The social construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores Canadian mainstream print media's discourse on Muslim minority groups in Canada in the pre- and post-9/11 timeframe. By using critical discourse analysis (CDA) of three Canadian English newspapers as well as focus group discussions, and individual interviews, this study explores the issues of racialization, Islamophobia, and the role of Canadian mainstream print media in the construction of stereotypical images of the Muslim minority groups in Canada. The data reveal the frequent usage of stereotypical racialized terms in three Canadian newspapers (two national and one local) directed toward Muslims in the post-9/11 period cultivated moral panics in Canadian society. Although Muslim were negatively portrayed in these newspapers before 9/11, the situation escalated in the post-9/11 era. Participants in the focus group discussion and individual interviews also stated that the post-9/11 moral panics augmented and perpetuated the negative feelings towards Muslims. An increased trend in racial and religious discrimination against Muslims was observed throughout Canada after the 9/11 incident in New York. The negative portrayal of Muslims stemmed from a lack of understanding of Muslim minority groups, their culture and/or international distortion of Muslims by media personnel, who did not differentiate between the small number of Muslims who engaged in or support terrorist acts, and the majority of Muslims who do not. By neglecting to recognize this conflation of the different perspectives of Muslims on these matters, the selected newspapers contributed to the escalation of moral panics in Canadian society, which resulted in increased negative attitudes towards Muslims.

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DEDICATION

The dedication of this thesis is to my father "Syed Ali Asghar Shah" who promised to attend my doctoral degree convocation, but unfortunately, he passed away on June 15th, 2015 before the completion of my PhD degree studies. His inspiration, love, and support continue to guide me towards the beauty and positivity of life.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

I was born in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, and I grew up in the era of the Iranian revolution and Afghanistan war in my region. Between 1980s and 1990s, I witnessed several unpleasant incidents in Pakistan in my childhood including political instability, military dictatorship, Islamic radicalization, and bomb blasts in major cities. The Afghanistan war left many dreadful marks on Pakistan including political instability and religious conflicts that seriously affected the perception of Pakistanis and Muslims[1] in the outer world.

After stepping into professional life, I traveled across Europe for my business work and experienced many incidents at international airports where I was treated unfairly because of being a Muslim Pakistani. During my visits to Western countries, I observed that the media in those countries were representing Muslims in very negative ways. The situation became worse after the terrorist attacks in the US on September 11, 2001. Western media were blaming the Muslim world for the terrorist attacks. I was in the United Kingdom during the incident of London bombings in July 2007, and I felt that the British people were treating me in unfriendly ways because of my religious and ethnic similarities with the people who were involved in those terrorist attacks in London. During a train ride in London, I was the only person who was asked to present my identity documents. Once, I was denied entrance into a local cinema in London because I did not have my ID with me. On another occasion, I was interviewed by security officials for more than three hours at Manchester airport without any valid reason. I had siblings and many other relatives living in the UK, and they told me that they were facing discrimination in their daily lives almost everywhere including schools, malls, public gatherings, hospitals, and even in government institutions. Most of them believed that the media played a major role in creating such stereotypical images of Muslims by portraying them negatively during the daily news coverage of terrorist incidents that happened anywhere in the world. Upon my return to school to pursue my doctoral studies, I decided to focus my research on this topic in order to determine the role of media in

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[1] Muslims or Muslim minority groups are homogeneous groups of people who follow the religion of Islam that includes all sects of Islam. For example, Shia, Sunni and other sects.

creating negative image of Muslims and the implications of such media coverage on Muslims immigrants living in Western countries. My dissertation, *titled the social construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada,* aims to examine mainstream Canadian print media coverage of Muslims before and after the 9/11[2]. The purpose is to ascertain the implications of negative representation of Muslims for their quality of life in Canada.

1.1 Social construction of Muslims in Canadian media in pre- and post-9/11 eras

In contemporary societies, some segments of the population (i.e. the majority) rule other segments of the population (the minorities) and decide how culture should grow, which social structure should be cultivated, and what is right or wrong for the society. Canada has a long history of uneven relations between European colonizers and Indigenous people that has adversely impacted the contemporary Canadian society. The colonial experience has driven Canadian society towards an era of unequal power and uneven race relations. The media, being an influential tool in the society, has emerged as the principal constructor of racial and ethnocultural identities. The dominant elite class has used the media to create and maintain its hegemonic power. In the case of Muslim minority groups in Canada (particularly those of Arabic or non-European ethnic origins), the media has played a significant role in their social construction as potential threat to Canadian society. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States (US) can be acknowledged as a landmark in modern history of race relations in the Western world, especially in North America. Media reporting during the period of attack portrayed peaceful Canadian Muslims as terrorists based on their racial, religious, and cultural similarities to the terrorists involved in 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US. The nature of the relationship between the mainstream population and Muslim minority groups in Canada shifted from differences related to race and ethnicity to the differences related to religion and culture since 9/11.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US has had serious implications for Muslim minority groups in Canada (Hanniman, 2008; Smith, 2013). Muslims, who were considered as peace-loving, respectful, helpful, active participants in the community, and law-abiding citizens before 9/11, became viewed as prospective terrorists after 9/11 because of their religious, racial and ethnic

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[2] The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on Twin Towers, and Pentagon in the United States.

affiliation (Hanniman, 2008; Smith, 2013). The attacks created tensions and divisions between Muslim minorities and the majority groups in North America (Smith, 2013).

Post-9/11 literature has clearly shown a rising trend in anti-Muslim sentiments in North America. Saunders (2012) believes that Muslim minorities now pose an exponential threat to the Canadian society. Muslims may not be able to integrate into Canadian democratic and liberal society because they do not share or in some cases, are opposed to the core values of Canadian society (Saunders, 2012; Taras, 2013). Saunders (2012) expressed his concerns that Muslims are forming parallel societies and following their own culture and values while living in Canada. Although the friction between Christianity and Islam can be traced to centuries back, a new trend in religious divide in the Western world has clearly been observed after 9/11 (Eid & Karim, 2011; Smith, 2013). Smith (2013) sees the 9/11 event as a catalyst that inflamed the renewed friction between majority Christian population and Muslims living in North America. The anti-Muslim attitude in the West is much older than the post-9/11 developments of Islamophobia[3] in North America (Taras, 2013). Therefore, whenever a criminal activity is carried out by some groups from the Islamic world, the old anti-Muslim sentiment flares up and is projected in shaping of racial and faith-based hate in the Western world (Ameli & Merali, 2014).

The Canadian Muslim minority groups perceived an increase in racism and stereotypical attitudes towards Muslims soon after the 9/11incident (Hanniman, 2008; Smith, 2013; Zine, 2002). Therefore, the incidents of racism and religion-motivated hate crimes were observed across Canada and include verbal mistreatment, physical intimidation, and destruction of properties (Zine, 2002). Increased trends in Islamophobia created ideological and systemic forms of oppression, prejudice and discrimination against Muslims (Said, 1985; Zine, 2002). Canadian Muslims were asked to produce their fingerprints and photographs while crossing the US border; thus, their Canadian citizenship were compromised by their religious identity (Guney, 2010; Zine, 2002).

The following are real-life examples of racialization[4] of Muslims after 9/11.

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[3] The distrust of Muslims as a threat resulting in fear of Muslims who are perceived as having a political agenda driven by their faith.
[4] Specific cultural, ethnic, and religious identities associated with people's skin color.

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- *In 2002, Canadian Muslim "Maher Arar" was deported by the US security officials to his country of birth "Syria" instead of his country of citizenship "Canada" (Siddiqui, 2008; Zine, 2002). The US government suspected Mr. Arar had a link with terrorist organization "Al-Qaeda" and was denied contact with a lawyer (Leung, 2004; Zine, 2002). According to CBS News, the Canadian government was blamed for giving false information to US officials about Mr. Arar's connections to the terrorist organization. After being taken into custody, Mr. Arar was badly tortured by the Syrian security agencies for one year. However, somehow, he was released to Canada after one year and was declared innocent by the Syrian government. Later, the Canadian Prime Minister officially gave an apology to Mr. Arar and compensated him with CAN$10.5 million for mistreatment by the Canadian government.*

- *"In 2003, the Citizenship and Immigration Canada publicly labeled 23 Muslims of Pakistani and Indian origin as terrorists without any valid pieces of evidence" (Ameli & Merali, 2014; Siddiqui, 2008).*

- *"In 2006, Toronto Police arrested 18 Muslims on charges of terrorism; the case lacked evidence and the Police had to drop the charges against half of the accused even before the beginning of the trial" (Siddiqui, 2008).*

- *"On 12 December 2011, the Canadian government banned the niqab[5] in citizenship ceremonies. Now women who wear full-face veils are required to remove them while they take their citizenship oath to Canada" (Thomas, 2015, p. 187).*

- *"In 2015, a Quebec judge refused to hear the case of a Muslim woman wearing the hijab[6]" (Rukavina, 2015).*

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[5] Full face veil
[6] Hijab is a veil that covers the head and neck of women.

- *"On January 29th, 2017, six Muslims were shot to death and several wounded in a Mosque shooting in Quebec City by a White non-Muslim Canadian" (Perreaux, Séguin, & Stevenson, 2017).*

Unlike other diasporas, the identities of Muslims living in North America are constructed based on wars in the Middle Eastern region and other parts of the Muslim world, and by media negative portrayals in Canada and the United States (Guney, 2010; Smith, 2013). Western movies and cartoons have also contributed immensely to the stereotyping and negative portrayal of Arabs and Muslims as they presenting them as villains, mobs, and jokers (Said, 1979; Smith, 2013). Such media representations have played significant roles in shaping the negative image or the racialization of Muslims in Western societies (Guney, 2010; Smith, 2013). Moreover, several factors including race, class, culture and gender intersect in the construction of racial and ethnic groups in a social hierarchy format. These factors are also used to justify the dominance of certain power groups in societies (Li, 1995; Said, 1985); the media is considered the most powerful instrument among such factors (Collins, 2013; Smith, 2013).

During and after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US, the mass media repeatedly highlighted images of Middle Eastern people termed *billionaires, bombers*, and *belly dancers* (Smith, 2013). Canadian media also followed a similar pattern as the US media by portraying negative images of Muslim men and women. The textual common stereotype language used for Muslim women was their being forced to wear a *veil*, and were therefore oppressed, uneducated or unable to think for themselves and that their husbands must beat them, without being allowed to go out of their homes (Ameli & Merali, 2014). Muslim men were presented as wife-beaters, looking like terrorists, and Arabs who hated America (Ameli & Merali, 2014). This pre-conceived negative image of Muslim minority groups was re-enforced in Canadian society after the 9/11 terrorists attack (Hanniman, 2008; Razack, 2008; Yousif, 2005).

Smith's (2013) study of public perception of Muslims in the US soon after the 9/11 terrorist attacks revealed that terrorism did not threaten most Americans. Instead, they were sympathetic towards innocent American Muslims for being defamed by the actions of some extremists and terrorists. It was when the racialized messages about Muslims were repeated several

times during the 9/11 media coverage that they gradually became acceptable by the general public as normal or common sense (Smith, 2013). The repeated usage of racialized terms like "Islamists, Muslim terrorists, Islamic extremists, and Islamic radicals" created an unfavorable perception of Islam among most North Americans (Eid & Karim, 2011). The media played a significant role in constructing new identities for Muslims (Guney, 2010) in Canada in the post-9/11 era (Zelizer & Allan, 2011; Zine, 2002). Zine (2002) cites the example of Maher Arar's case to highlight how an innocent victim was denied his rights by law enforcement procedures, and the media created a hype in this case by presenting him as a terrorist because of his race, ethnicity and religious affiliation.

1.2 Focus and purpose of dissertation

With the advent of terrorist activities in the world, certain ethnic and racial minority groups in the West become targets of silent resentment and were unfairly and needlessly stigmatized as "sympathizers," by virtue of their ethnic and racial similarities to the terrorists. In Western societies, people who have directly suffered from terrorist attacks are not the only victims, but other minority groups who are also often singled out as targets of public anger and resentment and consequently become indirect victims of terrorist acts. The Muslim minority groups living in Western countries are the prime examples of unintended "victims" since the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US.

This dissertation examines the Canadian mainstream's print media discourse on Muslim minority groups in Canada in pre- and post-9/11 eras. Specifically, the study focuses on the racialization and stereotyping of Muslim men and women, the racist media discourse, and the role of Canadian mainstream print media in the construction of new identities for the Muslim minority groups in Canada. This study shows that Muslim minority groups have been negatively portrayed in Canadian newspapers since 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US. The negative portrayal of Muslims stems from a lack of understanding of Muslim minority groups, their culture and/or international distortion of Muslims by media personnel, who do not differentiate between the small number of Muslims who engage in or support terrorist acts, and the majority of Muslims who do not. By neglecting to recognize this conflation of the different perspectives of Muslims on these matters, the selected newspapers contributed to the escalation of *moral panics* (see theoretical framework

section for detailed discussion) in Canadian society, which resulted in increasing negative attitudes towards Muslims.

1.2.1 Objectives of study

This study has two major objectives:

1- To explore the role played by the print media in the social construction of Muslims in Canada.
2- To examine, understand and highlight media's racial and religious undertones directed at Muslims that perpetuate *moral panics* in Canadian society.

The first objective focuses on newspapers' discourse on Muslims and Islam. It examines the role of three Canadian English newspapers in constructing stereotypical racialized identities of Muslims and negative portrayal of religion Islam. The second objective highlights the outcomes of biased print media discourse in the form of racism and prejudice against Canadian Muslims.

1.2.2 Research questions

This research study is an attempt to address the following question, which contains two key concepts coined by Stanley Cohen (2002) that are explained in more detail below, namely *folk devils* and *moral panics*:

Have Canadian print media discourses on Muslims in pre- and post-9/11 served to create their new identity as *folk devils* responsible for the *moral panics* in the society?

In addressing this main research question, the study also explores the following sub-questions:

- How were Canadian Muslims represented in the mainstream Canadian newspapers - *The Globe and Mail, National Post*, and *The Star Phoenix*, before 9/11?

- How have Canadian Muslims been presented in above mentioned three newspapers since 9/11?

- What characteristics are embodied in the social construction of the Muslim *folk devils* created in response to negative discourse used by the Canadian press?

1.3 Significance of study

Recent studies on critical discourse analysis of media representation of Muslim minority groups focused on the post-9/11 period (see Belkhodja & Richard, 2006; Eid & Karim, 2011; Selod, 2014; Smith, 2013; Smolash, 2011; Zelizer & Allan, 2011). Those studies did not provide a comparative analysis of the print media coverage of Muslim minority groups in the pre- and post-9/11 periods and validated by taking the perspective of lived experiences of Muslims. This study is aimed at filling this gap by conducting a discourse analysis of three Canadians newspaper and comparing the pre- and post-9/11 discourses on Muslims. Moreover, in order to generate additional knowledge, this study has collected data from members of the Muslim minority groups by conducting focus group discussions and individual interviews.

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 outlines the overall introduction of this research study that includes the background, the objectives, and the research questions. Chapter 2 sheds light on the literature related to the role of media in social construction of Canadian Muslims, the historical concept of race and ethnic relations, and some of the serious implications of media misrepresentation of Muslim minority groups in Canada in the pre- and post-9/11 eras. Moreover, this chapter also presents the theoretical framework for this research study, and explains how it applies to the current situation of Canadian society. Chapter 3 describes the methodology adopted for this study, including the data collection and methods of data analysis. Chapter 4 presents the key results of this study. Chapter 5 discusses the findings that emerged from the three Canadian English newspapers, and also examines the outcomes of the focus group discussions and individual interviews. And the last chapter 6 concludes the major findings of this study, proposes some recommendations to improve the race and religious relations within Canadian society, and also offers some suggestions for further studies in this area.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The body of literature in this study covers print media construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada in pre- and post-9/11 eras. The Canadian media discourse has played an influential role in constructing negative social identities of Muslim minority groups in Canada. This literature review attempts to highlight literary debates about the mainstream Canadian print media discourse on Muslims before and after 9/11, and its implications on race relations in Canadian society

This chapter has two sections, first section explores the literature related to race, racism, racialization, role of media, and stereotyping of Muslim minority groups in Canadian context. This literature review has helped to lay down the foundation of theoretical framework for this study. The second section points out the best suited theoretical explanation that helps to understand the media construction of Muslims in the pre- and post-9/11 periods. Furthermore, it also helps to uncover and understand the media undertones towards race and religion, and how it impacts the lives of immigrants and religious minorities in Canada.

2.1 Media: Constituents and Objectives

Human beings have always been curious to know about everyday life of rich and famous people around the world (Schudson, 2011). They have been particularly interested in sex, guts, and blood-related sensational news. Media is a broader term and is widely used to refer to the print and electronic media that include newspapers, periodicals, TV, and radio; however, with the advancement of technology, now social media is also being considered as the major player in media industry. Media is considered as the major source of information that plays a significant role in creating awareness among masses, and reshaping public opinion (Henry & Tator, 2006; Nasir, 2013; Zelizer & Allan, 2011). According to Nasir (2013, p. 407), "the basic objectives of media are (i) to inform, (ii) to educate, (iii) to entertain and (iv) to mold the opinion of the people". In contemporary societies, media has become an effective and influential communication tool that should be un-biased and positive. Sometimes media houses convey messages without any bias to

maintain their neutrality, but occasionally media groups also get involved in controversial areas, such as, favoring or opposing some political issue.

Schudson (2011) considers media as a tool that continuously engages in a process of social interaction through strong communication and discourse. Dijk (1989) explains the structure of social power by exploring the medium of communication and discourse. He points out that the powerful segment of society controls all forms of communication and discourses that include laws, policies, books, images, and mass media (Dijk, 1989, 1995). The powerless people in society, such as children, prisoners, defendants, minorities, and women, have "nothing to say," or have to remain silent when some more powerful people are speaking (Dijk, 1989; Henry & Tator, 2002). The social power lies in the hands of those who control all forms of communication and discourses in the society (Dijk, 1989). Mills (1999) considers media as a power-defining tool in the society and equates it with his notion of "power elite." Talking about the power relations among the different groups in society, Mills divides social power into three categories; first, "coercion" that forces people to do something they do not want to do; second, "authority" that is justified by the obedient person who accepts it willingly without coercion; and third is "manipulation" that makes people feel that they are acting out of their free will and do not realize they are being controlled (Calhoun, 2012; Mills, 1999). Mills (1999) mentions that the "power elite" are controlling the public without making them realize that they are being manipulated. Mills' "power elite" and Bourdieu's "symbolic elite" are the media owners, journalists, writers, and directors, who control the discourse and all means of communication in the society (Bourdieu, 1977; Mills, 1999).

Media appears to be a key player in molding public opinion on some specific issues for different reasons such as, financial gains, nationalism, or under political and social pressures. However, it is a very difficult task to question media's position in terms of acting as an agent that pursues a specific agenda, or performing the role of a neutral messenger, or operating as mirror of society.

2.1.1 Media as a powerful tool of communication

Because of a wide range of audience, media, that includes both print and electronic, has immense power to construct social realities and influence public opinion (Henry & Tator, 2006; Nasir, 2013). Although the media is expected to remain neutral and provide a free and equal

representation of all groups and classes, in reality, the media cannot remain impartial (Guney, 2010; Henry & Tator, 2006). In practice, the media has been used by power groups to pursue their political and commercial agendas in many cases. At the same time, media groups willingly take sides on certain issues to fulfill their goals (Schudson, 2011). The election coverage by media groups clearly show that which candidate or party they support. Similarly, some examples are when media houses support or oppose specific social movements or governmental policies that help different power groups to mold public opinion towards those issues.

The word "neutral" refers to an ideal situation where the media is expected to provide balance coverage of all political rivals and report every issue without (or less) bias. However, media organizations not only aim to make profits, but also work hard to maintain their credibility in the market (Schudson, 2011). Media provides imperative information, which leads people to make important decisions in their daily lives. Some examples include people who make and change their travel plans according to weather forecast, others buy and sell their assets after watching financial news, and many more people receive information about epidemics, warnings of floods, and information about events and shopping sales.

While media is a major source of information, it educates people, and creates awareness among masses about their rights and obligations, it is also a double-edged sword that can do good, as well as evil at the same time. Sometimes, the media advocates prejudice, racism, and radicalization. Henry and Tator (2006) argue that while advocating the democratic values in society, media reinforce and reproduce racism by racializing crime, religion, stereotyping of immigrants, and perpetuating Eurocentric prejudice against the people of color. Media reconstructs and redefines the realities about particular groups in society which are mostly biased (Guney, 2010; Henry & Tator, 2006). Canadian media is blamed for its leading role in constructing negative images of minority groups that are used to justify racism and discrimination in society (Ameli & Merali, 2014; Zine, 2012). Therefore, public views and perceptions of particular groups in society are greatly influenced and shaped by media portrayals of certain issues in negative ways (Ameli & Merali, 2014; Karim, 2008).

> *"Any deviation from fair representation can be accounted for by media bias.*
> *"Bias" in this context means that the reporter, editor, or news institution owner*

knows what the real even looks like but will color it to advance a political, economic, or ideological aim" (Schudson, 2011).

Schudson (2011) believes that news media holds intentional political bias while reporting important issues. Furthermore, media owners and editors make policies about what and when to publish. These media owners and editors tend to fabricate the news to oblige the political and commercial forces who fund them. Sometimes, they prevent important news from reaching the people because of national security issues, and at other times, they reveal confidential issues because of public interest. As a whole, in contemporary societies, the media has emerged as the most influential communication tool that can easily and quickly build or change public opinion (Henry & Tator, 2006; Nasir, 2013).

Historically, electronic and print media, which included television, radio, and newspapers, were considered a one-way system of communication, because there was no efficient mechanism for the larger population to respond or answer back to the media. However, recent advancements in social media, that includes Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, google+, and blogs, it is possible to correspond with the media owners, celebrities, and political figures (Pătruţ & Pătruţ, 2014). Most media corporations have twitter and Facebook accounts, where people can discuss political and social issues and leave their comments about any news or report, and the good thing is that everything is in the public domain. The electronic versions of newspapers have facilities to leave feedback and start discussions in response to important news and editorials. Such technological progress in the media industry has made the world a global village, where everything is connected. People can watch TV, listen radio, and read newspapers on computers and cellphones. People are also able to give their opinions on political and social issues through websites and social media networks.

Because of the two-way communication system, media now act as mirror of the society. Political forces hardly hide something from their public in presence of such vibrant media. While playing the role of watchdog, the media exposes the hidden truth behind the scenes on important political and social issues. Moreover, it presents public responses on critical issues and organizes debates and discussions to offer solutions to those challenges.

2.1.2 Media representation of Muslims in Canada

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US, the Canadian media began to present peaceful Muslims living in Canada as potential threat to the society because of their racial, cultural, and religious affiliations with those who were involved in 9/11 attacks (Zine, 2012). A growing trend in Islamophobia[7] and religiously motivated hate crimes were observed in Canadian media after the 9/11 (Satzewich, 2011). Furthermore, the repetition of racial discourse about Muslims and Islam in media, such as "Islamists," "Muslim terrorists," "Islamic extremists," and "Islamic radicals," resulted in an unfavorable perception among most North Americans towards Muslims (Eid & Karim, 2011). The frequent usage of stereotypical racialized terms in Canadian newspapers directed toward Muslims in post-9/11 period cultivated *moral panics* in Canadian society. Such media discourse justified the perceptions of people with right-wing political thoughts, who viewed multicultural policies as going against the Canadian national identity (Belkhodja & Richard, 2006). Garcea, Kirova, and Wong (2008) acknowledge the post-9/11 period as the era of "anti- and/or post-multiculturalism discourse" (p. 1).

One of the major aspects of the media is that the general public entirely depends upon it for current news and information about the outside world (Cohen, 2002; Nasir, 2013). In this case, the media holds enormous power in the construction of any image about minority groups (Collins, 2013; Nasir, 2013; Smith, 2013). Ethnic minorities seek their space in mainstream Canadian media so that they become visible and feel an important part of a multicultural society (Mahtani, 2008). The majority population gets information about minority groups only through media, but these minority groups are mostly invisible in the mainstream media (Collins, 2013; Mahtani, 2001, 2008). The Muslim communities are among those minority groups that are invisible from the mainstream media. The Bouchard-Taylor commission report (2008), revealed that immigrants and ethno-religious minorities are under-represented in Canadian mainstream media.

Media professionals and journalists publish, telecast, and broadcast information about certain social groups based upon their personal opinion and information, which is mostly biased (McCombs, 2013) and racialized (Mahtani, 2008). Moreover, media is responsible for presenting, evaluating, and interpreting Canadian society in its own way. Due to concerns over confidentiality,

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[7] Islamophobia refers to as "dislike of" or "prejudice against Islam or Muslims."

it is very difficult to interview the media people to discuss and understand the reasons why minorities are misrepresented in Canadian media (Mahtani, 2001). However, it is very important to resolve the issues of misrepresentation, stereotyping and negative portrayal of minorities, and it needs to be made ensured that minorities receive free, fair, and equal media coverage in Canada (Mahtani, 2001). A research conducted by Yasmin Jiwani (see Jiwani, 2012) after 9/11, she observed two mainstream Canadian newspapers, The Globe and Mail and National Post, and found that during the media reporting of 9/11 tragedy, both newspapers negatively portrayed Muslims and Islam (Zine, 2012). The information about the Muslims and Islam presented to the larger population was produced by the reporters who did not have enough knowledge about Muslims or Islam. Such sensationalized reporting and information reproduced Orientalist constructions and was entirely misleading to the general public (Zine, 2012).

Most of contemporary scholars believe that Western understanding of Islam has developed a negative perception about Muslims in the Western world. One of the most discussed word *Jihad* is often misunderstood and confused among majority of non-Muslim world. Husain (2003) explains the three forms of Jihad as; *jihad-i-akbar, umaic jihad*, and *jihad-i-asghar*. *Jihad-i-akbar* is supreme form of jihad that advocates perpetual internal struggle of Muslims against greed, racism, hedonism, jealousy, revenge, hypocrisy, lying, cheating, and calumny. Whereas, *umaic jihad* signifies the verbal or written struggle for freedom, justice and truth within the Islamic world. *Jihad-i-asghar*, martial or violent jihad, refers to defending Muslim world against the aggressive non-Muslims, whether they are outsider aggressors or the insider non-believers. Hussain thinks that the first two types, *jihad-i-akbar* and *umaic jihad*, are unknown to the non-Islamic world, as they only know about the *jihad-i-asghar* which is considered as the smallest and last option of the struggle (Husain, 2003).

Kabbani & Hendricks (2017) also believe that the true meaning of *jihad* is often misunderstood by the non-Muslims. Islamic scholars have rejected the frequent use of word *jihad* by some political groups to justify their violent acts. They further explain *Jihad* in detail as follows:

- *"The Arabic word "jihad" is often translated as "holy war," but in a purely linguistic sense, the word "jihad" means struggling or striving."*

- *"The Arabic word for war is: "al-harb"."*

- *"In a religious sense, as described by the Quran and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (s), "jihad" has many meanings. It can refer to internal as well as external efforts to be a good Muslims or believer, as well as working to inform people about the faith of Islam."*

- *"If military jihad is required to protect the faith against others, it can be performed using anything from legal, diplomatic and economic to political means. If there is no peaceful alternative, Islam also allows the use of force, but there are strict rules of engagement. Innocents - such as women, children, or invalids - must never be harmed, and any peaceful overtures from the enemy must be accepted."*

- *"Military action is therefore only one means of jihad, and is very rare. To highlight this point, the Prophet Mohammed told his followers returning from a military campaign: "This day we have returned from the minor jihad to the major jihad," which he said meant returning from armed battle to the peaceful battle for self-control and betterment."*

- *"In case military action appears necessary, not everyone can declare jihad. The religious military campaign has to be declared by a proper authority, advised by scholars, who say the religion and people are under threat and violence is imperative to defend them. The concept of "just war" is very important."*

- *"The concept of jihad has been hijacked by many political and religious groups over the ages in a bid to justify various forms of violence. In most cases, Islamic splinter groups invoked jihad to fight against the established Islamic order. Scholars say this misuse of jihad contradicts Islam."*

- *"Examples of sanctioned military jihad include the Muslims' defensive battles against the Crusaders in medieval times, and before that some responses by Muslims against Byzantine and Persian attacks during the period of the early Islamic conquests." (Kabbani & Hendricks, 2017)*

Because of loosely used word by terrorist organizations and individuals involved in terrorist activities, the *Jihad* has been considered as a religious war by Muslims against non-Muslims. Whereas, such interpretation of *Jihad* is entirely against the Islamic school of thought (Husain, 2003; Kabbani & Hendricks, 2017).

Satzewich (2011) notes that Arabs have been demonized and presented as "irrational, backward, bloodthirsty, amoral, and ignorant" in Canadian press before 9/11 (p 93). However, after 9/11 the word *Arabs* was substituted by *Muslims* and the word *terrorists* was added to the list. A study conducted by Belkhodja and Richard (2006) about media representation of Muslims and immigrants during and after 9/11 terrorists attacks in the US, involved an analysis of the discourse in mainstream French-language Canadian newspapers. The study showed that French newspapers mostly focused on the actual events and did not discuss much about the social impact it had event on Canadian society. Furthermore, French newspapers missed the opportunity of bringing the communities together, but instead, the newspapers misrepresented Muslims and the Arab world by creating and promoting misunderstandings between the Muslims and other communities in Canada (Belkhodja & Richard, 2006).

To sum up, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Canadian media presented the Muslim community as sympathizers of the terrorists because of their cultural, racial, and religious affiliation. Canadian newspapers published special supplements and articles and used racist discourse to highlight the perception of threat posed by the Canadian Muslim immigrants. Although negative portrayal of Muslims already existed in North American discourses (see Said, 1985), the post-9/11 media coverage reinforced the racial discourse about Islam and Muslims. This study will further investigate the role of Canadian print media discourse in the construction of negative images of Muslims and the escalation of *moral panics* in Canadian society.

2.2 Hijab and Burqa debates in Canada

Hijab, niqab, veil, and *burqa* became the core discussion topic in Canadian press since after the 9/11 attack. There are different standpoints of Muslim women regarding the *hijab, niqab, veil,* and *burqa*, where one group considers them as essential pillars of religion Islam, and the other group believes that these are important parts of their culture (Khosrojerdi, 2015; McLaren, 2001). Because of conceptual similarities, Western press and politicians often confuse these words on another (Hill, 2012). *Hijab* is a kind of headscarf, whereas, niqab is a type of veil that covers the head and face, leaving only the eyes exposed (Zine, 2008). *Burqa* is a full outfit that covers the whole body from head to toe including the face (Hill, 2012). The *burqa* debates heightened in 2011 when Canadian immigration put a ban on wearing niqab or veil during the oath ceremonies for citizenship (Mackrael & Perdreaux, 2011). This decision opened a new focus of discussion on Canadian multicultural policy and democratic values where every citizen has cultural and religious freedom.

Mohanty, Russo, and Torres (1991) have criticized Western literature for ignoring the complexity of feminism in the Third World. They believe that Western understanding of feminism cannot be equated with that of the *Third World*. The women of the *Third World* are a product of continuous struggle against racism, sexism, colonialism and imperialism. However, Western scholarship's generic understanding of Third World women is that they are subjects of oppression and symbol of patriarchy needing to be rescued. Al-Saji (2010) argues that Western scholarship's focus on veiled women is not to highlight the issues faced by Muslim women, but to depict their oppression and subordinations Muslim women. In Canada, the dominant understanding of *hijab* is as an indication of Islamic patriarchy, subordination of Muslim women, restriction in their mobility, and as symbolic of oppression (Khosrojerdi, 2015; Ruby, 2006).

> *"Western representations of veiled Muslim women are not simply about Muslim women themselves. Rather than representing Muslim women, these images fulfill a different function: they provide the foil or negative mirror in which western constructions of identity and gender can be positively reflected."* (Al-Saji, 2010, p. 877)

Al-Saji (2010) indicates that under the guise of women's rights, the negative representation of veiled women constitutes a damaging understanding of Muslims and the religion of Islam in the West. The colonial and Eurocentric literature has already presented Muslim women as voiceless and victims of male dominance who need to be liberated. Such stereotypical racialized representation, therefore, has been used to justify the ban on *veil, burqa, niqab*, or *hijab* in several Western countries, followed by *niqab* ban in Canadian citizenship ceremonies in 2011.

> *"The close connection between assertions of cultural difference and racism has meant that in white societies the smallest reference to cultural differences between the European majority and Third World peoples (Muslims in particular) triggers an instant chain of associations (the veil, female genital mutilation, arranged marriages, etc.). This chain ends with the declared superiority of European culture, imagined as a homogeneous exposit of values, including a unique commitment to democracy and human rights, and to the human rights of women in particular." (Razack, 2005, p. 14)*

Razack (2005) criticizes the Western discourse for promoting European superiority by comparing cultural values to Muslim world with racialized discourse. She argues that the internet searching of the words like "Muslims and gender equality", conveys a pre-defined message to demonize Muslim culture. A study, conducted by Khosrojerdi (2015), indicates that majority of female research participants believe that *hijabi* or *veiled* women are largely disregarded because of their appearance. Veiled women encounter discrimination and racism in every walk of life because of their appearance. Zine (2008) indicates that Muslim girls face multiple layers of discrimination in Canadian educational institutions, and the worst cases are directed at those who wear the *hijab*. She reveals that people usually make their judgements about *hijabi* women without even making any verbal contact with them. Khosrojerdi (2015) and Ruby (2006) note that Muslim females consider *hijab* as an empowering and distinctive identity that sends out a powerful message to others that she is a Muslim woman who has control of her body. Moreover, it also affirms that she acknowledges and supports the principles and philosophies of Islam.

2.3 Bouchard-Taylor commission report

Keeping in view the above discussion, Quebec government took lead in setting up a two-member "Bouchard-Taylor commission" in February 2007, for "reasonable accommodation" of religious and ethno-cultural practices in the province. The co-chairs of commission, Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, released their final report in 2008 (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). They identified major challenges faced by religious and racial minorities in Quebec, and made invaluable recommendations for addressing the challenges. The following are the key findings and recommendations of the Bouchard-Taylor commission report:

1. *"First, we are calling for new definitions of policies or programs pertaining to Interculturalism, such as a statute, a declaration or a policy statement, and secularism, e.g. the proposed white paper."*

2. *"The theme of integration seems pivotal in more than one respect. It centers first of all, on the recognition of immigrants' skills and diplomas, then their francization, followed by a broader effort to regionalize immigration and, finally, better coordination between government departments."*

3. *"From the standpoint of intercultural practices, especially mutual understanding, our recommendations highlight a) the need for broader training among government employees in all public institutions, starting with the schools, because of the role that they play in socialization and b) the need to more extensively encourage community or intercommunity action projects and practices."*

4. *"In keeping with the harmonization policy formulated in our report, our recommendations are intended to foster the accountability of interveners in the citizen sphere (public institutions and private agencies) by ensuring that they have received adequate training. In particular, we are asking the government to ensure that the practical knowledge acquired in institutions be recorded, promoted and disseminated in all of the milieus concerned."*

5.   *"Another priority concerns the fight against inequality and discrimination. Our attention centers primarily on a) the under-representation of ethnic minorities in jobs in public administration; b)the urgent need to combat forms of multiple discrimination, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and racism to which racialized groups, especially Blacks, are subject; c) support to be offered to immigrant women; d)the need to increase the resources of the Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse; and e)the strengthening of economic and social rights in the Québec Charte."* (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008)

The above findings and recommendations made by Bouchard-Taylor commission, show that Canadian multicultural and immigration policies need to be refined. The commission also expressed concerns about religious and racial discrimination faced by minorities, and was worried about under-representation of minority groups in public administration jobs. Moreover, the Commission asserted that government should invest and promote intercultural activities to create a harmonious and integrated society.

2.4 Race relations and Muslims in Canada

According to National Household Survey (NHS, 2011), Muslim constitutes 3.2 % of the total Canadian population and they constitute the second major religious group after Catholics in Canada. Nimer (2002) traces back the history of early Muslims in North America to the times of slavery, when Muslims were brought from Africa as slaves. During that time, Muslims were not allowed to openly practice their religion, and were forced to keep their faith hidden. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, Muslims started arriving in North America from different areas of the world as immigrants (Nimer, 2002). By the mid-1960s, the number of immigrants increased significantly and many African-Americans converted to Islam, which enlarged the overall Muslim population in North America (Nimer, 2002). Yousif (1993) noted that information about a group of 13 Muslims was first gathered in the census of Canada in 1871. This number slowly increased within the following decades until 1960. The Muslim population increased significantly during 1960s due to friendly immigration policies of Canadian government (Nagra, 2011; Nimer, 2002).

Furthermore, at this time, Muslims built mosques, community centers, schools, and started showing their presence in the public domain (Nimer, 2002). The Muslim population continued to grow significantly until date; the following graph (see Figure 2.1) shows the Muslim population growth from 1971 to 2011.

Figure 2.1: Muslim population growth in Canada

MUSLIM POPULATION GROWTH IN CANADA

Muslim Population in Canada

Year	Population
1971	33,430
1981	98,165
1991	253,265
2001	579,640
2011	1,053,945
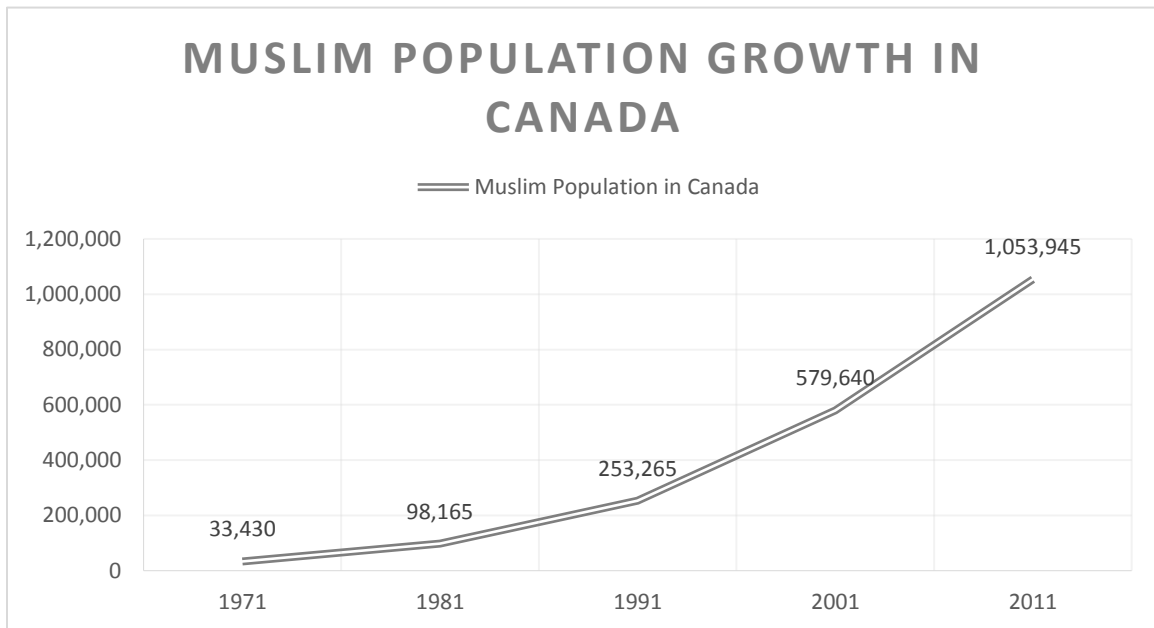
Source: (Census, 1991, 2001; Dayrit & Milo, 2015; NHS, 2011)

Canadian race relations have had several fluctuations in the past. Historically, Canadian society was guided by racist policies and practices against its minorities up until 1970s. Thereafter, Canada adopted its first multicultural strategy, and racism moved from an overt or open to a covert or hidden practice (Henry & Tator, 2006; Ponting, 1997). Many scholars have observed the unfair policies against minorities in Canada especially those focusing on Aboriginals and non-White population (Li, 1988, 1995; Ponting, 1997). Canadian minorities had several grievances against the government's racist and discriminatory policies. Although racism in Canada is often considered a contemporary phenomenon in view of arrival of a large number of people of color as immigrants, in retrospect, it is not. Some of the prominent historical examples of most discriminatory and controversial governmental policies are *The Indian Act, Residential Schools* for Indigenous people, and *Chinese Head Tax* (Henry & Tator, 2006).

The dominant academic debates on race and race relations in North America have been focused on the relations between blacks and whites during and after the colonial period (Gandhi, 1998; Selod, 2014; Selod & Embrick, 2013). Fassin (2011) explains racialization by giving the examples of Fanon's personal experiences. Fanon was a psychiatrist by profession, but to his patients, he was a "black" man first, and then a doctor. While describing the situation of African colonization, Fanon (see Fanon, 2008) compares White supremacy as similar to anti-Semitism in Europe (Grohs, 1968). "Like Sartre, who describes creation of the non-Jew, the Christian, he thinks with its inferiority complexes is the product of the man and his superiority" (Grohs, 1968, p. 545). In case of Jews, Christians were afraid that because of great potential to acquire money and material things, Jews could take over the whole country by controlling the economy (Grohs, 1968). Whites were afraid of Blacks because of their sexual power and speedy population growth (Grohs, 1968).

Because of the seemingly 'diversity friendly' immigration policies of the Canadian government, a huge number of people from all over the world have come to Canada in the last few decades. According to Census Canada, visible minority population has increased since 2001 from 13.4% to 19.1% in 2011. The large number of diverse immigrant population has made Canada a multicultural society. Canada is one of the first countries that has introduced and adopted an official Multicultural policy in 1971, which later was turned into an actual law in 1988 (Fleras & Elliott, 2007). Multiculturalism refers to an understanding of how to live together in spite of our differences (Fleras, 2010). The main objectives of multiculturalism policy were to address the problems of inequalities, social exclusion, and racism faced by immigrants in their host societies (Fleras, 2010; Fleras & Elliott, 2007; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010). This multicultural policy's emphasis is to create a society based on equality that has more respect and acceptance of people of other ethnicities, races and religions (Fleras & Elliott, 2007; Henry & Tator, 2006). Moreover, this policy provided a legal framework to Canadian immigrants to "preserve, enhance, and share their cultural heritage, religion, and their native identities" without fear of prosecution (Henry & Tator, 2006). In the recent Canadian Federal elections held on October 2015, a large majority of Canadian population endorsed the policy of multiculturalism in Canada.

However, in recent debates, there are growing controversies around core Canadian cultural values. Canadian immigrants, from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, are practicing

their culture, speaking their native language at home, practicing traditions and religion, which are seen as damaging to the core Canadian cultural values in the long run (Saunders, 2012). Approximately, more than 200 languages are spoken in Canada including the two official ones. More than six million people speak their native language, other than French or English at homes. Before implementing the official multicultural policy, it was necessary to adopt the two Canadian official languages either English or French for all immigrants, in order to show that they were part of this country. Saunders (2012) thinks that issues such as dress code and religion are posing serious threats to Canadian core culture, cohesion and national identity. The Canadian government has taken this issue on board and recently made significant changes to the immigration policy by increasing the English and French language standards for immigration applicants.

Ravelli & Webber (2012) have divided modern race relations between the majority and minority groups into the following categories: Indigenous people, such as the North American and Australian Aboriginal people; the linguistic groups, such as French & English speaking groups in Canada, the groups arranged by sexual orientation such as heterosexual & homosexual groups; and the ethnic communities such as the Ukrainians and Chinese living in Canada (Ravelli & Webber, 2012). Canadian history of perceptions and behavioral patterns is blamed for its racist heritage to both earlier and present generations of Indigenous peoples and also for the visible minority immigrants (Henry & Tator, 2006). The social structure of White dominance is deeply embedded in the Canadian society which has maintained and upheld inequality and oppression against the socially and economically disadvantaged within Canadian society (Henry & Tator, 2006; Satzewich, 1998). However, supporters of liberal democracy have always challenged and denied the existence of racism as a commanding force in Canada (Henry & Tator, 2006). In a liberal democratic country like Canada, it is difficult to accept that social inequalities such as racism and economic disadvantage exist (Henry & Tator, 2006; Li, 1995). Yet, a society, which respects individual rights, justice, equality, social harmony, cannot provide equal rights to its citizens without recognizing social inequalities like racism and economic discrimination (Henry & Tator, 2006; Li, 1995; Satzewich, 1998). But, in a country with liberal democratic attributes, physical differences, and skin color should not be the determining factors for any individual's status within the community (Henry & Tator, 2006; Li, 1995; Satzewich, 1998).

The literature has identified several barriers to immigrant integration into the Canadian fabric and they include employment identifiable linguistic and racial features (Li, 1995; Satzewich, 1998, 2011). These barriers can be observed in the mainstream Canadian labor market where visible minority immigrants face discrimination in employment sometimes because of their language skills and sometimes because of their physical racial appearance (Li, 1987; Satzewich, 1998). A study by Henry and Ginzberg (1985), conducted in Toronto, revealed that White job applicants received three times more job offers than the visible minority job applicants. Furthermore, the visible minority job seekers were screened out due to their English-speaking accent while interviewing for the job vacancy. Another study discovered that the top position holders and managers of big businesses and organizations thought that the equally qualified visible minority people had less ability compared to the White Canadians in their work performance (Li, 2001).

Satzewich (1998) observed that over the past few decades, racism in Canada has changed its form from overt to covert because of friendly immigration and the multicultural policies introduced and adopted by the Canadian government. Overt racism is an open, intentional, and harmful attitude towards individuals of racial minority groups. "It is intended to be overt for the purposes of continued racism and spread of expressed ideas within the general public" (Satzewich, 1998). Whereas, covert racism is an ideology that refers to racial discrimination in a hidden or subtle way. Therefore, cultural and ideological racism may be considered as forms of covert racism. The major shift from overt to covert racism was first observed after the introduction of the official multicultural policy by the Canadian government in 1971. The eras before and during the height of the Civil Rights movements, racism was said to be overt. but today, although racism is still alive in Canadian society, it is hidden or covert (Satzewich, 1998). A UK based Runnymede Trust (Report, 1997) revealed hidden antagonism against European Muslims in the form of unfair treatment against Muslim minority groups, stigmatization of characteristics of Islam comprising Islamophobia, and social and political exclusion of Muslim minority groups in Europe (Taras, 2013). Anti-Asian racism and hatred have been transformed into an anti-Muslim tendency, which can be identified as the "racialization of religion" (Said, 1985).

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1979) provides an important literary tool for analyzing racial, gender, and religious identification during colonial and postcolonial eras (Banton, 2009; Blaut,

1993; Hamdon, 2010). Structured set of beliefs and discursive practices were used to produce, interpret, and evaluate knowledge about the people living in the Middle East, South Asia, Africa, and other non-European territories during and after the colonization period (Kohn, 2014; Said, 1979). The identities of non-Europeans were constructed on the basis of Western scholarship and Western media's representation of non-European in the world (Guney, 2010; Hamdon, 2010; Said, 1979; Smith, 2013). Edward Said's work shows that racialization of Muslims is not a new phenomenon, it has a long history of stereotypical discourse applied to Muslims living in the Western world.

Orientalism has contributed a lot in terms of explaining the stereotyping and negative portrayal of Middle Eastern Muslims in the Western scholarship (Hamdon, 2010; Said, 1979; Smith, 2013). Muslim women have been portrayed as victims of domestic violence and oppression, while, Muslim men are depicted as villains, mobs, and jokers in Western literary and artistic work (Hamdon, 2010; Said, 1979, 1993; Smith, 2013). Misrepresentation and misunderstanding of the Muslim world have created a cultural divide between Muslim immigrants and people in host societies (Hamdon, 2010). Muslim culture is viewed as contradictory to Western culture, and this static and backward Muslim culture needs to be aligned with that of the host countries through deculturization of Muslim immigrants (Hamdon, 2010; Razack, 2005; Saunders, 2012). The negative portrayal of the Muslim culture and practices in the West has provided justification for the social discrimination, injustice, racism, and exploitation of Muslims in the Western societies (Hamdon, 2010).

Stereotyping and racialization can be explained by labeling theory. Labeling theory focuses on negative naming and stigmatization as major causes of deviant behavior of individuals in society (Goode, 2001). One of the most interesting dimension of the labeling theory is that it falsely perceives individuals as deviants (Goode, 2001). Goode (2001) thinks that the most important aspect of labeling theory is the accusation and stigmatization of the individuals or communities and, if society perceives those individuals or community as a threat to the society, whether it is a fact or a fabrication, they will be considered as deviants. Therefore, some individuals or communities are blamed for something they did not do just because of their cultural, racial, or religious similarities with the wrongdoers.

Similarly, in his inspiring work *"folk devils and moral panics"*, Stanley Cohen (2002) provides an in-depth analysis of the situation when norms and values of society get threatened by some individuals or communities by their perceived deviant behaviour. He names this situation of fear *moral panics*, and describes the threatening individuals or community as *folk devils*. A "Dictionary of Sociology" (Scott & Marshall, 2005) defines the *moral panics* as "the process of arousing social concern over an issue - usually the work of moral entrepreneurs and the mass media." The situation of fear in Canada after the 9/11 terrorist attacks can be described as *moral panic* and the Muslim community, a potential threat, labeled as *folk devils* because of their similarities with the people involved in those terrorist attacks.

Kazemipur (2014) noted that since the launch of Canadian multicultural policy, many scholars have discussed the pros and cons of this policy,.The major wave of serious debates started in 1990s after the remarkable work of Charles Taylor titled "Multiculturalism and the politics of recognition" (see Taylor, 1992). In his work, Taylor emphasized that a person's identity and recognition in a society depended upon the ethnic and cultural background of that person (Kazemipur, 2014). Although Canadian multicultural policy has helped to some extent, in creating a harmonious society, some communities, such as Muslim minority groups, have raised their concerned for not being treated equally, especially in the post-9/11 era (Siddiqui, 2008). There has been a sense of alienation among Canadian Muslims particularly when they became victims of unequal treatment by law enforcement agencies; for example, the Maher Arar case, and several incidents of arrests of Muslims on false terrorist charges (Siddiqui, 2008; Zine, 2012).

Kazemipur (2014) noted that the wave of Muslim immigration during the twenty-first century in the Western world was seen as problematic in terms of cultural and social integration into their host societies. The incident of 9/11 terrorists attacks in the US, followed by a series of terrorist attacks in the U.K. and some parts of Europe, were carried out by the people of Muslim backgrounds (Hanniman, 2008; Kazemipur, 2014; Smith, 2013). Therefore, these incidents became triggering events and opened up new dimensions of debates about Muslim immigrants living in the Western societies who were seen as "outsiders" and potential threats to the culture, norms, and values of their host societies (Kazemipur, 2014; Saunders, 2012). Similar concerns arose in Canadian society after the arrest of terrorist suspects from Toronto in 2006 (see Introduction chapter for a detailed discussion).

2.5 Race relations and Inequalities

The term "race" has been in use in social sciences research and studies of populations for a long time. Historically, the concept of race was informed by biology and people's genetic make-up manifested in the physical appearance of skin color, hair texture, and facial features (Ravelli & Webber, 2012). During the 19th and 20th centuries, the term 'race' was mostly used to differentiate social groups through hierarchical division of races (Henry & Tator, 2006; Memmi, 2009). Kamtekar (2002) identifies the racial and stereotypical discourse in ancient Greek philosophy. He asserts that Plato's term "*genos*" seems to be equivalent to "*race,*" as he divided population into two classifications consisting of the Greeks and barbarians, where Greeks were civilized and barbarians were uncivilized (Kamtekar, 2002). However, Plato considered moral value as the most significant factor in such human classifications. Similarly, Aristotle believed in the classification of races as he agreed that the Greeks were superior and should not be enslaved but should have the right to rule over inferior populations (Ward, 2002). Historically, the physical appearance of certain social groups was used to define their roles, statuses, and powers in the society (Banton, 1987; Bolaria & Li, 1988; Henry & Tator, 2006; Li, 1995; Ravelli & Webber, 2012). Li (1994) argues that with the passage of time, the physical and cultural values of minorities have become racialized, and have gained specific social meanings. During the period of colonization, European colonizers categorized the people of the colonized territories into different subordinate groups based on their physical appearance (Fanon, 2007; Henry & Tator, 2006). However, in more contemporary discourse, the concept of race has taken on a socially constructed meaning (Banton, 1987, 1988).

Satzewich (1998) traced back the usage of word "race" to the early sixteenth century when different social groups were classified on the basis of their physical appearances. In the Seventeenth century, some scholars used the idea of race in association with the ethnic roots of the British and French people. In the late 18th century, the term "race" came to be associated with the differences between groups who were inherently and biologically different. After the French revolution in 1789, the term "race" shifted from a term used to define the "self" to a term used to define the "others", such as Arabs, Asians, Jews, and Blacks. These new terms were used to define and identify social groups on the basis of their ethnicity, political affiliation, religious identity, and economic power (Miles, 1984; Satzewich, 1998). Therefore, Miles (1984) considers race as a mask

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that has been used to hide the real economic and cultural relationships between different communities.

Satzewich & Liodakis (2010) have also argued that 'race' is the determinant factor in the distribution of wealth and valuable resources among the individuals in society, that most likely favors the whites. According to Critical Race Theory (CRT), race constitutes the basis of inequalities in the allocation of wealth, valuable resources, food, and shelter in the society (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010). Porter (1965), in his influential work "the vertical mosaic," explored the relationship between ethnicity and social class (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010). He concluded that in multicultural societies, like Canada, racial and ethnic affiliation are the key factors in social class formation. Furthermore, just like CRT, Porter argued that racial and ethnic affiliation of any community or group determine the distribution of the power and wealth that they possess (Porter, 1965).

According to Barot and Bird (2001), "'race' and 'race relations' have shifted to 'racism' as an ideology" (p. 601). Racism is a "belief that all members of a race hold features distinctive to that race, particularly to distinguish it as being either superior or inferior to another race or races" (Miles, 1989; Satzewich, 1998). Similarly, Li (1994) argued that unequal and unbalanced relationship between the mainstream population and minorities in a society breeds racism. Talking about institutional racism, Satzewich and Liodakis (2017) describe three kinds of institutional racism. The first type is the development of social policies based on false assumptions about the incompetency and incapacity of certain communities and minority groups. For example, Li (2001) noted that immigrants are denied full recognition of their educational and professional credentials as equivalent to native born Canadians. Therefore, immigrants with foreign degrees in higher education earn far less than native-born Canadians who have equal or less qualification (Li, 2001; Oreopoulos, 2011). The second type of institutional racism refers to the development of policies that diminished after some time because of their racist nature but still exist in practice. The Indian Act is a prime example of this type of institutional racism in Canada. The Indian Act was introduced in 1876 to place many restrictions on Aboriginal population in Canada. According to the Indian Act, Aboriginal population was considered to be the subordinate of European colonizers who were racially superior to them. Although this Act has gone through various amendments with many initial controversies modified, Aboriginal population remain victims of political, economic,

and social discrimination. The third type of institutional racism is the institutional policies and programs that are ethnically or racially neutral by nature but adversely affect minority groups. Some of major examples of this type of institutional racism are the racialization of crime, stereotyping of specific communities, racial policing, racist immigration policies (Henry & Tator, 2006; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2017).

For Miles (1989), racialization means "those instances where social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities" (p. 75). "Social constructionism points out that, how gender and sex and more broadly human bodies are seen and understood, changes in relation to other social and political shifts" (Brock, Raby, & Thomas, 2012, p. 63). This definition explains that racialization does not necessarily depend on the presence or absence of distinctive physical or genetic features of the term race (Satzewich, 1998). According to Selod and Embrick (2013), recent race scholarship has entered into a new era where the dominant aspect of racialization is moving towards other types of differences in society which are associated with the culture, such as clothing, language, and religion. Cultural and religious symbols or outfits of individuals belong to Muslim minority groups, make them look different from the the people of their host countries in the West. Most of Muslim women wear *burqa, hijab*, or *niqab*; whereas, Muslim men grow their beards, and most of Arabic descent immigrants speak Arabic in public places (see detailed discussions in section *hijab* and *burqa* debates in Canada, and introduction chapter). Therefore, Selod and Embrick (2013) argue that in contemporary socities racism is transforming into another type which does not focus only on skin color.

Classical theorist Emile Durkheim used the concept of "collective consciousness" to explain the phenomenon of identity formation in any society (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010). Durkheim believed that community or group views were more important than individual view. Moreover, the similarities among members of a community or group make them different from other communities or groups. "This is an 'us' versus 'them' feeling which is important in social group formation, reproduction, and maintenance" (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010, p. 8). Whereas, according to Weberian school, 'race' is a common identity of a community or groups having the same ancestry, culture, religion, or political history (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010). The differences in physical appearance or habits of these groups define the boundaries of attraction or repulsion

between them. Weber labels the social boundaries of these groups as "monopolistic closure," which is an institutionalized set of rules to control the access of valuable resources for group members (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010). Social differences may arise when two racial groups that previously lived far from each other, start living together. The majority group controls the valuable resources by "monopolistic closure" and gives access to the group members while at the same time excluding non-members which are minority groups or immigrants. The minority groups, who have old memories attached to their native land, face difficulties in adjusting to the new cultures where they have limited access to the valuable resources because of "monopolistic closure" in the host societies. Hanniman (2008) argues that even though Canadian Muslims are well educated, their unemployment rate is second highest in Canada, Out of all employed Muslims, only 16% are working in some appropriate positions such as finance and administration. Whereas, the rest of people are working at nominal positions, such as lower level in sales and services sectors where higher education is not required. Canadian Muslims have been facing a discriminatory treatment in employment, justice system and an increased scrutiny, especially after 9/11 (Hanniman, 2008). Such conditions have created a sense of alienation among Canadian Muslim minority groups; they feel that their qualification is not valued, they are racially and religiously discriminated, and they are not given the full rights that are promised in the Canadian constitution.

After European colonization, race became the central criterion for the division of social structure into superior and inferior racial classifications (Blaut, 1993; Memmi, 2009; Thornton, 1962). Blaut (1993) believes that Western scholarship has been under the influence of "Eurocentric ideologies or Eurocentrism" for many centuries. Eurocentrism, which refers to a set of beliefs about the racial superiority of Europeans[8] over non-Europeans and their ancestries (Blaut, 1993; Fleras & Elliott, 2003), is predominant in discourses on race relations. This dogmatic set of beliefs dominate historical, geographical, psychological, sociological, and philosophical realms of society and have led many scholars, philosophers, and historians to believe that Europeans are progressive, reformists, enlightened, and open-minded whereas, non-Europeans are stagnant, stationary, ignorant, and narrow-minded (Blaut, 1993; Memmi, 2009). Although there is no historical

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[8] Refers to the people living in the continent "Europe", and the areas dominated by European culture such as United States and Canada.

evidence to prove that some groups have racial supremacy over others (Banton, 1987; Blaut, 1993; Fleras & Elliott, 2003), the belief still persists.

Religion also played an influential role in promoting Eurocentrism. Blaut (1993) thinks that religion has provided enormous support to the Eurocentric beliefs and, to some extent, has justified European communities exploitation of non-European population. Europeans believed that God was with them because they were Christians, and they had "divine guidance and protection" (Blaut, 1993, p. 18). They also had the belief that in the pre-Christian times, the non-Europeans may had been progressive, but due to their failure in accepting Christianity, they lost the backing of God (Blaut, 1993).

Blaut (1993) strongly disproves of historians who posit that "Europeans" have some distinctive racial, mental, spiritual, and cultural qualities that give them superiority over non-Europeans. He rejects European intellectual superiority claims by giving the example of "the psychic unity of mankind" whereby all human beings are equally capable of inventing and innovating. According to this assumption, any human, regardless of his /her geographical or racial affiliation, can be inventive or innovative. Therefore, people from certain specific communities cannot claim to possess intellectual superiority over others (Blaut, 1993).

Furthermore, Blaut (1993) challenged "Eurocentric diffusionism" that refers to Europe as the geographic hub of cultural progression, from where diffusion to the other parts of the world took place. He believed that inventions by humans can happen in any part of the world regardless of race, religion, and culture and that no civilization can claim to be the single and permanent hub of all inventions or advancements. Blaut (1993) noticed that the misconception of colonial "diffusionism" about non-Europeans has provided justification to Europeans for their physical interventions in non-European territories. This misconception gave birth to a number of perceptions that include lack of political sovereignty for non-Europeans, lack of human rights, and limited rights for non-Europeans to own private property (Adams, 1989; Blaut, 1993). Thus, the people of the occupied territories (colonies) could be taken as slaves by the occupiers, and their lands could be given to the settlers believing that the Indigenous people have no right to own the property even in their homeland (Adams, 1989; Blaut, 1993; Thornton, 1962). "Eurocentrism" provided justification for European colonial activities during the colonial occupation.

2.5.1 Power and inequality

The concepts of power and inequality are considered the most fundamental notions in sociology and revolve around conflict sociology. The common themes of conflict theory are social inequality, social stratification, social inequality as ingredients of domination, and power struggle between different classes or groups in society due to unequal distribution of resources. The ability to influence the behavior of people in society is defined as power or dominance. The term "authority" is frequently used as a synonym for power, but understood as appropriate by the social structure. Most of the scholars believe that power is exercised in the society by creating social inequalities in economics, politics, race relations, social, and cultural contexts.

Marxists concept of power refers to class struggle and consciousness based on Marx's conflict theory, but focuses mostly on the materialistic aspect of society (Ravelli & Webber, 2012). In Western societies, power is possessed through economic resources and exercised through a system of domination, where the dominant class controls the land, labor and capital (Brock et al., 2012; Ravelli & Webber, 2012). Marx divides the society into two classes; the bourgeoisie class, who keep and regulate the "means of production" or the productive resources of the society, and the proletariat class, who own the labor power and sell it for a wage in order to survive (McIntosh, 1997; Ravelli & Webber, 2012). Marx declares this relationship as exploitative because the wages paid to the laborers are less than the amount earned by the owners through the commodities produced by the workers (Ravelli & Webber, 2012). This exploitative power is exercised by capitalists through the control of resources and the means of production (Brock et al., 2012). For Marx, power just does not mean domination from top to bottom, it can be from bottom to the top as well, such as the labor power (Brock et al., 2012). Therefore, he believes that the exploitation by the capitalists would eventually result into the struggle for social transformation by the working class, which would lead to an ideal state of socialism (Brock et al., 2012).

Max Weber's notion of power refers to the capacity for fulfilling the aims of an individual or group over the other (Brock et al., 2012). Weber's notion of power can be described in two dimensions; first is the economic power that is materialistic aspect of power, and second is the social power, which is associated with the normative values of society. He thinks that differential

power distribution may result in unequal distribution of resources in society, which leads to the social inequality (Brock et al., 2012).

Mills believes that the economy, politics, and military of any state are controlled by a small group of "power elites" (Mills, 1999). In his study, Mills argues that the government and large corporations are controlled by specific occupational groups with technical and managerial skills. Anthony Giddens supports Mills arguments by applying the term "deskilling." Giddens thinks that with the advancement of technology, knowledge is kept away from the working class and given to managers and capitalists (Calhoun, 2012). For example, through advanced technical machineries and computers, power is concentrated in the hands of the managerial class. Mills came up with the concept of power elite" as a more elaborative term for those who occupy the decision-making powers in the government, military and financial realms.

As Gramsci (1971) notes that power can be exercised by embedding it within laws, norms, values, or public consensus on popular issues, what he called as *hegemony*. He links the idea of power with the hegemony by discussing institutional, cultural, and social hegemony in his famous work "On Hegemony" (Calhoun, 2012). He explains hegemony as an imperial power or indirect form of government by the threat of force or use of direct or indirect military force. This dominance can be with or without public consent, which he calls "political hegemony." The cultural and social hegemony are based on science, religion, and common sense. The Italian Marxist, Gramsci believes that the working class gets up in protest against the upper class when they perceive that they are being oppressed by them. The protests are countered by the use of force or sometimes through negotiation between the workers and the masters. In the West, the power of capitalists is exercised through coercion while maintaining the economic system in order. This exercise of power gets legitimacy and becomes stronger when people choose their rulers with their consent in Western, capitalists and democratic countries, Gramsci calls it political hegemony. This organization of consent empowers public belief that what is good for the corporation is good for the workers, due to the belief that the prosperity of an organization will lead to the creation of more jobs opportunities for the workers. Gramsci refers to the phenomena between coercion and consent hegemony or political hegemony cultural hegemony. Gramsci's hegemonic concept refers to a complex, diffuse, and dynamic network of power in capitalist societies, and constitutes a bridge between Marx's notion of power and Foucault's alternative approach to power (Calhoun, 2012).

Michel Foucault was concerned with finding out how domination is acquired by use of power, and how this power created inequalities in society (Brock et al., 2012). He thought that the power relations between different groups in the contemporary societies were very complex, and could not be explained by the Marxist notion of power. Knowledge is collected from history and applied to the definition of our social powers and boundaries. He studied power with regards to knowledge and explained how power and knowledge were used by social institutions for social control, or in popular notion, known as "knowledge is power." For him, power is not just controlling or repressing, but also produces reality. Foucault examined power relations in society in two dimensions; first form of power is enforced by the institutions such as government, judiciary, and military, and the second type of power is used for self-discipline (Brock et al., 2012). He believes that in this modern society, power exists everywhere, and everybody is under surveillance all the time. Therefore, because of invisibility of power, nobody can easily resist or counter that power. This invisible power which he identifies as *biopower,* is used in modern society to control the bodies and mind of individuals (Brock et al., 2012). He presented the idea of an ideal prison which he called a model of *panopticon* where prisoners were put under surveillance by few guards (Brock et al., 2012). In this model, the guards were not visible to the prisoners, so prisoners were thinking that they were being watched all the time. This kind of model created a sense of self-surveillance in the minds of prisoners which compelled them to become self-regulating subjects. According to Foucault, we all are self-regulating bodies, nobody tells us what to do, and we perform our everyday routine works without asking other people or authorities (Brock et al., 2012). The recent legislation of Bill C-51 by Canadian parliament has raised concerned among Muslim minority groups in Canada about their surveillance and security. The Bill C-51 has given ultimate powers to security agencies for surveillance and arrest suspected people without any charges for unlimited period. The Canadian Muslim minority groups are living under a constant fear of being watched, and for an unexpected arrest without any charges in the post-9/11 era.

2.5.2 Contemporary "just" society

Many sociologists have been attempting to develop some theoretical approaches to solve the contemporary issues of the globalized world. The quest for social justice and better world are the core reference issues among the most significant concerns discussed in sociological debates. In the

current era, modernization is considered as a "progressive trend of thought that affirms the power of human beings to create, improve, and reshape their world with the aid of historical knowledge, practical implementation of scientific knowledge, or technology" (Brock et al., 2012). Whereas, scholars like Foucault and Bauman remind us that the modern world may not be always pretty, it has a lot of ugliness, destruction, and a lot of loopholes that need to be tackled (Bauman, 1989; Brock et al., 2012; Foucault, 1980). Rawls (2009) believes that the modern world cannot progress without promising the social justice, and the laws and institutions must be changed or eliminated if they are unable to create a *just* society.

Bauman (1989) thinks that modernity is supposed to be a peaceful and ideal kind of society. He has raised concerns about the modern world by asking the question "how did Holocaust happen in this modern and advanced world?" (Bauman, 1989). In Nazi Germany, during the Holocaust, it was the matter of creating a super race within the boundaries, creating your own "there" (Bauman, 1989). Rawls (1999) used the notion of *veil of ignorance*, in his "theory of justice," where nobody knows about his or her position in the society. If somebody wants to redesign the society, they could be rich or powerful, or they could be really weak or powerless. Rawls (2009) thinks that liberty and freedom are the first principles of a "just" society, and without freedom, people cannot contribute to the society. He stated that after ensuring freedom, the next critical and influential principle in a *just* society is to provide equal opportunity to every individual in the society. Therefore, every individual should have equal right to access all resources in the society, not by luck, not by power, but through their skills and abilities. Rawls (2009) advocates that irrespective of the end result, which may be unequal, every individual in the society should be given equal opportunity and the chance of participation in a "just" society.

Sen's (1999) "capability approach" was derived from Rawls's notion of equal opportunity. Sen (1999) indicates that if you have extreme poverty, extreme oppression, and extreme injustice in society, you are not harming only the sufferers, but you are also harming the whole society. You are not using the human capital to its fullest because the victims of poverty, oppression, and injustice are already excluded from the society (Sen, 1999). Social inequality is considered as the absence of equal opportunities for different minority groups in a society (Bolaria & Hier, 2007; Li, 1995; Miles, 1989; Satzewich, 1998). "It contains structured and recurrent patterns of unequal

distributions of goods, wealth, opportunities, rewards, and punishments" (Bolaria & Li, 1988; Miles, 1989; Satzewich, 1998).

According to Rawls (2009), inequality can be justifiable; but the differential can only be acceptable if it is increasing the well-being of every individual in the society. At some level, it seems that problems like war, violence, and genocide have settled down, but after some time, we hear the same stories again in different parts of the world (Bauman, 1989). Bauman further says that science has led us to this ethical neutrality where ethics is eliminated from the society, from politics, from our daily life, and we should work to bring that ethics and morality back to the society. Furthermore, we should act individually in a responsible way if we want to create a better world, he adds. It is not a matter of self-interest, it is our collective responsibility to bring back the ethical values in society (Bauman, 1989; Calhoun, 2012). Parsons believe that we have to bring moral values, norms, and ethics back to the society if we want to create a better world (Calhoun, 2012). Although, several sociologists have criticized Parsons' notion of norms and values, they have not disputed the importance of norms and values in society (Calhoun, 2012).

2.6 Theoretical framework

After a careful review of literature, this dissertation adopts Cohen's "*folk devils and moral panics*" as theoretical framework to address the research questions. This theory provides a clear framework for understanding the issues of racialization and media representation of Canadian Muslims in the pre- and post-9/11 eras. Many scholars have used Cohen's "*folk devils and moral panics*" in sociological explanations of their work (see Altheide, 2009; Bearfield, 2008; Critcher, 2006; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Marsh & Melville, 2011; Odartey-Wellington, 2009; Young, 2007). However, the issues of racialization and media depiction of Muslims were not captured in Canadian context under Cohen's theory of "*folk devils and moral panics.*"

2.6.1 Folk Devils and Moral Panics

Cohen (2002) coined the terms *folk devils* and *moral panics* during the 1960s in his work on "Mods and Rockers" in the United Kingdom. Cohen's term *folk devils* refers to social construction of certain communities, which are demonized and blamed as evils in society, while *moral panics* refers to a situation, where certain communities are labeled as potential threat to the social norms

and values of the society. The media and state agents portray these communities in such a stereotypical way that creates a situation of *moral panics* in society. In his seminal work, Cohen describes the situation of *moral panic* as:

> *"A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerge to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions that might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even the way the society conceives itself." (Cohen, 2002, p. 1)*

Folk devils are the visible evils who have no moral values, and are a big threat to the social norms and values of a civilized society (Cohen, 2002). These *folk devils* are symbols of fear and require strong public and state response. Although it takes a long time to construct *folk devils* in any society, but once they are constructed in the mind of the people, it is not easy to eliminate from their memories. Bearfield (2008) argues that a strong belief about something is not enough to prove, however, it becomes a big challenge to question that belief. At the same time, it does not mean that a socially constructed belief is completely wrong.

Young (2007) observes that state agencies, such as the police and other security agencies, are easily influenced and cannot avoid public pressure against a particular blamed community. The media works with state agencies as a catalyst to create *moral panics* by highlighting the threats and concerns to the society posed by *folk devils* of specific community (Odartey-Wellington, 2009). One prime example of a situation that reflecting the *folk devils and moral panics* is the

Western media's portrayal of Muslims in their coverage of 9/11 incident (Bearfield, 2008; Odartey-Wellington, 2009).

2.6.2 Muslims as Folk Devils, and Moral Panics in Canadian Society

The phenomenon of demonizing or stereotyping Middle Eastern people who are mostly Muslims is not new. Said (1979, 1985) believes that the cultural and social identities of people from the Middle East and other non-European territories have been constructed on the basis of Eurocentric literature, and negative media representation of the communities in the West. Said (1979) claims that Middle Eastern people have been portrayed in negative stereotypical ways in Western scholarship and media. Western literary and artistic works have represented Middle Eastern society as autocratic, patriarchal and unjust, with women being portrayed as slaves and victims of domestic violence, while, men are portrayed as muggers, cruel, villains, and murderers (folk devils). Mohanty (1984) has also critiqued the way Western feminist discourse produce women of the south as singular, monolithic subjects with lasting discursive outcomes. Such negative literary and artistic representation of the Middle Eastern communities have negatively impacted on the relationship between the Middle Eastern immigrants, who are mostly Muslims, with their host societies (Hamdon, 2010). As a result, Muslim communities are viewed as potential threat to the cultural norms and values of their host countries (Hamdon, 2010; Razack, 2005), and perceived as forming parallel societies in Canada (Saunders, 2012). The 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US have played a role of catalyst in this situation by creating fear or *moral panics* in the host societies of Muslim immigrants.

According to Dijk (1989, 1995), a powerful segment of society (power elites) control all forms of communication and discourses and "they are the manufacturers of public knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, norms, values, morals, and ideologies" (Dijk, 1989, p. 22). Canadian media discourse in pre- and post-9/11 eras have been signicantly involved in constructing the negative images of Muslim immigrants in Canada by demonizing their community, culture and religion (Eid & Karim, 2011; Satzewich, 2011). Right after 9/11, Canadian media started blaming Muslim all over the world for the terrorist attacks in the US, and started declaring them as potential threats to Canadian society. The case of Maher Arar is a prime example of media portrayal, whereby Arar was depicted as a supporter of terrorists but was later proved wrong (see introduction chapter).

Figure 2.2 demonstrates the cycle of social construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada in light of Cohen's *"folk devils and moral panics"* theory.

Figure 2.2: The model of social construction of Muslim Minority Groups in Canada

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                        ┌──────────────┐
                        │    Media     │
                        └──────┬───────┘
              ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
     ┌────────────────┐                ┌────────────────┐
     │   Pre-9/11     │                │   Post-9/11    │
     │   Discourse    │                │   Discourse    │
     └────────┬───────┘                └────────┬───────┘
              │                                 │
     ┌────────────────┐                ┌────────────────┐
     │ Muslims        │                │ Muslims are    │
     │ perceived as   │                │ "Folk Devils", │
     │ Uncivilized,   │                │ threat to      │
     │ Barbarians,    │                │ Canadian       │
     │ Villains &     │                │ society        │
     │ Mobs           │                └────────┬───────┘
     └────────────────┘                         │
                                        ┌────────────────┐
     ┌────────────────┐                 │ Muslims to be  │
     │ Muslims        │                 │ Expelled or    │
     │ accommodated,  │                 │ neutralized    │
     │ diversity,     │                 └────────┬───────┘
     │ integration,   │                 ┌────────────────┐
     │ multiculturalism│                │ Strong response│
     └────────────────┘                 │ > Tough        │
                                        │ legislation -  │
                                        │ C-51           │
                                        │ > Strict       │
                                        │ surveillence   │
                                        │ > Deportation, │
                                        │ etc            │
                                        └────────────────┘
```
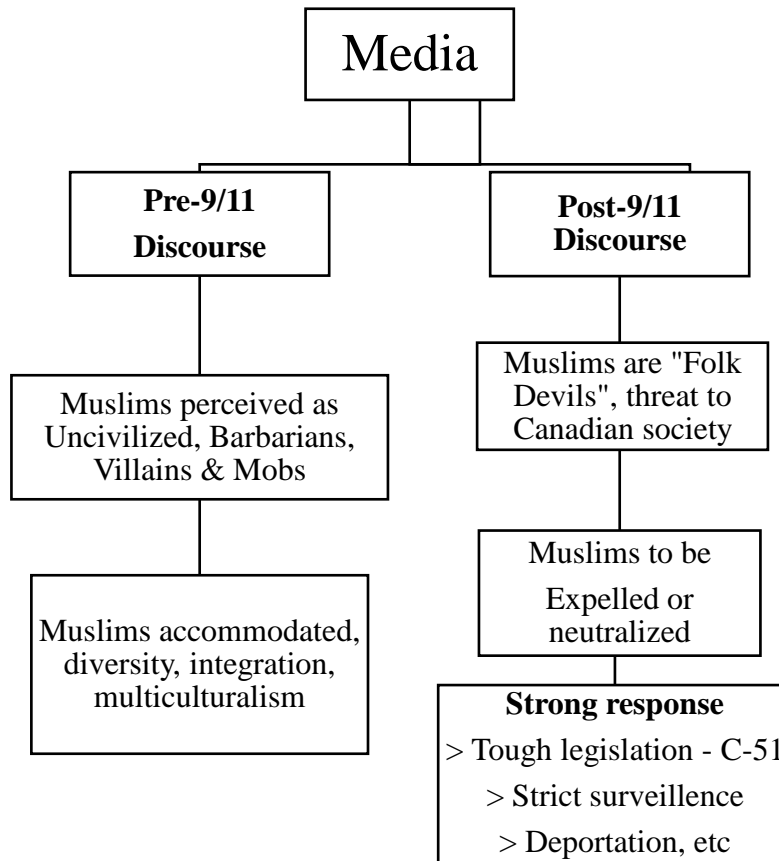
2.6.3 Three Phases of "Folk Devils and Moral Panics" Theory

Cohen's *"folk devils and moral panics"* theoretical framework has different phases in order to complete a full cycle. The first phase consists of demonizing and blaming certain communities of society as potential threats to the norms and values of that society. Some of the potential threats to society may be in the form of violent gangs, welfare cheats, crimes, child abuse, school bullying and shootings, drugs, sex offenders, refugees & asylum seekers, and as social groups that go against the social norms and rituals of that society (Cohen, 2002). In the second phase, a triggering event(s) occurs, followed by an exaggerated social and political response; while the media creates

hype, and covers that event(s) with over-sensationalized imageries. In third phase, the process generates a response that ends up with some sort of strong political or legal legislation.

If we look at the post-9/11 period, Cohen's theory of *"folk devils and moral panics"* is best fitted for the current situation of Canadian society (see Figure 2.3). Muslim minority groups became demonized or socially constructed as folk devils by colonial and Eurocentric media, arts, and literature after the 9/11 terrorist attack. The terrorists' attacks served as triggering events, followed by an exaggerated social and political response along with sensationalized media coverage. The process then culminated in a tough legislation, Bill C-51 ("Bill C-51," 2015), that became a law after approval by the Canadian parliament in 2015.

The three phases of *folk devils* and *moral panics* are explained in the Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Process of "folk devils and moral panics" in Canada

PHASE -1: Demonizing and blaming certain communities of society as a potential threat to norms and values of that society, such as violent gangs, welfare cheats, crimes, child abuse, school bullying and shootings, drugs, sex offenders, refugees & asylum seekers, and terrorists.
• **Demonized community to blame = Muslim community in Canada**

PHASE -2: Triggering events (9/11 terrorist attacks in the US)
• **Racialized media discourse + harsh political statements**
• **Religiously motivated hate crimes**
• **Exaggerated security measures, Maher Arar case** (see introduction chapter)

PHASE -3: Blaming Muslim minority groups, media presented Muslims as terrorists and potential threat to Canadian society.
• **Demonized community to blame = Muslim community**
• **Tough legislation = C-51 Bill**

Keeping in view the adopted theoretical framework, this study adopted a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to deconstruct the subtle and covert public and media discourse adopted in the construction of a new identity for Muslim minority groups in Canadian society (see Methodology section). In recent scholarship on minorities' and multicultural issues, many researchers have used critical discourse analysis to seek the solution for such important social

issues (Collins, 2013; Henry & Tator, 2002; Mahtani, 2001; Marsh & Melville, 2011; Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph, 2005; Saeed, 2007; Smith, 2013; Smolash, 2011).

2.7 Summary

In order to get a better understanding of these issues, a thorough study of literature has been conducted. In view of Canadian history of race relations, this literature review has attempted to explore the themes of social construction of Muslims, and role of media in perpetuating *moral panics* in Canadian society by using stereotypical discourse about Muslim. Therefore, after reviewing the literature it has been decided to adopt Cohen's notion of "*folk devils and moral panics"* as theoretical framework to answer the research questions of this study.

To sum up, the public and media discourse on Muslims has changed in view of incidents like 9/11 in 2001, the Madrid bombing in 2004, the London bombing in 2005, Canada's terror plot in 2006, Ottawa firing incident 2014, Paris attacks in 2015, and the recent Orlando attacks on June 12th, 2016. Muslims are viewed as potential security threat in Canada because of their ethnic origins, religious affiliations, and cultural similarity to those who were involved in terrorist activities (Hamdon, 2010; Razack, 2005). The social intolerance and underlying racial ideologies in Canadian society have been reinforced by racist media discourse.

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section talks about the research design and methods adopted for this study, and offers a comparative analysis of quantitative and qualitative methods. The second section describes the data sources and data collection methods. The third section explains the coding process of collected data. The fourth section articulates the methods of data analysis, i.e. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

There are two major objectives of this exploratory study. First, to explore the role played by print media in the social construction of Muslims in Canada. Second, to understand and highlight print media's racial and religious undertones that perpetuate *moral panics* in Canadian society, discrimination and racism against Muslims. Furthermore, this study attempts to open up discussion about the possible consequences of print media discourse on Muslims in Canadian society.

This study has mainly relied on qualitative methods involving the use of CDA to deconstruct the racialized discourse produced in three mainstream Canadian English newspapers. The selected newspapers, *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post,* and *The Star Phoenix,* that were published during the period of two years i.e. one year before and one year after 9/11 were critiacally analyzed. Additionally, in order to attain firsthand knowledge of the personal experiences of individuals of Muslim minority groups in their words, two focus group discussions and nine individual in-depth interviews were conducted in Saskatoon. The data collected from newspapers, focus group discussions, and individual interviews was carefully examined and divided into two major themes, i.e. the role of media in constructing negative public perception of Muslim minority groups in Canada, and implication of media stereotypical racialized representation of Muslim minority groups on Canadian society. Although there are many factors that have donated to the construction of stereotypical image of Muslims in Canada, the media is considered the most powerful agent among them all.

It is important to mention that the descriptive statistics of newspapers are limited to monitor the trends in selected keywords in three selected newspapers within a given timeframe. These statistics do not represent the whole print media as well as cannot be generalized to explain the whole process of social construction. Similarly, narrative part of this study that included the focus group discussion and individual interviews can only provide the lived experiences of the participants. This data also do not represent the whole Canadian Muslim population. The objective was to highlight the challenges faced by the people of Muslim minority groups in such environment, where they were perceived as *folk devils* and potential threats to the cultural norms of society. "The best the researcher can do is to argue a particular interpretation as persuasively as possible, supported by references to the data, and leave the final judgement to the reader" (Osborne, 1990, p. 87).

3.1 Qualitative vs Quantitative methods

Social researchers choose research methods based on either qualitative or quantitative in nature, therefore, no one is right or wrong, and the choice of methods entirely depends upon the question and outcome of the research study (Bouma, Ling , & Wilkinson, 2016). A researcher can choose either qualitative or quantitative research methods, or mix method that is a combination of both. Researchers can also select the type of research methods at different stages of the study by looking at the direction and nature of their research study.

There are some fundamental differences between qualitative and quantitative research methods that needs to be kept in mind while making decisions to adopt the research methods for every type of study (Bouma et al., 2016). The qualitative research method specifically helps to explore the human experiences, cultures, societies, and to examine a particular issue or case. Whereas, quantitative research method supports to investigate the relationship between variables or characteristic, such as age, sex, race, income, or education level. If data is available in form of text, pictures, or objects, a researcher may apply qualitative techniques to analyze the given data. Whereas, if data is provided by numeric scale, the choice may be quantitative methods. Although both groups are independent and different in nature, but they may overlap each other and sometimes can be used together in a single study. There is no ultimate clash between the qualitative and quantitative methods or data in terms of their objectives and capabilities, each of them can

equally be used for falsification or verification of hypothesis, or authentication and formation of theory (Bouma et al., 2016; Silverman, 2005).

Qualitative methods are considered as soft and flexible; whereas, quantitative methods are seemed to be hard and fixed. Similarly, qualitative methods tend to be more subjective and political in nature; whereas, quantitative methods lean towards objectivity and are considered as value-free. In qualitative research, a researcher describes and analyzes a phenomenon using the phrases and words; whereas, in quantitative studies, the researcher ends up with data summarize to numbers, which is then analyzed statistically.

Qualitative research is exploratory in nature and usually start with the "what" and "how" words and does not necessarily has a hypothesis or prediction (Silverman, 2005). For example, what are the eating habits of university students on campus? How university students celebrate Christmas on campus? Furthermore, qualitative research is very useful in investigating the human behavior, feelings, attitude, and inner thoughts in a clear way (Silverman, 2005). For example, in a medical research, no amount of surveys, questionnaire or numerical data can provide the cause of any disease, unless researcher talk to the patients and get their feelings, experiences, or eating habits. Whereas, quantitative research questions start with the word "what" and "how" but they might also include the word "does" in the beginning. In descriptive study, the question may start like, "how much?", "how often?", "what is the relationship between variables?", or "what is the difference between variables?" For example, what is the relationship between race and higher education in Saskatchewan? What are the different income levels of males and females of different races in Saskatchewan? Furthermore, the experimental quantitative research questions may be like, "does hand washing increase when a poster is placed in campus bathrooms?" Quantitative research needs hypothesis in the beginning to predict the results of the research study.

The data collection in qualitative and quantitative methods are different from each other. When researcher collect data by themselves, that is called primary data, such as interviews, surveys, or observing some event. Whereas, when researchers use pre-existed data that is collected by some other person or organization, is called secondary data, such as government databases, census data, commercial databases, or publically available surveys etc. Both, qualitative and quantitative methods, can work with primary and secondary data, depending upon the nature of

the study (Bouma et al., 2016). Typically social researchers collect data from more than one source to get more broader picture of the social world. They use interviews, focus group discussion, documents, newspapers, journals, observations, social media messages, audio, visuals, and video recordings. Researchers spend a lot of time in the field to collect data, which includes the visiting, observing and interviewing the participants in their environments. On the other hand, quantitative data, which is usually in numeric form, comes from instruments like surveys, questionnaires, or observational checklists. The research findings are also different in both methods; qualitative research reports are narrative, interpretive with a long written material, while quantitative reports are straightforward, rigid, more of explaining the digits, and are usually small in size (Silverman, 2005).

The choice of methods used for any research also depends on the person or organization responsible for that research, and also be subject to the usage of research reports or results. Mostly governments choose quantitative method because such kind of researches can be done easily and quickly by their own agencies, the research studies/ surveys conducted by the governmental agency Statistics Canada is a prime example of such study. On the other hand, the general perception of quantitative research is viewed with suspicion, especially when government uses numeric data to get the favourable results, for example, falling prices of consumer goods, reducing unemployment rates etc. On the other hand, qualitative methods are used by vast majority on the basis of more elaborative and comprehensive analysis of social lives of individuals, and societies. For example, qualitative methods are used to study life histories and social behaviors of individuals. But qualitative researchers sometimes consider themselves as second-class citizens in contrast to quantitative researchers whose work is regarded as the gold standard (Silverman, 2005).

To address the research questions in this study, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods have been used. Data was collected from three different sources, newspapers, focus group discussion sessions, and individual interviews. Since the secondary data collected from the newspapers for the period of two years, one year before, and one year after the 9/11, was quite old; therefore, to get the fresh primary data, this study conducted two focus group discussion sessions followed by the nine individual interviews. This technique has helped to analyze and understand the issues faced by Muslim minority groups in Canada in view of pre- and post-9/11 situations. The qualitative section of the study involved critical discourse analysis of the language/

terminologies used in newspapers, focus group discussions, and individual interviews to discribe Muslim minority groups in Canada. Whereas, in quantitative section, content analysis was implemented to analyze the frequency of themes and keywords in selected Canadian newspapers for the period of two years.

3.2 Data collection

Normally, social researchers choose different types of data for one study to gather as much information as possible. Therefore, by following this useful tradition, the data for this study was gathered from three sources; 1) newspapers, 2) focus group discussions, and 3) individual interviews. A computer-based data analysis software Nvivo (2016), was used to store the collected data from the newspapers, focus group discussions and idividual interviews. This software is specially designed for qualitative analysis and mixed methods research to analyze unstructured data used in social sciences research. NVivo did not only help in storing and sorting the large data in this study, it also provided great help in the process of data analysis.

This study has collected secondary data from newspapers, and verified the lived experiences of Canadian Muslims by collecting primary data through focus group discussions and individual interviews. The adoption of mixed methods approach has strengthened the scope of research objectives. Collecting data from different sources has reduced the element of personal bias that could arise in case of one source of data. However, the narrow time frame of selected newspapers' data, one year before 9/11 and one year after 9/11, may limit the scope of the issue.

3.2.1 Newspaper data

The newspaper data was extracted from the news sections, editorials, and articles published in the English versions of three (two national and one local) daily newspapers *The Globe and Mail, National Post,* and *The Star Phoenix*, by using specific keywords (see coding process section of this chapter) during the period of one year before the 9/11, and one year after the 9/11. These newspapers have nationwide and local subscribers, and usually have a diverse coverage of government policy discussions, announcements, crime reporting, opinion polls, current affairs news, social & political developments, and special reports. After the data collection, a comparative analysis of newspaper discourse about Muslim minority groups in the pre- and post-9/11 time

periods was conducted to assess the any changes in Canadian print messages. It was useful for this study to critically analyze these newspapers to uncover the general trends, opinions, and debates about Muslims in Canada.

The great advantage of choosing print media over electronic media is that print media archives are easily accessible through university library archives. Furthermore, using electronic media archives is time consuming and costly. Moreover, in contrast to electronic media, print media is considered to be more reliable, authentic, influential, superior in quality (Dijk, 1989), and is broadly circulated through printed hard copies and their online versions that are easily accessible through the internet.

The University of Saskatchewan data archives were used to collect the selected newspapers data through its "ProQuest" database in "Canadian major dailies" archives. This database has rich data archives of major Canadian daily newspapers. Twelve keywords *Burqa, Islamic-terrorists[9], Islamists, Muslim-terrorists[10], Arabs, Islam, Jihad, Muslims, Anti-Muslim, Hate-crime, Islamophobia,* and *Terrorism*, were searched by date; i.e. from September 11, 2000, to September 11, 2002 in editorials, letters to the editor, and news sections of these selected newspapers. The frequency of use of the themes and trends presented in the selected print media portrayal of Muslim minority groups during the time frame mentioned above were carefully calculated and analyzed in detail in the discussion chapter.

3.2.2 Focus group discussion and interviews data

The focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were conducted to get firsthand information about the personal experiences of the individuals of Muslim minority groups in Canada. Two focus group discussions and nine (3 females and 6 males) in-depth individual interviews were conducted for this study. Out of total 25 participants, there were 17 males and 8 females. All the participants of focus group discussion were assigned codes; FGM# for males, and FGF# for females to ensure their anonymity. Similar codes were assigned to the interviewees; IIM# for males, and IIF# for

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[9] The term used by media, blaming the religion of Islam for terrorism.

[10] The term used by media, blaming the followers of Islam for committing terrorism.

females. Majority of participants of focus group discussion and individual interviews had at least formal school education and were between 35 and 49 years old (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Focus group and interview participants' details

		Male	**Female**
Age group	35 to 49 years	11	6
	50 to 64 years	6	2
	65 and above	0	0
Formal school education	Yes	14	8
	No	3	0
Ethnicity origin (or Race)	Asian / Pacific Islander	0	0
	South Asian	12	5
	Middle Eastern	3	3
	White / Native American or American Indian	0	0
	Hispanic or Latino	0	0
	Black or African American	2	0
	Other	0	0
Time in Canada	Less than 10 years	3	1
	More than 10 years	8	4
	More than 20 years	6	3
Total	25	17	8

During the focus group discussions and individual interviews, participants shared their observation of media coverage of Muslims and its implications on Canadian society's perception of Muslims. Furthermore, they also disclosed their direct experiences with workplace racism, barriers in job market, and their social interactions with the people of other communities.

3.3 Coding Process of newspaper data

This study used computer software NVivo for data mining and data analysis. The first step was to import all data collected from three newspapers, *The Globe and Mail, National Post*, and *The Star Phoenix*. The next phase was to arrange all data in accordance with their type and source by date. The imported data was saved in NVivo database by dividing them into specific groups and sub-groups. Each group of data was then examined for specific keywords to code and to create themes.

A word query was used to search twelve keywords *Burqa, Islamic-terrorists, Islamists, Muslim-terrorists, Arabs, Islam, Jihad, Muslims, Anti-Muslim, Hate-crime, Islamophobia,* and *Terrorism*, in three selected newspapers from September 11, 2000, to September 11, 2002 in their editorials, letters to the editor, and news sections. The keywords were selected because of their prominence in relation to the religion of Islam and its followers to understand the contextual discourse produced by print media in pre- and post-9/11 period. Three keywords, *Islamic-terrorists, Islamists,* and *Muslim-terrorists* conceptually establish a link between religion (Islam) and its followers with the militancy and terrorism. According to Dictionary (1994), the word Islamist means "supporting or advocating Islamic fundamentalism." The other two keywords, *Islamic-terrorists, and Muslim-terrorists*, create a perception of straight association between the religion of Islam and its followers who engage in terrorism. The word *Burqa,* which is interchangeable with *niqab, hijab*, and *veil,* is used by Muslim women and is, according to Western understanding, considered as the symbol of Muslim patriarchy. The word *Jihad* is the most loaded word and often misunderstood in the Western world (see chapter 2 for detailed discussion on Jihad). This study reveals that the print media have used these words to convey some specific message to its readers with the pre-conceived meaning of these words. In other words, media have associated Islam and Muslims with terrorism, and then have normalized these words' meanings by using them frequently. The rest of keywords, *Arabs, Islam, Muslims, Burqa, Anti-Muslim, Hate-crime, Islamophobia*, and *Terrorism* were the most frequently used words in newspapers when talking about Muslim immigrants in Canada. Whatever is happening or being discussed in Canadian society, media debates transmit it/them to the general public. All keywords that are the focus of this study have been, and continue to be, controversial in Canadian media and society since 9/11.

3.4 Data Analysis

This study has examined the changes that have occurred in Canadian media discourse on Muslims over the period of two years, one year before and one year after the 9/11. The collected data was critically analyzed by dividing it into two broader themes; the role of print media in the social construction of Muslim minority groups, and the racial and religious stereotypical discourse produced by Canadian press that propagate racism and discrimination against Canadian Muslims.

However, under these broader themes, further sub-themes were created to explore and interpret the collected data in detail.

3.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis of Newspapers

Hall (1992) defines discourse as the production of knowledge through language. Foucault (1972) explains discourse as a system of thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes that constitutes the reality about subjects and events which they talk about. Whereas, "critical discourse analysis" (CDA) is a broader term that generally focuses and analyzes the language of the dominant group in the society (Henry & Tator, 2002). In other words, it critically analyzes the the language and attitudes of the dominant social group and highlights the ideological boundaries between the power and powerless groups in societies. According to Michael Foucault (see Henry & Tator, 2002), every society has its own discursive interpretation of words, images, and ideas. As such, people construct the meanings of that discourse according to their social, cultural and historical context. There are two types of discourse: the dominant discourse which has larger acceptance and is perceived as normal, and the alternative discourse that remains unpopular and is silenced (Dijk, 1983; Henry & Tator, 2002). This study focuses primarily on the dominant discourse that remains popular and effective among majority groups.

According to Henry and Tator (2002), CDA provides not only a "description and interpretation of discourse in context" but also provides an explanation of why and how discourse works. It gives a deeper understanding of texts and explains why a text is as it is, and what it is aiming to do. In the contextual aspect, CDA explains that texts are not produced without a reason, texts are produced by particular group for some specific purpose along with some specific restrictions and expectations for targeted groups and readers (Dijk, 1983; Henry & Tator, 2002). This study attempts to explore and highlight the contextual meaning of discourse produced by Canadian newspaper media in the pre- and post-9/11 periods. Moreover, CDA is also helpful in understanding the phenomenon of social construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada.

3.4.2 Focus Group Discussion and Individual Interviews

Focus groups are a form of group interviews through which researchers collect data from conversations between a number of participants on certain issues (Kitzinger, 1995). It is a

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convenient and useful way of gathering knowledge about the issues faced by the Muslim minority groups. Focus group is a handy tool through which participants are provoked by the researcher to discuss issues openly by asking questions, and commenting on each other's experiences (Kitzinger, 1995), sometimes without much intervention by the researcher who constitutes "the naturally occurring data" (Silverman, 2006). This method has gained importance because in some cases the nature of data collected from the focus group is much more revealing and informative than data collected from one-to-one interviews (Kitzinger, 1995; Palys, 1997). However, there is an option of in-depth individual interviews with the key informants if they are willing to share their experiences privately with the researcher. Key informants are leaders, professionals, or residents from certain community groups who have firsthand knowledge of their community (Palys, 1997). Sometimes these key informants hesitate to share their knowledge or experiences in group discussions, but are willing to share their information privately. In such cases, they can be invited for in-depth one-to-one interviews.

In a focus group discussion, the researcher initiates a talk and acts as a facilitator without controlling the conversation between the participants (Kitzinger, 1995; Palys, 1997; Silverman, 2006). Two focus group discussion sessions were held at different time periods and nine individual interviews were conducted during the study in Saskatoon. There were eight participants in each of the focus group. The participants discussed the given issues, raised questions and concerns, narrated their personal experiences, suggested solutions, and identified the potential threats they might face in the future. Sometimes focus group discussions bring up new dimensions to the research that are not under consideration by the researcher (Kitzinger, 1995). The participants in this study brought up many interesting and important social issues during the focus group discussion sessions and individual interviews. It was very helpful to use individual interviews along with the focus group discussions to explore issues that otherwise were not envisioned when the study was designed. Specifically, during the proposed focus group discussion and individual interviews, respondents were asked to share their opinions and personal experiences while living in Canada. Those discussions and interviews became very helpful in understanding the lived experiences of the people who belong to Muslim minority groups and their perception among majority population.

3.5 Summary

To reiterate, to address the research questions of this study, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted. The data was collected from newspapers, focus group discussions, and individual interviews. The newspaper data was collected from three English newspapers that included two national newspapers *The Globe and Mail, National Post*, and one local Saskatoon based newspaper *The Star Phoenix.* Twelve keywords *Burqa, Islamic-terrorists, Islamists, Muslim-terrorists, Arabs, Islam, Jihad, Muslims, Anti-Muslim, Hate-crime, Islamophobia,* and *Terrorism*, were searched in these newspapers in two phases; first, from September 11th, 2000, to September 10th, 2001, and second, from September 11th, 2001, to September 10th, 2002 in their editorials, letters to the editor, and news sections. Two focus group discussion sessions were conducted in Saskatoon with eight participants in each session along with nine individual interviews. The collected data was stored in a computer by using a qualitative analysis software NVivo. Critical discourse analysis was used to analyse the collected data from all sources.

CHAPTER 4:

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter contains the findings or results of this research study. The first part of this chapter presents the results obtained from three selected newspapers. This part contains the frequency tables that present the trends identified in selected keywords in three newspapers during the two-years period. The second part entails the outcomes of focus group discussions and individual interviews.

Three newspapers, *The Globe and Mail, National Post*, and *The Star Phoenix*, were searched for the keywords *Burqa, Islamic-terrorists, Islamists, Muslim-terrorists, Arabs, Islam, Jihad, Muslims, Anti-Muslim, Hate-crime, Islamophobia*, and *Terrorism*, for the period of one year before and one year after the 9/11. All three newspapers produced different results but their trending patterns were almost similar to each other.

Two focus group discussion sessions were held in Saskatoon with eight participants in each session. The participants were also given a choice to appear in an individual interview if they want to share more than what they shared during the focus group discussion. Nine individual interviews were conducted in later stage, where participants shared their personal experiences in response to the research questions they were asked. In total, 25 people participated in two focus group discussion sessions, and nine individual interviews. It is important to mention that all recruited participants of focus group discussions and individual interviews were Muslims who shared their personal experiences and their opinion about the majority population that is non-Muslim.

4.1 Newspapers results

Out of three, two newspapers *The Globe and Mail and National Post* are national newspapers, while, *The Star Phoenix* is a Saskatoon-based local newspaper. Twelve keywords *Burqa, Islamic-terrorists, Islamists, Muslim-terrorists, Arabs, Islam, Jihad, Muslims, Anti-Muslim, Hate-crime, Islamophobia*, and *Terrorism*, were used to search these newspapers in two phases; first, was the period from September 11th, 2000 to September 10th, 2001, and second period was from September

11th, 2001 to September 10th, 2002. The results were then compared to monitor changes in the two-year period in order to examine and understand the contextual discourse produced by three newspapers. It also helped to understand how these trends aided in escalating the situation of *moral panics* in Canadian society after the 9/11.

Figure 4.4: Total count in each newspaper from Sep. 11th, 2000 to Sep. 10th, 2002
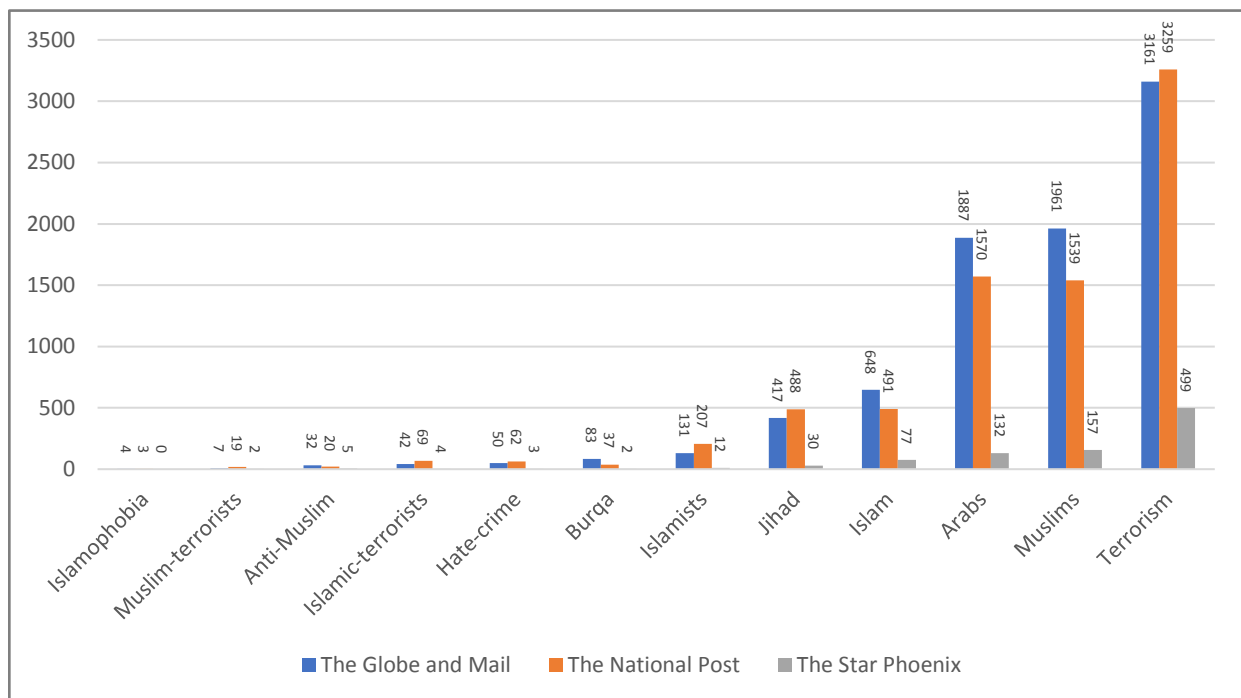

Figure 4.4 contains the summary of combined results of three newspapers over the two-year period. Altogether, the keywords search totaled 17110 counts from selected newspapers during the period of two years, one year before, and one year after the 9/11. The results revealed that the word *Terrorism* was the most frequent word debated in all newspapers, followed by the words *Muslims, Arabs,* and *Islam* in all three selected newspapers. Whereas, *Islamophobia* was the least frequent word discussed in these newspapers during the same period, followed by the words *Muslim-terrorists and Anti-Muslim.*

Figure 4.5: Combine Summary of Trends in Three Newspapers (times increase after 9/11)
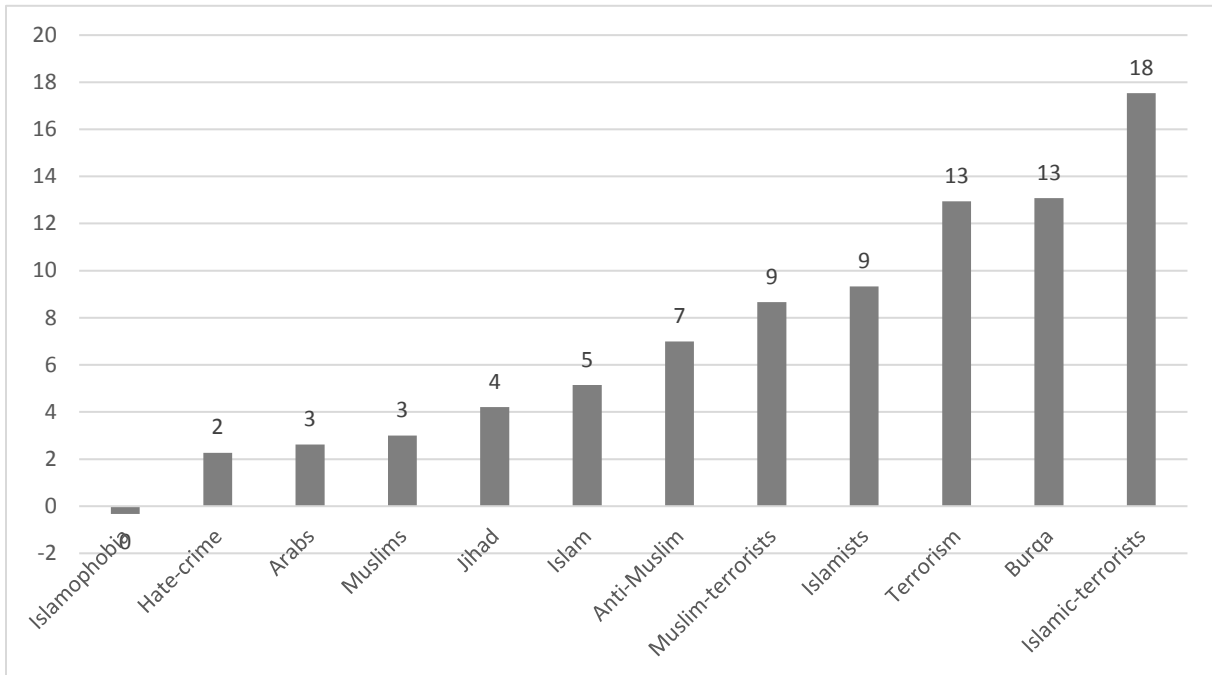
The results showed that selected newspapers used pre-defined stereotypical words such as *Islamists, Muslim-terrorists, Islamic-terrorists, Jihad,* and *Burqa,* when talking about Muslims, Islam, or terrorism. The results indicated that the usage of these words significantly increased after 9/11 incident (see Figure 4.5). The usage of word *Islamic-terrorists* averagely increased 18 times altogether in three newspapers in the post-9/11 year followed by the words *Burqa* and *Terrorism* by 13 times each. Similarly, the average usage of words *Islamists* and *Muslim-terrorists* inclined 9 times each in three newspapers. There was a nominal increase observed in the rest of searched keywords *Hate-crime, Arabs*, *Muslims, Jihad, Islam,* and *Anti-Muslim* ranged from 2 to 7 times in all three newspapers during the following year of 9/11. Surprisingly, one keyword *Islamophobia* remained ignored during this period in all three selected newspapers. The results indicated that *Islamophobia* was overlooked by these newspapers in both pre- and post-9/11 periods.

**Table 4.2: Summary of Trends (times increase after 9/11) in each Newspaper**

	The Globe and Mail	National Post	The Star Phoenix
Islamophobia	-4	3	0
Burqa	20	18	2
Hate-crime	2	3	2
Muslim-terrorists	6	18	2
Arabs	2	2	3
Muslims	2	3	4
Islamic-terrorists	41	8	4
Anti-Muslim	7	9	5
Jihad	4	4	5
Islam	4	3	8
Islamists	8	8	12
Terrorism	10	10	19

The average trend of usage of selected keywords indicated an increasing tendency in all three newspapers in the year following 9/11 compared to the year before 9/11 (see Table 4.2). The words *Islamic-terrorists, Burqa, Terrorism*, and *Muslim-terrorists* were among the most common words that increased significantly in these newspapers' coverages after the 9/11. Whereas, the word *Islamophobia* showed a negative trend in *The Globe and Mail*, three times increment in *National Post*, and showed no change in *The Star Phoenix*. The results indicated that all three newspapers ignored the issue of *Islamophobia*, which recently emerged as a real threat to the peaceful Canadian society.

4.1.2 The Globe and Mail

The Globe and Mail newspaper archives were searched for the twelve keywords in two phases. The first phase was from September 11[th], 2000 to September 10[th], 2001, and the second phase was from 11[th], 2001 to September 10[th], 2002. The results showed a dramatic change, mostly growing trend, in discussion on selected twelve keywords in the following year of 9/11 (see Figure 4.6).

**Figure 4.6: The Globe and Mail Trends (times increase after 9/11)**
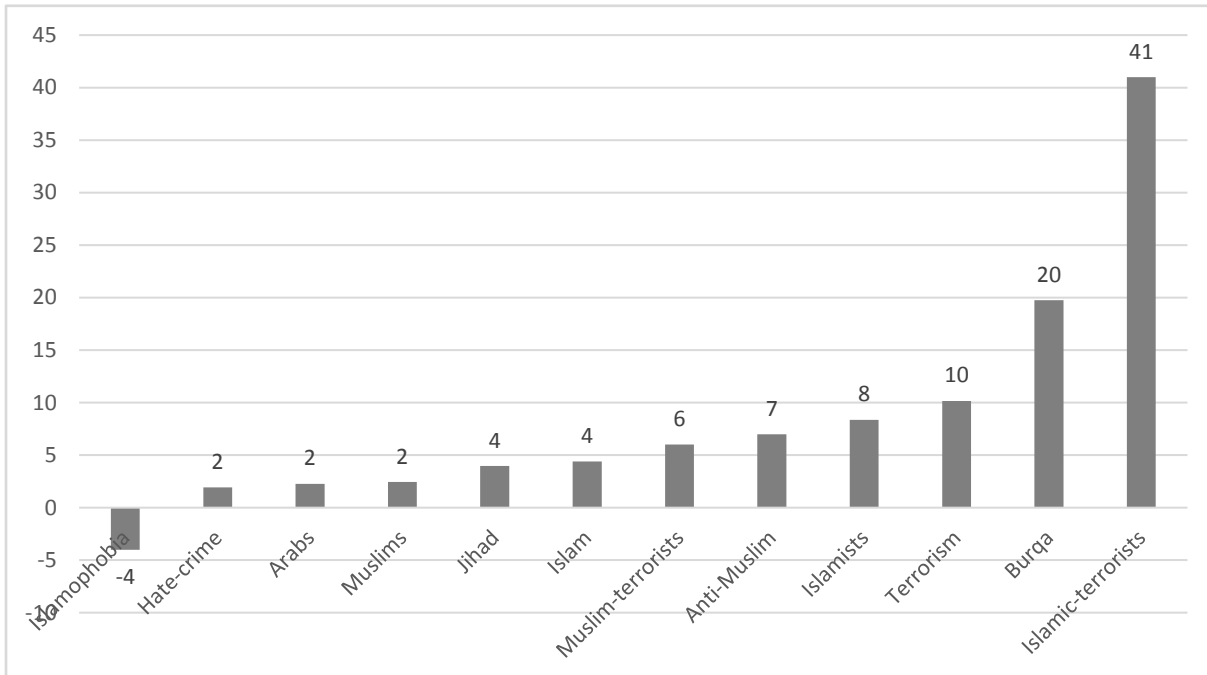
The results indicated that *Islamic-terrorists* and *Burqa* were the most used words after the 9/11. The word *Islamic-terrorists* marked significance by increasing 41 times in the following year of 9/11. Whereas, the use of the word *Burqa* increased 20 times during the following year of 9/11. The use of the words *Islamists* and *Muslim-terrorists* increased by 8 and 6 times compared to the year before 9/11. However, there was a negative trend in the use of the word *Islamophobia* in the following year of 9/11. The use of the word *Terrorism* dramatically increased by 10 times in the following year of 9/11. The use of the words H*ate crimes, Arabs, and Muslims* increased twice compared to the previous year of 9/11. The words *Jihad* and *Islam* used 4 times more than the previous year of 9/11.

4.1.3 National Post

National Post newspaper archives were searched for the twelve keywords in two phases. The first phase was from September 11th, 2000 to September 10th, 2001, and the second phase was from 11th, 2001 to September 10th, 2002. The search results revealed that there was a growing trend in the use of all keywords throughout the year following 9/11 (see Figure 4.7).

**Figure 4.7: National Post Trends (times increase after 9/11)**
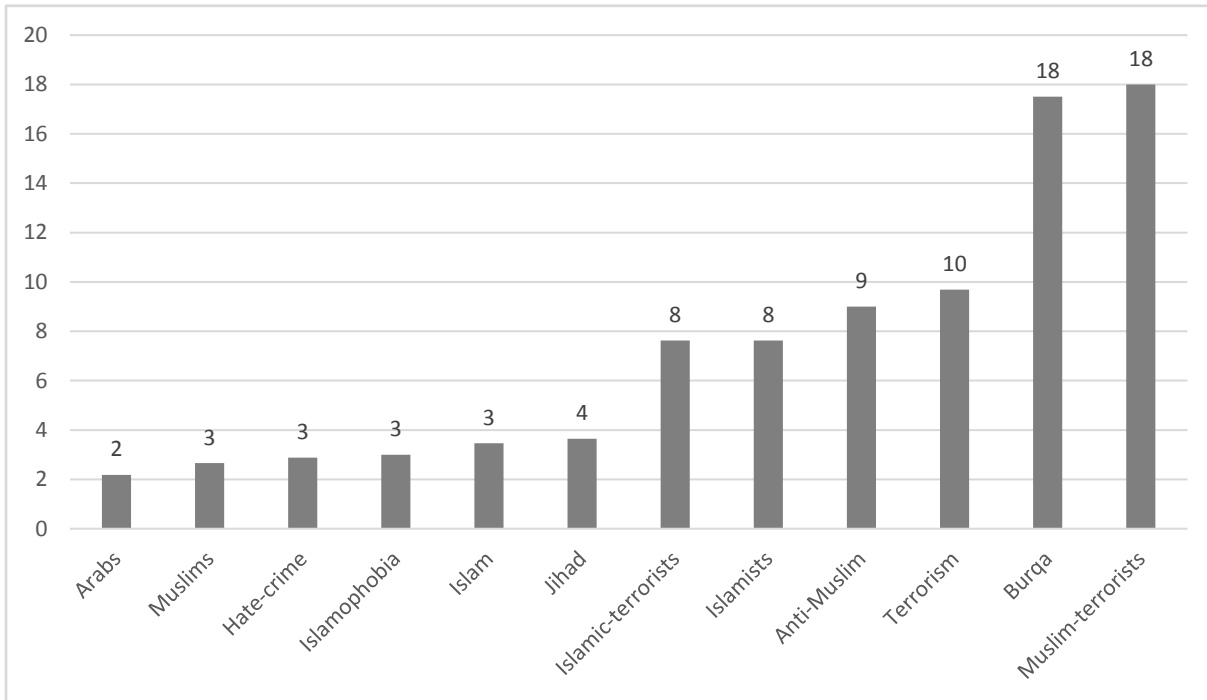
The usage of words *Muslim-terrorists* and *Burqa* significantly increased after the 9/11 in *National Post* newspaper. The results indicated that the word *Muslim-terrorists* was used 18 times more in the following year of 9/11 compared to the previous year. Similarly, the use of the word *Burqa* increased by 18 times after the 9/11 compared to the year before 9/11. The word *Terrorism* was used 10 times more in the following year of 9/11 compared to the previous year. The usage of keywords *Anti-Muslim* increased by 9 times, as well as other two words *Islamists,* and *Islamic-terrorists* were used 8 times each after the 9/11. The rest of keywords *Arabs, Muslims, Hate-crimes, Islamophobia, Islam, and Jihad* showed nominal growth ranges from 2 to 4 times respectively in the year after 9/11 compared to the year before 9/11.

4.1.4 The Star Phoenix

Saskatoon's based English newspaper, *The Star Phoenix*, exhibited trends similar to those of two national newspapers during the same time period in the use of the 12 keywords. Because of its coverage, it presented low numbers compared to the other two newspapers. A growing trend was observed for all keywords except one, namely *Islamophobia* which remained unchanged during the both time frames of one year each in pre- and post-9/11 periods (see Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8: The Star Phoenix Trends (times increase after 9/11)
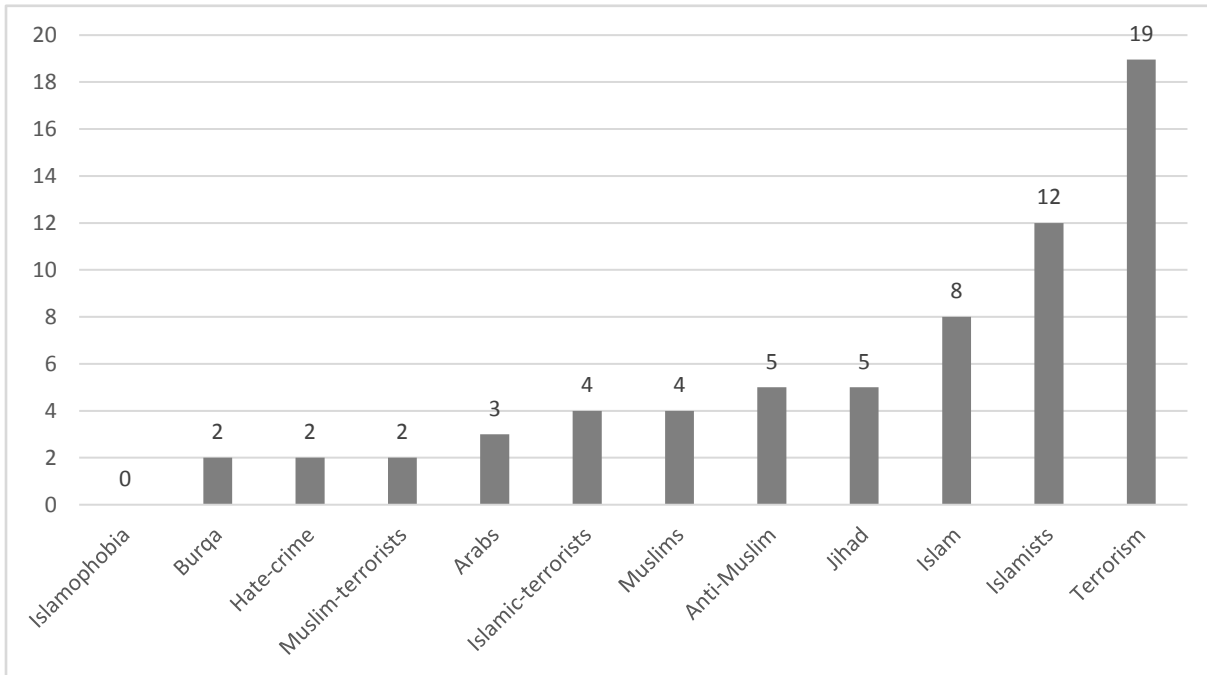
The results showed that *Terrorism* was the most discussed topic in *The Star Phoenix* newspaper in the following year of 9/11. The trends indicated that *Terrorism* was discussed 19 times more in the following year of 9/11 compared to the previous year. The words *Islamists* and *Islam* were the following most trending words during the same period and increased by 12 and 8 times respectively in *The Star Phoenix* newspaper. The use of the words *Jihad* and *Anti-Muslim* increased by 5 times each, and Muslims and Islamic-terrorists increased by 4 times each in the year following 9/11 than in the previous year. There was also a minor increase in the use of keywords *Burqa, Hate-crime, Muslim-terrorists*, and *Arabs;* the increase ranged from 2 to 3 times in the year after 9/11 compared to the year before 9/11.

4.2 Focus group and interviews

Two focus group discussion sessions were conducted in Saskatoon with eight participants in each session. In addition, nine individual interviews were also conducted in Saskatoon. The key findings of the focus groups' discussions and individual interviews are as follow:

4.2.1 Focus group discussions

The following is an overview of the key points of the two focus group discussion sessions held in Saskatoon in response to the research questions. When participants were asked to share their personal experiences in Canada as members of a Muslim minority group, their responses were as follows.

- Majority of participants became victims of religious hatred in public places especially after 9/11.
- That majority indicated that non-Muslim people suggested that this was not our land, and one day we will have to return to our countries of origin.
- Almost every participant of the focus group discussions faced some sort of racism.
- Approximately half of the participants faced racial or religious discrimination at their work place.
- About half of the participants confronted some sort of racial discrimination in public service

When they were asked to share about the differences in the social relations between members of the general population and members of the Muslim minority group they observed within Canadian society before and after the 9/11 incident, their responses were as follows:

- The majority of participants shared that public behaviour changed towards Muslims after the 9/11 incident. They thought that general population was nicer to them before 9/11 that they were after 9/11.
- Most of focus group participants believe that Islamophobia increased after the 9/11.
- All female participants indicated that they experienced situations where people treated them unfairly because of their outfits, such as *hijab, niqab* or *veil*.

When asked to share their opinion of the media (newspapers, radio, TV, or social media) representation of Muslims since 9/11, their key responses were as follows:

- More than half of the participants blamed the media as the main culprit in constructing negative images of Muslims in Canada.
- Participants argued that particularly social media became uncontrolled and people were spreading hatred and misusing their freedom of speech through that media.

When asked which suggestions can they make to improve relationship between Muslim minority group and other members of population in Canada, their responses were as follows:

- There should be intercultural and interfaith harmony dialogues between different religious and ethnic communities living in Canada.
- The media, as a whole, should avoid racialization and negative stereotyping of Muslims.
- The social media should be regulated and the general public should be restricted from sharing or spreading hatred against Muslims and Islam.
- Muslim leaders should come forward and speak to public gatherings and answer questions on matters that create misunderstanding between Muslims and non-Muslims.

4.2.2 Individual interviews

The participants of individual interviews expressed almost similar kind of responses but with details. Nine individual unstructured interviews were conducted in Saskatoon. The key findings of individual interviews are outlined below.

- Almost every participant said that they confronted at least some sort of religious hatred, mostly in public places.
- All interviewees claimed that they faced some sort of racism in their everyday life.
- The majority of interviewees blamed media for negative representation of Muslims in Canada. Most of them believed that media acted like an enemy of Muslims and Islam after 9/11.
- The majority of interviewees believed that 9/11 incident negatively affect public perception towards Muslims.
- Many female interviewees shared their experiences of being disgraced because of religious or cultural outfits such as *niqab, hijab*, or *veil*.
- More than half of the interviewees indicated that they had faced racial and religious discrimination at their work places.

4.3 Summary

The data was gathered from three English newspapers, two focus group discussion sessions, and nine individual interviews. The newspaper statistics were recorded to monitor the trends in usage of selected keywords to figure out the role of these newspapers in escalating the *moral panics* situation and creating *folk devils* of Muslims in Canadian society after the 9/11. The results verified

that there was a substantial increase in the use of almost all of the twelve searched keywords in the three newspapers analyzed. The critical discourse analysis in the next chapter suggests that the increased number of those words were part of a stereotypical racialized discourse in the three newspapers created a negative image of Muslims as *folk devils* and *moral panics* conditions in Canadian society. The analysis also suggests that at the same time the three newspapers failed to devote sufficient attention in focusing on and criticizing Islamophobia in Canadian society.

The focus group discussions and individual interviews verified that negative perception of Muslims among the majority of Canadians contributed to racism and religious discrimination toward Muslims in Canada and created a sense of alienation among Muslims from Canadian society.

CHAPTER 5:

ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

To reiterate, the primary objectives of this study were to explore the role of media in social construction of Muslims in Canada, to highlight media's racial and religious undertones that perpetuated *moral panics* in Canadian society, preserved racism and discrimination against Muslims. To fulfill these objectives, a mixed method approach was adopted, where quantitative methods were used to examine the frequencies of selected keywords in three Canadian newspapers; *The Globe and Mail, National Post*, and *The Star Phoenix*. The aim was to explore the trends in usage of racialized discourse in newspapers that perpetuated *moral panics* in Canadian society in the post-9/11 era. In addition, a qualitative method, critical discourse analysis, was embraced to critically analyze the data gathered from the three newspapers, focus group discussions, and from individual interviews.

The results obtained from the selected print media, in conjunction with the data gathered from focus group discussions and individual interviews, are critically analyzed in this chapter. The results revealed that selected Canadian English newspapers have been serving to escalate *moral panics* in Canadian society by presenting Muslims as *folk devils* in stereotypical racialized manners since 9/11 compared to the previous time. Most respondents from the focus groups and individual interviews believe that Canadian newspapers have negatively portrayed Muslim minority groups in Canada, especially in the post-9/11 era. Moreover, respondents indicated how such negative media portrayal has created boundaries of exclusions for Muslims in Canadian society. They expressed that racial and religious hatred became normal in Canada since 9/11. Many respondents narrated their personal experiences in facing racism and religious hatred at both the individual and societal levels.

The research findings revealed that selected newspapers played a significant role in constructing a negative image of Muslims living in Canada by portraying them as security risks to peaceful Canadian society. The incidents of 9/11 contributed to the creation of a rift between majority population and Muslim minority groups in Canada. The post-9/11 media coverage fueled a moral panic situation by presenting Islam and Muslims as potential threats to the cultural and social values of Canadian society. The fear of Islam and Muslims have transformed into increasing

trends in racism, stereotyping of Muslims, religiously motivated hate crimes, gender discrimination, and Islamophobia in Canadian society.

## 5.2 Newspaper discourse on Muslims in the pre- and post-9/11 era

Various studies indicated that the perception of Muslims and Arabs is not positive in the Western world. During and after the 1990s, various immigrant groups, especially Muslims, were viewed as threat to the social norms and values of Canadian culture and society (Belkhodja & Richard, 2006; Saunders, 2012). However, the incidents of 9/11 fueled the negative attitudes amongst the majority of Canadians directed towards Muslims. The post-9/11 Canadian print media discourse contributed to a negative perception of Muslims and Arabs while reporting the actual accused of terrorist attacks in the US and other parts of the world. Ordinary people increasingly viewed Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians with suspicion because of their cultural and ethnic similarities with the terrorists involved in 9/11 attacks.

The vast media coverage of 9/11 incidents in Canada shed a negative light on Muslim minority groups and in many cases demonized them in public discussions. Moreover, the advent of 9/11 provided enough space for the right-wing political forces to criticize Canadian multiculturalism (Belkhodja & Richard, 2006). According to those right-wing forces, the official multicultural policy was seen as a failure and actually damaging the Canadian national identity (Belkhodja & Richard, 2006). Canadian mainstream print media played a leading role in bringing more highly conflictual multicultural debates into the public domain.

The results showed that the media used pre-defined stereotypical keywords such as *Islamists, Muslim-terrorists, Islamic-terrorists, Jihad,* and *Burqa,* while reporting specific events related to terrorism. The results from the three English newspapers indicated that the usage of these words significantly increased in the year following 9/11 attack (see Figure 5.9). *The Globe and Mail* data indicated that the usage of these stereotypical words increased considerably during the post-9/11 year. Similarly, in the post-9/11 period *National Post* data also showed a significant increase in usage of the keywords mentioned above. The words *Burqa* and *Muslim-terrorists* each increased significantly by 18 times in the post-9/11 publications of *National Post*. Furthermore, *The Star Phoenix* data also presented a rising trend in all keywords, however, the word *Islamists* increased by 12 times in the year following 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York.

Another important phenomenon was observed while comparing the frequencies of two keywords *Islamic-terrorists* and *Muslim-terrorists* in *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*. The usage of word *Islamic-terrorists* increased 41 times, and the usage of word *Muslim-terrorists* inclined 6 times in *The Globe and Mail* in the following year of 9/11 compared to the previous year. Whereas, *National Post* data showed that the usage of word *Muslim-terrorists* increased 18 times and the usage of word *Islamic-terrorists* increased only 8 times in the following year of 9/11. This phenomenon clearly indicated that *The Globe and Mail* was targeting and blaming the religion of Islam for spreading the terrorism; whereas, *National Post* was blaming the followers of Islam for committing terrorism.

Figure 5.9: Frequency trends (times increase after 9/11)
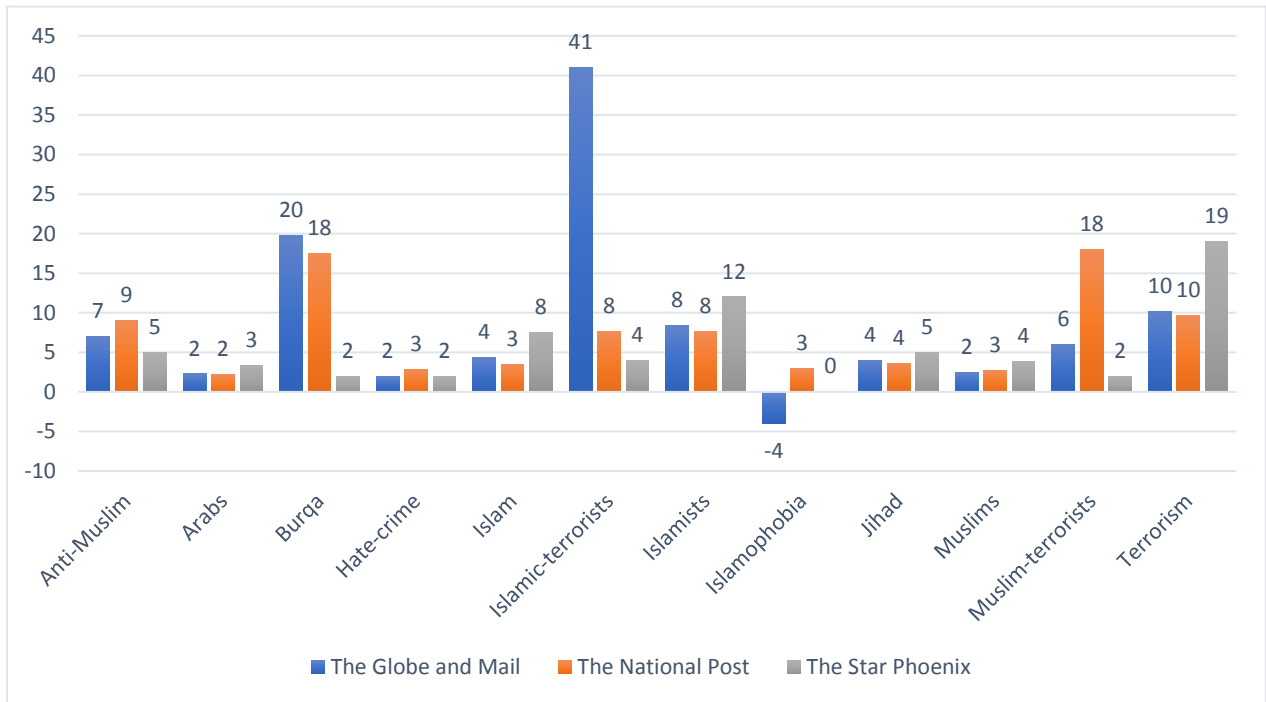
The dominant media discourse constructed different realities about Islam and Muslims including claims that Islam is a patriarchal religion, Muslims are illiterate, not trustworthy, cruel, and murderers. However, the post-9/11 discourse created new and more negative depictions of Islam and Muslims, such as: Islam is a religion of violence, Muslims are intolerants, extremists, and terrorists.

People who espouse and perpetuate such depictions of Islam and Muslims are not well informed. It is very likely that most, if not all, would not know, for example, that according to the Quran[11] "whoever kills a soul unless for a soul or for corruption [done] in the land - it is as if he/she had slain mankind entirely. And whoever saves one - it is as if he/she had saved mankind entirely" (Quran 5:32). Muslim scholars believe that a true Muslim, who believes in teaching of Islam and follow the Quran, cannot be engaged with any kind of activity that promotes violence or hatred against the humanity. Therefore, any person who gets involve in any kind of activity that advocates violence or hatred against any other human being, does not reflect the core values of Islam. No exceptions are given even during the wars, where Muslims are not allowed to kill any women, children, old people, and the people who with limitations such as the mentally or physically disabled.

The Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC) published a report in December 2001, about anti-Muslim sentiments in the media. That report referred to the nine newspapers' use of anti-Islam concepts quite frequently in the mainstream Canadian newspapers. The CIC report pointed out *National Post* as the leading newspaper that published these anti-Islam terms frequently. *National Post* then issued an explanation in response to the CIC report. In an article, the newspaper rejected the reasons cited in the CIC report for projecting negative image of Muslims and Islam in its publications. *National Post* responded to the CIC report as follows:

> *"Like the vast majority of Canadians, the members of National Post editorial staff bear no ill will toward Islam or the many Canadians who peaceably practice it. We will not however, be cowed into self-censorship by those who see truthful reporting as an act of hate. If the CIC is concerned with anti-Islamic sentiment, it should turn its attention to its source -- the monsters who blaspheme Allah by attacking civilians in His name. Blaming the messenger will get the CIC nowhere."*

> *(National Post, Dec. 7th, 2001)*

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[11] Quran is the religious book of Islam. All sects of Islam believe in Quran.

The beginning of paragraph *"like the vast majority of Canadians, the member of…"* includes the majority population in the message and brings them on its side, while directing the message towards the followers of Islam or Muslims. It starts with the generic positive message and shows that vast majority of Canadians endorse *National Post* stance. Thereafter, the rest of message became normal for the readers and also stopped them from thinking differently.

Although, the keywords like *Muslim terrorists, Islamic terrorists*, or *Islamism* were used to report different incidents around the world, however, the frequency of these words normalized their usage in general discussions about the terrorism and wrongdoings of a few Muslims. Dijk (2012) noted that the words like *terrorism* and *crime* were related to areas where tough political and legislative response was expected. It was easy to connect the words like *Arabs, Muslims, Islamism,* and *terrorism* with each other because of pre-existing knowledge about historical events, much earlier than 9/11 (Dijk, 2012). Said (1979) noted that the Western media and scholarship had been depicting Arabs and Muslims in a very negative way for a very long time. The words *Muslims* and *Terrorists* were used together so frequently together in the post-9/11 media discourse, that the words seemed to become synonym for each other (Eid & Karim, 2011). Therefore, media discourse having the similar keywords like *Arabs, Muslims, Islamism,* or *terrorism,* could easily become normalized and acceptable for the general public. Muslim women, because of their religious outfits such as *hijab, niqab, veil*, and *Burqa*, became the target of public resentment. A detailed discussion of this is provided in subsequent sections of this chapter and the concluding chapter.

By using racialized discourse in the pre- and post-9/11 eras, Canadian media portrayed Muslims as potential terrorists or sympathizers of terrorists that created an atmosphere of fear among the general public. In such panic situation, the Canadian public was expecting as if some serious attack or crime could happen to them at any time by Muslims living around them. In a matter of a day, the peace-loving and law-abiding Muslim community became a group of potential terrorists in the eyes of majority of Canadians. A survey conducted by Ipsos Reid in 2011 discovered 58 percent of Canadians shared that "they are more concerned about a terrorist attack in Canada now than before 9/11" (Diab, 2015).

> *"Islam may be tolerant and peaceful, for that matter -- but if Islam cannot, or*
> *will not, prevent fanatics acting in its name from terrorizing the non-Islamic*

world, sooner or later the non-Islamic world will find itself at war with Islam. Once a civilization is usurped by people who consider themselves at war with another civilization, there will be clash of civilizations. It is as simple as that.

The militants of Islam have no way of carrying a war to the western nations they consider their enemies, except through Arabs and Muslims who live in western countries as students, visitors, refugees or citizens. Islam has no military means to project its power upon the West. Al-Qaeda has no armies, navies, air forces or long-range missiles sufficient to penetrate western perimeters. Its only weapons are Arab and/or Muslim residents in western countries."

(The Star Phoenix, Nov. 8th, 2001)

The quotation above from an editorial published in *The Star Phoenix* has two parts. The first part talks about the terrorist acts carried out by the people belong to Muslim world. Although no religion on this earth would advocate terrorism or encourage killings of innocent people (Joshi, 2006). However, if that small group of Muslims who were involved in terrorist activities would be true followers of Islam, they would not get involved in such activities in the first place. The second part talks about threat perception posed by Muslims living in the Western countries. The newspaper singled out ordinary Muslims, such as students, visitors, refugees, and citizens, as posing a great threat to the Western countries. Similarly, Saunders (2012), for example, believes that Muslims are creating parallel societies in Canada that could pose a great threat to the social norms and values of Canadian society. Such arguments have contributed towards demonizing Muslim immigrants living in the Western countries and, in some cases, they have justified violence against them.

The Canadian Association for Islamic Relations issued a warning blaming media for using racialized terms like *Muslim terrorists* openly that could trigger religious hatred in Canada.

"The Canadian Association for Islamic Relations advised all Muslim schools and community centers to go on high security alert yesterday, saying that "the media have already aired interviews with persons who have used phrases like 'Muslim terrorists' and have attributed these vicious attacks to Muslims."

To reiterate the data collected from three newspapers shows that usage of words like *Islamic-terrorists, Islamists,* and *Muslim-terrorists* dramatically increased in their post-9/11 editions. These newspapers sometimes use these words to show their sympathy towards Muslims, however, the usage of these racialized words is enough to present a negative image of Islam and Muslims.

Canadian newspapers covered several stories of Muslims showing their concerns about the situation that arose after the 9/11 incident. This concern was proved true when a rise in religiously motivated hate crimes occurred in Canada. Several incidents of racism, Islamophobia, and anti-Muslim/Arab sentiments were reported in the media by different Muslim organizations working in Canada (Zine, 2002). Toronto Police Services recorded a surge in hate crimes during the year 2001 by 66 percent (Zine, 2002), which in turn contributed to racism and *moral panics*. The following newspaper clipping shows the intensity of the *moral panics* in Canadian society from the perspective of Muslims.

> *"Included in the types of harassment across Canada are vicious e-mails calling Arabs "vermin," violent telephone messages, attacks on mosques in many parts of the country and personal threats. Women and girls tend to be more heavily targeted, especially if they wear the traditional Muslim head scarf, Mr. Yousuf said. Some employers are arranging for Muslim and Arab workers to be escorted to and from their premises, he said.*
>
> *"We are now in a state of siege," said Mr. Aliweiwi, adding that the Arab and Muslim communities feel they are surrounded by an intensifying "sea of hate"."*

(The Globe and Mail, Sep. 14ᵗʰ, 2001)

Newspapers also highlighted the issues Muslims were facing in the post-9/11 period. They also presented the perspectives and views of Muslim leaders, which showed the challenges that members of their communities were facing in light of both the terrorist events and the way that the media covered those events and people's views on Islam and Muslims.

The media also wrote stories regarding tense situations in Canada between Muslims and non-Muslims after the 9/11 incident. *The Globe and Mail*, for example, published a story regarding such situation with the following passages.

> *"Saying they are under siege in their own country, Arab Canadians are shunning school, work, travel and even the streets to avoid escalating harassment from fellow citizens angry over catastrophic attacks on the United States.*
>
> *"We are seen as the enemy within," said Jehad Aliweiwi, executive director of the Canadian Arab Federation. "A lot of people feel it's probably a time to stay at home".”*

> *(The Globe and Mail, Sep. 14th, 2001)*

As the above news clip showed that Newspapers also played a neutral role and presented the actual situation to the public. However, at the same time such media coverage increased the concerned among Muslims about their security. Muslims, especially with the Arab descent, mostly preferred to stay at home during that period just to avoid the situation of public harassment and hatred against them. The situation remained unchanged even after six months of 9/11 incident.

> *"More than six months after the tragedy of Sept. 11, Arab and Muslim groups in Canada say their communities still live in fear.*
>
> *An interim report card prepared by the Council on American-Islamic relations indicated there have been 120 anti-Muslim hate incidents across Canada since the terrorist attacks. They included 10 death threats, 13 cases of physical violence and 12 attacks on mosques and Islamic centers.”*

> *(The Globe and Mail, March 16th, 2002)*

The media reports revealed that the incidents of racial and religiously motivated hate crimes further increased with the passage of time.

The participants of focus group discussion and individual interviews of this study shared the similar experiences. Some of them told that they took off from their jobs and stopped sending

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their kids to schools for several weeks. They believe that the culture of fear still exists today in Canadian society even after 16 years of 9/11. Talking about this situation, during an interview for this study a Middle Eastern male (IIM3) said that:

> *"There is a culture of fear among Canadian Muslims, and even after facing racism and discrimination, we don't speak out because we are scared, thinking that if we say something about it, we can be blamed for damaging the multicultural values of the Canadian society that can result as to be kicked out of the country." (IIM3)*

Many respondents of the focus group discussions and individual interviews said that they never respond to minor incidents of racism and discrimination because of fear. They were frightened and believed that nobody would take their side or believe them. They were also afraid of being kicked out of the country because they had already seen many examples, such as Maher Arar, who was a Canadian citizen but was deported to his country of birth, Syria, by the US authorities when they falsely suspected him for being in contact with some terrorists. Other such examples were already mentioned in the introductory chapter.

Another Middle Eastern male (FGM7) shared his story during the focus group discussion by telling how people thought that all Muslims were related or associated to each other in one way or the other, even they were living in different parts of the world and never knew each other.

> *"People feel sorry to me for a Muslim living in the other part of the world, they think we are the same because of our religion. If something wrong happens in any part of the world, and if there is any involvement of Muslim, people ask me why you people do this? I always clarify that it's their personal wrongdoing, I cannot take responsibility of any other person's behavior. People think that since I am also Muslim and from the same region so I must be aligned with those Muslims living in other parts of the world. They don't even know that every Arab is not Muslim, and every Muslim is not Arab." (FGM7)*

He (FGM7) said that every time something bad happened in any part of the world, I had to condemn that incident otherwise people thought I was either happy on the killings of innocent

people or felt sympathy for perpetrators. He said that he never understood why people expected him to condemn those bad people every time, why he had to do that, what was the relationship between those people and him? He added that only handful of people hijacked the whole Muslim world, and the world should realize that only few bad people cannot the basis for passing judgement on more than 1.5 billion Muslims. Goode (2001) explains this phenomenon as a part of labeling theory, that refers to the accusation and stigmatization of the members of some specific communities, and their exclusion on the basis of percieved ideas related to them without any evidence. Therefore, some individuals or entire communities, such as Canadian Muslims, are blamed for something they did not do just because of their cultural, racial, or religious similarities with persons who were engaged in illegal or evil actions.

5.3 Muslim women in the post-9/11 era

Muslim women became the victim of silent resentment because of their identification through their outfits such as *hijab*, *veil, niqab*, and *Burqa*. The general Canadian perception of women wearing *hijab*, *veil, niqab*, and *Burqa* is that they are the oppressed, submissive, controlled, uneducated or unable to think for themselves. In contrast, Muslim women from different parts of world having different cultural backgrounds consider *hijab*, *veil, niqab*, and *Burqa* as empowering tools. The following passage is from an editorial published in *The Globe and Mail*, where author sketches how *Burqa* looks like and connects it to the symbol of Islamic patriarchy. The author defined an oppressed woman, belonged to the religion that did not endorse the Western values.

> *"The burqa on a woman is like blinkers on a horse; the field of vision is about 12 degrees. You're better off crossing a busy street in blue satin mules than in a big black shroud. Either way, I'm the one running after your two-year-old screaming, "Child, stay on the sidewalk! Your mother is trapped by the misogynist dictates of a primitive society!" meaning the superstitions of religion and the fashion industry. It's hard to think of a religion that doesn't subjugate women."*

> *(The Globe and Mail, May 19th, 2001)*

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The results showed that Canadian newspapers discussed Muslim women, especially about their outfits, several times more in the post-9/11 period. The search of keyword *Burqa* in editorials, letters to the editor, and news sections of the three Canadian daily newspapers indicated a significant increase therein related to *Burqa* after the 9/11 (see Figure 5.10). *The Globe and Mail* data indicated that the word *Burqa* was discussed 20 times more in the following year of 9/11. Similarly, *National Post* data showed that it used this word 18 times more during the first year after 9/11 compared to the previous year. The third newspaper, *The Star Phoenix*, discussed *Burqa* twice in the year after 9/11. These results show the importance of the issue in Canadian newspapers. The majority of discussions were revolving around the subordination and oppression of Muslim women who use *Burqa, hijab, niqab*, or *veil.*

Figure 5.10: Trends (times increase after 9/11) in Burqa discussion
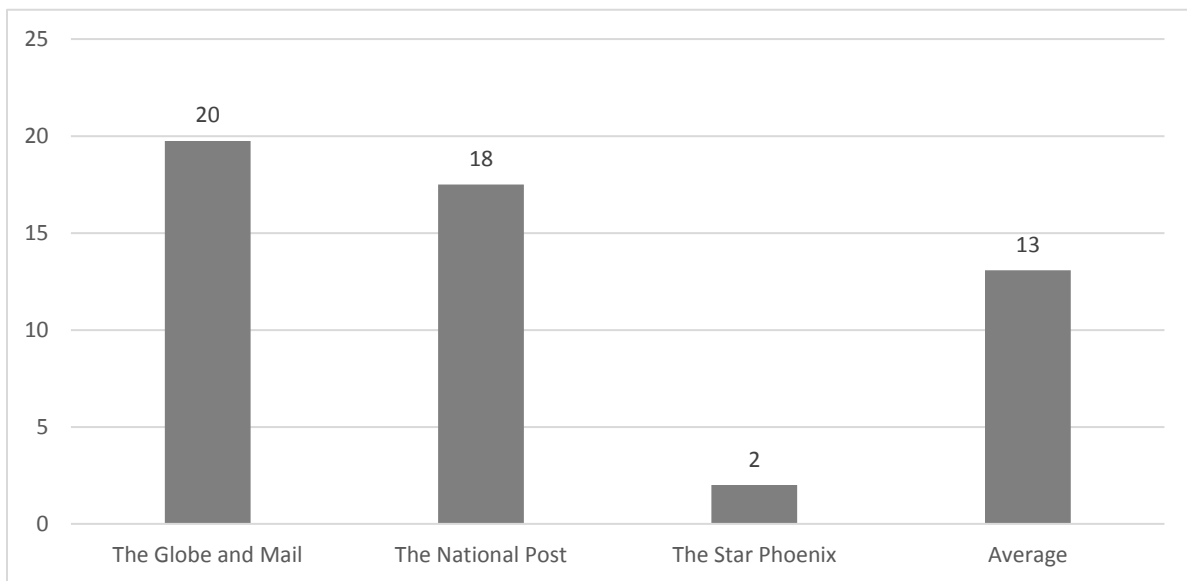
During an individual interview for this study, a Muslim female (IIF6), who wore *hijab*, shared her experiences as below:

> *"I got harassed by people because of my hijab on several occasions at several places but I never stood up and always remained silent. I thought that even if I speak out nobody would take my side so I remained silent." (IIF6)*

She said that she was hesitant to go to public places and restaurants because every time she visited some public place, people were behaving badly and on few occasions, they started shouting publicly by pointing at her. She stopped going to public places and restaurants and said that she preferred to order food on phone for home delivery because of such public behavior.

As the *Burqa* debates heated up in Canada, another interesting point of view brought up in media was whether Western women, who were living or working in Muslim countries, either on a temporary or permanent basis should follow their cultural dress code or not.

> *"It is as if a star student has found herself outside the principal's office, waiting for her punishment to be doled out. And the misdemeanor, it turns out, is a uniform violation. Lt. Col. [Martha McSally] refuses to wear the abaya, the traditional item of dress for Islamic women in Saudi Arabia, and similar to the Afghan burqa."*

(National Post, Jan 16, 2002)

That passage was about a female American soldier who was serving in Muslim dominant country Saudi Arabia. She refused to wear Saudi cultural dress *abaya.* This news opened a new row of debates about religious outfits like *Burqa, niqab,* and *veil* in Canada. If an American female did not want to follow the cultural dress code in the host society and wanted to keep her own cultural dress, why were immigrants from other countries criticized for their cultural and religious outfits in the US or Canada?

A study on Muslim female students' experiences in Canadian educational institutions by Khosrojerdi (2015) reveals that *hijabi* Muslim students faced the worst kind of discrimination. The participants of this study noted that of all those identities they hold including race, gender, religion, and ethnicity, the most dominant is their religious identity. These students, while sharing their experiences, tell the researcher that they have been judged by their Muslim veil before even talking to others. Other fellow students feel hesitation to discuss Muslim related issues in the class thinking that we could be offended by those discussions.

5.4 Islamophobia in Canada

The 9/11 terrorist attacks triggered an event that started another row of fear of Islam or Islamophobia in Canada (Razack, 2008; Satzewich, 2011). The increased number of religiously motivated hate crimes after 9/11, and recent attacks on mosques show the rising trends of Islamophobia in Canada. The media did not realize the intensity of Islamophobia after the 9/11.

The results showed that pre- and post-9/11 print media coverage did not emphasize Islamophobia. The frequency table (see Figure 5.11) indicated that three newspapers had very little discussions about Islamophobia. *The Globe and Mail* discussions on Islamophobia actually declined; consequently, the use of the word *Anti-Muslim* increased by 7 times in the year after 9/11. The *National Post* coverage of debates indicated an increase in the use of the word *Anti-Muslim* 9 times more and the word *Islamophobia* 3 times more in the year of 9/11. In the case of *The Star Phoenix,* it discussed *Anti-Muslim* 5 times more, but did not discuss *Islamophobia* at all during the year after 9/11.

Figure 5.11: Trends (increase in times after 9/11) in usage of keywords
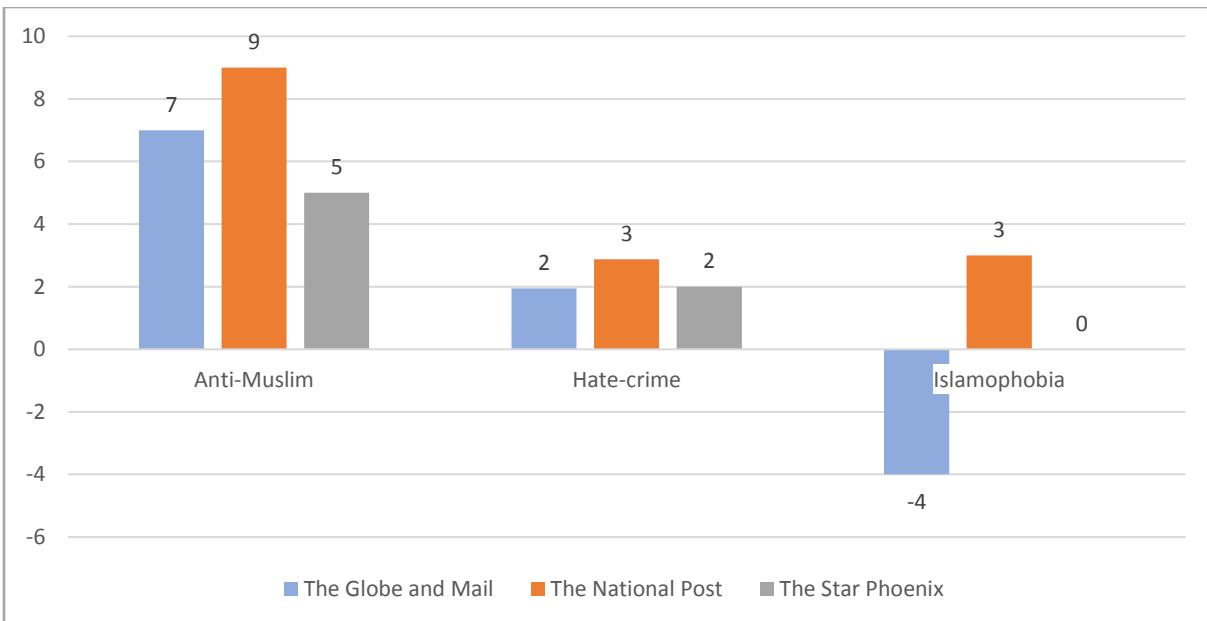
During the focus group discussion sessions for this study, many participants shared their unpleasant experiences in their everyday life. A South Asian male (FGM2) shared his thoughts about the matter related to building a new mosque, and parking issues near the old mosque.

"Muslims are not allowed to build mosques in their neighborhoods just like other religions. There are so many Churches in our neighborhood, but the city government does not allow Muslims to build Mosques in their neighborhoods. When we tried to build Mosque, the city administration told us that we were not allowed to build the Mosque in the neighborhood, and we could go out of the city and build a Mosque in some empty area. They said that they had received several complains of traffic jams and noise on Friday afternoons from the area where there is already a mosque." (FGM2)

Other participants agreed with him, and some noted that people did not allow them to park on the streets near the mosque and they had to park their vehicles far away from the mosque even during the harsh weather. They said they were not blocking any drive way or the passage, but even then, people were so harsh, and stopped them from parking on the streets near the mosque. Bouchard & Taylor (2008) commission report also revealed that the religious minorities in Quebec were not given religious freedom for which they were promised in the Canadian law. The commission also called on the government to make a major effort to achieve *reasonable accommodation* for religious minorities in Quebec. Other provinces need to follow the same recommendations to accommodate their religious minorities.

Focus group participants also spoke about the provision of limited political space to the persons from minority groups in Canada. A South Asian male (FGM10) shared an incident that happened during the provincial elections (2016) in Saskatchewan, while running his election campaign as a candidate.

"My campaign manager knocked on a door during the election campaign, a White male came out and after seeing his face and political party badge, he started shouting racial slurs without even listening anything from my campaign manager. He said, "Go back to your country, we don't want to see Muslims in our parliament"." (FGM10)

He (FGM10) also noted that he had been harassed several times during his election campaign by different means. He received several threatening calls asking him to quit participating in elections. On several occasions, he was followed by unknown people on the roads who tried to

scare him in different ways. He said it was the worst experience in his entire life that he will not be able to forget the incidents of racism and religious hatred he confronted during his election campaign in Saskatoon.

Although, anti-Muslim views or sentiments existed in Canadian society before 9/11, it became worse after 9/11. The recently elected hardliner Trump government in the US has become a catalyst in perpetuating this problem and a new row of racial and religious hatred has been observed both in the US and in Canada. An attack on Mosque in Quebec on January 29th, 2017, where 6 Muslims were killed by a religious extremist, was the fresh example of Islamophobia or anti-Muslim discourse in Canadian society. Such an incident attest to the intensity of rising trends of Islamophobia in Canada.

5.5 Racism and religious discrimination against Muslims

During the two focus group discussions and nine individual interviews, almost everybody faced some sort of racism at the individual and societal level. Furthermore, a majority of the respondents indicated that they encountered incidents where they became victims of religious or racial discrimination. The female respondents, who wore hijab or veil, faced several incidents of discrimination because of their religious outfits. Many respondents shared their experiences of racism both at their job and at public offices. More than half of the participants blamed media for creating such perception about immigrants especially for Muslim immigrants. Moreover, the respondents, who immigrated to Canada before 9/11, believed that such anti-Muslim sentiments increase in the post-9/11 period.

During the focus group discussion, participants shared several incidents of racial and religious hatred. Some of participants even left their jobs because of such bad experiences at their workplaces. A Middle Eastern male (FGM5) shared the story of an incident of individual racism at his work place.

> *"I was working at a computer store. Once, one of my South Asian colleague, who was new, was standing on the door as greeter. A middle aged White male entered into the store and asked my colleague "can I talk to some Canadian person?" He said, "I am Canadian; how can I help you?" The customer said,*

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*"No, you are not real Canadian, I want to talk to some real Canadian, the White
one. I don't know why they are giving jobs to foreigners." Being a supervisor I
stepped in and requested the customer to come to our manager's room and talk
because it was not the proper way, but he started shouting and swearing at us
and we had to call the security [officers]." (FGM5)*

He (FGM5) said that he witnessed several other incidents of racism and religious hatred
at his work place that happened to him and to his co-workers. He said that sometimes people
shouted at us on minor things and swear at us so badly because of our accent and skin color. It
became normalized and sometimes my colleagues preferred not to report minor incidents of racism
to their seniors.

A South Asian male (IIM2) cab driver shared different experiences of racism while
working specially during the nights. He started driving cab 17 years ago and he witnessed several
incidents, out of them he shared few during an individual interview for this study.

*"Once a passenger started talking about how cruel is religion Islam and blamed
Muslims for destroying Canadian values. I did not reply and stayed calm but
after some time he started swearing at me directly. I said it was not right and
told him that if he will not stop I would turn my cab towards police station. Even
then he did not stop and I took him to the police station, where he apologized
and promised to police that he will not do it again." (IIM2)*

He (IIM2) told that passengers usually start talking about race and religion primarily
to make a mess so that they can get away without paying their rent. I understood this
phenomenon after the third or fourth incident when passengers started talking about race or
religion and used racial slurs to provoke me. However, I remained calm and focused on my
driving and did not reply to them.

Many respondents spoke about their experiences of racism and discrimination at public
service offices and governmental institutions. A South Asian (IIF1) highly qualified female
respondent shared an incident during her individual interview for this study. She immigrated to
Canada before 9/11 and spent several years in Montreal because of her job requirement.

"When I lived in Montreal 5 years ago I was going to take the Metro. The person who was selling the tickets was being racist with me. I spoke English but he answered me back in French, then I spoke to him in English again and this time he answered me in English and said, "if you want to live here, you need to learn how to speak French." I said to him that if I was speaking English then you should answer me back in English since you knew English, and then I left. After I passed, a White person beside me who also could not speak French started talking to him in English, but this time shockingly he spoke English and replied him very nicely." (IIF1)

It was so painful for me, she (IIF1) aid, especially when that person looked at me while speaking English with the other guy. She added that she faced several other incidents when she felt like an alien at public places, in the shopping malls, in parks, and also at her office. She also shared an incident where she was racially humiliated at her office by her fellow colleague for not drinking wine during a social event.

Many scholars believe that immigrant women of color, face multiple layers of discrimination in the job market (Khosrojerdi, 2015; Li, 2001, 2008) but being female, being immigrant, being part of visible minority group, and also for being part of Muslim minority group (Zine, 2008). Although, contemporary Canadian society is in a transitional phase from its historical racist policies towards inclusiveness and multicultural policies, it cannot achieve its goals until it acknowledges the existing social inequalities (Henry & Tator, 2006).

A middle aged South Asian businessman (IIM4), who moved to Saskatoon from Toronto few years ago, said that because the former is smaller city compared to the latter, he felt an unwelcoming behavior among majority of people. In making his point he shared an incident in the bank:

"I was standing in the queue in a bank. The teller lady was greeting the people warmly and smiling while talking to them. I saw her behaving professionally with the two White customers ahead of me but when it comes to my turn, she got changed, she asked me with spot face "what can I do for you?" I got shocked with this instant change of behavior and I said I was not feeling comfortable with

this rudeness and if I could talk to her manager. She put me through the manager and I noticed that she became nice again with the next White customer who was standing behind me." (IIM4)

After facing several other incidents of racism, he (IIM4) decided to move back to Toronto where he thought the situation was much better. He added that he did not want his kids to face similar treatment in the public. Although he could not clearly indicate the reasons, but he thought bigger cities had less racism compared to the smaller cities. Another South Asian (FGM14) male shared a similar experience:

"You can see the difference when you enter into some retail shops and the person at the door greets you with dull voice and rude manners, but at the same time he greets White people with smile and welcoming tone." (FGM14)

He (FGM14) also said that if you stay there and check the difference, you will clearly understand that the greeting person greets White people and non-White differently. He concluded by saying that this was damaging for the future of this beautiful country. Another South Asian (FGM4) male said during the focus group discussion that Muslim kids are discouraged from attending the French schools for some reason. In his words:

"The local French schools in Saskatoon discourage the children of immigrants to get admission. I know two families, a South Asian and an East European, who somehow got admission for their kids in a local French school. The school administration created such circumstances that these families had to withdraw their kids from the school after few months and sent them to the regular English school." (FGM4)

He (FGM4) also said that it would be hard to get a place for your kid in any local French school, but even if the kid did get a place, it was likely to face highly uncomfortable and unwelcoming environment there. He said he wanted his kids to go to French school, but he changed his mind after talking to two families he knew. They told him that immigrants' kids were discouraged in French schools, and the school administration created such difficult situations for their kids that they had to withdraw them from the school. Giddens' notion of *deskilling* explains

the situations where advance knowledge is taken away from the lower working class, and given it to the upper class to keep the hierarchical difference in society (Brock et al., 2012).

Talking about the media's power and responsibility, many focus group participants and many respondents for individual interviews pointed to the media's problematical role in the way they dealt issues related to Islam and Muslims and its negative effects on Canadian society. A South Asian (FGM12) male, who was an engineer by profession, shared his daughter's experience at her school when she was given wrong information about the country of her parents' origin.

> *"My daughter was asked to write something about her family. She wrote about her parents' country of birth Pakistan. When she brought that essay to school, her teacher said Pakistan is not a good country and said bad things about Pakistan. When my daughter came back from school, she said to me, "Papa, I will not go to Pakistan, my teacher said that it's a bad place." I was shocked to hear that and asked why she thought that Pakistan was a bad place. She replied that her teacher told her that Pakistan was a very bad country and you should not go there." (FGM12)*

The same person added that it was very shocking for him to see that his daughter got a bad image of his country of birth without any reason (FGM12). He added that he went to the school and had a long meeting with his daughter's teacher. Her teacher did not know anything about Pakistan, and added that she used the stories about Pakistan in the news media in producing an image of that country in her mind. His daughter's teacher told him that she only heard bad things about Pakistan, especially about the rigidity of Muslims living there. After talking to her, he (FGM12) came to know that the media had constructed such a negative image of Pakistani immigrants that affected ordinary people. He added, that this revelation changed his views of the school teacher. He also pointed out that he dealt with the situation because he knew his country, but had no doubt that the teacher and anyone else not familiar with Pakistan would simply accepted whatever the media fed them and would then spread the media's depiction among students and community (FGM12).

Clearly, there is a strong perception that the media holds ultimate power because people completely rely on the media to get knowledge about the other parts of the world (Cohen, 2002;

Nasir, 2013; Smith, 2013). At the same time media is expected to provide neutral and unbiased information, which sometimes compromised by some media outlets because of political or monetary gains. Eid & Karim (2011) blame the media for constructing negative image of the Muslim world in the post-9/11 era, that created an unfavorable perception among majority of North Americans towards Muslims.

During an individual interview for this study, a South Asian (IIF3) female shared her experience of an incident of individual racism:

> *"Once I ordered a toy from kijiji website for my son, the owner came to drop the toy at my home. When I checked that, it was too small for my son and was different than she described in her ad on kijiji. When I said it was not the right size as she stated in her advertisement, she got mad at me and started saying racial slurs. She said go back to your country, we don't want to see you brown people here in Canada." (IIF3)*

She (IIF3) also said that she noticed that in Canada even racist people generally showed that they were nice and polite. However, when they got angry, they spoke from inside and instead of talking politely and logically, they started swearing and using racial slurs and faulty logic that hurt very much. This is in keeping with the observation by Henry and Tator (2006) who noted that because of strong multicultural policies in Canada, the meaning associated with the concept of racism changed from *overt* to *covert*. They indicate that racism still exists in society but it is hidden in form, and suggest that it is more dangerous than the visible form. The reason it is more dangerous is that people with racist ideologies do not express their thoughts openly in the public because they do not want to be perceived as racist and/or opposed to the spirit of multicultural policies.

During the focus group discussion sessions, many participants shared their everyday experiences of racial and religious discrimination at their workplaces. A South Asian (FGF1) female respondent shared her experiences of working with her White colleagues:

> *"When I was working at retail store, I was working as a cashier and was the only non-White immigrant among all employees. Once I was done doing all my*

tasks for the day, but after the manager left, the assistant manager asked me to clean the washroom. I told her that it was not in my task list so I did not need to do it. She said no one else wanted to do it so she said I have to do it because I had no choice. I told her that if everyone else had a choice then I had a choice too." (FGF1)

She (FGF1) added that:

"I realized that she was racist because she would always have picked on me all the time even though there were other cashiers she would always say to me to clean the washroom or clean the parking lot. So, I think all this has to do with the racism." (FGF1)

Another middle-aged educated South Asian (FGM3) male explained the negative experiences while working in a major retail store:

"When I came to Canada, I started my first job with major retail store as a junior associate. During the job, I was not allowed to go to washroom for more than five minutes and my manager literally counted the seconds. I was also not allowed to talk to any brown person during the job. It was so humiliating because my White colleagues used to talk to each other freely in front of manager but never got banned from talking. But when any brown person talked to any other brown person, manager became mad on him or her." (FGM3)

He (FGM3) also noted that this was a very stressful situation, but he had to accept it because he needed the job. He explained that his senior White colleagues enjoyed the humiliating him and other brown people but, unfortunately, they could not resign because their families needed the money. He concluded that he did not want the same kind of workplace environment for his kids.

Satzewich (1998) suggested that racism is a form of power and a manifestation of an unequal distribution of resources in society. The unfair treatment of certain communities or minority groups by individuals in the labor market and in the social institutions can be described as institutional racism (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2017). The Canadian immigration system was also

blamed for its unfair policies towards the people who wanted to immigrate to Canada. In 2001, the Canadian Parliament proposed a law, Bill C-11, to make immigration laws strict to stop the entry of people who may be potential threats to Canadian society. The following are the core ideas of Bill C-11:

> *"C-11 will make people inadmissible to Canada if they have engaged in acts of terrorism or are a danger to the security of Canada. They have no right of appeal. Even those people who have previously been granted permanent resident status can be deported without appeal if it is discovered they have hidden criminal records. Visitors can be detained in custody without a warrant for their arrest. People who misrepresent their identity or other material facts can be rejected for entry into Canada. In the case of past criminal acts, visitors can be deported back to dangerous countries, even if they argue they could face torture. Bill C-11 will allow immigration officials to present confidential intelligence information to a judge in a private hearing, without having to disclose the information to the applicant. This means applicants may not know the reasons they have been rejected. Moreover, critics argue the definition of terrorism is unclear and could unfairly be applied to too many people."*

> *(The Globe and Mail, September 19[th], 2001)*

Canadian citizen Maher Arar became the early victim (see Chapter 1), who was deported by the US officials, on the advice of Canadian authorities, to his country of birth Syria, instead of sending him back to Canada *(Siddiqui, 2008; Zine, 2002)*. However, recently the Canadian Parliament has passed a new Bill C-6 that includes a provision designed to "remove the grounds for the revocation of Canadian citizenship that relate to national security" (Ahmed, 2017). According to Bill C-6, immigrants involved in any act related to Canadian national security will be given the right to appear in a Canadian court before the revocation of their Canadian citizenship.

5.6 Summary

This chapter analyzed the language used in print media and how this covert language was involved in constructing a new image of Muslim minority groups in Canada after 9/11. Although print media

was quite unfair towards Muslims before 9/11, however, it became even more unfair, unbalanced and highly biased in the post-9/11 period. Canadian society, as a whole, also got polluted by racialized newspaper discourse in this process. As a result, members of Muslim minority groups face racial and religious discrimination in Canadian society, and they are denied equal treatment by social institutions. In the post-9/11 era, the negative depiction in the media contributed to a negative public perception that, in turn, contributed to a strong sense of social marginalization and exlusion among majority of Muslim population especially in the post-9/11 era.

Moreover, the study findings demonstrate the subtle and covert language that the print media used to construct, or at least contribute to, the new racist ideology through its racialized and stereotypical discourse in Canadian society. It also highlighted the various discursive techniques that newspapers use to misrepresent and marginalize racial and religious minorities. Some of those who participated in this study, as well as some other observers within the Muslim community, believe that the racialized stereotypical discourse has, and continues to, adversely affect the other institutions of society as well, such as the judiciary, police, educational institutions, and other governmental and non-governmental organizations.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION

This chapter contains the concluding thoughts of this research study. This chapter is mainly divided into three sections. The first section gives you an overview and the summary of the research. The second part discusses the limitations of the study and, the third part provides recommendations and future research options in the research area.

This exploratory study was designed to examine the role of the media in the social construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada. The study aimed to highlight print media's racial and religious discourse directed towards Muslims that perpetuated *moral panics* in Canadian society that resulted in escalated racism and discrimination against Muslims. To pursue these objectives, this study started by asking the following question:

"Have Canadian print media discourses on Muslims in pre- and post-9/11 served to create their new identity as *folk devils* responsible for the *moral panics* in the society?"

In addressing this main research question, the study investigated Muslims' representation in three mainstream Canadian English newspapers, *The Globe and Mail, National Post,* and *The Star Phoenix,* in the pre- and post-9/11 eras. Furthermore, the characteristics that were embodied in the social construction of the Muslim *folk devils* created by the Canadian press were also explored.

In order to address the above questions, this study used Stanley Cohen's (Cohen, 2002) prominent concept of *folk devils and moral panics* as theoretical framework. The study embraced mixed method approach by using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative aspect of the study explored the frequency and trends of selected keywords from the selected three newspapers for the period of one year before, and one year after the 9/11. This quantitative analysis helped to understand the role of the three newspapers in escalating *moral panics* in Canadian society.

The qualitative method was used to critically analyze the data gathered from newspapers, focus group discussions, and individual interviews by adopting Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CDA helped to understand the phenomenon of social construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada by critically analyzing the combined results gathered from three newspapers, two group discussion sessions, and nine individual interviews. Direct quotes were used from the newspapers to support the research findings.

6.1 Research Summary

The results revealed that Muslims were misrepresented in the three Canadian newspapers in both, pre- and post-9/11 periods. However, the situation became worse after the 9/11. Newspapers' escalated use of stereotypical racialized discourse in the description of Muslim minority groups created negative public perception about Muslims and intensified *moral panics* among Canadians. The results indicated that pre-9/11 newspapers' discourse was mostly focused on issues related to race and immigration, and was less attentive to the problems faced by religious minorities in Canada. However, the post-9/11 newspapers presented Muslims as potential threats to the cultural norms and values of Canadian society. The racialization of Muslim culture and religion emerged as a new form of racism in Canadian society after 9/11.

The incident of 9/11 resulted in the development of racial profiling of Canadian Muslims because of their racial, ethnic, and religious commonality with the terrorists involved in 9/11 attacks. The print media performed a substantial role in reshaping the image of peaceful Muslims living in Canada to terrorists. The mainstream newspapers used racial messages to create boundaries of exclusion for Muslim minority groups in Canada. Loosely used words like *Islamic-terrorists, Islamists,* and *Muslim-terrorists* in the newspapers established a link between Islam or Muslims with terrorism in the minds of the general public. The repeated usage of these words in post- 9/11 media discourse constructed a negative image of Muslims as *folk devils* as well as triggered *moral panics* in Canadian society.

Another consequence of negative depiction of Muslims in Canadian print media is rise of Islamophobia within Canadian society. This situation resulted in a sense of alienation among the Muslim minority groups in Canada since 9/11. The newspapers totally ignored the issue of

Islamophobia during the year following 9/11 and this trend has now become a major issue for contemporary Canadian society.

Moreover, Muslim women became the target of media depiction after 9/11; the word *Burqa* became the center of discussion. Muslim women, especially those who wore *Burqa, niqab, hijab*, or *veil*, became the victim of racism, religious hatred, and gender discrimination in during the period. The general public resorted to judging Muslim women on the basis of their appearances. Majority of female respondents in this study blamed Canadian media for projecting a negative image of Muslim women in Canadian society.

The data collected from the focus group discussions and interviews showed that Muslim minority groups faced situations where they were treated unfairly because of their race and religion. Canadian Muslims became the major victims of systemic and systematic racism. Almost every participant in the focus group and individual interviewee faced some sort of racism and confronted religious hatred at both, individual and societal level. Approximately half of the participants faced racial and religious discrimination in their jobs. About same number of respondents shared that they confronted situation where they were discriminated, either racially or religiously, at public places and at governmental offices.

To conclude, the incidents of 9/11 created tension between majority population and Muslim minority groups in Canada. Canadian newspapers played a significant role in constructing negative images of Muslims as *folk devils* and fueled the situation of *moral panics* in Canadian society. The 9/11 incident spawned a culture of fear and sense of alienation among the Muslim minority groups in Canada. This study does not claim that Muslims are not involved in any terrorist acts around the world, but insists that a handful of bad people cannot represent all Muslims. The media presented Muslims as a threat to Canadian society based on their racial and religious similarities to those who carried out the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States. Growing trends of racism, stereotyping of Muslims, religiously motivated hate crimes, gender discrimination, and Islamophobia were observed in Canadian society, especially since 9/11.

6.2 Limitations

This study has some limitations in terms of generalization of its findings to a broader context. First, the selected three English newspapers (*The Globe and Mail, National Post,* and *The Star Phoenix)*, are inadequate to represent the Canadian print media as a whole. A larger number of newspapers could provide a more holistic picture of the issue. Secondly, this study used twelve keywords to monitor the frequencies in usage of racialized terminologies in pre- and post-9/11 media discourse in the coverage of Muslims minority issues. Such limited number of keywords could not generate enough themes that could be generalized to encompass broader picture of the research objective. A large number of keywords could help to explore more themes related to this study. Thirdly, the period of one year before and one year after the 9/11 is insufficient to explore the broader scope of the study. A wider period could help to produce more comprehensive results for this study. Further studies would help to identify more themes by choosing more keywords, selecting wider range of time, and inclusion of French newspaper and increased number of English newspapers in the research.

Similarly, the focus group discussions and individual interviews were conducted in the city of Saskatoon in Saskatchewan province. It was not possible to conduct focus group discussions and individual interviews in other parts of Canada due to funding and time constraints. So, the results of the narrative dimension of this study focused only on the local perspective of the research problem. It was not possible to determine whether the perceived notions of racism and religious discrimination by the Muslims was a local phenomenon, provincial, or a national issue. A further study could take the viewpoint of larger population by increasing the sample size and could recruit participants from other cities and provinces to get a clearer picture of the issue.

Another big challenge was to recruit the participants for focus group discussions and individual interviews. It was really hard to convince the people to take part in focus group discussions and interviews. Most people were hesitant to speak out anything about racism or religious discrimination faced by Canadian Muslims. The word *9/11* was the scariest word for some of them. Despite assurances of anonymity, some participants shared that they were concerned that if they said something about racism or religious intolerance, they could still be traced and punished. As this study could recruit only 25 participants for both the focus group discussions and

individual interviews, a larger number of participants for the focus group discussions and individual interviews could provide a more holistic picture of the issue.

All participants of focus group discussions and individual interviews were Muslims so it could only provide the opinion of Muslims about the non-Muslims. The perception of the majority of population, which is non-Muslim, was determined based on newspaper discourse. A further study would help to provide another dimension of the issue if non-Muslims could be recruited to provide their opinion of Muslim minority groups.

The usage of CDA method with objective opinions was another challenge of this study. The researcher's religious belief and personal experiences may have influenced the interpretation of the newspaper discourse, therefore, to avoid this situation, two focus group discussion sessions along with nine individual interviews were conducted to validate the research findings of this study. In addition, a quantitative analysis of twelve selected keywords was presented to enhance the research scope. However, the smaller sample size of two group discussion sessions and nine individual interviews could not be generalized to understand the issues faced by Muslim minority groups in Canada.

As this study mainly relied on qualitative methods, it cannot provide multiple standpoints on the social issues faced by Muslim minority groups. A replication of this study might arrive at a different conclusion based on the standpoint of the researcher. However, different perspective could definitely contribute a richness to the understanding of the research objectives.

6.3 Research contribution and recommendations

This study titled "*the social construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada",* has provided important pieces of evidence of print media discourse that constructed a stereotypical racialized image of Muslims in Canada, especially after the 9/11. The theoretical framework of this study, Stanley Cohen's notion of "*folk devils* and *moral panics"* (Cohen, 2002)*,* has contributed to an understanding of the phenomenon of creation of *folk devils* and *moral panics* in Canadian society with the example of Muslim minority groups in the pre- and post-9/11 periods. Other minority groups can also learn lessons from this study, and similar kind of studies can be conducted to

investigate the issues related to media depiction of racial, religious, and other minority groups in Canada.

Due to the limited number of newspapers that were considered in this study, the whole print media cannot be blamed for creating the *folk devils* image of Muslims minority group that results in *moral panics* among Canadians; but evidence shows that selected newspapers played catalysts' role in this regard. The research findings revealed how print media's racialized discourse negatively affected the collective perception of Canadian population towards Muslims and the religion of Islam in the post-9/11 period.

Although, the mandate of the newspapers in reporting the terrorist attacks in all parts of the world was to provide neutral information, the adopted racialized stereotypical terminologies such as *Muslim terrorists, Islamic terrorists*, and *Islamism*, have had negative impact on the public's perception of Muslims in Canada. Such representation has led to increases in religiously motivated hate crimes, racism, discrimination against Muslims especially against Muslim women, and Islamophobia in the subsequent years after 9/11. Today in Canada, a new type of racism - the *racialization of Muslim religion* - can be traced to the 9/11 attack.

This study has also provided a platform for the local Muslims community to have their voices heard about the most common issues faced by the Muslim minority groups in Canada. More in-depth studies are needed to explore how media racialization and stereotyping have negatively affected the lives of ordinary Muslims living in Canada. Racial profiling[12] of minority groups is already a big issue in Canada, however, this issue needs an urgent and serious attention by authorities and policy makers.

For further studies, the *racialization of religion* is a new area of study that has a lot of potential for future researchers. Islamophobia is a serious threat to multicultural Canadian society that needs to be tackled urgently. This potential study area is still to be explored, especially a focus on Islamophobia and anti-Muslim trends in Canadian social media. Another potential area of research is media discourse analysis on recent refugees and asylum seekers coming from war affected Middle Eastern countries, such as Iraq and Syria. There are two main reasons for

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[12] Racial profiling refers to an act of targeting the people on the basis of their race or skin color.

expecting *moral panics* in Canadian society because of these new comers. First, they are blamed for welfare fraud by draining the public tax money; and secondly, they are Muslims who are already believed to be potential threats to the cultural norms and values of Canadian society. The findings of this study can be useful and may be helpful in conducting similar studies on other minority groups in Canada.

It is highly recommended that a Bouchard-Taylor like commission be appointed to investigate the issues faced by Muslim minority groups, in order to recommend suitable suggestions to address the concerns that most Canadian Muslims have on their minds. A serious revision of obstacles in implementing multicultural policies can help to promote multiculturalism and confront Islamophobia in Canada. Moreover, Canadian media should also join hands with the government and help to educate the public in general about the seriousness of issues like racism and Islamophobia. As power comes with the greater responsibility, Canadian media should realize their power and should contribute to addressing the issues faced by vulnerable groups in contemporary Canadian society.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire for focus group participants:

Part-1: Background questions

The following background questions were asked to participants before the focus group discussion sessions, however, answering these questions was optional.

1. Age: How old are you?

    - 35 to 49 years

    - 50 to 64 years

    - 65 and above

2. Have you got formal school education?
    - Yes
    - No

    If yes, then what level?

3. Ethnicity origin (or Race): Please specify your ethnicity.

    - Asian / Pacific Islander

    - South Asian

    - Middle Eastern

    - White / Native American or American Indian

    - Hispanic or Latino

    - Black or African American

    - Other

4. When did you come to Canada?

5. Length of stay in Saskatoon?

Part-2: Guiding questions for the focus group discussion.

The guiding questions were used to keep the talk on track, the participants were allowed to freely talk about anything related to the topic area.

- What are your personal experiences in Canada of being part of Muslims minority group?
- What differences have you observed in the social relations between members of the general population and Muslims minority group within Canadian society before and after the 9/11 incident?
- What is your opinion of the media (newspapers, radio, TV, or social media) representation of Muslims since 9/11?
- Which suggestions can you make to improve relationship between Muslim minority group and other members of population in Canada?

In case any participant wanted to share his /her knowledge or experience about the above-mentioned themes in person, then there was an option for individual interviews for that participant after the focus group.

Questionnaire for individual interviews:

Part-1: Background questions

The following background questions were asked to participants before the focus group discussion sessions, however, answering these questions was optional.

6. Age: How old are you?

   - 35 to 49 years

   - 50 to 64 years

   - 65 and above

7. Do you have formal school education?
   - Yes
   - No

   If yes, then at what level.

8. Ethnicity origin (or Race): Please specify your ethnicity.

   - Asian / Pacific Islander

   - South Asian

   - Middle Eastern

   - White / Native American or American Indian

   - Hispanic or Latino

   - Black or African American

   - Other

9. When did you come to Canada?

10. Length of stay in Saskatoon?

Part-2: Guiding questions for individual interviews:

The guiding questions were used to keep the talk on track during the interviews. The interviewees were allowed to freely talk about anything related to the topic area.

- What are your personal experiences in Canada of being part of Muslims minority group?
- What differences have you observed in the social relations between members of the general population and Muslims minority group within Canadian society before and after the 9/11 incident?
- What is your opinion of the media (newspapers, radio, TV, or social media) representation of Muslims since 9/11?
- Which suggestions can you make to improve relationship between Muslim minority group and other members of population in Canada?

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