDOM	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
h	My clients feel safer in airports with the increased security measures than they did immediately after 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
i	The new <i>Immigration and Refugee Protection Act</i> has decreased my clients' cynicism about the government	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
j	The new national security agenda has increased my clients' sense of SECURITY	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
k	When it comes to national security policies, not enough attention is being paid to human rights issues	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
l	The <i>Anti-Terrorism Act</i> has increased my clients' fear of TERRORISM	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

14	The most important type of security is . . .					
a	. . . economic	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
b	. . . national	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
c	. . . personal	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
d	. . . ethno-cultural	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

15	Read the statements below and indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree. Circle the letters that corresponds to your level of agreement.					
	SA= Strongly Agree, A =Agree, D =Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, dk = Don't Know					
	To guarantee security for Canadians, our government should . . .					
a	. . . prevent government corruption	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
b	. . . prevent political violence	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
c	. . . provide stable employment opportunities	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
d	. . . guarantee basic human rights	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
e	. . . guarantee equality before the law	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
f	. . . respect democratic principles	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
g	. . . be honest	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
h	. . . be accountable	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
i	. . . be transparent	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
j	. . . ensure border security	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
k	. . . prevent public health threats	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
l	. . . prevent discrimination	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
m	. . . focus on external threats	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

16	How would you rate how well the government is doing in terms of guaranteeing the security of . . .				
	Circle the number that corresponds to your answer.	Very Good	Good	Badly	Very Badly
a	Canadian born people	1	2	3	4
b	New Canadians	1	2	3	4
c	Immigrants	1	2	3	4
d	Refugees	1	2	3	4
e	Ethnic minorities	1	2	3	4

17	How would you rate how well the government is doing in terms of guaranteeing the security of . . . Circle the number that corresponds to your answer.	Very Good	Good	Badly	Very Badly
a	Immigrant women	1	2	3	4
b	Immigrant men	1	2	3	4
c	New Canadian women	1	2	3	4
d	New Canadian men	1	2	3	4
e	Refugee women	1	2	3	4
f	Refugee men	1	2	3	4
g	Ethnic minority women	1	2	3	4
h	Ethnic minority men	1	2	3	4
i	Canadian-born women	1	2	3	4
j	Canadian-born men	1	2	3	4

PART II		Freedom, Equality and Citizenship			
		Critics of the new national security policies worry that these policies will erode freedom and equality of all people. Others disagree, suggesting instead that since 9/11 the world is a different place and that certain compromises in these ideals must be made. We would like your insight into these concepts,—freedom, equality, and citizenship – how they have changed and how government policies affect them.			
18	How good a job does Canadian government do at guaranteeing the FREEDOM of . . .	Very Good	Good	Badly	Very Badly
	Canadian-born people	1	2	3	4
	New Canadians	1	2	3	4
	Immigrants	1	2	3	4
	Refugees	1	2	3	4
	Ethnic minorities	1	2	3	4
19	How good a job does the Canadian government do at guaranteeing the EQUALITY of . . .	Very Good	Good	Badly	Very Badly
a	Immigrant women	1	2	3	4
b	Immigrant men	1	2	3	4
c	New Canadian women	1	2	3	4
d	New Canadian men	1	2	3	4
e	Refugee women	1	2	3	4
f	Refugee men	1	2	3	4
g	Ethnic minority women	1	2	3	4
h	Ethnic minority men	1	2	3	4
i	Canadian-born women	1	2	3	4
j	Canadian-born men	1	2	3	4

We would like to get your thoughts on how many immigrants are pursuing Canadian citizenship. Please skip to Question 25 if these do not apply						
How many of your clients would want to have Canadian citizenship . . .						
20	. . . before 9/11	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ all	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ most	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃ some	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄ a few	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅ none
21	. . . since 9/11	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ all	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ most	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃ some	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄ a few	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅ none
22	How important is Canadian citizenship for the clients you work with?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ very		<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ somewhat		<input type="checkbox"/> ₃ not at all
23	What is their major reason for seeking citizenship?					
24	What is their major reason for NOT seeking citizenship?					

25	For the statements below indicate how strongly you agree or disagree by circling the letters that correspond to your opinion.					
	SA= Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, dk = Don't Know					
a	Political FREEDOM is the most important type of freedom	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
b	Governments can enhance EQUALITY with good national security policies	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
c	EQUALITY before the law is the most important type of equality	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
d	Governments can enhance people's sense of CITIZENSHIP with good national security policies	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
e	FREEDOM is difficult to achieve in our multi-cultural society	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
f	The concept of FREEDOM has changed since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
g	Political EQUALITY is the most important aspect of equality	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
h	The Charter of Rights provides an adequate guarantee of FREEDOM	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
i	EQUALITY is a balancing act between rights and responsibilities	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
j	Religious FREEDOM is the most important type of freedom	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
k	Governments can enhance FREEDOM with good national security policies	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
l	The concept of CITIZENSHIP has not changed since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
m	EQUALITY is difficult to achieve in our multi-cultural society	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
n	Economic FREEDOM is the most important type of freedom	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
o	The concept of EQUALITY has changed since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
p	CITIZENSHIP is a balancing act between rights and responsibilities	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
q	Economic EQUALITY is the most important aspect of equality	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
r	The Charter of Rights provides an adequate guarantee of EQUALITY	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
s	FREEDOM is a balancing act between rights and responsibilities	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

26	For the statement below indicate how strongly you agree or disagree by circling the letters that correspond to your opinion.					
	SA= Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, dk = Don't Know					
a	Sometimes violence must be used to achieve freedom	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
b	FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION is the most important kind of freedom	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
c	Equality must be culture blind	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
d	Citizenship is a sense of being accepted as a human	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
e	Men and women have different understandings of EQUALITY	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
f	Citizenship is a sense of belonging to your country	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
g	Equality must be gender blind	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
h	Since 9/11 it is harder to get Canadian citizenship	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
i	Men and women the same understanding of FREEDOM	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
j	EQUALITY between the sexes is the most basic form of equality	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
k	FREEDOM OF THE PRESS is the most important type of freedom	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
l	EQUALITY should not allow for religious differences	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
m	Since 9/11 many of my clients feel like second class citizens	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
n	EQUALITY must allow for cultural differences	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
o	FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT is the most important type of freedom	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
p	Men and women have different understandings of CITIZENSHIP	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
q	Equality can be achieved only if everyone is treated the same	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
r	Citizenship is simply indicated by the passport you carry	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
s	EQUALITY shoul allow for differences between the sexes	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

PART III	Atlantic Canada We are also interested in the specific experiences of living in Atlantic Canada. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements.
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27	For the statements below indicate how strongly you agree or disagree by circling the letters that correspond to your opinion. SA= Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, dk = Don't Know					
a	People are generally very tolerant of cultural difference in my community	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
b	Immigrant women face less sexism in Atlantic Canada than in other regions	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
c	The community I live in is very culturally and ethnically diverse	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
d	Since 9/11 immigrants in my community are being discriminated against more often	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
e	Immigrant women face different difficulties in Atlantic Canada than immigrant men	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
f	Atlantic Canada is not very culturally and ethnically diverse	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
g	People are generally very tolerant of cultural difference in Atlantic Canada	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
h	People in Atlantic Canada value cultural difference	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
i	People's attitudes about immigrants have not changed since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
j	People in my community do not value cultural difference	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
k	Since 9/11 people's attitudes toward ethnic minorities have become more negative	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
l	People are generally more tolerant in Atlantic Canada then elsewhere in Canada	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
m	Since 9/11 ethnic minorities in my community are being discriminated against more often	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
n	Immigrant women face more sexism in my community than in other regions of Atlantic Canada	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
o	People are generally less tolerant in my community than elsewhere in Canada	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

PART IV	Terrorism We are interested your understanding of the concept of terrorism and also your views on the definition of terrorism that are appearing in Canadian law. We would also like to know about the general effects of 9/11 on the immigrant and ethnic communities of Atlantic Canada.
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28. For the statement below indicate how strongly you agree or disagree by circling the letters that correspond to your opinion.						
SA =Strongly Agree, A =Agree, D =Disagree, SD =Strongly Disagree, dk =Don't Know						
a	Refugees are not treated as well by non-profit agencies	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
b	Immigrants are under more pressure to conform to Canadian political values	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
c	Women are becoming more responsible for terrorism around the world	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
d	Governments can prevent terrorism with good laws	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
e	Anti-terrorism laws are gender neutral	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
f	Everyone is being treated with more suspicion by government agencies since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
g	The amount of terrorism has increased since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
h	Immigrants are having a harder time finding meaningful employment since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
i	Tensions between immigrants groups have increased since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
j	Racial minority women face more discrimination than men since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
k	Canada is doing a very good job preventing terrorism	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
l	Immigrant women have had a harder time finding meaningful employment since 9/11, compared to immigrant men	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
m	Racial minorities are having a harder time finding meaningful employment since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
n	Tensions between immigrant and non-immigrant communities have increased since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
o	Racial minority men face more discrimination than women since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
p	Tensions between racial groups have increased since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
q	The level of racism in my community has increased	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
r	Immigrants are under more pressure to conform to Canadian cultural traditions since 9/11	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
s	Refugees are not treated as well by government officials	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
t	Governments around the world are just as responsible for terrorism as other groups.	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
u	Fear is the biggest consequence of terrorism	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
v	Refugees are not treated as well by the general public	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
w	One person's freedom fighter is another person's terrorist	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

x	Immigrants are under too much pressure to conform to Canadian religious traditions	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
y	Everyone is being treated with more suspicion generally	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
z	Immigrant women face more pressure to conform than men	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

The new *Anti-Terrorism Act* and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* contain provisions designed to prevent and address terrorism.

29. Did you know that . . .		YES	NO	Don't Know
a	political motives are part of the definition of terrorism	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
b	religious motives are part of the definition of terrorism	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
c	ideological motives are part of the definition of terrorism	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
d	the government will now compile a list of "terrorist" organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
e	"financing" terrorist activities is now a criminal offence	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
f	"facilitating" terrorism is now a criminal offence	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
g	the police now have more powers to investigate suspected terrorists	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
h	the new definition of terrorism includes acts in and outside of Canada	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
i	"security" concerns affect whether a refugee claim will be heard	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
j	there is no right of appeal in cases of inadmissibility due to security	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99
k	"terrorism" is now grounds for inadmissibility to Canada	<input type="checkbox"/> _1	<input type="checkbox"/> _2	<input type="checkbox"/> _99

30	For the statements below indicate how strongly you agree or disagree by circling the letters that correspond to your opinion. SA= Strongly Agree, A= Agree, D= Disagree, SD= Strongly Disagree, dk = Don't Know					
a	Political motives should be part of the definition of terrorism	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
b	The <i>Anti-Terrorism Act</i> unfairly targets women immigrants	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
c	Ideological motives should be part of the definition of terrorism	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
d	"Terrorism" should be grounds for inadmissibility to Canada	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
e	The government should not compile a list of "terrorist" organizations	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
f	"Facilitating" terrorism should not be a criminal offence	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
g	"Security" concerns should not affect whether a refugee claim will be heard	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
h	The police should have more powers to investigate terrorism	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
i	The list of "terrorist" organizations will unfairly target immigrants					
j	"Financing" terrorist activities should be a criminal offence	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
k	There should be a right of appeal in cases of inadmissibility due to security	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
l	Making motive part of the definition of terrorism will negatively affect immigrants	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
m	Religious motives should not be part of the definition of terrorism	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉
n	The new <i>Immigration and Refugee Protection Act</i> unfairly targets women	SA ₁	A ₂	D ₃	SD ₄	dk ₉₉

31. Please use the space below, and the back of this sheet if necessary, to tell us what effect the new Anti-Terrorism Act and/or the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act are having among the people you work with.

PART V	Demographics Finally, we would like some basic background information about you.
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32. What is your age?

₁ less than 25 ₂ 26 – 35 ₃ 36 – 45 ₄ 46 - 55 ₅ 56 or more

33. What is your sex?

₁ male ₂ female

34. Are you a Canadian citizen?		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ yes	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ no
If yes, skip to question 46. If no, what is your immigration status in Canada?			
35. Were you born in Canada?		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ yes	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ no
36. What is your first language?			
<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ English		<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Other	

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please return it to Saint Mary's University in the self-addressed stamped envelope provided.

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Part I: Introduction

1. Can you tell me about ethnic diversity in the community where you live? In your experience, are people in the community where you live accepting of cultural differences? In your experience are they more or less accepting than in other parts of Canada? Have you noticed any changes since 9/11?
2. In your experience are women in the community where you live faced with more or less discrimination than elsewhere? (*Probe: Do many women work for pay? Are there many female professionals? Are there many university-educated women?*) Are the women of your own ethno-cultural community faced with more or less discrimination than elsewhere? What about relations in your family? Have there been any changes since 9/11?

Part II: National Security Policies

3. Have you, or any member of your family, had any experiences, with the *Anti-Terrorism Act* (ATA), the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) or other national security policies which were put in place after 9/11? Can you tell me about the effects of these policies on yourself and other members of your family? We would like to know about effects both in public as well as in your family.
4. In your experience have members of your community, both men and women, had to change their social or cultural activities in any way since the national security policies came into effect? If so, how? (*Probe: Has their relationship to a religious institution, charitable organization, school, community space, parks etc. changed?*) Do you think your community is more affected than other immigrant or ethnic groups, or the Canadian born (visible minority and white) and why?
5. How well does the government do in protecting the security of immigrants, refugees, ethnic minorities, new Canadians and women in all of these categories? Do you feel more secure from terrorism in particular?
6. In your experience, how have the national security policies affected the relationship and interaction of your community with other ethnic and immigrant communities, with Canadian-born people (visible minority and white)? How have they affected the relationship of your community to the Canadian government? Which level of government has the community dealt with the most?
7. What type of security (e.g. economic, national, personal or ethno-cultural) is the most important for you and why?

8. Can the Canadian government do anything to improve your security? What could or should the Canadian government do to guarantee security for all Canadian men and women? (*Probe: Prevent corruption; provide stable employment opportunities; guarantee basic human rights; guarantee equality before the law; respect democratic principles; be honest; be accountable; be transparent; ensure border security; prevent public health threats; prevent discrimination; focus on external threats; ensure employment equity in the non-government sectors*).
9. What can the Canadian government do to prevent terrorism?

Part III: Freedom, Equality and Citizenship
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10. What does freedom mean to you? (*Probe: For example, free movement; freedom of the press; freedom of expression; economic; religious; political; balancing act between rights and responsibilities; freedom from patriarchal oppression; freedom from racism; other*). Which is the most important aspect of freedom for you and why?
11. From your perspective, how good a job does the Canadian government do at guaranteeing the freedom of new Canadians, immigrants, refugees, and ethnic minority men and women?
12. What does equality mean to you? (*Probe: e.g. equality before the law; political equality; equality as a balancing act between rights and responsibilities; economic equality; same treatment of everyone; equality between the sexes; allowing for religious or cultural difference; allowing for differences between the sexes; other*). What is the most important aspect of equality for you and why?
13. From your perspective, how good a job does the Canadian government do at guaranteeing the equality of new Canadians, immigrants, refugees, and ethnic minority men and women?
14. What does citizenship mean to you? (*Probe: e.g. balancing act between rights and responsibilities; a sense of being accepted as a human being; a sense of belonging to your country; other*). Which is the most significant aspect of citizenship for you and why?
15. From your perspective, how good a job does the Canadian government do at safeguarding the citizenship rights of new Canadians and ethnic minority men and women? If you did not have Canadian citizenship, would you still pursue it? Would your friends and people you know pursue it? Why?
16. In what area (freedom, equality, citizenship) have you, other members of your family and/or community experienced most change since the new laws and policies came into effect?

17. What (if anything) would you like to see changed in the definition of terrorism or the national security legislation?

Thank you very much for your time and participation in this study. Do you have any final comments or observations on related issues that we have not covered in this interview?

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ENDNOTES

¹ Admittedly, the Human Security Program of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade still exists, and indeed the Canadian government continues to promote human security issues through various international organizations, such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States, but particularly since the departure of Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy the human security agenda has received less attention, has become more narrow, and has been sidelined as a substantive policy priority.

² Im/migration encompasses both immigration and migration matters.

² The concept was articulated in a, now classic, article with Susan Phillips on changing citizenship regimes (Jenson and Phillips 1996) and others that have applied this citizenship regime framework to different policy areas (Jenson and Papillon 2000; Jenson and Saint-Martin 2003). Recent work by Dobrowolsky and Jenson (2004) develops the citizenship regime further.

³ Admittedly, a significant amount of parliamentary time and resources were devoted to the ATA. Not only did the Senate strike a special committee to look at Bill C-36, which provided its recommendations prior to the House of Commons Committee undertaking its clause-by-clause deliberations, but another Senate committee also examined Bill C-36, as amended, after it was approved by the House of Commons.

⁴ Abu-Laban (2002: 476); Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002); Macklin (2001).

⁵ See Haddad (2003).

⁶ For Canadian examples, see Andrew and Rodgers (1997); Armstrong and Connelly (1999); Dobrowolsky (2000).

⁷ In a rare article that highlights the absence of women, Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin (2002: 601) illustrated how and explained why questions of sex and gender have been overlooked when it comes to September 11 and the war on terror. They wrote: "Women's voices and experiences are regarded as unimportant when issues of 'homeland security', war and retribution are at stake." They also emphasized that "(t)he absence of women from all sides in decision making about this conflict reflects the global underrepresentation of women in public life."

⁸ The Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in relation to Maher Arar, chaired by the Honourable Dennis R. O'Connor, Associate Chief Justice of Ontario, was established on February 5, 2004. It is both a factual inquiry. (It is looking into the actions of Canadian officials) and a policy review (it is also mandated to recommend an arm's length review mechanism for the activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police with respect to national security.) Justice O'Connor completed hearings of testimonies for the factual inquiry in September 2005, and planned public hearings in October 2005 for

the policy review. On October 27, 2005, Justice O'Connor released the Fact Finder's Report on Maher Arar's treatment in Jordan and Syria. Professor Stephen Toope, the Fact Finder, concluded that Arar was indeed subjected to torture in Syria. The Commission's web site is <<http://www.ararcommission.ca/eng/>>.

⁹ Lorne Sossin, Associate Dean, Faculty of Law, University of Toronto, as quoted in Gabor (2004: 9).

¹⁰ On Europe, see Robin-Olivier (2005); on a comparison of Australia and Europe, see Humphrey (2003); on a comparison of Australia and Canada, see Kneebone (2002).

¹¹ Bahdi (2003: 305). See also Adelman (2002).

¹² For instance, Whitaker (2003: 264) wrote: "Canada does practice effective ethnic profiling in its own anti-terrorist security measures, but it typically does so in a more guarded, less public manner than the Americans."

¹³ See Daniels et al. (2001); Roach (2002a,b); Paciocco (2002); Pue (2003).

¹⁴ Cited in Bhabha (2002: 11).

¹⁵ Whitaker paraphrased in Gabor (2004: 10).

¹⁶ Rex Brynen, David Charters, Stuart Farson, Robert Martyn, Kent Roach, Martin Rudner, Lorne Sossin, James Stribopoulos, Don Stuart, Wesley K. Wark and Reg Whitaker.

¹⁷ Whitaker paraphrased in Gabor (2004: 10).

¹⁸ Canada (2004b: 2). Our research team nominated one of our members, Edna Keeble, to the Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security when the government made a call for nominations in the fall of 2004. With a competitive process involving 240 nominations from throughout the country, Edna was appointed to the 15-member Roundtable by former Deputy Prime Minister and Public Safety Minister Anne McLellan and former Justice Minister Irwin Cotler in February 2005 (PSEPC 2006). The Roundtable is supported by a secretariat in the Department of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada (PSEPC). We see this as an important venue to communicate the results of our project once the findings have been officially released. The continuing existence and work of the Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security do not appear to be immediately threatened with the election of a minority Conservative Government on January 23, 2006. To date, Public Safety Minister Stockwell Day has expressed his support of the Roundtable's activities, attending the Roundtable's meeting in Montréal on February 2, 2006, shortly after taking over his portfolio.

¹⁹ Canada (2004b): 3). We were also following closely the parliamentary review processes in both the Senate and the House of Commons prior to the fall of the Liberal

Government, and will continue to monitor developments under the new Conservative Government. Interestingly, Prime Minister Harper created more standing committees in the House of Commons, notably separating Public Safety and Justice. It was, after all, the Sub-Committee on Public Safety and National Security (SNSN) of the Justice, Human Rights, Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness (JUST) Committee of the House of Commons that was examining the ATA and security certificates. The new standing committees are Justice and Human Rights (JUST) and Public Safety and National Security (SECU).

²⁰ This is borne out by the fact that the 15-member National Security Advisory Council is composed of 14 men and 1 woman (PCO 2005).

²¹ All research involving human subjects, (i.e., town halls sessions, focus groups, surveys and interviews) was vetted and approved by the Research Ethics Board of Saint Mary's University. Questionnaires and interview guides are appended to this report.

²² Sixty-one interviews were conducted in the winter and spring of 2005 across the six sites (about 10 in each city) but three of them had technical or methodological problems that rendered them invalid.

²³ General training in qualitative interviewing was provided during the six site visits of the Halifax main research team in the winter of 2004, while specific instructions were provided by e-mail and conference calls in the winter of 2005 before the start of the interviews. A guide to qualitative interviewing was produced and distributed by the main research team for training purposes.

²⁴ Definitions used in the selection process of interviewees for this project follow.

“Immigrant” refers to men and women who have permanent resident status or have acquired Canadian citizenship (i.e., naturalized Canadians) and belong to a racialized group, do not speak English (or French in French-speaking areas) well or speak English (or French in French-speaking areas) as a second language.

The term “racialized” is that used in the literature to refer to those systematically discriminated on the basis of a social, and historically variable, construction of “otherness.”

“Refugee” in this project refers to “persons in Canada who have claimed or have obtained refugee protection.” Such persons in this project are:

- a Convention refugee or person needing protection selected at a visa office abroad; or
- a person in Canada accepted by the Immigration and Refugee Board as Convention refugee or person in need of protection; or
- a person who has made a claim for refugee protection and has been determined eligible by an immigration officer or has been referred to the IRB; or
- a person in Canada granted protection under a Pre-Removal Risk Assessment (PRRA) (The PRRA is available to claimants for refugee protection rejected by the IRB, persons found ineligible for consideration by the IRB, repeat claimants and other persons found inadmissible and ordered removed.); or
- people who are not eligible for a PRRA, because they are ineligible for a refugee hearing by the Refugee Protection Division having come directly or indirectly from a safe third country; they are repeat refugee claimants returning to Canada less than six months after departure; they have been recognized as Convention refugees by a country to which they can return; or they have been named in a security certificate that the Federal Court has deemed reasonable.

²⁵ Our sample consists of 57 respondents; therefore we have an error rate of more than $\sqrt{10}$ percent, 19 times out of 20. We have reported only general impressions, rather than statistical specifics, because our sample size is relatively small. Additionally, the large amount of “missing data,” in the form of “don’t know” responses effectively reduced the sample size even further. The number of “don’t know” responses may indicate that many of the patterns we are trying to measure have not yet clearly emerged. Alternatively, we may not have identified the most relevant issues, or the respondents may not feel comfortable speculating about their clients or their communities.

²⁶ We asked specifically about the ATA, the permanent resident card, changes to the IRPA and increased airport security.

²⁷ We asked about deportations, arrests, travel problems, delays in or denial of government services, immigrants returning to their countries of origin, racial profiling, increased government surveillance, harassment and refugee claims.

²⁸ We asked specifically about preventing government corruption, political violence, public health threats and discrimination, providing stable employment opportunities, guaranteeing basic human rights and equality before the law, respecting democratic principles, being honest, accountable and transparent, and ensuring border security.

²⁹ We asked about political, religious and ideological motive, the list of terrorist organizations, the inclusion of financing and facilitating as new offences, increased police powers, the inclusion of acts in and out of Canada, security concerns affecting refugee hearings, the lack of appeals in cases deemed security risks and the inclusion of “terrorism” as grounds for inadmissibility.

³⁰ We asked about the ATA, IRPA, permanent resident cards and airport security.

³¹ Russia and the former Soviet Union are counted as two different countries and the same goes for Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia. This reflects the different periods of migration of the respective immigrants and the fact that they may come from contemporary countries of the former socialist countries other than Bosnia or Russia.

³² Participants are identified by using a composite acronym — number. The acronym, “SIC” derives from the initials of the basic concepts focussed on in this project, mainly security, immigration and citizenship.

³³ Interview excerpts have been minimally edited for readability purposes.

³⁴ N refers to number of those responding in a particular way.

³⁵ *Suresh v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)* [2002] 1 S.C.R. 3.

³⁶ For this reason, the term “terrorist” is inherently gendered. Despite the existence of female suicide bombers, the “typical” terrorist is male and terrorism is generally perceived to be a male enterprise.

³⁷ Roach (2003: 30) quoting the Act.

³⁸ It is also useful to note that our research participants, across all points of data collection, were more uncomfortable with terrorism-related provisions in the IRPA than in the ATA.

³⁹ This nexus is epitomized by the strong collaborative partnership between Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) (Canada 2004a).

⁴⁰ Ironically, this is the case even though the women have been appointed to key cabinet posts as with former Deputy Prime Minister and Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Minister Anne McLellan as well as former Citizenship and Immigration Minister Judy Sgro.

⁴¹ According former Minister Sgro, another justification for speeding up the system is to reduce potential abuse. She went on to explain, “removing unsuccessful refugee claimants in a timely manner is a critical factor in developing refugee policy” (2004: 5).

**Policy Research Fund (PRF) Status of Women Canada
Projects Funded from August 2002 Call for Proposals
Engendering the Human Security Agenda**

The Impact of the National Security Agenda on Racialized Women: Bringing Us Out of the Policy Ghetto and into the Development of National Policy, Strategies and Solutions

Hamdi Mohamed, Anuradha Bose, Nayyar Javed, Jo-Anne Lee, Lise Martin
Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAOW)
National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women of Canada

Gendering Canada's Refugee Process

Catherine Dauvergne, Leonora C. Angeles, Agnes Huang

Security and Immigration, Changes and Challenges: Immigrant and Ethnic Communities in Atlantic Canada, Presumed Guilty?

Diane Crocker, Alexandra Dobrowolsky, Edna Keeble, Carmen Celina Moncayo, Evangelia Tastsoglou

Human Security and Aboriginal Women in Canada

Connie Deiter and Darlene Rude