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Maintaining Multiculturalism The Muting of Anti-Syrian Refugee Sentiment in Canadian Public Discourse Georgia Carter, *Concordia University*

Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the attitudes held by Canadians regarding Arab and Muslim Canadians, as well as prospective Arab and Muslim immigrants. With a view to the current Syrian refugee crisis, and Canada's ongoing reception of Syrian refugees, this paper looks to contemporary online discourses regarding these refugees as a manner of gauging a subset of Canadian attitudes towards Arabs and Muslims – both in Canada and beyond. These attitudes are further discussed in relation to the popularly projected image of Canadians as welcoming of refugees, and Canada as an open society where difference is valued supremely. Thus, this paper argues that contemporary government and media discourses regarding Syrian refugees coming to Canada are, in fact, overlooking opposing attitudes held by Canadians, ignoring these more exclusionary views, and presenting a one dimensional and, indeed, misleading image of Canada and Canadians.

Keywords: Syrian refugee crisis, immigration, multiculturalism, Canadian society.

anada represents itself, via its government and its media, as a nation that is emblematic of the strengths of multiculturalism. The reception of Syrian refugees since 2015 has further bolstered this image, as Canada is represented by Canadian and international media as a safe haven for minorities. However, surveys and online petitions have indicated the presence of a significant anti-immigration attitude among Canadians regarding Syrian refugees (and indeed, Muslims and Arabs¹ in general). Yet, discussions of this trend have been largely absent from Canadian government and media discourses. Furthermore, when anti-refugee sentiment is examined, such attitudes are regarded as shocking, and are generally described as a surprising and new phenomenon. However, looking to statistical evidence and scholarship regarding Canadian attitudes towards Muslims and Arabs in the years following September 11, 2001, it becomes clear that negative attitudes regarding these groups are hardly new at all. In many ways, contemporary negative discourses regarding Syrians in Canada are an extension of the earlier – and deeply entrenched – public consciousness regarding Muslims and Arabs in Canada following 9/11. In what appears to be an effort to maintain the glorified image of Canadian multiculturalism, anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and anti-Syrian refugee sentiments have been muted and largely ignored.

Following the events of 9/11, Muslim and Arab Canadians "found themselves on the receiving end of unjust treatment meted out by their neighbours."2 While hate and bias towards a particular group can be difficult to detect and examine, statistical evidence provided by police reports, national surveys, and government statistics document a clear and dramatic increase in hate crimes against Muslims and Arabs from 2001 onward. One of the leading Canadian organizations that endeavoured to track hate crimes and acts of discrimination against Muslims during this period was the Council on American-Islamic Relations Canada (CAIR-CAN). In a press release issued on November 20, 2001, just two months following the attacks in New York, CAIR-CAN reported over 100 anti-Muslim incidents across Canada.³ Indeed, in Toronto alone, there were 57 hate and bias related incidents reported to the police during this period, including bomb threats, arson, and acts of physical assault.⁴ Another survey conducted in August 2002 by Ipsos-Reid found that "45 percent of Quebecers, 37 percent of Albertans, 33 percent of Ontarians, and 22 percent of British Columbia residents agreed with the statement: 'The September 11 attacks made me more mistrustful of Arabs or Muslims coming from the Middle-East."5 Such surveys provide cogent evidence of the mistrustful attitudes toward Muslims and Arabs that were adopted by a significant number of Canadians after 9/11. Furthermore, these attitudes were directly influenced by the terrorist attacks in New York and clearly instigated a dramatic influx in hateful and violent incidents directed at Muslim and Arab Canadians.

At the base of such attitudes of mistrust lies what John Biles and Ibrahim Humera call a "subtle mythology" regarding Muslims and Arabs: a particular imagining of people who are seen as participating in these identity categories. This mythology, as described by Biles and Humera,

"equates immigrants—especially refugees—with terrorism." Specifically, Muslims and Arabs in Canada have come to be seen by many Canadians as a homogenous group that is part of the same community as Osama Bin Laden, and terrorists more generally.⁶ "The association of Islam with terrorism has come to be accepted as part of the discourse on security and terrorism," elaborates Mahmoud Eid, "to the extent that terms such as 'Muslim' and 'terrorist' have become almost synonymous."⁷

In addition to this association being dangerously general, the extent to which it has been applied to Muslim and Arab Canadians speaks to a general tendency among Canadians to pass judgement based on visual assessments of different ethnic and religious groups. Statistics from Canada's Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) (2002) examined by Jeffrey G. Reitz et al⁸ found that non-European religious minorities in Canada are slower to integrate into Canadian society compared to immigrants of European origin based largely on being visible minorities and belonging to a minority religion.⁹ The question of social integration of new religious minorities (in particular, those from the Middle East and South East Asia) has been a point of growing debate in Canada, based on an apparently widespread perception that "certain religious minorities have values, beliefs, or practices that are difficult to integrate into Canadian society because they clash with Canadian ideas about gender equality or secularism in public institutions."¹⁰ On the other hand, Reitz et al assert in their discussion of the findings of the EDS that "a debate based on the inability of certain minority religious groups to accommodate themselves to the majority society is inappropriate."¹¹ Such discourses, according to Reitz et al, are based in the dominant society's own racial biases, which hold minorities (especially groups such as visible minority Muslims) to different and more rigid standards.¹² Indeed, it is now clear how, in the wake of 9/11, the question of Muslims and Arabs came to be framed as a question of integration-a perspective that was aimed disproportionately at these particular groups, often on the basis of their visible ethnic minority status.¹³

Following 9/11, an important agent in the perpetuation of homogenizing images of Muslims and Arabs in Canada has been, unsurprisingly, the Canadian media. Indeed, a CAIR-CAN investigation in 2001 involving 296 Canadian Muslims indicated that 56 percent felt Canadian media coverage had been negatively influenced by 9/11, becoming more biased against Muslims and Islam generally.¹⁴ Many Canadian Muslims have blamed Canadian media coverage following 9/11 for acting as the primary

facilitator in creating and perpetuating one-dimensional, negative, and othering representations of Muslims and Arabs. Indeed, in a 2008 survey examining the sentiments of minority groups conducted by Ipsos-Reid discovered a significant portion of Canadian Muslims who have experienced stereotyping and discrimination blame the media's negative portrayal of Muslims "because they ingrain the public with fake preconceptions about Islam."¹⁵

This perception of the media has been corroborated by research. Some coverage appears to reproduce and reinforce Orientalist rhetoric regarding "an insurmountable gap" between the cultures and peoples of the "East" and "West."¹⁶ Many scholars point to an increased perpetuation in the wake of 9/11 of negative stereotypes of Muslims that deepen this divide, echoing Edward Said's discussions on discriminatory media rhetoric in *Orientalism* (1978). In this monumental work, Said argues that cultural stereotypes regarding Muslims represent them as "violent, irrational, and backward" in contrast to the rational, civilized West.¹⁷ Furthermore, these negative stereotypes fuel harmful rhetoric that blames all Muslims and the Islamic religion for conflicts in the Middle East and global terrorism.

Though some members of the Western mainstream media have made efforts to offer objective portrayals of Muslims, there remains a dominant tendency to present Muslims negatively.¹⁸ These portrayals represent "Muslims in Western societies as exterior to the dominant group", and range from implicit to explicit discrimination.¹⁹ For instance, Helly highlights a consistent usage of Islam to "qualify positions and political actions" (i.e. "Muslim extremists" or "Islamic militants"), whereas religious qualifications are rarely included when discussing similar actions or positions of individuals and groups of other religions.²⁰ Indeed, Eid articulates the nature and implications of this biased framing:

Despite religious diversity in Canada, media organizations tend to ignore religious and ethnic minorities, often deeming them insignificant, unfavourable, and invisible. Islamophobia embodies a deeply embedded element of the mainstream culture of Canadian media coverage of Islam. Muslims face constant scrutiny in the public spotlight, which is largely fuelled by the proliferation of images, texts, and messages that stereotype Islamic followers as incompatible with Canadian society. Muslims in Canada

commonly find themselves in the precarious position of being made to feel that their national and religious identities are exclusive to one another.²¹

Such portrayals are powerful, and carry special poignancy in the absence of positive media coverage of Islam and Muslims. It is often not until there is negative information to proliferate that Muslims are brought into the Canadian media's discussions.²²

Eid argues that, following 9/11, Canadian media (and Western media, generally) often portray Muslims in two interrelated ways: as a homogenous community; and as rooted in fanaticism and oppression.²³ As a perceived homogenous group, distinctions between Muslims are left unacknowledged, "portraying Islam as one monolithic and undifferentiated cultural [and religious] identity."²⁴ This erasure of distinctions plays a significant role in equating Canadian Muslims with terrorists. Furthermore, Islam is represented in the media as a religious tradition that is not based in reason, but rather in outdated views based in fanaticism and irrational intolerance of others.²⁵ This aspect of media discourse has been especially represented in the Western fixation upon the veiled Muslim woman, with the *hijab* cast as a symbol of female oppression.²⁶

Thus, negative attitudes of Canadians toward Muslims prompted by 9/11 and proliferated thereafter are abundantly clear in surveys, statistics, and scholarly studies, as well as homogenizing, Orientalist media representations. Yet, the image of an ever-accepting multiculturalism is seemingly unaffected. Though the reasons for this are undoubtedly multidimensional, a significant contributing factor to the perpetuation of this image is, again, the media. While it is difficult to know or understand the motivations of the various "voices" of the Canadian media (or any media, for that matter), Eid proposes that one can assume a combination of individual and institutional motivations and attitudes.²⁷

While the above statistics suggest a trend in individual attitudes, it is important for this discussion to briefly outline potential institutional motivations. As highlighted by Biles and Humera, Canada's international reputation as a multicultural nation is recent; it was after an influx of European immigrants post-World War II that the image of Canada as a nation characterized by diversity began to emerge.²⁸ Thus, from the mid-twentieth century onward, Canada has been consistently discussed in terms

of its diverse population. "The Canadian approach to fashioning a country composed of extremely diverse peoples," explain Biles and Humera, "does have some core elements: an emphasis on bringing Canadians of diverse backgrounds together; fostering a culture of inclusion; and a commitment to core values of equality, accommodation and acceptance."²⁹ Indeed, there have been efforts by the Canadian Government to mold these tenets into a formalized "Canadian Diversity Model."³⁰ One of the clearest motivations for such a model is to encourage immigration to Canada. Yet, as positive as this national endeavour may be, there are some potential pitfalls.

In their discussion of Britain and Canada as immigrant-receiving societies, Suzanne Model and Lang Lin argue that while Canada appears more welcoming to immigrants than Britain, "appearances are deceiving."³¹ "In Canada, racist discourse is muted and overt racial conflict is rare," Model and Lin explain, "whereas in Britain, public figures are willing to assail foreigners and race riots appear endemic."32 Indeed, Model and Lin draw attention to a crucial point: while incidents of racism and discrimination exist in both societies, Canadians tend to refrain from representing these attitudes on the world stage, or in some cases, reframe them. A famous example of such reframing in the years following 9/11 is the killing of 16year-old Muslim girl, Aqsa Parvez, in Mississauga, Ontario, whose father, Muhammad Parvez, was arrested in December 2007 for her murder.³³ This story became the focus of a great deal of media attention in Canada, and the ways in which it was framed are quite telling. The narrative that was spun by Canadian media reinforced the Orientalist bifurcation between "the liberal tolerance of the West, and the premodern barbarism of Islam."34 Eve Haque explains the implications of the media's focus on this cultural division:

The representation of Muslim women's lives and deaths must be cast in ways that confirm a national narrative that, yes indeed, we are a tolerant nation with equal integrative opportunities for all. [...] In the media, the poignancy of the "tragedy" of Aqsa's death lies in her "homegrown" status and the thwarting of her attempt to integrate into a "normal Canadian girl" because of the barbaric cultural practices of her religious culture.³⁵

Ms. Parvez's death was framed as a foreign culture's attack upon a Canadian girl. In this way, the success of Canadian pluralism and diversity was left unquestioned, as this incident of violence was recast as an outside attack

upon Canada's inclusive society. Indeed, paradoxically, an image of Canadian unity was preserved by utilizing divisive "us" versus "them" terminology rather than discussing Ms. Parvez's death in terms of a Canadian killing a Canadian.³⁶

The discussion above of Canadian attitudes towards Muslims and Arabs following 9/11 may be extended to the ongoing arrival of Syrian refugees in Canada. In keeping with the representation of Canada as a welcoming and diverse society, most of the material produced by the Canadian Government and media portrays a very accepting and positive attitude towards Syrian refugees. Given the very recent date of Canada's reception of these refugees, such sources represent the near totality of information available when examining Canada's position on this matter. While future scholarly works will certainly fill the current void, there is still much that can be examined within contemporary media and government sources, as well as public discourses online.

The official website for the Liberal Party of Canada proudly declares that "Canadians have been deeply moved by the suffering of refugees in Syria and the surrounding region. Canada has a strong history of helping those in need, from Hungarian refugees in the 1950s to Ismaili Muslim refugees in the 1970s to those fleeing South East Asia by boat in the 1970s and 1980s."³⁷ Referencing Canada's recent history of welcoming immigrants, the current Canadian government puts forward a vision of Canada as a willing and able recipient of refugees. In addition, the Canadian Government has declared an ambitious plan to intake 25,000 refugees through government sponsorship, while also promising ample private sponsorship.³⁸ It would seem that the Government of Canada has gone to great lengths to make a statement to both Syrian refugees and the rest of the world that Canada is a safe place for those in need, where everyone is welcome.

This attitude is bolstered in the Canadian press. In an article published in *Maclean's* magazine, it is declared that "Canada's Syrian refugee program has been a resounding success. Driven to act by a single heartbreaking image—a three-year-old boy, dead on a beach—Canadians rallied in droves to #WelcomeRefugees, as the hashtag said, offering a safe haven to thousands of desperate, grateful people."³⁹ The image of Canadians as a welcoming and loving people is certainly reinforced in such writing. That image is strengthened by discussions of international reactions to Canada's generosity. In the same *Maclean's* article, Canada is described as having

"literally redrawn the blueprint for how a Western country can respond, in rapid time, to a refugee crisis halfway around the world."⁴⁰ Canada's willingness to act quickly and efficiently is contrasted to the attitudes of nations such as the United States, which is described as struggling to resettle a fraction of the refugees Canada has due to less welcoming attitudes.⁴¹

In an article written for CBC News, Canada's welcoming reception of Syrian refugees is described as having prompted a positive response in Arab media, "with one Jordanian news site going so far as to call Prime Minister Justin Trudeau 'Superman," while the London-based news website, Middle East Online, has praised Canada for "challenging terrorphobia."⁴² Canada's reception of refugees (in particular, Prime Minister Trudeau's now-famous speech welcoming the first planeloads of Syrian refugees to arrive in Canada in 2015), has been cast in the Canadian media as setting the standard for how to handle such a crisis, a standard which other countries, from the United States to countries in Europe and the Middle East, are described as falling very short of. Indeed, representations of Canada's reception of Syrian refugees by the Canadian government and media illustrate entirely positive images of Canada as a place for refugees, and Canadians as their happy new neighbours.

Unfortunately, it does not take much investigation to discover that such representations do not show the complete picture. A survey conducted by Nanos is 2016 suggests that 61 per cent of Canadians do not believe Canada has enough resources to support the influx of Syrian immigrants, and that the lives of Canadians will be negatively affected as a result.⁴³ In another 2016 survey conducted by MARU/VCR&C measuring public perceptions of ethnicity and immigration in Ontario, a similarly cautious attitude is discovered. An article in *The Toronto Star* reveals that "three-quarters of the survey participants said we need to focus on taking care of the people 'here' instead of spending resources on refugees."⁴⁴ Ontario alone, with 12,000 Syrian refugees, has experienced several incidents of assault targeting Muslims at the time the survey was conducted.

The public concern regarding Canadian resources and refugees can be exemplified by an online petition entitled "Extend Deadline: Resettlement of Syrian Refugees." Active from late 2015 to 2016, the petition collected over 80,000 signatures.⁴⁵ The petition asked the Canadian Government to limit the number of refugees Canada planned to receive, as well as postpone the proposed date by which they would arrive in Canada. The anonymous

coordinator of the petition declared: "I do believe some refugees will benefit and appreciate a second chance at rebuilding a new life, some may just be economic migrants or worse terrorists claiming to be refugees."⁴⁶ It is clear how the conflation of terrorism, Islam, and the Middle East continues to produce an immediate association between Muslims, Arabs, and terrorist groups—possibly a relic of discourse related to 9/11.

Another similar online petition, "Stop resettling 25,000 Syrian refugees in Canada," declared that "Petition is needed to stop resettling 25,000 refugees in our peaceful land! When you are the leader of the country, the SAFETY of Canadians should be your number one priority! It is unrealistic to do the proper refugee's screening in such a short period of time."⁴⁷ Indeed, both petitions identify the safety and security of Canadians as a central concern. The "Extend Deadline" petition asserts that postponing the arrival of refugees would allow more time to "properly and thoroughly" screen all refugees.⁴⁸ While this point remains highlighted in the "Stop resettling" petition, there is also a imagined association between Syrian refugees and terrorism. "We can not afford to import terrorists to Canada. Not even a single one," the petition urges. "Our policy on admitting refugees should be: security first, then compassion."⁴⁹ This petition, now closed, gathered over 48,000 signatures in the span of a few months.⁵⁰

The two petitions also raise doubts that Syrian refugees share the same values as Canadians—an attitude that clearly resonates with othering portrayals of Muslims and Arabs post-9/11. "Why are the rich surrounding Arab States not letting any [refugees] in?" asks the "Extend Deadline" petition. "Why [are they] seek[ing] refuge in Countries founded on different Cultural Values and beliefs?"⁵¹ The assumption that Syrian refugees hold cultural beliefs that are incompatible with those of Canadians is unfounded. And yet, this concern appears as one of the central underpinning assumptions of both petitions—a clear reflection of similarly mistrustful attitudes expressed towards Muslim and Arab immigrants following 9/11.

It is surprising that in light of anti-Syrian refugee sentiments expressed by some Canadians, there remains an obvious void in public discourse regarding negative and unwelcoming perspectives. Indeed, discussion of these attitudes is almost completely absent from both media and government discourses. Drawing contemporary public discourses regarding Syrian refugees into conversation with both scholarly and public discussions of Muslims and Arabs post-9/11 can help us to understand of why this

may be the case. Canadian concerns regarding Syrian refugees mirror concerns regarding Muslims and Arabs following 9/11 in two general and significant ways. First, the ways in which current discussions of Syrian refugees homogenize this group—erasing distinctions and conflating them with terrorists—represents a clear reflection of corresponding Canadian attitudes following 9/11. Second, concerns regarding Syrian's cultural values being different than or in conflict with Canadian values represent a continued expression of such concerns regarding Muslim and Arab immigrants from 2001 onward.

In addition, strategies employed by the Canadian government and media to present and preserve Canada's multicultural identity following 9/11 are similarly employed in contemporary government and media discourses regarding Syrian refugees. Following 9/11, Canada's multicultural identity remained preserved and largely unquestioned by reframing stories that trouble this image (such as the death of Asqa Parvez). Furthermore, a comparative strategy was frequently employed to cast Canadian society as better than other nations and cultures for immigrants and minority groups (in particular, the United States and Britain). Indeed, government and media discourses regarding Syrian refugees similarly employ this comparative strategy, presenting Canada as an example to be followed, in contrast to less welcoming nations around the world. However, rather than reframing negative or contradictory attitudes, these attitudes have been largely omitted from current public discussions. This omission, while a more abrupt technique, serves a similar purpose. While one cannot know for certain the motivations for such a void in public discourse, it is clear that, intentionally or not, focusing on positive and welcoming representations of Canadian attitudes towards Syrian refugees significantly bolsters Canada's image as a multicultural success and safe haven for all. It is not the intention of this paper to argue for or against this discursive trend. Rather, given the importance and ongoing nature of the Syrian refugee crisis and the resettlement of many in Canada, examining the current nature of Canadian public discourses (both overt and ignored) will certainly serve future discussion regarding Syrian refugees, Canadian attitudes towards others, and the nature of multiculturalism in Canada.

Notes

- 1. The term "Muslim" in the context of this paper is used to refer to those who adhere to the religion of Islam, while "Arab" refers to those living in (or have previously lived in) an Arab state. Throughout this paper, these terms are used to refer to both Muslim Canadians and Arab Canadians, as well as Muslims and Arabs globally (in discussions of refugees, prospective immigrants, and so on).
- 2. John Biles and Ibrahim Humera, "Testing 'the Canadian diversity model': Hate, bias and fear after September 11th," *Canadian Issues*, (2002): 54-58, https://0-search.proquest.com.mercury.concordia.ca/docview/208699683?accountid=10246
- 3. Ibid.
- 4. Ibid.
- 5. Denise Helly, "Are Muslims discriminated against in Canada since September 2001?" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 36, no. 1 (2004): 35.
- 6. Biles and Humera, "Testing 'the Canadian diversity model," unpaginated.
- Mahmoud Eid, "Perceptions About Muslims in Western Societies," in *Re-Imagining* the Other: Culture, Media, and Western-Muslim Intersections, ed. Mahmoud Eid and Karim H. Karim (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 105.
- 8. See Jeffrey G. Reitz, Rupa Banerjee, Mai Phan, and Jordan Thompson, "Race, Religion, and the Social Integration of New Immigrant Minorities in Canada," *The International Migration Review* 43, no. 4 (2009).
- 9. Reitz et al, "Race, Religion, and the Social," 719.
- 10. Ibid., 700.
- 11. Ibid., 721.
- 12. Ibid.
- 13. See Helly, "Are Muslims discriminated against?"
- 14. Ibid., 36.
- 15. Eid, "Perceptions About Muslims in Western Societies," 110-111.
- 16. Helly, "Are Muslims discriminated against?" 35.
- 17. Eid, "Perceptions About Muslims in Western Societies," 105.
- 18. Ibid., 100.
- 19. Ibid.
- 20. Helly, "Are Muslims discriminated against?" 36.
- 21. Eid, "Perceptions About Muslims in Western Societies," 102.
- 22. Ibid., 111.
- 23. Ibid., 102.
- 24. Ibid.
- 25. Ibid.
- 26. Ibid.
- 27. Ibid., 99.
- 28. Biles and Humera, "Testing 'the Canadian diversity model," unpaginated.
- 29. Ibid.
- 30. Ibid.
- Suzanne Model and Lan Lin, "The Cost of Not Being Christian: Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in Britain and Canada," *The International Migration Review* 36, no. 4 (2002): 1085.
- 32. Ibid.
- 33. Eve Haque, "Homegrown, Muslim and Other: Tolerance, secularism, and the limits of multiculturalism," *Social Identities* 16, no. 1 (2010): 79.
- 34. Ibid., 80.

- 35. Ibid., 97.
- 36. For examples of news articles about Asqa Parvez that demonstrate this manner of depiction, see Michelle Henry & Bob Mitchell, "Muslim teen was abused, friends say," *The Toronto Star*, December 12, 2007, https://www.thestar.com/news/ gta/2007/12/12/muslim_teen_was_abused_friends_say.html, and Andrew Chung, "Friends 'cheated' out of teen's funeral," *The Toronto Star*, December 16, 2007, https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2007/12/16/friends_cheated_out_of_teens_ funeral.html.
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- 40. Ibid.
- 41. Ibid.
- 42. "Canada's welcoming refugee response praised in Arab media," *CBC News*, last modified December 17, 2015, http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/refugees-canada-arab-media-response-1.3368223.
- 43. Friscolanti, "Getting Syrians here was easy."
- 44. Nicholas Keung, "Ontario find 'epidemic of Islamophobia' survey finds," *The Toronto Star*, July 4, 2016, https://www.thestar.com/news/immigration/2016/07/04/ontario-facing-epidemic-of-islamophobia-survey-finds.html.
- 45. "Extend deadline: Resettlement of Syrian Refugees," accessed October 17, 2016, https://www.change.org/p/justin-trudeau-extend-resettlement-of-syrian-refugees.
- 46. Ibid.
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- 48. See: "Extend deadline."
- 49. See: "Stop resettling."
- 50. Ibid.
- 51. See: "Extend deadline."

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